

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 2000

☆ Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish, Italian and Russian ☆

The January leaflet of "Gegen die Strömung" carried the title:

What Do the Militant Mass Struggles in Ecuador Show?

In the introduction is said:

"For several weeks, the workers, peasants and students of Ecuador carried out on a huge scale very courageous and partly militant actions of protest, strike and resistance against the regime in Ecuador. On January 21, they even succeeded in occupying the parliament building and the government palace in the capital Quito for several hours, despite state of emergency and military blockade. Meanwhile, the fighters have retreated in order to discuss, to evaluate experiences and to gain new strength.

The events of the past few weeks display that in Ecuador the struggle of the Indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian population against national oppression and discrimination combine with the anti-imperialist struggle against the oppression and exploitation by the imperialist countries (in Ecuador, especially against US imperialism), and with the social class struggle of the workers and peasants against the local reaction dependent on imperialism. The mass struggles in Ecuador show once again that the imperialists only appear to have everything under control, that behind this façade, there is seething unrest time and again because the imperialist system is unable to solve its contradictions on its own. They show that, because of the accelerating exploitation and oppression, the wretched of the earth will time and again rise in powerful struggles until the destruction of the criminal imperialist world system."

● The struggles of the workers and peasants in Ecuador – an encouragement for the revolutionary workers and peasants of the whole world!

Then, in a box stretching over two pages, some highlights of the militant mass struggles are presented in chronological order. The leaflet then further comments on the imperialist overlords of the ruling classes of Ecuador

"... The 'top brass' – in Ecuador, these are not only the big landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie, but most of all, also their imperialist overlords. Dominating at present as imperialist exploiter and oppressor is certainly US imperialism ... But certainly also German imperialism will use the opportunity to try to sell itself as the supposedly 'better' alternative to US imperialism, in order to strengthen its own influence there in its rivalry with US imperialism and the other imperialist powers."

● Lessons from the struggles in Ecuador

"The struggles of the workers and peasants in Ecuador have clearly shown that the question of state power and its instruments of power, especially of the army, is the central question of every victorious revolution ... In order to really put the question of power, the whole reactionary state apparatus (the reactionary army, police, administrative apparatus, the courts and the parliaments) must be smashed and replaced by new, revolutionary organs of the dictatorship of the workers in the cities and the countryside, in alliance with the exploited and working masses, a dictatorship which is first of all to serve the suppression of

the former exploiters and the defence against imperialist intervention.

The struggles in Ecuador have also shown with perfect clarity the necessity of a truly revolutionary Communist Party guided by scientific Communism and the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, a party which intervenes in the class struggles and step by step takes the lead, which evaluates and propagates the magnificent successes, but also criticises and fights the half-measures and weaknesses of these struggles and which, in the struggle against the different varieties of revisionism and right-wing opportunism, unmasks and destroys the false friends of the working masses and their bourgeois reformism and pacifism. This is the decisive lever in order to

successfully guide the developing mass struggles and to equip them with the revolutionary perspective of the violent destruction of the state apparatus of the big landlords and compradors of the imperialist powers, and the establishment of a democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants of Ecuador, with the long-termed aim of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The leaflet also contains a topical contribution with the title **"60 days of hunger- and thirst-strike and international solidarity actions force prison administration of German imperialism to lift solitary confinement"**, as well as an overview of the **Roter Presse-spiegel** of November/December 99 with facsimiles from the bourgeois, the democratic/anti-fascist and the opportunist press.



The February/March leaflet of "Gegen die Strömung" dealt with the matter of forced labour under Nazi fascism. In the introduction, the following statement was printed:

**Statement of "Gegen die Strömung" on the just demands
of those who were persecuted by Nazi fascism**

1. *"Gegen die Strömung" supports without reservation the demand of those who were persecuted by Nazi fascism for maximum, at least material, reparation and refers in first place to the unique dimension in the history of the world of the non-'reparable' murder crimes that German imperialism committed on a racist basis and systematically against the Jewish population and the Sinti and Roma, and on a racist-nationalist basis against the peoples assaulted by German imperialism, especially against the peoples of the Soviet Union and the population of Poland, but also and expressly against all other peoples assaulted by it.*

2. *In addition, it is important to point to the, as of yet largely unpunished, crimes committed against the survivors of the persecution, crimes of torture, torment, robbing them their freedom and murdering their family.*

3. *The Nazi fascist regime of German imperialism was not only a murderous regime, but*

was also marked by robbery and murder and rapacious exploitation. Apart from the damages going into the billions which German imperialism inflicted on other countries by material destruction, there was direct plundering, robbery and the squeezing of the working power of millions of deported people which even the term "slave labour" hardly covers appropriately, used for the war of Nazi fascism as well as for the accumulation of riches.

4. *The policy of annihilation and oppression of Nazi fascism employed the method of "divide and rule." The graded methods for the plundering of the human working power, methods which must be distinguished into various temporal stages, start from the so-called "voluntary" foreign workers attracted by mendacious promises, to the deported forced labourers in the countryside who were imprisoned and tormented by a sort of socage, to the slave labour in the KZs by prisoners of war and KZ prisoners, to the systematic annihilation by*

work of large parts of the deported Jewish population as well as of the Sinti and Roma, whose labour power was squeezed for several weeks and months before they were tormented to death and murdered.

5. The historically important Potsdam Agreement obliged those guilty of all these crimes to maximum reparation as far as the material damage was concerned and stressed that not only the German state, but also the German population must not evade these demands. The survival and rising again of German imperialism after the defeat in World War II, the history of the violation of the Potsdam Agreement, the rejection of a peace treaty that would also settle the question of reparations – all this is also the history of the largely rejected just demands of the survivors for material reparation. For more than 50 years, German imperialism proved, by a mixture of denials, direct lies, distortions, juridical finesses and provocative justifications of Nazi fascist crimes, that it is preserving a true continuity between Nazi fascism and the state FRG.

6. "Gegen die Strömung" supports without reservation the just democratic demands for material reparation for all groups of people persecuted by Nazi fascism and sets itself the task of unmasking today's multifaceted manoeuvres of German imperialism which aim to "buy itself freedom" for ridiculous sums that must be seen as advertising costs for an alleged credibility. The most important thing in this is enlightenment about the extent of the crimes of Nazi fascism and the extent of the denial, covering up, playing down and relativisation of these crimes until today.

7. "Gegen die Strömung" stresses that it corresponds with the unshakeable principles of scientific Communism since Marx and Engels that

a) the large working masses share in the guilt unless they don't fight the crimes of the ruling class,

b) before the overthrow of the ruling class, the Communist forces lead the struggle against the ruling class for material reparations for the peoples exploited and mistreated by their "own" state

"The blame for the perfidies carried out in other countries with the help of Germany must be burdened, not only on the governments, but also on a large part of the German people. Without its blindness, its slavish cast of mind, its servility as lansquerent and 'good-natured' henchmen and tools of the masters 'by Grace of God,' the name of Germany would be less hated, condemned and despised abroad..."

(Engels, "German Foreign Policy", "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" no 33, July 3, 1848, Marx/Engels Works [German], vol. 5, p. 155)

"But now behind official Germany, socialist Germany is waiting in the wings, the party to which the future, the near future of the country belongs. As soon as this party takes power, it can neither execute nor even keep this power without making reparations because of the injustices committed by its predecessors in office against other nations."

(Engels, "Socialism in Germany," 1892, Marx/Engels Works [German], vol. 22, p. 253)

c) after the overthrow of the ruling class, the newly established power of the dictatorship of the working class and its socialist government has the duty to make reparations because of the crimes of the predecessor state and the predecessor government – as far as this is possible at all.

These programmatic basic thoughts of Marx and Engels have a special priority for the Communist forces within the big imperialist countries. "Gegen die Strömung," as a force for the building of the Communist Party in a country such as Germany, with its history of crimes committed with a far-reaching complicity of the masses of the working people, among them especially the crimes of Nazi fascism, commits itself to the struggle on this basis side by side with the working class of all countries, especially side by side with all those who were persecuted by Nazi fascism.

Direction of "Gegen die Strömung",
February 2000

In the opening paragraph of the leaflet is said:

"After reports interspersed with anti-Semitic overtones for months, at the end of last year the press announced that a solution had

finally been found and DM 10 thousands of millions would now be made available for the forced labourers who were persecuted by the Nazi regime. Apart from the baseness of this agreement of German imperialism with a huge variety of representatives of the associations of the persecuted, the democratic and Communist forces in Germany face large basic questions: before our eyes, historical injustice turns into today's injustice, and the complicity of the German working class and the other working people in the crimes of Nazi fascism turns into the complicity in tolerating today's actions of German imperialism. And behind this, there is the basic ideological question for the Communist forces in every imperialist state, especially in the big imperialist powers and first of all, in imperialist Germany, of how the Communist-oriented worker's movement and its allies confront the crimes of their "own" ruling class and the complicity in and toleration of these crimes by the working masses."

● **Development and breaks in the application of the Nazi fascist slave worker programme**

Following the marked historical incisions (the time before the start of World War II, from the beginning of World War II to 1941, and finally from the attack on the socialist Soviet Union), the leaflet describes in detail and with numerous facts the application of the graded Nazi fascist slave worker programme: the treatment of the so-called "foreign workers" in Nazi Germany, the deportation and enslavement of the forced labourers from the occupied Western countries, from Poland and the socialist Soviet Union, and finally the slave work of the KZ prisoners.

● **Slave work as part of the Nazi fascist annihilation programme: Jewish prisoners and Sinti and Roma in the Nazi KZs**

In a separate section, actions of resistance by forced labourers, prisoners of war and KZ prisoners are emphasized. Other matters treated further down are:

● **"... perhaps the biggest and most terrible slave enterprise in history..." (from the judgement of the Nuremberg trials)**

● **The complicity of the German workers and the rest of the working masses in the Nazi slave worker system**

"... The thousands of millions in profit that German financial capital squeezed out of the exploitation of the forced labourers in Nazi fascism have largely contributed to the renewed rise of German imperialism after the military destruction of Nazi Germany in 1945, and still form an important reason for the leading role of German criminal corporations like DaimlerChrysler, VW, BASF, Deutsche Bank etc. in the imperialist world market..."

But it was not only the corporations of German imperialism that made – and still make – profits from the enslavement of millions of people, but the whole German population profited from the enslavement, and does so to this very day ... The Communist Party in Germany must create a consciousness in the working class about its complicity in and responsibility for the crimes of German imperialism and must stand up within the working class for maximum future reparations which will be made by the German workers for these crimes of German imperialism..."

Also reprinted in the leaflet are *two justified criticisms that readers made* concerning publications of "Gegen die Strömung" during the last months.

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Bulletin 2/00

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 2000

★ Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Dutch, Spanish and Italian and Russian ★

The April leaflet of "Gegen die Strömung" carried the title:

Arms exports as an essential trait of German imperialism

**"German Weapons, German Money,
Take Part in Murder All Over the World!"**

In its introduction, the leaflet says:

"The number 1 theme of the last months, the corruption by means of so-called 'black accounts' that are available to German politicians from their various bribery deals points quite clearly to one of the great festering sores of the imperialist system: the arms exports. ... Arms exports – especially the legal ones, but of course also the illegal ones – are an essential trait of German imperialism, one of the indictments against German imperialism. All the political parties in the service of German imperialism support and legitimise these exports and are, from a moral point of view, on a level with war criminals and war-mongers – just as the whole system of imperialism is a system run by war criminals and war-mongers. The imperialist war preparation and war-mongering through armament is one of the irrefutable proofs for the necessity of the proletarian revolution against German imperialism ..."

❑ **Death is a master from Germany**

Using ex-Yugoslavia, Turkey, Indonesia, Nigeria, Iran and Iraq as examples, the leaflet goes on with a detailed description of the war-mongering of German imperialism and of the arms exports of the arms factories that have been supplying reactionary and fascist regimes all over the world for decades, in closest co-operation with its politicians, state officials and Bundeswehr (German army) officers.

❑ **Arms exports of German imperialism – struggle against liberation movements of the oppressed peoples and struggle for imperialist spheres of influence**

Apart from the gigantic profits that the business of arms trade yields, the aims of German imperialism are the following:

- *"strengthening counterrevolutionary regimes against the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples,*
- *enlarging of one's own influence and forcing back the influence of other imperialist powers,*
- *fanning the flames and instigating wars, also opening the possibility of integrating comprador armies into the own conceptions of war,*
- *testing one's own weapons systems in 'case of emergency' in order to develop them and to gain knowledge about the arms systems of potential war-time enemies..."*

❑ **Proletarian internationalism and the struggle against arms exports**

"Behind all the discussions about arms exports, there is finally the question of the absurdity of capitalism and imperialism. And from there arises the question of the perspective of a socialist economic order, of the perspective of the suppression of the capitalists and arms ex-

porters, of the perspective of the dictatorship of the proletariat. For in the framework of the capitalist system, these questions cannot be solved by argument nor in real terms anyway. Seen from that angle, the questions concerning arms exports and the corruption that accompanies them are basic questions, questions which in the obvious conclusion contain the necessity of the socialist revolution.

It is important to unmask all crimes German imperialism is committing world-wide and, in the struggle against the damned German arrogance towards other peoples, to develop and construct, step by step, an internationalist solidarity and a joint struggle front especially with the peoples that are exploited and oppressed by German imperialism. This is possible only when the workers as well as the other working people in Germany are mobilised by the revolutionary Communist Party for powerful actions of actually practised international proletarian class solidarity, and if such actions are actually carried out (solidarity strikes, refusal to deliver war materials and to condone military expenditures against other peoples etc.). The struggle of the oppressed peoples against German imperialism must be propagated with all our forces as an important factor aiding the struggle against imperialism here 'in the heart of the beast'.

In this, the Communist Party propagates and struggles for the unconditional liquidation of German capital as well as for the unconditional liquidation of all its positions of political power and military bases in other countries. This is an important programmatic point for the preparation and execution of the armed socialist revolution against German imperialism."

In addition to several highlights of antimilitarist struggles and protest actions of the last years, the leaflet also contains the excerpt "German Militarism" from resolution 3 "Death to German Imperialism, Revanchism and Militarism," from "Rot Front" (Theoretical Organ of "Gegen die Strömung") No 2, July 1996. Among other things, the following is said in this excerpt:

□ The Bundeswehr – murderous machinery to the interior and exterior

"... As an army of civil war inside Germany, the Bundeswehr is the main force of the counter-revolution against uprisings and revolutions,

against the rebellion of the working class and the other working people. Additionally, the Bundeswehr is prepared for civil war in entirely practical terms by systematic training for carrying out operations against revolting workers and youths.

As an army of aggression against other countries, it serves to maintain and expand the exploitative interests of German imperialism; it is an instrument of revanchism and the struggle for world domination, of imperialist war. The Bundeswehr is an army for smashing revolutionary movements in other countries and for the conquest of other countries..."

□ The war- and arms potential of German imperialism

An important role in militarisation is played by the question of nuclear weapons. The fact that the Bundeswehr is designed for the use of nuclear weapons, the ready access to uranium at any time, the potential for expansion of the so-called "nuclear program for the peaceful use of nuclear energy" into the production of nuclear arms, the leading role in the development of the nuclear armament of various dependent countries – all this shows

"... that German imperialism has a de facto power to use nuclear weapons. This is not changed in any way by the fact that it is not officially admitted for reasons of political opportunity."

□ A new stage of military expansion and of military and ideological preparation for war

"... On September 1, 1995, the anniversary of the Nazi assault on Poland, 50 years after the end of World War II, the first direct and open war action of the Bundeswehr has become reality. ... The preparations of the German imperialists for war consists by no means only in military preparation. At present, their primary intent is the preparation of the population for the multifaceted role of the Bundeswehr. In this, the much trumpeted and propagated debates about UN soldiers operations within and outside the 'defense perimeter' of NATO are supposed to attune the population psychologically to the 'emergency case' and to get them used to world-wide action of the German military machine. In this, the propagandists of German imperialism make use of a whole series of demagogic deceptive

manoeuvres in order to hide their real aims behind harmless-sounding catchwords like 'German responsibility' and 'equality of rights' with the other big powers ...

❑ **The militarisation pervades the whole public life**

"... Militarisation is demonstrated by the universal preparation of the working masses for their future use as cannon fodder by means of fanning German chauvinism and racism, by fanning the revanchist cries for 'taking home the lost Eastern areas' and by activating the German ideology, by a superstitious belief in the state, by servility and slavish obedience, the justification of the war crimes of German Nazi fascism during World War II, the propagation of the Bundeswehr as a 'school of the nation', increased militarisation of the enterprises and schools, the ever increasing and ever more open integration of the conscientious objectors into the general planning of war, the preparation of hospitals, the judiciary and general administration for the 'emergency case' of war, 'air-raid drills' and test alarms ..."

❑ **Lead the struggle against all forms of militarism and war preparation, and for the destruction of the Bundeswehr!**

"... The history of all revolutions corroborates the fact that armies such as the Bundeswehr do not disappear all by themselves, and that their elite units, but also other parts of the army will shoot without hesitation at rebellious soldiers or other rebels of their own countries. It is impossible to overcome and eliminate such an army simply by 'convincing' the soldiers solely 'from within'.

Necessary as the – often underestimated – work in the Bundeswehr is in order to gather information about its military strength, about the projected use of the various troops in the revolution, in order to convince soldiers during confrontational situations to desert, and especially, in order to – in Lenin's words – learn 'how to deal with arms', one thing should be clear: Even subversive work in the army can become an important lever in the struggle for the smashing of the army only under the accompanying pressure of armed revolutionary units. The main work in the

smashing of the Bundeswehr can be performed only by the civil war army of the proletariat through the armed uprising."

❑ **The internal relations between imperialism, revanchism and militarism**

"... The concrete historical conditions for the emergence and the development of German imperialism have led, at the same time, to the development and fixation of its basis **peculiarities**. Thus **militarism**, which is a constant feature of every imperialist big power, was shaped into a special form in Germany by its reactionary Prussianism, and was even intensified by the particular aggressivity with which German imperialism, as a 'late-comer' among the imperialist robbers, led the struggle for the violent redistribution of the imperialist spheres of influence. After the defeat in World War I, and especially after the defeat in World War II, the imperialist drive for world domination of German imperialism led to the formation of the typical peculiarity of **German revanchism**. The desire to take revenge for the defeat that had been suffered, to reach the aim of unrestrained domination in Europe and the whole world literally by any means necessary, and the desire to, at the same time and in the interest of world imperialism and as a murderous raiding patrol, deal revolution and Communism a destructive blow - this desire led to the result that all reactionary features of imperialism in general and of everything that is reactionary in German history concentrated in the peculiarity of the most brutal and aggressive form of fascism, namely **Nazi-fascism**, which is unique in history right until the present day on account of its murderous brutality.

On the basis of historical development, the general and particular features of German imperialism are mutually interdependent. German militarism, revanchism and Nazi-fascism emerged and developed ultimately as a means for maintaining the capitalist exploitative order, i. e., for guaranteeing and enforcing the imperialist maximal profits of German monopoly capital. After the emergence of German revanchism as a specific form of German imperialism, revanchism in its turn will culminate in intensified militarism, because the revanchist goals, if at all, can, and will, be reached only by maximal armament- and war efforts, by means of politics that are literally genocidal."

In May–June, the following leaflet appeared:

Against the dirty argument "No violence against the Nazis!"

Those Who Reject Violence Against Nazi-Terror Share the Blame!

"On May 31, the antifascist Falco Lüdke was murdered in Eberswalde by a Nazi. On June 14, Alberto Adriano died in Dessau from the wounds he suffered from a Nazi attack. Even with all these Nazi murders and the mounting daily Nazi terror, there are still people around who ask of us, complaining: 'Beware of all violence!' This gets definitely cynical when proclaimed by the very same bourgeois politicians who protect the Nazi parades with the oppressive apparatus of German imperialism – an apparatus that is itself armed to the teeth."

After a description of the circumstances of the Nazi-murders of Falco Lüdke and Alberto Adriano, of the complicity of police and prosecution as well as of the anti-Fascist protest demonstration against it, the leaflet goes on to say:

□ Argue when possible, strike hard when necessary!

"... Towards Nazis in action, there is no room for discussions, rather, it is absolutely necessary to act, with all consequences and without pity for the murderous gangs. Wherever the Nazis raise their heads, all forces must be combined to organise anti-Fascist self-help together with the refugees, the Jews, the Sinti and Roma and all people who are threatened by Nazi terror. But in the so-called 'nationally liberated zones', too, in the streets, in the schools and enterprises, we must try to hurt the Nazis by striking hard."

The slanderous equation between Nazi terror and anti-Fascist violence draw all those into the mud who fought against Nazi terror: i. e., the Jewish fighters of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, the resistance in France, the armed resistance in the annihilation camps Sobibor, Treblinka and Auschwitz/Birkenau."

□ The answer to the Nazi murders and the Nazi terror: Strike back doubly and triply!

"But all this alone is not yet sufficient. Everywhere where there is a struggle against the Nazi gangs, we can see very quickly how important it is to fight against their ideology,

too. In this, the following is decisive: The ideology of the Nazi movement of today has its roots in the whole system of the Nazi ideology that was official ideology of the state of Germany between 1933 and 1945 and was disseminated among millions of people. And even up until today, there are distinctive elements of the Nazi ideology to be found in the heads and minds of large parts of the German population."

At the same time, we must be aware that Nazi-fascism was only one particular form of the rule of German financial capital, of German imperialism, namely, its 'openly terrorist dictatorship'. Thus, the Nazi ideology is ultimately nothing more than an extraordinarily extremist variety of the ideology of the German bourgeoisie, of German imperialism; German chauvinism, racism, anti-Semitism, racism against Sinti and Roma and anticommunism."

For us Communists, this means: German imperialism has to be defeated and smashed by the violent proletarian revolution. Only on the ruins of the imperialist apparatus of state is it possible to build up the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to keep the toppled bourgeoisie as well as the Nazis and all other reactionaries down. This is the only road leading to the building up of socialism, the only road towards the later erection of the classless society, of Communism."

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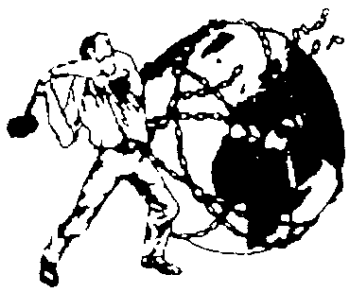
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Bulletin

3/00

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 2000**



Appears quaterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish, Italian, Dutch and Russian



The 6-page July-leaflet of "Gegen die Strömung" carried the title:

Against the distortion of a basic thesis of scientific communism:

"The Working Men Have No Country!"

"Since the nationalist 'reunification frenzy', German chauvinism has been more and more promoted internally and towards the exterior in order to tie an ever stronger bond between the workers and the rest of the working people on one side and the imperialist bourgeoisie – which finds itself in an increasing imperialist rivalry to US-imperialism and other imperialist big powers – on the other.

With the slogan 'Working men of all countries, unite!' the historical birth document of scientific communism, the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' already formulated a declaration of war to nationalism in every form, a declaration that is of enormous significance, especially for us in Germany today. Marx and Engels knew very well that one of the most important manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie to prevent the proletariat from revolution was the appeal to the theme of the 'Fatherland' and of 'patriotism'. Marx and Engels noted: 'The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.' The answer that Marx and Engels gave to this demagogic bourgeois reproach in 1848 has been discussed time and again during the history of the communist world movement and is still a red rag to opportunists and nationalists."

■ **"... We cannot take from them what they have not got."**

For one thing, this answer by Marx and Engels makes clear that with its appeal to patriotism, the bourgeoisie tries to obscure the decisive point:

Who has the power in the state, and in the economy? To whom does the country belong? But they didn't stop with this comment, as the leaflet goes on to elaborate:

"... because the aim of the communist forces is the destruction of the power of the imperialist bourgeoisie world-wide and, under the leadership of the international proletariat, to build world communism where there will be no exploitation and oppression, no states, no nations and nationalities anymore ..."

■ **"... the inland as the immediate scenery of this struggle"**

"Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie."

(Marx/Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", 1848, Peking 1977, p. 47)

The demagogic manoeuvres of the chauvinists towards a nationalist interpretation of this core thesis of Marx and Engels must be fought with maximal theoretical trenchancy as well as with the necessary revulsion. For that, the following aspects are of significance:

● *"'first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie' – that means that the main enemy of the communist forces is to be found in their 'own' country, nowhere else. The working field and the responsibility of the communist forces of a country is primarily the struggle for the*

destruction of the reactionary state apparatus of one's own main enemy, in the violent proletarian revolution and the erection of the dictatorship of the proletariat in their 'own' country..."

● "‘first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie’ – that means that the struggle in one's 'own' country is the top priority in terms of location, but not at all in term of time or importance ... Rather, for Marx and Engels it was obvious that the deciding factor of the Communist Party must not be the question about what is best for the revolutionary process in the particular country. Rather, the primary yardstick, the deciding factor of their actions must be whether a particular measure in one's own country primarily serves to promote the proletarian world revolution, whether it is to its benefit or not ..."

● "The 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' further says:

'Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the national class (English edition of 1888: 'must rise to be the leading class of the nation', note by GdS), must constitute itself as the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.'

(Marx/Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", 1848, Peking 1977, p. 56)

'Though not in the bourgeois sense of the word' – this accent by Marx and Engels is of extraordinary significance for all debates and struggles against nationalism. Responsibility for one's 'own' country without and against the bourgeoisie also means that the working class takes over the responsibility for the imperialist crimes committed in the name of this country against other peoples with the support and toleration of the majority of the population, including even large parts of the workers. This also shows that a phoney radical rejection of such a 'national' form of class struggle under the pretext of the ideological struggle against patriotism and nationalism turns into a reactionary stance, for example, when the responsibility for reparations for the crimes of Nazi-fascism is rejected, directly or indirectly."

In a separate section "***The working men have no country!***" – and the working women?" the leaflet goes into the problem of the original formulation of Marx and Engels in which the male form "working men" is used as a synonym for the working class as

a whole. The text further elaborates:

■ **The struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat and the "Fatherland"**

"The struggle of the Communist Party against the ideology of the 'Fatherland' and of 'patriotism' is also essential in order to approach the alliance partners of the proletariat in the right way, partners that in contrary to the proletariat do not exist as an international class. Rather, we are confronted with various parts of the petty bourgeoisie ... which, in accord with its history and its conditions of existence, ... is particularly receptive to the 'patriotic' chauvinistic incendiary slogans of the imperialist bourgeoisie. If the communist forces do not take into account and fight this tendency in the correct manner, this means to abandon the petty-bourgeois current – which also exists within the proletariat – to the reactionary demagogues and to evade the struggle against the chauvinist ideology ..."

But the Communist Party must know very clearly, right from the start, that it can and will get into immediate confrontation with petty-bourgeois nationalist currents, not only on the ideological plain but sometimes also in an immediate practical and political sense ..."

■ **The revolutionary traditions in Germany and the struggle against German chauvinism**

"The tasks of the Communist Party in Germany concerning the topic of the national question are without a doubt 'negative' tasks. We must elaborate that the appeal to the 'national feelings' of the Germans is an appeal to reactionary and imperialist basic positions in Germany that are the products of its history ..."

When we propagate the revolutionary traditions of the revolutionary movement in Germany, one thing must be clear from the start: The aim of such a defense cannot and must not be, neither subjectively nor objectively, to qualify the main aspect, namely the reactionary history of Germany as a country that commits imperialist aggressions and crimes and that exploits and oppresses other peoples up to genocide.

... In this, it is especially important to relate to the traditions – certainly much too weak but nevertheless existing – of internationalist, anti-chauvinist struggles, e.g., the internationalist

struggle of the Spartacus league under the leadership of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht during World War I or the solidarity movement under the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany KPD for the support of the revolution in China in the twenties.

Everywhere where the justified hint to the revolutionary struggles of the exploited in Germany can serve the evaluation of the fighting experiences, the support of the readiness for the struggle today, it is correct, important, and even indispensable – not in order to develop ‘German national consciousness’, but in order to create a proletarian consciousness about all aspects of the history of the ‘German nation’ ...

But everywhere where the reference to the undeniable achievements of the struggles of the oppressed classes in the history of Germany is used to cover up the real results of these struggles or even to defend ‘the German nation’ as a whole against supposedly false attacks, we must lead an uncompromising struggle against this variety of nationalism ...”

The introduction of a separate section called “KPD resp. SED (Socialist United Party of Germany, GDR) after 1945: No declaration of war to German nationalism” says:

“We have to survey and investigate all writings of the labour movement in Germany, of the SPD (Social-Democratic Party of Germany) of Bebel, the KPD and SED, and also all the writings of progressive-democratic forces from Heine to Tucholsky to Brecht directed against German nationalism, in order find out how much they succeeded in fighting German nationalism and chauvinist from its very roots...”

After this, the leaflet gives an extract from Rot Front No. 8/9/10 on the evaluation of the history of the KPD resp. SED after 1945. In a further separate section under the title “Aspects of the history of the national question”, the leaflet, with the help of ex-

amples, elaborates four categories of historical situations where the national factor played a justified role within democratic or revolutionary movements. The leaflet then goes on to say:

■ ***In the imperialist big power Germany, “Fatherland” is a slogan of the imperialist bourgeoisie***

“... We have to state with total clarity that today’s Germany is not nationally oppressed, that in Germany no justified German-national democratic movement can exist, since Germany is an imperialist big power, exploits and oppresses other peoples and is in no way oppressed and occupied by its imperialist rivals ...

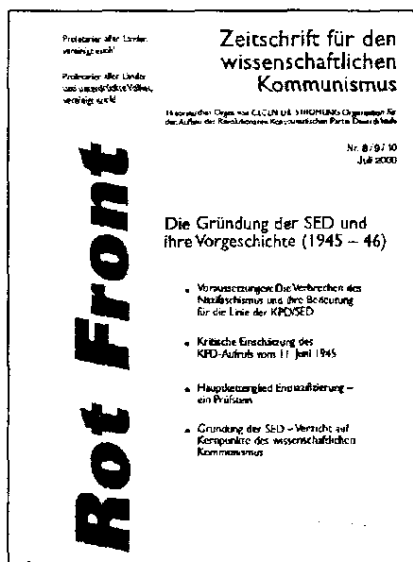
The demagoguery with which, of all people, this imperialist bourgeoisie carries words like ‘fatherland’ and ‘home land’ in its mouth must be unmasked by the Communist Party by all means available – and offensively, not defensively.

... The Communist Party itself will under no circumstances resort to the use of nationalist catchphrases under the pretext of gradually breaking loose parts of the nationalistically incited population from the imperialist ideology and of winning over the best forces of the working class for the proletarian revolution. Under no circumstances must the Communist Party enter into a competition about who is the

‘better patriot.’ On the contrary, it must always be prepared for a life-and-death struggle against the bourgeois-nationalist ideology.

“... The majority of the male and female workers will, under the leadership of their Communist Party by their own experiences in mass struggles through years and decades, become convinced of the fact that nationalism and chauvinism in whatever form are incompatible with their objective class interests, and that therefore, they have to make a radical break with both in order to actually gather all their strength for making the maximal contribution to the realisation of the slogan ‘Working men of all countries, unite!’”

New:



The founding of the SED and the events leading to it (1945-46)
Available only in German, 708 pg., DM 50,-

The July-Leaflet of "Gegen die Strömung" carried the title:

Bomb attack in Düsseldorf:

The Anti-Semitic Terror of the Nazis Has Systematic Character!

"German anti-Semitism is different from the one in the rest of the world in that it is not the private property of an individual but a legitimate twin brother of German imperialism." These were the words, spoken on October 24, 1949, shortly after the founding of the FRG, by the rabbi of the state of Hessen Wilhelm Weinberg. They were trenchant and basically entirely correct, because even then, there were continuous anti-Semitic attacks – played down as 'boy's pranks' – against the Jews living in Germany. The bombing on July 27, 2000 in Düsseldorf-Wehrhahn against immigrant Jews from the former Soviet Union is but the culmination of an uninterrupted series of systematic ideological incitement and assaults ..."

■ **Anti-Semitism as the racist core of German nationalism**

"Anti-Semitism was not only an integral point of the program of the Nazi-fascist state, but also of the whole politics of German imperialism even since its embryonic stage. German imperialism has worked out the form of German racist nationalism as the ideological pillar of the state, up to the program of the annihilation of the Jewish population, something that had always been propagated by the main ideologues of the 'German nation' since the days of 'Turnvater Jahn', the 'father of gymnastics', Ernst-Moritz Arndt and Hoffmann von Fallersleben ..."

■ **"The Jew" is disturbing German imperialism in its plans**

"... The survivors of the genocide are made responsible for the fact that time and again, the program of rehabilitating Germany before the world is disturbed, for the fact that there is still a demand for reparations. They are even blamed for their rejection to participate, as the surviving witnesses of the crimes of German imperialism, in the state-supporting babble about a 'final stroke', that they are not ready to participate in the program of 'looking away' and 'forgetting.'"

In a separate section called **"Fight anti-Semitism"**, there is an extract from resolution 3 of the Second Party Conference of "Gegen die Strömung" under

the title "Death to German imperialism, revanchism and chauvinism!" Also reprinted there is a *chronology of the anti-Semitic* terror in West Germany resp. Germany after 1945. The leaflet further says:

■ **Worsening of anti-Semitism during the last years**

"... After the Roma in Rostock, the Vietnamese in Hoyerswerda, the people from Turkey in Mölln and Solingen, the people from Africa in Lübeck, after a campaign of incitement lasting for years against the forced labourers concerning the topic of reparations, and once again, after a whole series of assaults against cemeteries, synagogues and Jewish memorial places (assaults that rarely met with real protests), the Jewish people themselves have now become the targets of the Nazis.

It is therefore important to assess the advance of the Nazi movement in close connection with the politics and propaganda of the state and of the politicians of German imperialism quite generally. After 10 years of 'German unity', German imperialism has once again manifested its role als an imperialist big power militarily (namely in Kosova), and is in the process of getting rid of the last remains of its historical 'ballast'. 'The Jew disturbs', 'the Jew must be silenced or got rid of' – that is indeed the program of German imperialism."

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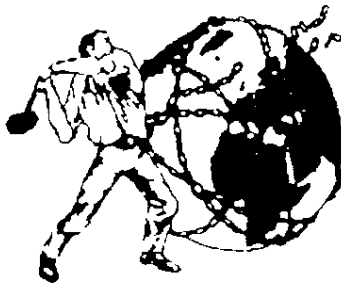
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Bulletin

4/00

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: September–December 2000



Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish, Italian, Dutch and Russian



The September/October leaflet of "Gegen die Strömung" carried the title:

10 years of "German unity":

The Nazi Terror from Hoyerswerda to Düsseldorf

"Under the slogan of the 'reunification of the German nation', the German imperialists have fanned the flames of a nationalistic-chauvinistic pogrom atmosphere unheard of during the last decades, culminating in the terror in Hoyerswerda and Rostock, Mölln and Solingen, Magdeburg, Lübeck and Düsseldorf. The chauvinist and racist hate campaign, the assaults against and murders of people the Nazis call 'un-German' have accelerated massively since that time and have become daily routine. It is of decisive importance to evaluate the advance of the Nazi movement in close connection with the politics and propaganda of the state and of the politicians of German imperialism as a whole. The latter has, after 10 years of German unity, once again manifested its role as an imperialist big power, not only in civil, but also in military terms, especially by its participation in the imperialist aggression against Yugoslavia. Also by the methods the German imperialists used to carry through the annexation of the GDR, they demonstrated the enormous potential of German nationalism and chauvinism they are able to mobilise in a relatively short period of time, even right inside supposedly 'left-progressive' circles. The unmasking of the connection between the deportation terror of the state, the Nazi terror, the protection of the Nazis by the police and the courts, hate campaigns by the politicians and the media against refugees, Roma etc. is important to develop, against the habituation to these damned German conditions and in unswerving solidarity with all victims of the Nazi terror and the repression by the state – given the background of the mounting aggressiveness of German imperialism – a

long-term struggle, not only against the effects of these German conditions, but also for the violent destruction of German imperialism, militarism and revanchism in the proletarian revolution."

The rise of the Nazi terror since 1990 is described in detail in the leaflet's section "*Seven stages of the Nazi terror from Hoyerswerda to Düsseldorf*"

1. Pogrom in Hoyerswerda: Against Vietnamese and Mozambique workers (September 1991)
2. Pogrom in Mannheim-Schönau: Against refugees (May/June 1992)
3. Pogrom in Rostock: Against Roma and Vietnamese (August 1992)
4. Arson attacks in Mölln and Solingen: Against Turkish migrants (November 1992, May 1993)
5. Man-hunt in Magdeburg: Against refugees from Africa (May 1994)
6. Racist arson attack in Lübeck: Against refugees from Africa (January 1996)
7. Arson and bomb attacks in Lübeck and Düsseldorf: Against the Jewish population (March 1994, May 1995, July 2000)

Later on, in the section "*The result of Nazi terror from 1990 to 2000*", the leaflet says:

"Since the beginning of the 1990s – not by accident at the same time when the 'German unity' was made – a general climate had come into existence in this country that allowed for the sy-

stematic execution of night-raids all over the country. This was only possible through a co-operation between legal Nazi organisations and small-scale illegal Nazi groups. ... In this atmosphere and situation, the Nazis are able to execute their terror even in open daylight, at tube stations, in the streets and parks, and to dangerously wound and murder their victims.

More than 100 people were murdered by the Nazis since 1990. The number of the wounded is even several times higher than that. Every single day, dozens of Nazi crimes are committed in Germany. Not only murders and arson attacks, but daily jostles, verbal abuses and beatings with a clear racist background have also increased enormously. And increasingly, the Nazi terror is directed against all people considered as 'un-German' by the Nazis, against, 'foreigners', people with a different colour of the skin, Jewish People, but also against the handicapped, homeless, and of course against leftists, trade unionists, people who demonstrate their solidarity with the refugees etc.

Practically every week, the various Nazi organisations mobilise several hundreds to a thousand Nazis to demonstrations and rallies that are made possible and carried through by enormous numbers of police as well as court decisions. ...

In the course of these ten years, the Nazis have also succeeded in establishing, primarily on the territory of the former GDR, real 'Nazi zones' where their more or less permanent mastery is not the exception but the rule, where for dark-skinned people, refugees etc., it is almost impossible to stay or move halfway safely."

Following the section "Nazis, state and media – hand in hand", there is another one "*Experiences, tasks and perspectives in the struggle against the Nazis, against the state-organised creeping fascism and against German imperialism as a whole*". In this section, the following comments are made:

"... The significance and importance of openly Nazi-fascist movements and the terror executed by these has increased enormously during the past years. Without giving away even one millimetre in the struggle against the Nazis



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II. Nazis, State and Media

III. Actions Against the Nazis

Appendix: *Chronology 10 Years of Nazi-Terror*

themselves, we must establish clarity about the fact that the accelerating creeping fascism is organised primarily by the state of the German imperialists, that the main bearer of the Nazi-fascist ideology and of openly terrorist acts is no other than the capitalist social system in Germany as a whole ...

In this, the reality of Nazi mass movement shows that the civil war is pre-programmed: The struggle for socialism and communism will not be a struggle of 99,9 % of the population against a mere 0,1 %. Even if we can, in long and difficult struggles, succeed in mobilising the majority of the working class for the struggle against Nazism and capitalism, the forces of counterrevolution will not consist only of the Bundeswehr (German army), the police, the judiciary and the press. It is foreseeable that a Nazi-fascist mass movement will also be an important and bloody weapon of counterrevolution through all phases of the struggle.

It is our task to integrate the struggle for the defense of democratic rights against state-organised creeping fascism and against the Nazi gangs and parties into and subordinate it to the struggle for the preparation and execution of the socialist revolution for the overthrow of the present social order, for the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat over the overthrown bourgeoisie, their Nazis and all reactionaries, using this dictatorship as instrument for the annihilation of capitalism and for the building of socialism and communism."

In November/December, "Gegen die Strömung" published the ten-page leaflet:

100 years of German imperialism: 100 years of robbery and murder!

The Massacres of the German Militarists in China in 1900

"A hundred years ago, China was attacked by the German imperialists under Emperor Wilhelm II, together with other imperialists. The rebellion of the Yihotuan movement, the so-called 'Boxer Rebellion' of anti-imperialist forces against the European and Japanese exploiters, was put down in streams of blood. The German imperialists demanded their share in the cake in China. And they wanted to demonstrate to the world that the German military could always surpass the other imperialists without any problems.

Everybody who wants to practise real solidarity with the enslaved popular masses in China has to know this historical background. Everybody who really wants to prepare the socialist revolution in Germany has to know the enemy, German imperialism, including all of its past and present history, in order to be able to fight it efficiently. Everyone who really wants this is obliged to tear the mask of the supposed 'change' and 'improvement' from German imperialism's face and to point to as well as denounce the continuities of German imperialism from 1900 to today. To reach the aim to finally break the murderous continuity of German imperialism by enlightenment in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, side by side with the revolutionary working class and the revolutionary movements of all countries."

■ The imperialist conquest and exploitation of China

China was a preferred area for the German imperialists who pursued the goal of getting for themselves a slice of this gigantic cake, primarily against English imperialism, but also against the other imperialist big powers.

■ The revolutionary uprising of the Yihotuan movement

"... The main reason for the revolutionary uprising in Northern China in the year 1900 was the increasing colonialist-imperialist oppression by all the imperialist big powers that had been continually

extended and intensified during the ten years that preceded the uprising."

Emergence of the resistance movement in the province Shantung under the rule of German imperialism

"'Death to the imperialists!' was the main slogan of the rebel Yihotuan movement that spread to all of Northern China during the great drought in the spring of 1900. ... In May 1900, the Yihotuan finally advanced towards Beijing, there, the biggest common bastion of the imperialist oppressors was located."

Punishment for the Prussian-militarist arrogance: The execution of the German envoy Ketteler

"Ketteler was one of the most repugnant figures of German imperialism in China. Arrogant and megalomaniac at the same time, he had succeeded in inspiring hatred throughout Beijing as the embodiment of the reactionary German-imperialist master race mentality. ... In his colonialist arrogance he fell prey to the erroneous idea that never ever would a Chinese dare to point his arms against him, let alone succeed in doing so. Consequently, right in the middle of the battles on June 20, 1900, he had himself carried out of the ambassadorial neighbourhood in a sedan and was then even surprised when the revolutionary rebels called him to account and served him with a bullet in his head."

■ Imperialist "punitive expeditions" under German Supreme Command

German imperialism took the execution of Ketteler in June 1900 as a pretext to send enormous contingents of troops to China to smash the resistance movement and to extend its colonial properties. With chauvinist-racist war mongering about the "yellow peril" (the words of Emperor Wilhelm II), the imperialists stirred the mood for a war and put together an allied imperialist military force of 87,000 men (among them 20,000 German troops).

The "hun speech" of Emperor Wilhelm II and its practical execution by the German soldiery: Rape, robbery and murder

In the speeches of the German Emperor Wilhelm II, apart from chauvinism, militarism of German-Prussian character is particularly outstanding. In his infamous "hun speech", he swore the German soldiers to their "mission" in China as following:

"No pardon to anybody, don't take any prisoners. ... thus, the name 'German' must be confirmed by you in China for a thousand years in such a manner that never ever again will a Chinese dare to even give a German a dirty look."

The German militarists are proud of their atrocities

It turned out very soon that the chauvinist incendiary slogans had succeeded in working the German soldiery into the 'right mood.' In so-called "punitive expeditions" they burned, raped, murdered and robbed. Their brutality was indescribable, the "joy" in cruelties was characteristic for German militarism.

"Balance sheet" of the imperialist crimes against the popular masses in China

"... There are no exact data on the overall number of victims. But it is quite sure that tens of thousands Chinese men, women and children were murdered and massacred. ... Northern China, the capital Beijing and the other big cities were in part destroyed and totally plundered, innumerable villages had been robbed and burned down, and streets, bridges, railroads were destroyed ...!"

After the section "Gagging 'peace treaty' for the further plunder of China by the imperialists", the leaflet says:

■ Co-operation of the imperialists as the first step for increased imperialist rivalry

"... The imperialists had acted together in China because none of them trusted the other and each of them wanted to keep the others stalled. Even the seemingly stable alliances of the imperialists for the subjugation of particular countries could not – as World War I showed –

erase the basic law of imperialist competition and of the inevitability of imperialist wars under imperialism."

■ The particular aggressiveness of German imperialism

"Despite all its common traits with the other imperialists, the emergence of German imperialism, its military intervention in China, has also clearly shown its peculiarities: its particular aggressiveness, the mentality and desire to be seen as the most brutal imperialist force of all and to even outdo the other imperialist powers with unimaginable atrocities. This peculiarity was the birth hour of that aggressive, late-coming imperialist robber whose atrocities in China were later, especially in World War II, once again put into practice, carrying on the tradition of German militarism in all the countries assaulted and invaded by Germany ...

On a yet 'small' scale, German imperialism had demonstrated, at the core of its politics and its actions in China, it continued and increased several years later in Africa against the Herero and other peoples in Namibia, and that became even clearer after 1939: extreme militarist brutality, paired with an desire to rob and to kill, as well as an unleashed soldiery that stopped at nothing in committing their crimes.

The Communist forces in today's Germany must, as one of their first and primary tasks, consciously elaborate the full history of all the crimes of German imperialism, in the full consciousness that this enemy can really be annihilated only by means of the socialist revolution."

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Bulletin

1/01

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 2001**



Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish, Italian, Dutsch and Russian



In January, „Gegen die Strömung“ published the following leaflet:

Without yielding even one millimetre in the struggle against the Nazis - strengthen the struggle against governmental deportation terror and creeping fascism in general!

Against State Terror!

„One experience made time and again in the anti-Nazi struggle is the following: all forms of really committed struggle against the Nazis are immediately confronted with the state apparatus. The state apparatus always stands right in the way of the opponents of the Nazis, encircles, arrests and terrorises them and even criminalises whole organisations and networks of resistance against the Nazi-fascists ... It is exactly this comprehensive and systematic character of state terror that leads us to conclude: the creeping fascism organised by the state is the most important dimension of today's reactionary terror, and the struggle against the Nazis can be successful only on the condition that it is combined with the struggle against the creeping fascism of the state, a form of fascism that is directed primarily against the refugees and the democratic and revolutionary forces.

We have to discuss how it is possible for us to combine the struggle against the Nazis and the creeping fascism of the state into a unitary democratic struggle against German imperialism. For this, it is not only necessary to have a clear idea of the co-operation between the Nazis and the German state, but it is equally important to correctly assess the present extent of the creeping fascism of the state, as well as the prospects that it will get even worse. In short: we have to know our enemies really well in order to be able to fight them effectively!”

■ Murderous governmental deportation terror against refugees

The ever worsening murderous Nazi-terror is also primarily directed against the refugees. But the German state apparatus with its state-organised murderous terror is the main actor against the refugees: by the policy of compulsive visa and the militarised border regime, by the insecure, short-termed residential status and the ever-impending deportations, by the aggravation of the special laws against people from other countries, by the degrading treatment in containers and mass camps, by the brutal maltreatment by the chauvinistically incited German police and border police, by murderous deportation practices, by the direct transfer to the torturers and henchmen of other reactionary states. The leaflet further says:

“By all means and by the accompanying chauvinist incitement, the German imperialist German state executes the “out-with-the-foreigners”-policy in gigantic dimensions and, at the same time, prepares the soil for the Nazi terror. The state terror against refugees must be seen in connection with the permanent aggravation of the creeping fascism of the state in the course of the last years.”

■ Stages of creeping fascism of the state

The leaflet elaborates the following stages of the creeping fascism of the state since the beginning of the nineties: aggravation of the racist special laws against „foreigners“ and the de-facto elimination of the „right to asylum“, intensification of the repression of democratic and revolutionary organisations from other countries, suppression by means of state

repression of democratic actions directed against the institutions or terror practices of the state, criminalisation of the uncompromising democratic and revolutionary resistance, the banning of democratic and revolutionary press organs, the extension of the legal possibilities for the persecution and repression of democratic and revolutionary forces by imposing constraints on the rights of defendants in criminal trials, the „Great Eavesdrop“, etc., and even open executions as in the case of Wolfgang Grams (a fighter of the RAF) by the elite unit GSG-9 on June 27, 1993 or of the fifteen-year-old Halim Dener, who was shot in the back by the police on the first July 1994 when he placarded posters for the liberation struggle of the Kurdish people. After a section **“The state apparatus of German imperialism - instrument for the defense of its class rule,”** the leaflet goes on to say:

■ **Let's lead the democratic struggle against all forms of exploitation and oppression by German imperialism**

“...It is a big problem that these important actions and struggles are being led separately from each other, that there few or no contacts between the anti-Nazi groups and the democratic forces who are fighting against the state-organised deportation terror and against the creeping fascism of the state, let alone to the struggle of the progressive workers in the plants or to the democratic groups that are fighting against other crimes of German imperialism such as its arms exports.

The strengthening and radicalisation, and even the combination of these struggles into a unitary, militant, internationalist-democratic struggle against German imperialism and all its departments, together with all those persecuted by the Nazis, with the democratic and revolutionary forces from other countries who live and work here in Germany - all this has to be started and carried through against the appeasement policy of all opportunistic forces, and primarily in the struggle against the damned German chauvinism. In this, we have to combine legal and illegal forms of struggle in a smart and imaginative way.”

■ **Perspective of the proletarian revolution for communism**

„It is one of the most common errors within various organisations viewing themselves as ‘revolutionary-anti-fascist’ that - since capitalism forms the root of Nazi-fascism - the struggle against the Nazis will develop, so to speak, ‘spontaneously,’ ‘automatically’ into the struggle for the proletarian revolution. The real task, namely, to consciously establish this relationship, is thus ‘skipped.’ It is in our view most important, in the face of a large variety of tasks, to separate very clearly the following things in order to be able to connect and combine them: the necessary tasks in the democratic struggle from the long-term, autonomous tasks of the preparation and execution of the socialist revolution; and also the work for the building of the Communist Party on an illegal basis, by combining the legal with the illegal struggle, from the tasks in the struggle against the Nazis and the creeping fascism of the state.

Socialist revolution primarily means that in the civil war against the Bundeswehr and all armed departments of the bourgeoisie, the whole bourgeois state apparatus must be destroyed and the bourgeoisie has to be overthrown. After the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, our task is to erect the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to suppress the overthrown bourgeoisie, which will desperately try to regain its former power by whatever means possible. Without revolutionary violence, without the use of arms and prisons, the reactionary forces cannot be suppressed and destroyed. Without the erection and strengthening of the dictatorship, socialism and then communism, the social order without exploitation and oppression, cannot be erected!

Today, the first and most important thing to do is the struggle for the building of a Revolutionary Communist Party that carries the necessary consciousness and organisation into the working class. For in is only in this way that the power, the hatred and the determination can develop that are necessary to destroy the whole damned system of German imperialism in the armed proletarian revolution.”



100 years of German imperialism

100 years of robbery and murder

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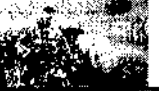
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Der Völkermord der deutschen Imperialisten
in Afrika an den Völkern der Herero und Nama!




**100 Jahre deutscher Imperialismus
100 Jahre Raub und Mord**

1914-1918:
Mit der Entfesselung des imperialistischen
1. Weltkriegs greift der deutsche Imperialismus
anrmaße nach der Weltherrschaft!



**100 Jahre deutscher Imperialismus
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1939-1945:
Der nazifaschistische Völkermord an der
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**Nichts vergeben, nichts vergessen!
Tod dem deutschen Imperialismus,
Militarismus und Revanchismus!**

**100 Jahre deutscher Imperialismus
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1918/19:
Niedermetzlung der revolutionären Kämpfe der
Arbeiterinnen und Arbeiter durch die
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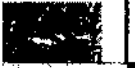
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**Der deutsche Militarismus -
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1914 / 1918 / 1919 / 2000
Der deutsche Imperialismus - Dreifach des
revolutionären Völkermordes

Verdammung 1937
Militärische Intervention des deutschen Imperialismus in
Spanien

1939
Angriff des deutschen Imperialismus gegen
Polen



**Nichts vergeben, nichts vergessen!
Tod dem deutschen Imperialismus,
Militarismus und Revanchismus!**


Verdammung 1937
Militärische Intervention des deutschen Imperialismus in
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1939
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**100 years of German imperialism
100 years of robbery and murder**

**1904-1907:
Genocide Committed Against
the Herero and Nama by German Imperialists
in Africa**

- According to estimates, of the 80,000 Herero, only 15,130 and of the about 20,000 Nama, 9781 survived the massacre done by the German imperialists in formerly so-called „German South West Africa“, nowadays Namibia.
- Most of the Herero killed - Children, women, men and the elderly - were murdered by cutting them from all water sources, forcing them to die from thirst in the desert of Omaheke. 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 prison camps at the cold and wet coast of the Atlantic Ocean where thousands of them died.
- The Herero and Nama didn't let the Germans massacre them defencelessly, but resisted for three years. By means of guerrilla tactics, the rebellious Herero and Nama were able to give temporary severe strikes against the German troops.



Railway transport of imprisoned Herero. A part of the survivors was packed together in German prison camps and died there of hunger and disease

"The Germans spared no-one. They killed thousands upon thousands. I have seen this slaughter day after day."
(The supreme political representative of the Herero under oath)

"I, the great General of the German soldiers, herewith send this letter to the people of the Herero. The Herero aren't German subjects anymore ... The people of the Herero must now leave the country. If the people doesn't do this, I will force it to do so by means of the big barrel. Within the German borders, every Herero, with or without gun, with or without cattle, will be shot dead. I don't accept any women and any children here anymore; I shall drive them back to their people or shall give orders to shoot at them. These are my words to the people of the Herero."
(Order of the German general von Trotha of October 1904, addressing to the Herero after slaughtering down the rebellion)

"The waterless Omaheke was to complete what German weapons had begun: The annihilation of the Herero people ..."
(The German General Staff, 1904)

**Remember everything!
Death to German imperialism,
militarism and revanchism !**

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1st edition, Jan. 2001

2/15

Dresden, Herausgeber und Verleger: Wilhelm Reichowen & Oskar-Koenig, Vertrieb: für Internationale Literatur, Buchladen, 8, 10459 Berlin

Topic of the February/March leaflet was the struggle of the prisoners in Turkey. It contained an extract from the brochure "The Struggle of the Democratic and Revolutionary Prisoners in Turkey 2000/2001 Continues!" published by the "Spartakus"-Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Turkey and "Gegen die Strömung"

How the murderous Turkish state tries to drown the struggle of the prisoners in blood

The Struggle of the Democratic and Revolutionary Prisoners in Turkey Continues!

„The bourgeois media largely suppressed the fact that at present, in Turkey more than 2.000 democratic and revolutionary prisoners take part in the hunger strike begun on October 20, 2000, and that more than 600 of them take part in an intensified hunger strike. On December 19, day 61 of their hunger strike, early in the morning about 8.500 heavily armed soldier simultaneously stormed 20 prisons in order to smash the resistance of the democratic and revolutionary prisoners. The capitulation or annihilation of the prisoners was also intended to serve as an example addressed to the progressive forces "on the outside". During this bloody massacre, 32 comrades were murdered, hundreds of them were wounded, in part severely. But nevertheless the murderous Turkish state failed to reach its goal, namely, to smash the resistance of the fighting prisoners.

Only after five days, on December 23, the henchmen of the Turkish state succeeded, thanks to being armed to the teeth, to make their way to the last of the of the comrades, who were physically extremely weakened by the hunger strike (that had already lasted for weeks), emaciated by lack of sleep, but still firmly determined to win ...

After the massacre, the Turkish minister of justice reported to his imperialist overlords in Berlin, and after this, at the headquarters of the German Federal Criminal Bureau BKA. The strengthening of the solidarity with the fighting prisoners by the revolutionary forces in Germany is of particular importance not least because of the fact that German imperialism is one of the main puppeteers of the terror regime in Turkey, because it is in large part responsible for the murder of the 32 comrades."

■ A massacre planned long before

After a description of the struggle of the prisoners and of the massacre carried out by the Turkish state, the leaflet deals with the F-type prisons in the terror-

ist Turkish prison system and the continuing resistance of the prisoners. The leaflet further says:

■ Valuable experiences from the heroic struggle of the democratic and revolutionary prisoners

"...The experiences of the last years and decades have shown that the prisons in Turkey are not only the scene of horrendous torture, but also the locus of innumerable actions of resistance and struggles of democratic and revolutionary prisoners ... Our present task of evaluating the experiences of this last battle is especially important for the revolutionary forces of the whole world with respect to the future struggles in the dungeons of imperialism and its lackeys."

The democratic and revolutionary prisoners were prepared for the attack of the Turkish state and developed a real defense plan:

- *"They procured detailed site plans of the prisons, determined other wings as retreats in order to minimise the effects of the gas and smoke bombs that were put to use just as expected..."*

- *In this case it was of the utmost importance to keep contact to the world outside. Even for the retreat to other wings, the prisoners planned to take with them their own radio or TV in order to get information about the state of the struggles in other prisons. Of equal importance was to keep contact to the prisoners in the other wings by shouting slogans or singing revolutionary songs.*

- *A further component of the defense plan were the night watches who had the task to warn the other comrades in time against attacks.*

- *Against the poisoning by gas bombs, the prisoners manufactured gas masks made of plastic bottles.*

- *They hoarded blankets that were drenched with water during the attack and were intended to*

serve as a protection against the flames from the flame throwers and the incendiary bombs.

- Also very important was the procurement of materials like furnace coal, chairs, cupboards and beds that could be used for building barricades.

- Also of importance was the production of the prisoner's own weapons. Thus, the prisoners made iron bars out of bed frames; natural gas containers were used as flame throwers, arrows and projectiles."

■ German imperialism - one of the main puppeteers and overlords of the ruling classes of the Turkish state

The oppression of the revolutionary movement and the Kurdish national liberation movement is entirely in the interest of German imperialism, in the interest of safeguarding its economic, political and military goals. German imperialism has a direct share of responsibility for the murder of the 32 comrades:


- "The struggle of the prisoners was directed against the introduction of nothing else than the German export hit 'Modell Stammheim.' Based on its own 'experience', German imperialism had a leading part in the planning and execution of the F-type prisons in Turkey...

- During the storming of the prisons and the massacre of the fighting prisoners, bombs, tanks and excavators were used that were produced in part by German firms.

- How bloodstained the hands of German imperialism are is demonstrated by the fate of Ali Ishan Ozkan, who was murdered during the storming of the Turkish prisons. He was deported from Bavaria in 1992 by German imperialism. One year later, he was arrested in the Turkish town of Corum because of his political activities ... during his stay in Germany; two years later in Turkey, he was sentenced to 12 years in prison

because of alleged support of the TKP(ML) ... When the reactionary Turkish regime ordered the storming of the prisons, Ali Ishan Ozkan had been on hunger strike for 61 days. On December 19, 2000, he was burnt alive in the Turkish prison of Bursa.

The workers in Germany, all really democratic and anti-imperialist forces have the duty to support in a spirit of solidarity the struggle of the peoples who are being exploited and oppressed on the national territory of Turkey, for their liberation, against the comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal lords and against world imperialism. This struggle is also directed against their 'own,' imperialism, i.e., German imperialism that is promoting exploitation and oppression of the toiling masses in the Turkish state and that has become one of the main puppeteers and overlords of the ruling classes of the Turkish state!"



Bulletin

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• Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish, Italian and Russian •

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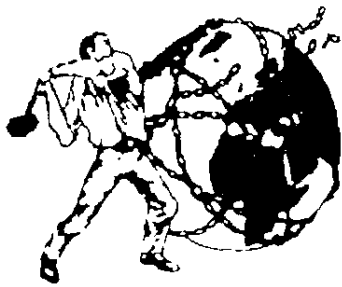
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Bulletin

2/01

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 2001

☆ Appears quarterly in Turkish, French, English, Spanish, Italian, Dutch and Russian ☆

The leaflet published by "Gegen die Strömung" in April/May carried the title:

Drive forward in the long term communist work in the enterprises!

"On the first of May, the struggle day of the working class, since more than 150 years a question imposes itself with growing intensity, namely, whether there is an alternative to the profit-based system of capitalism, to exploitation and to the private ownership of factories and the means of production generally. Today, the goal of communism is being ridiculed as "utopian" by many. The possibility of a victory over capital by means of the dictatorial repression of the bourgeoisie and all reactionaries by the majority of the workers in order to abolish the exploitation of man by man is being dismissed as a chimera. For the communist forces of today, it is clear that to stick to these goals does not only mean to denounce and unmask the crimes of the capitalist system and not only to elaborate the perspective of socialism and communism as realistically as possible, but also to lead a hard, systematic long-term struggle in order to win a solid majority in the enterprises for the struggle for the preparation and execution of the socialist revolution. But the struggle to win over the majority of the working class means to begin and continue the struggle for the creation of communist cells in the enterprises in a systematic and methodical manner."

In the section **"On the large enterprises in the system of capitalist-imperialist Germany"**, the leaflet expounds the fact (among other facts) that of the about 5 Million workers that make up the urban proletariat, about 2 million work in industrial enterprises with more than 1000 employees, and about 1 million in large enterprises with more than 10,000 employees. Apart from a knowledge of the numerical distribution of the proletariat in the enterprises, there are,

however, additional criteria that enable the communist forces to evaluate the situation in the enterprises realistically, and from there, to determine the enterprises in which, above all others, communist work in the factories has to be done and in which of them the most progressive forces must be won for the Communist Party and communist cells within the enterprise must be built:

"First, we must be aware of the fact that in certain large enterprises the exploitation centres of German financial capital have their headquarters. That means that large parts of their employees are not workers at all, but often corruptible or already bribed elements who organise and co-ordinate the world-wide exploitation by German financial capital.

Second, we must analyse the struggle traditions of the enterprises in question, but also the defeats, especially as a result of the activities of the worker's aristocracy, of the opportunists, and of the union leadership within and outside of the enterprises ..."

In the section **"Basic problems of the communist work in the enterprises, which is – we should remember – not first of all union work"**, the leaflet elaborates some principles and angles for the communist work in the enterprises:

"– We must recognize the particular tasks of the work among the workers from other countries of origin. It is particularly important to lead a struggle against all forms of German chauvinism as well as against the particularly brutal exploitation of workers from other countries of origin.

This is a necessary precondition in order to be able to create an internationalist struggle front of the workers of all countries in the enterprises.

– In organisational terms, communist work in the enterprises has to be carried out right from the start founded on an illegal basis and in the struggle against all forms of legalism ... The issue in the illegal work in the enterprise is the creation of legal footholds, e.g., in the unions, that is, the task is to combine the illegal work with the legal work ...

– The unmasking of and the struggle against all false friends, their ideologies as well as against their deceitful methods is a central part of the communist work in the enterprises ...

– The struggle against company spies and agent provocateurs of all sorts, also and especially against scabs, is an autonomous task to be organised systematically ...

In the building of communist cells in the enterprises, we need to especially consider the **basic hints of Lenin in a letter to a comrade** on the division of work within a factory cell in the form of circles of which each carries out a different task and must keep a certain degree of secrecy in accordance with it. Further is said in a special section **"What does the slogan 'Every enterprise must be our fortress!' mean?"**

"This slogan by Lenin meant and means that the majority of the working class can be convinced, won and organised only by the struggle of the CP in the enterprises ... This slogan does, however, not mean to entrench oneself on a militarily defensive position in the enterprises when it comes to organising and executing the armed struggle against the exploiters. Among others, this was shown more than clearly by the example of Chile in 1973 ...

The propagation by the Allende government and the revisionists of the Chilean 'C'P of the slogan according to which the workers ought to go back into the factories was nothing but reactionary in this situation. Not at last this slogan made it easier for the Chilean army to carry out the massacres in the factories in Chile ..."

The reason for carrying out the communist work particularly in the large enterprises, the leaflet further says, results of the recognition of the fact that the pro-

letariat is the gravedigger of the capitalist system. But this theoretical argument about the world-historical role of the proletariat is faced with the reality of the actual state of the consciousness of the huge majority of the workers in our own country, Germany:

"... Especially the few conscious workers in the large factories oriented towards communism, numbering only at about thousand, know, above all others, very well that opportunistic flatteries about a 'class consciousness' supposedly dominating within the majority of the working class today are either stupid lying or self-deception. The truth is that opportunism and German chauvinism among large parts of the German workers is not only the result of the ideological influence exercised by the mass media of German imperialism. This opportunism and German chauvinism is also very materially and toughly embedded by real threats with unemployment, police terror during labour struggles, but also by bribes and smaller or larger privileges that an imperialist big power like Germany can afford to hand out by way of the robbery of, among others, the working people of other countries ..."

The present state of the consciousness of the working class in Germany is the result of successes, but primarily of a chain of defeats of communist enlightenment and organising: the imperialist frenzy and the social-democratic treachery at the time of World War I, the successes in organising more than 300,000 members of the Communist Party of Germany, the KPD, especially in the enterprises, during the time of the Weimar republic, and most of all the world-historic defeat of the German labour movement at the hands of Nazi-Fascism:

"The most varied struggles, successes and defeats have left deep imprints, also of resignation, in the labour movement in Germany:

– The first positive attempts to build a strong Communist Party in West Germany after 1945 once again by means of communist work in the enterprises;

– the first successes in the enlightenment and organisation of parts of the working class in the GDR who took their orientation from communism. But then primarily the travesty of a police-state phoney socialism and the treachery of the ideas of communism, of socialist democracy and of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, at last since 1956;

– the ban on the Communist Party of Germany KPD in the FRG and the totally revisionist and capitulation-like decline of the KPD and Party of Socialist Unity of Germany SED in both parts of Germany.

Today, the rule of capital is largely solidified primarily by the fact that during the last 50 years, the enterprises have been cleansed systematically of communist forces not least with the help of the apparatus of the unions. These cleansings could be carried out with relative ease because the communist forces were insufficiently prepared for them. One of the reasons for this was that the revisionist poison within the working class had been able to spread further and further since the fifties...”

In conclusion, the leaflet says:

“The knowledge of the real situation and the real state of consciousness of the working class

is indispensable for this struggle. The evaluation of the communist work in the enterprises in the struggle against reformism, legalism and resignation is a basic precondition.

The communist organised forces have to send cadre into the large enterprises of particular importance in a systematic manner, to replace dismissed cadre by new ones, to work with great caution in the existing union organisations. At the same time, they also have to learn, in the democratic struggle against Nazis and the creeping fascism of the German state, to establish contacts, primarily to disseminate communist propaganda and to better distinguish between friends and enemies in concrete struggles, to take a leading role and most of all, not to be ready to give in.

For this work, communist foundations and principles as well as the building of the Communist Party are by far the most important things.”



In July, “Gegen die Strömung” published the leaflet:

First of May 2001 in Germany:

Evaluate the Experiences of the Struggles Against the Nazi Gangs!

“On the first of May 2001, the Nazis tried once more, like last year, to organise and carry out marches on a nation-wide scale. It was a particular provocation that, after their march on April 7, 2001 in Frankfurt/Main, the Nazis also announced a demonstration there for the first of May. The goal of the Nazis was to carry out, for the first time since 1978, a Nazi march in Frankfurt/Main, in order to give a signal of their grown strength, because Frankfurt/Main is seen by the Nazis als the ‘last bastion of the left’, as a ‘stronghold of the foreigners.’

Indeed, several hundred Nazis could carry out their Nazi manifestations with the approval of the German courts and under the protection of the police, and in particular the Nazi scum was able to carry out their marches, protected by the German police, in several German towns exactly as planned. In several towns, the German police

sealed off whole quarters in order to enable the Nazi scum to carry out their marches as undisturbed as possible. All in all, more than 3000 Nazis marched in the whole country. In the meantime, the Federal Constitutional Court has, as a matter of principle and by supreme judicial decision, decided to approve of the Nazi propaganda rallies. But that is only one side of the issue.

In several towns, opponents of the Nazis succeeded in preventing or at least obstructing Nazi marches through the streets by demonstrations or blockades as well as, like in Frankfurt, by militant struggle against Nazis and the police. The evaluation of the experiences in the struggle shows that an intensified, also militant struggle against the Nazis is impossible without knowing our enemy very well – for only in this way we are really able to fight him – and without clarity about the fact that the police and the judiciary act as a protec-

tive power for the Nazis. But this is not enough. It is just as necessary to unmask and understand the game of co-operation and confusion being played out between the judiciary, the police and the bourgeois media, as well as the various acts of appeasement and manoeuvres of diversion by the opportunists like the DGB union bureaucrats and various opportunist organisations."

The leaflet deals with the following issues:

- **Resistance against the Nazi marches on the first of May 2001**
- **Who are the Nazis? The brown seed germinates ...**
 - "German conditions": Daily Nazi terror, daily Nazi crimes, daily Nazi propaganda
 - On the development of the Nazi movement in Germany since 1945

The leaflet further deals with the continuing **struggle of the democratic and revolutionary prisoners in the prisons of the reactionary Turkish state** as well as a theses-like critique of a **capitulatory call for the "Anti-fascist Congress" of various anti-fascist groups of April 2001**, a call that claims that the struggle against the Nazis has by now become "state policy." In conclusion, the leaflet deals with the following complex of issues:

- **Tasks and perspectives in the struggle against the Nazis, against the creeping fascism by the state and against German imperialism in general**
 - Arguments where possible, blows where necessary!
 - Against obfuscation: covering-up of all Nazi crimes!
 - Don't underestimate the struggle against the Nazi ideology!
 - Oppose appeasement and confusion!
 - On the role of anti-fascist militancy
 - Don't underestimate the struggle against state terror!
 - Annihilation of Nazi-fascism with its root means annihilation of the imperialist system of capitalism!

"...German imperialism still rules today, just as it was hundred years ago; its unbroken tradition is drenched with the crimes that have started from

German soil in this century. They were made possible again and again through the import of the German ideology that had pervaded and still pervades all realms of life, also and particularly the ranks of the working people, the exploited.

Everyone who wants to fight the Nazis constantly, radically, i. e. going to the root, must also fight German imperialism itself, its capitalist base, its ideology.

It is therefore the task of us as communists to integrate and subordinate the struggle against the creeping fascism of the state and against the Nazi-gangs and -parties (in)to the struggle for the preparation and execution of the socialist revolution, the overthrow of this imperialist social order, for the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat which must repress the overthrown bourgeoisie, the Nazis and all reactionaries, because this is the precondition for really taking the road towards a new society, the road to socialism and communism. Only in this way is it possible to ban the danger of a renewed Nazi-fascist dictatorship in Germany, because the bearer of the Nazi-fascist danger is German imperialism itself."



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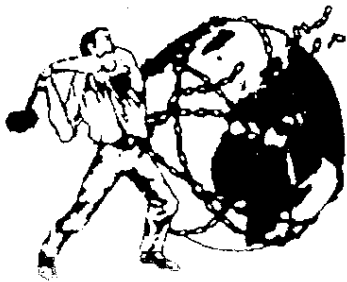
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Bulletin 3/01

*information for the revolutionary,
marxist-leninist forces of all countries*

excerpt and synopsis of publications of "Gegen die Strömung" – organ for the building of
the revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: july–september 2001

Published quarterly in **English**, French, Italian, Dutch, Russian, Spanish and Turkish

The July/August Bulletin of "Against the Current" carried the title:

A Contribution to the Analysis of Classes in Germany:

Revolutionary Perspectives in the countryside?

In the introduction of the leaflet it was said among other things:

"...Because building socialism and then communism is impossible without overthrowing the bourgeoisie, smashing the bourgeois state apparatus in a civil war, and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat over all reactionaries, communist forces in an imperialist country like Germany must themselves be clear that such a civil war cannot be won and the dictatorship of the proletariat established without winning the sympathy and even support of sectors of the exploited working people of the countryside. At the very least, certain strata in the countryside should remain neutral.

To be able to distinguish between friend and enemy in the countryside, it is necessary to know exactly the working-, living- and class relations there..."

1. Five reasons why, without confronting the situation and tasks in the countryside, there can be no preparation for the victory of the socialist revolution.

"First: Whoever really wants to fight for the destruction of German imperialism in the proletarian revolution and for a radical break with all exploitative relations, must concern themselves with the question of what effects this radical break with life-relations will bring internationally and domestically.

Second: The complicated situation of the working people in the countryside is tightly bound to the opposition between city and country ...

Third: ... The Communist party must not abandon the masses of rural working people and exploited to the dominance of the imperialist bourgeoisie and reactionary forces in general ...

Fourth: Even though it is widely recognized that capitalist society is divided into classes, especially the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the fact is all too often overlooked that a portion of the proletariat is immediately tied to the land, namely that the proletariat in the countryside is represented by the rural proletariat ...

Fifth: After all, the significance of the exploited and working masses themselves who are active in agriculture must be discussed ... Especially during civil war, but also during the times of crisis, during the breakdown of the production and distribution mechanisms of capitalism, such as during and immediately following the first or second world wars, it becomes suddenly clear that even today agriculture is still a fundamental basis for social reproduction. Thus the question of the alliance of the urban and industrial proletariat with the majority of the rural population is of great significance ... Therefore it's of central importance that the rural sector becomes a bastion of the proletarian revolution. If it remains a base of the bourgeoisie, when the armed uprising begins in the cities, no victory will be lasting because the counter-revolution will succeed in mobilizing the masses of the exploited and working people in the

countryside against the cities..."

II. Aspects of class analysis in the countryside

The bulletin next emphasizes that for one thing class analysis does not follow simply by the critical evaluation of statistical data, but must also include historical *experiences* in Germany and internationally. For another thing, it cannot be determined solely through analysis who will side with the revolution. The determination of the class situation simply serves as a framework.

The definite starting point for the analysis of rural classes is the decisive class antagonism of capitalist-imperialist society in Germany. This class-antagonism is also decisive in the countryside. In the following, the bulletin describes in detail first starting points, aspects, and also numerical data for a class-analysis in the countryside.

"Rural Proletariat: Official bourgeois statistics show that in 1999 there were approximately a half million agricultural proletarians as well as other wage laborers in the rural economy. Of these approximately 500,000 agrarian wage work force, statistics show that there were some 300,000 seasonal workers. These same statistics completely ignore the high number of 'illegally' employed rural laborers from other countries. The situation of agricultural workers is worse and the conditions of their struggle more difficult than what is experienced by industrial workers. The average gross hourly wage of an agricultural worker in 1998 in the region of the former West Germany was approximately 20 DM, while in the region of the former East Germany this average was around 14 DM, about 30% beneath that of a male industrial worker. Far lower still are the wages seasonal workers of other countries of origin, mainly from Poland..."

The so-called 'semi-proletariat' and small farmers: The development of the previous decades has increasingly led to the ruin of hundreds of thousands of small farms. If at the beginning of the 90's just over 40% of farming concerns represented supplementary incomes, then by 1999 this figure was more than 60%.

Therefore it is necessary to make it known also among the ranks of the industri-

al proletariat that the living conditions of this sector of the rural population are often extremely bad. Working days of 12 and 14 hours or more are commonplace. Women and children often perform the major portion of the work around the farm, meaning that the supplemental economy is also an important form of subjugation and exploitation of women and exploitation of children. Official estimates from 1999 show that over 60% of workers who do farming as supplement earned less than 5,000 DM from their agricultural work annually..."

III. Fundamentals of the Tasks and Perspectives of the Class-struggle and the Preparation of the Socialist Revolution in the Countryside

The urban proletariat is the leading core of the proletariat. The urban proletariat and the rural proletariat together shall bring about the hegemony of the proletariat.

"...Like the industrial proletariat, the rural proletariat possesses no means of production. It is likewise exploited and oppressed and as a sector of the working class, in the countryside it is by far the most revolutionary force. It is a decisive lever for producing and strengthening the bond between the masses of the rural working people and exploited with those of the urban proletariat, for achieving the hegemony of the proletariat in the countryside.

But it should not be overlooked that the rural proletariat has other living and production conditions than does the urban proletariat and specific peculiarities will apply. It is less concentrated and a greater degree of splintering prevails than does among the urban industrial proletariat – for example, with the widespread seasonal work and day labourers. Specific forms of the reactionary ideology of the German bourgeoisie are directed at them, for example, the reactionary propaganda of an alleged 'village community'... In parts it confronts a pseudofamiliar type of patriarchal atmosphere which covers up the exploitation and chaining to large capitalist farming enterprises, while intensifying and obscuring the exploitative relation, unlike it is in the major industrial concerns in the city. The rural proletariat is exposed to the so-

called 'apathy of country life', a pervasive reactionary atmosphere in which villagers for the most part don't look beyond the end of their nose, because village life is so far removed from bourgeoisdemocratic cultural ideas and institutions.

... Communist forces should especially seek to create numerous connections between the rural and urban proletariats thereby winning over the rural proletariat to the ideas of communism. At the same time this provides an opportunity to struggle against the mentality of 'urban arrogance' that is present in some sectors of the urban proletariat concerning the countryside.

This struggle is simplified by the fact that exactly in a highly industrialized country like Germany, giant agricultural concerns now operate on a large scale. These concerns utilize the most modern industrial methods and means of production thereby making the conditions of the rural proletariat approximate those of the urban proletariat. As a result, more numerous and better objective possibilities exist for the creation of strong communist bases in the countryside."

The Masses of Rural Working People and Exploited Are the Next Allies of the Proletariat

"... On one side the great mass of the farming community are working people and exploited, on the other side they are also those who possess the means of production (land, machines) and are tightly bound with individually run farms splintered by small production. A close union of peasants in the struggle is made substantially more difficult by the splintering and gradation among their ranks. This is different than in the case of the proletariat. Large portions of farmers are not solely and completely and only exploited working people. Due to their possession of means of production, they already have the possibility today or in the future to sell their products as commodities on the market, thereby emerging as traders and in certain situations as speculators ...

The most favourable conditions for establishing an ally are to be found among the *semi-proletariat*. Even for small far-

mers, because of the fact that they exploit no alien labour power, the proletarian revolution provides abundant concrete advantages. Admittedly greater fluctuations and problems exist here than with the semi-proletariat. The '*middle-farmers*' assume a special position. They are working people who as owners or leaseholders of land are able to realize a profit and often exploit seasonal rural workers. They are not reliable allies for the proletariat. Their class positions cause them to fluctuate between the village bourgeoisie, the rich farmers whom they envy, and the village poor, whose condition they know full well and they are afraid of, and they will go to any lengths not to have to join. Among the middle farmers the ideology and mood of the property owner prevails, therefore the proletariat must, during the revolutionary struggle to overthrow bourgeoisie, attempt to *neutralize* the vast majority of this stratum...

In the daily struggles in the countryside, conducted against ever worsening conditions, the communist party must intervene and support the correct side. We must relentlessly point out the negative, reactionary sides, such as the leading role played by the large farmers in such struggles, and to fight them without any uneasy compromise. A common front of struggle needs to be organized between the urban proletariat and the masses of rural working people and exploited in Germany on one side, and the proletariat of all countries on the other. Also a front must be established with the oppressed peoples, particularly with the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses of the peasantry in countries dependent upon imperialism. Above all, unity of the working and exploited masses of people in city and country – without and against all false friends – for the destruction of the imperialist state apparatus and the defeat of the bourgeoisie must be created. Systematic propaganda for the socialist revolution, the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the perspective of the construction of socialism and communism will help bring this about."

The leaflet also includes a special article "*The more than 270 day hunger strike of the democratic and revolutionary prisoners in Turkey!*"

The militant struggles in Genoa against worldwide imperialist exploitation and oppression were just!

I. ... In the broad front of struggle against the meetings of the political representatives of the major imperialist powers, the G8 states, we susose militants with the clearest vision. The agitation of bourgeois politicians and media against militant comrades, and its simultaneous hypocritical 'understanding' displayed for the 'justified requests' of the 'good', 'peaceful' demonstrators, shows that the 'rulers of the world' fear a mass movement that is growing stronger and more militant. It fears a movement that will take up the militant struggle against its brutal, violent and worldwide exploitation and oppression...

II. The **discussion of the events in Genoa** and the groups that took part in the struggles makes it apparent that we must also direct our attention to the preparation for the coming struggles against the G8 meetings. We should look at ideological-political questions in the struggle against the offensive of the major imperialist powers and against capitalism in general.

Today the **repression functions of the state apparatus are extended** in all countries, and the remaining rights of the exploited and working masses diminish. In this respect, the increasingly clear and more obvious subordination of the state apparatus to capitalist monopolies – above all the police – **does not mean**, in the process of fascistization, **a weakening** of the role of the state. In reality this means a **reinforcement** of its repressive and exploitative functions. Genoa is a 'striking' example for this...

The exposure and fight against the preparation of new large inter-imperialist wars must in principle and concretely fight any imagination of the possibility and, linked with this, an **ideology of an alleged 'ultra-imperialism without contradictions and wars' under the headword of 'globalisation'**. In this struggle it must be made clear that all new forms assumed by world imperialism since its formation 100 years ago, have not only not changed Lenin's fundamental

analysis, but may only be understood and classified and fought against with his characterization of imperialism as basis.

III. Our special attention is directed to **our 'own', German imperialism**, which provokes more and more its US, English and French counterparts, and which increases its military role within Europe and all regions of the world. German imperialism is an especially aggressive major imperialist power: an international exploiter and subjugator of the peoples of the world, an individual focus of war. It makes preparations for local wars of pillage and for a world war that will bring with it a new division of the imperialist spheres of influence in the struggle for world domination against the other imperialist big powers. Domestically German imperialism conducts a constant fascistization of the state apparatus.

In the ideological struggle against appeasers, pacifists, revisionist and trotskyist capitulators and demagogues, communist forces must promote the revolutionary line against imperialism. With the help and criticism made in solidarity of honest, democratic and revolutionary oriented forces, communist forces must expose the reactionary capitulators and demagogues.



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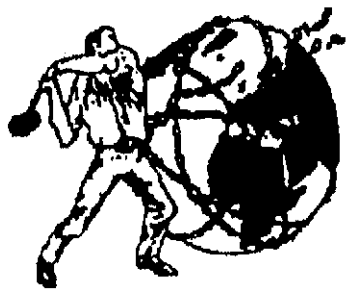
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Bulletin 4/01

Information for revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Selections and summaries from the publications of "Gegen die Strömung" – The Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: **October–December 2001**

Published quarterly in English, French, Italian, Dutch, Russian, Spanish and Turkish

The October/November Bulletin of "Gegen die Strömung" discusses the war policies of German imperialism against Afghanistan at 16 theses. Because summarizing the content of these theses presents the danger of them being misunderstood, they are here printed in full.

The October/November Bulletin of "Gegen die Strömung" had the title:

In Light of the American-British bombardment of Afghanistan and the resolution of the German parliament to insert German army forces into and around Afghanistan:

Fight the War Policies of German Imperialism!

After weeks long flood of propaganda, the German imperialists have officially resolved to allow the Bundeswehr to become part of the international war forces and have already begun to send troops abroad. The German War minister was "empowered" to let wage war thousands of German military forces far beyond the bounds of the "NATO region" to all conceivable parts of the world, from parts of Asia to the Saudi peninsula and Northeast Africa as well as the bordering maritime regions. In fact this move is without parallels in Germany since 1945, but it represents another step further down the decades long path of German imperialism, militarism and revanchism, in what is now the third attempt at achieving its worldwide imperialist goals. Our position on this matter is clear: although the imperialist aggression is still primarily conducted by US-American and English imperialism, it is our task, as a communist force in Germany, politically and ideologically to fight first and foremost against 'our own', that is, German imperialism.

The Bundeswehr being at war action takes place against a background of not only a barbaric military offensive against Afghanistan, but also a political and psychological offensive. It has as its goal to disorientate and to confuse the opponents of the war against Afghanistan as well as to drive them into a corner. A struggle for ideological and political clarity is indispensable if we are not sooner or later to yield to this pressure. It is indispensable if we are really going to fight with all our power against imperialist war policies and war mongering. The following theses are

fundamental positions in the fight against the war policies of German imperialism:

I. Fight the Imperialist Aggression against Afghanistan! Expose German Imperialism as an independent perpetrator of war and fight against it!

1. The murderous, imperialist war against Afghanistan

The attacks of the US and British military machinery against Afghanistan under the pretext of attacks on New York and Washington are war crimes and are impossible to justify. They are yet another chapter in the worldwide history of US imperialist crimes since 1945.

2. Expansionism and the Demonstration of Power of US imperialism

The military aggression against Afghanistan begun on October 7th, 2001 is above all a war of US and British imperialists. It is being conducted to secure and expand their political, economic and strategic interests. In fact, US and also British imperialism are both advancing. But also the other imperialists are pursuing their own age-old interests for profit and power in Afghanistan and the surrounding region. A concurrent struggle is intensifying in the lands of Central Asia between the weakened imperialist power of Russia and the other imperialist powers which also compete with each other. This struggle is for spheres of influence, raw materials, transport routes and markets.

Simultaneously this major and long-term military action is an immense threat indirectly both to today's and above all tomorrow's powerful revolutionary

forces of the world.

The exposed **demonstration of power and expansion** of US-imperialism in Central and West Asia, some of the strategically most important regions in the rivalry between **all the imperialist powers**, shows in a crass way how a series of limited military provocations and local wars **increases the danger of a new world war.**

3. Participation of German Imperialism

German imperialism, which places its own interests in the foreground, has from the beginning been a part of **this barbaric war against Afghanistan.**

4. The Particular Aggressiveness of German Imperialism

The particular eagerness with which the proponents of German imperialism conduct their war preparations and argue for a direct military involvement in Afghanistan and other places is proof of the **increasing aggressiveness** of German imperialism. Above all in the imperialist attack against Yugoslavia in 1999 it demonstrated to the eyes of the world that it has once again become an **independent source of war** and has resurrected itself as a **imperialist big power with great aggressiveness.** It also is in a position to claim its place even through force of arms. With the aid of a policy of small steps of incremental realization and intensification of its war projects and a skillful tactic of deception, the German imperialists escalate their war policies and do so with worldwide claims and objectives.

5. Germany's independent imperialist big power interests

The 'empowerment resolution' of the German parliament of November 16th, 2001, which allowed the Bundeswehr to be deployed worldwide, represents a new stage of escalation. 3,900 soldiers from different detachments of the Bundeswehr will be deployed within the next year – temporarily! – in the so-called 'war on terror'. In so doing the German imperialists are pursuing near-term as well as long-term objectives:

First: In loud and clear terms Germany declares that the post WWII days are over and that a now 'sovereign' Germany has "equal rights" to participate militarily, whether it is in Afghanistan or soon anywhere else in the world.

Second: In the long run the imperialist interests of German monopoly-capital will not be satisfied through the 'chequebook' alone, but will have to be achieved and secured by military means. It is these independent, rapacious big power interests of German imperialism that will have to be achieved worldwide by the Bundeswehr – thus the Bundeswehr has been and will be equipped for these purposes.

Third: The German population is increasingly being made accustomed to direct military interventions as well as training of its own army and the use of weapons

in "case of emergency". The preparation for local, independently conducted wars of German imperialism against imperialist rivals as well as against peoples' wars of liberation worldwide is being made. A new division of the world through preparation for long-term worldwide imperialist wars against its imperialist rivals is planned by German imperialism.

6. The Dual Tactics of German Imperialism: Alliances and Rivalries

Today's proponents of German imperialism emphasize alliances above all things, both in the military fraternity and cooperation with the other imperialist big powers, above all with US-imperialism. But on the basis of self-interest of German imperialism, there can be seen already the aspect of increasing rivalry. An example of this is the war against Iraq obviously already being planned.

7. Dual Tactics of German Imperialism: "Peaceful Diplomacy" and an open policy of War

On one hand, German imperialism pushes its 'peaceful' machinations by intensifying its secret and open diplomacy in West Asia, especially against Russia by strengthening its good relations with all countries – to governments as well as opposition movements – by perpetuating the financial dependence of various, reactionary governments, even through the export of arms so as to keep all options open for the expansion of its influence and power. Doing this, it also makes use of its "old" connections from times of Nazi fascism, in the moment for example the connection to Afghan king Zaher, an old friend of Nazi Germany.

On the other hand, German imperialism feverishly arms the Bundeswehr, keeping it ready as one of the strongest and most modernly equipped armies so that it can be present and "intervene" anywhere in the world.

These dual tactics mean for the German imperialists poised in the starting blocks, to be prepared for all possible contingencies, able to commit troops as well as capital so as to strengthen its influence as an imperialist big power. The expansion of power of German imperialism is directed not only against the peoples that it oppresses and exploits, but more and more against the other imperialist big powers against which it competes for predominance in the world.

8. The well-distributed role-playing of the bourgeois parties of German imperialism

Struggling against imperialist war policies, there is no one among the bourgeois politicians whom one can trust or rely upon. In one way or another they all serve the interests of German imperialism. Among the tactics of German imperialism especially at war escalation there is the well-distributed role-playing of the bourgeois parties, from the CDU/CSU to the SPD and the Greens all the way to the PDS. Their conflicts are in no way signs of more or less "progress". If you look past the rhetoric it will appear that they're essentially

only disputing what are the 'correct', that is the most effective policies for German imperialism.

9. Domestic Militarization and Fascistization

Corresponding to the increased aggressiveness of German foreign policy is an increased militarization and fascistization domestically. German imperialist politicians outdo one another in their destruction of ever more democratic rights under new 'anti-terror legislation' and an increased repression and criminalization of democratic and revolutionary groups and structures.

The reactionary and counter-revolutionary focal point is the plan to deploy the Bundeswehr – with or without appropriate constitutional changes – domestically e.g. in the cases of putting down striking workers with military force. Such deployment has been planned for long for "crisis cases" by so-called "emergency laws". This is all being done with intensified measures of oppression and enormously stronger racist-chauvinist baiting, now particularly against people of Arab heritage. Militaristic rhetoric, war-mongering stereotypes and propaganda measures straight out of Goebbels workshop are being skillfully activated.

10. How the German bourgeoisie handle their own laws

The ideologues and politicians of German imperialism quite openly break the regulation of their own constitution, which in 1949 under pressure from the anti-Hitler coalition and as a concession to those peoples who fought against Nazi-fascism, explicitly prohibited German participation in an offensive war. Also the requirements of international law they dismiss as irrelevant.

If the German imperialists today more than ever exclaim that they can't be bothered with the details of each and every one of their laws, this must be seen as a threat to the people of the world: German imperialists will now pursue their aggressive interests for world domination with all of their power. At the same time it is an indication to what degree anti-military mass struggles can expect to be met with police-state arbitrariness in the war against German imperialists.

II. Solidarity with the truly progressive and revolutionary forces of Central- and West-Asia! No Solidarity with the Taliban and similarly reactionary forces!

11. The Taliban regime as a creature of the imperialist system

The Taliban regime in Afghanistan is a reactionary force, produced by the system of imperialism. For years the US (primarily) as well as German and other imperialist powers supported diverse reactionary forces in Afghanistan in opposition to the social-imperialist rival of the Soviet Union which held the country under direct military occupation from 1979 to 1989 to defend this sphere of influence against US-imperialism and

other imperialist big powers. The Taliban, bin Laden and the equally reactionary forces of the "Northern Alliance" were funded with billions of dollars directly by the CIA and other secret services as well as armed with the most modern of weapons.

What should be noted is that the truly progressive and above all scientifically communist-oriented forces of Afghanistan were at that time persecuted and murdered not only by the social-imperialist rulers but also by the reactionary gangs in the employ of the western imperialists.

12. The roles of the pro-imperialist watchdogs for their imperialist masters

In Central- and West-Asia, as well as in some countries in Africa, the whip of the reactionary, covering themselves up as 'nationalist' or 'religious' movements – which are often tightly connected to the reactionary regimes dependent on imperialism in Iraq, Iran, Syria or Saudi Arabia – serves two purposes:

First, the imperialist powers often feed divers reactionary groups and movements in the dependent countries, using them in their imperialist rivalry against imperialist rivals to achieve their own interests. This was clearly the case in Afghanistan.

Second, at issue is that the influence of progressive or revolutionary forces and organizations are being destroyed. In fact this is a serious problem that in many regions of the world such reactionary movements which often have much mass influence, put down the actual democratic initiatives of liberation movements.

13. Causes of the increased influence of pro-imperialist reactionary movements

The enormous growth of such reactionary organizations and movements, which often have great mass appeal and mass membership, is tightly connected to the enormous setbacks and weaknesses of the communist movement.

The revisionist liquidation of most of the former communist parties, above all after the revisionist 20th Party Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956, broke the communist counter-force to the reactionary, feudal powers in the imperialist dominated countries. Thus it was only a matter of time and the coincidence of various conditions until reactionary forces in greater number could arrive at such a plan.

This had great negative effects upon national liberation movements, whether in Central- and South America, or in Africa or Asia. Without purposeful leadership by communist parties, various movements were either directly liquidated or in part integrated in an reformist way into the stability of merely cosmetic but little changed relations of exploitation and dependency. As the imperialist powers struggle over the new division of the spheres of influence, it becomes apparent that they will increasingly 'support' liberation movements that are directed against their rivals in

order to use these struggles to achieve their own expansionist goal.

14. The Imperialist demagoguery: "Left = Right"

The thought, constructed and demagogically employed by the imperialist reactionaries, of the type Left = Right, plays quite a special role in this context. In the reactionary baiting of the so-called 'war against terror', organizations like Al Qaeda, Hamas and others are intentionally and nebulously designated as 'radical', 'violent' and so on. Their political characterizations are purposely left open so that the propaganda against these organizations can be used as well against future, eventual or in initial stages already existing revolutionary organizations.

15. Proletarian Internationalism as the guide for true anti-imperialist and communist politics

Whatever one says about the attacks on September 11th in New York and Washington, it is clear that these are counter to that tradition of true leftist, anti-imperialist let alone communist politics. In this tradition are only armed struggles that use the guide of proletarian internationalism and the fundamental principles of "Workers of the world, Unite!" or "Workers and Oppressed Peoples of the World, Unite!" which step by step and in the long run forge a true alliance of all revolutionary forces worldwide against the common enemy of world imperialism. The attacks of September 11th are evidence of no such endeavor or conception. Instead they indicate that there is a struggle going within the camp of the imperialist world reaction and no true interests of exploited and oppressed peoples are at issue.

The constant aggression and military operations of US and other imperialist powers in Central- and West-Asia will lead to the formation of a justified anti-imperialist movement of the mass of peoples in these varied lands. These movements will become independent and will act against the various reactionary forces and regimes. But one shouldn't confuse possibility with reality. At the moment resistance against the USA is still stamped with the imprint of the leadership of reactionary movements and regimes.

16. Solidarity with the Taliban regime because it is a land assaulted by Imperialism?

It would be fundamentally wrong to mistake the condemnation of the military aggression against Afghanistan or against Iraq for supposedly necessary support of the attacked states or their governments. The main emphasis of the protests against the barbaric mass murders caused by the imperialist bombardment of Afghanistan is completely correct: there is an 'alliance' of mass murdering imperialist big powers on a worldwide scale. Opposing them is a regime of mass murderers, the Taliban, in their own land. To direct the indignation against the big powers, and here in Germany above all against German imperialism, has nothing to do with sympathy for the murderous regime of the Taliban.

There is only one way: the peoples of this region must be supported in their efforts to rid themselves of their reactionary regimes while at the same time fending off the interference of the big powers.

Death to German Imperialism, Militarism and Revanchism!

At the same time a detailed leaflet appeared that dealt with the above-mentioned themes.

III. Ideological-political Fundamental Problem #1: The Alleged German serfdom towards the USA

IV. Ideological-political Fundamental Problem #2: "Achieving Peace without Weapons?"

V. Tasks and Perspectives: The Fight Against the Bundeswehr, in the plants, on the streets and in the barracks!

"Highlights" of the worldwide Crimes of US-imperialism since 1945

Facts about the policy of small steps of German Imperialism and the escalation of military and war interventions after 1945

Imperialist alliances are "breathing time between the wars"

The growing rivalry between the imperialist powers for spheres of influence, raw materials, and transportation routes in the countries of Central Asia.

How German Imperialism is taking advantage of the moment to increase repression and surveillance domestically

The call to a 'crusade' and a 'Christian West' are part of a bloody tradition of the mass murder of millions

Details of the life of a comrade who was murdered in the struggle for the construction of the Communist Party of Afghanistan/ML by the henchmen of Russian social-imperialism or the reactionary Mujahedin in the employ of Western Imperialists.

"Old" Contacts of German imperialism to homegrown Afghani Reaction; the example of the Zaher Shah.

Using reactionary forces in the spheres of influence and domination of imperialist rivals – a well-known method of German imperialism and its Nazis

What Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht can tell us today

German police protect the November 3, 2001 Nazi march in Berlin – the biggest one since 1945!

June 22,1941–May 8,1945: The German Nazi-fascist War against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the Soviet Union

1,418 Days!

"The socialist Soviet Union had to fight 1,418 days until finally on May 8th, 1945 it was victorious against the German Nazi-Wehrmacht (army) and the entire Nazi-fascist murder machinery. At that time German imperialism was defeated by the armed forces of the Anti-Hitler coalition, above all the socialist Soviet Union. But in the meantime it has inverted the results of the Second World War:

Vanquished German imperialism, which never recognized the conditions of the Potsdam convention, in the last few decades has developed anew into a major imperialist power, exhibiting increasingly its particular aggression in a more and more threatening way. It has gone so far as economically to penetrating the area of the former Soviet Union which fell into pieces. The Soviet Union had devolved from a socialist-internationalist country into a revisionist-social imperialist one under Khrushchev and Brezhnev revisionists. German imperialism also has gone over to guaranteeing its influence militarily, in competition to other imperialists, to stationing its troops in former border-republics, 'supporting' police forces and under the pretext of 'education' gaining greater influence within the corrupt capitalist state apparatuses.

German imperialism – spanning from before and during the attack against the former socialist Soviet Union – has had a long-term strategy of gaining imperialist domination over the entire world. It is well known that the Soviet Union shattered the "Blitzkrieg" strategy, thereby upsetting the entire plan of German imperialism. It forced a retreat that resulted in the occupation of Berlin by the Red Army.

In the decades after 1945 German imperialism, with its manifold diplomatic and military experiences, never abandoned its intention of avenging itself for this defeat. to reach this aim, also and especially regions of the former Soviet Union are planned to be incorporated, treating this as an important step on the way to world dominance again, primarily in its rivalry with US imperialism.

Despite all difficulties, forced retreats and defeats, there was no "Blitz" victory over the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union under Stalin's leading. This was in fact of world-historic significance. The anti-communist crusade against Stalin has as its primary source the fact, that figuratively and bluntly speaking, Stalin 'broke the neck of Hitler'.

Our struggle today against world imperialism and especially against German imperialism is being waged in the spirit of the anti-Nazi fighters of all countries, but above all those of the socialist Soviet Union under

the direction of Stalin. The powerful experiences in the struggle of the socialist Soviet Union, its political, ideological, military and also economic experiences in total are to be valued and defended. This is both a duty and incentive in our struggle today against German imperialism. We wage this struggle under new conditions, but fundamentally the same presuppositions as during the age of Imperialism and the proletarian revolution. We wage this struggle for the destruction of German imperialism, militarism and revanchism."

I. The Imperialist Nazi-Germany Attack on the former socialist Soviet Union

Already on December 18th, 1940 the Nazi-fascists defined the **goals and basis for the war of extermination** in the document named Barbarossa:

"Destruction of the Soviet state, occupation of the territory, take possession of its raw materials and food sources, the murder of millions of Soviet citizens and the enslavement of the survivors."

Within 25 years according to the "Eastern General Plan", 31 million Soviet citizens were to be deported or be killed.

"The basis of the successful completion of such a war of domination and extermination ... was not only the Prussian military mentality of Nazi soldiers and officers with their blind obedience, but above all the vastly increased ideology of the master race, the ideology of chauvinism, racism, anti-Semitism, anti-Ziganism and anti-communism."

On the evening of June 21st, 1941 **Nazi Germany attacked the socialist Soviet Union** with 190 fully armed and equipped divisions, approximately 4,300 tanks, 50,000 pieces of artillery, and 4,000 airplanes.

The **active defense of the Red Army** consisted of putting up **resistance while retreating**.

"In contrast to Nazi Germany, the battle for the Soviet Union began under very complicated conditions. The approximately 4.2 million Red Army soldiers first had to be mobilized."

Their foremost task therefore was,

"... to fight off the attacks and gain time while the forces were being raised."

The Red Army as well as the Soviet populace put up an embittered resistance to Nazi Germany.

"The tempo of the attacks of Nazi troops slowed in comparison to the first days of the war, from 30 km to 6 km per day by the end of August."

The Red Army had to accept enormous losses at this time, far beyond those of the Wehrmacht.

"Pravda reported on October 6th, 1941 that 1,128,000 Red Army soldiers had been killed and 8–9,000 pieces of artillery and 7,000 tanks had been lost since June 22nd."

Among others, in the directive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of the People's Commissary of June 29th, 1941 the fundamental political-ideological and military orientation for the struggle against the Nazi robbers was given:

"... that in the war, which the fascist Germany has forced us into, what is at stake is the life and death of the Soviet state: the freedom of the peoples of the Soviet Union or their life in slavery."

(Quoted from the edited collection "The History of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union", Volume 2, Berlin 1962, page 60)

The plan for the destruction of the Nazi Wehrmacht depended on securing the front through the re-ordering of the entire economy for war and securing the front through the support of the outlying lands. These were central points for an orderly retreat. A partisan war was unfolded so as to provide the Nazis with unendurable consequences in the occupied territories.

An important prerequisite for the victory of the Soviet Union was:

"An end must be put to the harmful conclusion that the workers and peasants in the uniforms of capitalist countries will immediately throw away their weapons when they have to fight the Soviet Union."

This is especially true of the German proletariat.

To become cognizant that the enemy is cruel and stubborn

"...it must be resolved that the propaganda activity in the Red Army needs to be increased. In the first half year after the attack, 8,000 leading party cadre, 60,000 party members and 40,000 communist party youth were sent to the front."

II. The Failure of the "Blitzkrieg" strategy: The Destruction of the fascists German invaders must begin before Moscow!" (June 1941–November 1942)

900-Day Blockade: "The Fall of Leningrad would be the prologue to the fall of Moscow!"

After the Nazis had been prevented from seizing Leningrad in August 1941 by the heroic resistance of its inhabitants together with the Red Army, beginning in September the Nazis blockaded the city. Leningrad was to be destroyed and the people starved. After 900 days the Red Army was able completely to end the blockade.

The Battles for Moscow: "The destruction of the fascist German invaders must begin before Moscow!" (October 1941–January 1942)

"The battles for Moscow were the central occurrence in the first period of the war. ... Moscow was the epitome of Bolshevism for the Nazis. The entire Soviet state and

battle plans for the front were directed from Moscow."

As of October 20th, 1941 Moscow was surrounded – but it couldn't be taken. Stalin explained the failure of the "Blitzkrieg" strategy in the Soviet Union in the following terms. German imperialism had miscalculated,

"... that immediately following the first major attack and the first setbacks of the Red Army, that conflicts between the workers and peasants would break out and that animosity between the Soviet peoples would begin. These would result in rebellions and the country would fragment into separate parts ... But it was just here that the Germans badly miscalculated. The setbacks of the Red Army sealed the bond between the workers and the peasants. The friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union did not weaken, but rather the opposite occurred. They strengthened this bond as well as this friendship."

(Stalin, The 24th Anniversary..., Works Vol. 14, 6. 11. 1941, page 247)

One of the reasons for the Red Army's difficulties was the lack of a second front of the allied powers in Western Europe. Because of this the Nazis didn't need to separate their forces.

On December 6th, 1941 the Red Army went on the counter-offensive and broke the pincers of the Nazi troops around Moscow. After 40 days of uninterrupted attacks, the Nazis had to give up and beat a disorderly retreat.

"The Germans are punctual and exact in their operations, when the situation allows to follow their orders of the duty-protocols. Therein lies their strength. The Germans become helpless as soon as the situation becomes complicated and this or that paragraph of the duty-protocol 'doesn't correspond' and an independent determination is required, one which hasn't been foreseen in the protocol."

(Stalin, Order of the Supreme Commander from December 23., 1943, Works Vol. 14, page 306)

"The Myth of the Invincibility of the Nazi Wehrmacht has now been destroyed."

The leaflet takes a position against the revisionist propaganda of the alleged inevitable victory of the Soviet power.

"The revisionist thesis of an objective, inevitable, that is objectively necessary victory of the Soviet Union, which negates the reality of a 'hard test', has as its goal to minimize the subjective factor, especially Stalin's contribution as an exceptional and leading cadre of the CPSU(B) for the defeat of German Nazi-fascism and its allies. It attempts to deny that the achievement of this victory was brought about by the revolutionary leadership the victory was won by the revolutionary Communist Party of the Soviet Union under direction of Stalin."

III. The Beginning of the Defeat of the Nazi Army: "It's time to end the retreat. Not one step further backwards!"

The year 1942 was the most difficult year of the war for the Soviet Union. The Nazis put all their spare forces on the Soviet front – this was possible due to the lack of a second front in the West. The goal was to outflank Moscow in the east. In the summer of 1942 the **battles for Stalingrad** began. Stalingrad was one of the largest industrial cities of the Soviet Union. It was then that the order was given:

"It is time to end the retreat. Not one step further backwards. That must now be our main slogan!"

After the Nazis were able to enter the city, a bitter house-to-house battle began which would last 143 days.

On November 19th, 1942 the Red Army went on the counter-offensive that would end with the February 2nd, 1944 defeat of the army group of the Nazi Wehrmacht. The Battle of Stalingrad was the turning point in favor of the anti-Nazi forces.

In the summer of 1943 the Red Army defeated the Nazis in the **battles on the Kursk bend**.

"If the Battle of Stalingrad was a message of the decline of the German fascist army, then the Battle of Kursk announced the catastrophe."

(Stalin, the 26th Anniversary of the October Revolution, November 11, 1943, Works Vol. 14, Page 324)

At the same time it was said:

"The German occupied Soviet regions are filled with the flames of Partisan war!"

A strong movement that was comprised of more than 1.1 million partisans in the occupied Soviet region supported the struggles of the Red Army. But Soviet partisans also fought in other occupied areas, for example 5,000 fought in France.

The leaflet continues **that the decision for a counter-offensive had to be made and was made at exactly the right moment.**

"That decision was not guaranteed of success ... All factors were carefully analyzed: the total situation on the eastern front, the number, supply, and condition of the Nazi troops and of our own armed forces in and near Stalingrad."

"The determination to counterattack in this situation, this courage and consistency as fundamental characteristics of a communist cadre may only be compared with similarly fateful decisions, as for example, the decision for the very day to begin the armed uprising during the October Revolution in 1917."

IV. "Ten Strikes" by the Red Army together with the Partisans for the Liberation of the Peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe from the Nazi murderers (1944)

"In 1944 the Red Army drove the Nazi troops out of the Soviet Union and the occupied territories of Eastern Europe with ten destructive strikes. The support of the partisans of the European countries was important for doing this."

Beginning with the destruction of the Nazi army at Leningrad, to the liberation of the Crimea, Karelia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, a great portion of Poland, the Ukraine, the Moldavian Soviet Republic, the capture of Bucharest with the help of the anti-Nazi uprising in Romania, the liberation of Estonia, Latvia, the joint liberation of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, and ending with the liberation of Norway and the polar region.

Progress of the Red Army in Eastern Europe and Aspects of Proletarian internationalism:

Opposing the anti-communist propaganda about the supposed 'expansion of Bolshevism', Stalin explained in November 1941 already:

"We have no war objectives and could have no such war objectives like the domination of foreign regions and the subjugation of foreign peoples—whether talk is of peoples and places in Europe or Asia, including Iran ... We have no war objectives and could have no such war objectives like the objective of forcing our will and our regime on the Slavic and other oppressed European peoples who expect help from us. Our goal consists of to help these people in their liberation struggles against Hitlerian tyranny and then to leave them freely to decide their fates as they will."

(Stalin, The 24th Anniversary of the October Revolution, Works Vol. 14, November 6, 1941, page 257)

The demands on the Red Army upon entering the pro-fascist Nazi satellite or vassal states (for example, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Austria) were complex.

"The criterion for the behavior of the Soviet power towards the people of these countries was the criterion of being free of pro-fascist ruling classes and participation in practical anti-Nazi armed struggle."

V. The Destruction of the Nazi Power Centers in the Fight for Berlin: "A Rabid Dog is still dangerous as it dies!"

On its progress towards Germany, the Red Army liberated, among other places, the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp.

"The Red Army had fought for four years in the bloodiest and most brutal war in world history. With their own eyes they saw the brutalities and horrors of the Nazi hangmen, seeing the burned out places and destroyed regions. But this terrible sight far surpassed anything they had previously seen..."

This horror understandably called forth not only hatred, but also feelings the need for revenge. Stalin

had prepared for this when he remarked in 1942 that:
"Certainly the Red Army sees before it the need to annihilate the fascist German occupiers, because they want to subjugate our homeland, or, caught up by our troops, they resist giving up their weapons and being captured. The Red Army annihilates them not because they are German, but because they've tried to subjugate our homeland."

(Stalin, Order of the People's Commissariat for Defense, February 23, 1942, Works Vol. 14, page 267)

It was a serious problem that up until the end there was no anti-Nazi uprising of German working people.

"The Red Army that fought on German soil for the destruction of Nazi-fascism entered openly enemy territory."

Because now they dealt with

"...overly large segments of the population who were pro-Nazi in outlook, and were driven by chauvinist, racist, anti-Semitic and anti-communist sentiments, by a spirit that would dominate and finally by one of fear for their part in the Nazi-fascist crimes. They felt no need to give an account of themselves and their deeds but simply sought to defend their freedom."

On May 1st, 1945 the Red Army hoisted the Red Flag onto the Reichstag in Berlin, after they

"quarter by quarter, house by house, floor by floor had defeated the resistance of the Nazi Wehrmacht, SS, Volkstürms, Wehrwolfe, HJ and a population supportive of Nazi-fascists. On the 8th May 1945 Nazi Germany capitulated."

VI. Summary

The balance of the Nazi-fascist War of conquest and extermination against the socialist Soviet Union

"In the Second World War around 27,650,000 Soviet people were killed, every 7th member of the population ... The material losses ran upwards of 2.569 Billion Rubles."

"Among the millions who sacrificed their lives were some of the best comrades, murdered by the Nazis."

Factors for the Victory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Under the Direction of Stalin:

It was decisive that the dictatorship of the proletariat existed in the Soviet Union, in that the alliance between the workers with the mass of the working population and the previously exploited peasants under the direction of their revolutionary communist party were successfully building socialism, in which all nationalities had equal rights and lived together in friendship. It was decisive that the working people of the Soviet Union were willing to defend these

achievements with their lives and to the death so as to free the countries occupied by the Nazis."

Defend the Experiences of the Socialist Soviet Union in the War for the Destruction of Nazi-fascism against the Khrushchev-Brezhnev Revisionists!

The fight against the Nazi-fascists brought with it a series of compromises.

"The compromises with major imperialist powers comprising the Anti-Hitler alliance were justified in that context, even necessary. But the Khrushchev-Brezhnev revisionists applied these compromises to other historical contexts and used them as connecting points in their capitalist change of color."

Further:

"The historic understanding of the tremendous tensions, losses, weaknesses and strengths in the struggle against Nazi-fascism sharpens our sight for the demagogic 'achievements' of Khrushchev and Brezhnev to cover up their revisionist betrayals"

The Bulletin also contains articles on the following themes:

Incomplete Chronology of the events of World War Two

Pages from a Nazi soldier's instructional manual

Excerpts from the Nazi-fascist "Commissar's Directive" of 1941

"Highlights" of Nazi Crimes in the Soviet Union: "The Total Number of Peaceful Russian Citizens I shot and hanged I can't recall, because there were too many of them and I only remember a few cases..."

Nazi Concentration Camps in the Soviet Union

Systematic killing of the Jewish Population of the Soviet Union

Systematic extermination of the Roma Population of the Soviet Union: "corresponding to the directions for the treatment of Jews"

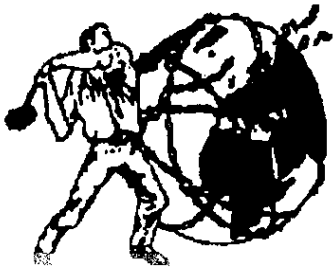
Planned killing of captive Red Army soldiers

Highlights of the support given to the partisans by the local civil population of the Soviet Union

The female members of the Red Army and partisans in the anti-Nazi War

The Dual Character of the Warsaw Uprising of 1944





Bulletin 1/02

**information for the revolutionary,
marxist-leninist forces of all countries**

excerpt and synopsis of publications of "Gegen die Strömung" – organ for the building of
the revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: **January–March 2002**

Published quarterly in **English, French, Italian, Dutch, Russian, Spanish and Turkish**

In January 2002 "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:

**The Continuing Struggles of the Exploited and Oppressed in Argentina
show the progressive powers of the entire world:**

As it is now, it will not remain!

"In the middle of December the struggles of the exploited and oppressed in Argentina once again flamed up with great violence. The militantly led demonstrations were primarily economic struggles against the increasing deterioration of living conditions. Demonstrations and abundant procurements of food, especially in the suburbs of Buenos Aires, spread over the entire country and developed into powerful demonstrations, strikes, militant street fighting and finally into a regular revolt. The fights, developed spontaneously in view of the increasing impoverishment of great masses of working people, were increasingly directed not only against the continuing misery, not only against a specific government, but also against the imperial masters of the reactionary Argentine state, imperial finance capital and the ruling classes of Argentina itself.

Neither through terror, parliamentary manoeuvres nor loud 'anti-imperialist' sounding phrases mouthed by the representatives of the exploiting classes in Argentina, none of these in the long run will be enough to settle the dissatisfaction of the masses of exploited and working people in Argentina. Because the struggles in Argentina show: 'As it is now, it will not remain!' Within the framework of the imperialist system there is no solution for the exploited and oppressed!"

The bulletin next describes in detail the course of the struggles. In addition to a special section with the title "Basic Facts about Argentina" which contains fundamental information about the economy and history of Argentina, the bulletin then details the historical and current role of German impe-

rialism in Argentina. As an introduction:

"If the current struggles against imperialist finance-capital are primarily directed against the momentary dominance of US imperialism, then the revolutionary forces in Argentina will increasingly take German imperialism into their aim. It is, as history shows, a deadly enemy of the exploited and working people of Argentina."

Especially at the time of the Nazi-fascist dictatorship in Germany, German imperialism appealed to Argentina for three primary reasons: first the large number of "foreign Germans" who had been incited for decades in a German national way for keeping their "Germanness". They served as a most reliable core troop for the ideological and political expansion of German imperialism in Argentina. Secondly, the influence on the police and military apparatus is not to be underestimated nor is the relatively strong economic position of German imperialist concerns. The demagogic propaganda of the allegedly 'antiimperialist' policies of Nazi-Germany was another point of connection. In a separate section of the Bulletin, "A Debt of Thanks to the Former Soldiers of the German Army" (Peron 1952), is a list of some of the 'prominent' examples of the approximately 30,000 Nazi henchmen and war criminals that found refuge in Argentina. The small box of the leaflet takes Mercedes-Benz in Argentina as an example: "With the left work councils murdered and the naming of a repressor as head of security, none in the factory spoke up any longer...". German concerns were not only blood-suckers and exploiters, but were also complicit in the torture and oppression of the working people of Argentina. Finally, the Bulletin remarks:

"During the struggles of recent weeks, the

exploited working people of Argentina have experienced that it is possible to demonstrate militantly, to strike and – even in a city like Buenos Aires when confronted with 45,000 police and soldiers – to exercise revolutionary power ... These are all invaluable experiences. Yet the mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in an interview point out a central deficiency: 'Greatly missing is a political consciousness. There is a tiny starting point in the consciousness of the people, that they should take to the streets because they've realized that they're in a position to chase a president from office...' Such a consciousness – which is clear to the revolutionary forces of Argentina – can only be created by communist party that makes is oriented to the revolutionary, scientific communism to be found in the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. This party will intervene in the day-to-day economic and democratic strug-

gles and increasingly become a leading force against the enslavement brought about by the imperialist world system. It will direct the struggle against the deepest and most fundamental cause of the impoverishment and unemployment of the exploited and working people: the capitalist system. The communist party will propagate the important successes and experiences of the past and current mass movement as well as criticize and struggle against its deficiencies and weak points. Communists will expose and fight against the false friends of the people; those who would attempt to deceive the struggling masses with offers of an ideology of reformism, nationalism, a left-acting Peronism or revisionism."

Included in the Bulletin is a poster stating "Solidarity with the Struggles of the Working People and Exploited of Argentina!"



In February 2002 the leaflet appeared

NPD and Verfassungsschutz*:

Nazis in the middle of the state apparatus!

"For years it has been clear to every activist in the anti-Nazi struggle, that there are numerous connections between the Nazis and the German imperialist state apparatus and that the Nazis were and still are very well financed. In the recent cases busted up in connection to the NPD prohibition proceedings not at last the exceptional 'invulnerability' of high-ranking Nazi functionaries stands out. Facts now emerging from the internal contradictions of various departments of German imperialism raise the question of the connection between Nazi street gangs and the Nazis in the state apparatus. More generally the question is raised concerning the connection between the Nazi movement and the state apparatus of German imperialism."

The position that the Nazi street gangs are responsible for the murders of well over 100 refugees, homeless and leftists, as well as hundreds of arsons and thousands of brutal attacks resulting in severe injuries, even the most severe injury, is certainly correct. The state apparatus promotes these actions

of Nazis with its "alien laws", allowing the police and the BGS brutally to abuse those now criminalized as so-called "illegals". By means of brutal, even murderous policies of deportation-terror are used by the "state" and in this context it is certainly correct to conduct a struggle against the "official" terror of the state without neglecting the "unofficial" terror of the Nazi street gangs.

"But what may has been neglected is to what degree the middle and other levels of the state apparatus itself are directly caught up in the Nazi network. The Nazis in these parts of the state apparatus have won further influence even against the top levels of the bourgeois, parliamentary parties, which for their part are now begin to seem anxiously and more or less publicly seeking 'compromise' with the Nazis."

Before the background of an accepted coalition in Austria between 'normal' reactionary parties and the more or less openly Nazi parties, the coalition with the FPÖ and Haider in Austria, or Berlusconi's party in Italy, it becomes easier to understand that

this all corresponds to the fundamental interests of German imperialism. It is in the interests of German imperialism to tie to itself certain parts of the population by Nazi-fascist departments like the NPD, so as to increase the pressure ideologically and politically for the fascistization of all aspects of social life."

It is therefore an important task of the communists to prove that the anchoring of the Nazi movement in the state apparatus of German imperialism did not end in the '70s and '80s. Nor is it "biologically" tied to the existence of the old Nazis, but rather is to be found even more in the exchange of generations in the essential regions of the state apparatus, the mid-level and other levels, which were organized and implemented under the direction of the old Nazis. The leaflet continues:

"State terror is practiced by various organs of the state apparatus against people

from other countries as well as against democratic and revolutionary forces: by the employees in the alien registration offices, the guards in the deportation prisons, the police officers who conduct racist raids or deportations, to the operators and employees of the 'Central Foreigner detention camps', the judges and prosecutors, all the way to the employees of the secret services ... With this background it must be understood that the struggle against the Nazis is more directly connected to the struggle for the destruction of the state apparatus of German imperialism ... that the comprehensive struggle against the Nazis needs to be subordinated and ordered according to the struggle for the destruction of the entire state apparatus of German imperialism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat over the deposed imperialists, their tools, the Nazis and the other reactionaries."

* NPD: "National Democratic Party of Germany", a nazi party

Verfassungsschutz: "office for the defending of the constitution" = German secret service for the interior

BGS: special police unit to control the borders, to support the police against demonstrations and to conduct deportations



In March 2002 "Gegen die Strömung" published the leaflet:

Ex-Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Kuwait and Somalia ...

German Imperialism's Third Military Attempt at World Dominance!

"A new stage of military escalation has been achieved with the military action of the German army in the war in and around Afghanistan. At the same time, during the last few months a growing rivalry with US imperialism has become clear, especially in relation to the planning of the war against Iraq. Politicians, the media, and 'military specialists' of German imperialism simultaneously have begun a campaign stating that the German military supposedly is 'insufficiently armed', 'weak', and 'not combat ready'. What's behind this?"

Current Inventory:

Rapid expansion of military bases and war actions of the Bundeswehr and an openly announced distancing from US imperialism.

In enormous speed German imperialism is using the current situation for increased arms buildups and expansion of its military bases: a German

flotilla and other military detachments are in the vicinity of Djibouti and Somalia, German marine aircraft are stationed in Kenya, German special forces have been sent to Kuwait, and a German army base has been built in Uzbekistan. In total today there are approximately 10,000 German troops "serving on foreign soil".

Militarization in all social realms, driven at a monstrous tempo, has allowed German imperialism to surprise large sectors of the German left. They do not see the ideological and political connection between the increased military participation and the basic worldwide goals of German imperialism. Clinging to the thesis of the supposed "supremacy" of US imperialism, which German imperialism could never honestly challenge militarily, allows the strength and dangers of German imperialism to be downplayed.

Medium-range Inventory:

Major defense program in the interest of

furthering the goals of German imperialism to control the world. Expenditures on the Bundeswehr that will ensure that it is "capable of interventions to secure peace, wherever that may be necessary." (Admiral ret.(d) Weisser)

The current inventory of the machinations of German militarism may only be understood from the perspective of the next 10 or 20 years. The medium-range plan is to support the Bundeswehr with a gigantic arms package of more than 110 billion Euro with the goal of not only placing it on the same level as the other major world imperialist powers so that it could conduct local "proxy wars" within the next 5 to 10 years. Even more, the goal is to allow it to be able to conduct large-scale wars as well.

Long-term war goal of German imperialism:

In the third attempt at world domination – "We must now bring about something we have failed to achieve twice before." (Ex foreign minister Kinkel)

In a separate section of the leaflet the especially aggressive nature of German imperialism is discussed as well as imperialist Germany's place as an independent source of war. After this, it is shown that, without being prejudiced by the momentary superiority especially of US imperialism over German imperialism, the whole of the basic factors being decisive for an intensified confrontation between the imperialists up to an imperialist war between them, should not be overlooked. Among these are:

"– ... The military strike power of German imperialism can be increased enormously not simply due to the great economic potential available to it, but also due to its capacity to convert the entire country into a kind of well functioning war factory. The particular brand of militarism found in Germany goes back mainly to reactionary Prussia ...

– ... Without setting today's German imperialism on a par with that of the time of Nazi-fascism, those previous military experiences are today still worthy of our attention. Despite the 'secret' arming of the country, the military powers of German imperialism at the end of the Weimar republic were still relatively small in comparison to those of the USA, France or England. It is important to note that within just a few years, by means of its 'Blitzkrieg strategy', it was able to subject

vast portions of Europe to its rule, thereby acquiring the military potential (arms production, raw materials, and so on) ...

– ... Concerning the prospects of success of this third attempt by German imperialism at world dominance, decisive importance will be placed in whether it is able, in successful competition against the other imperialist powers, to gain control of large portions of the former Soviet Union ... whether it can more or less directly tie these into its military and strategic control in order to reap the enormous benefits of their potential (above all in raw materials which would be indispensable for conducting war)."

Fight for the destruction of the Bundeswehr, the murderous machinery of German imperialism, militarism and revanchism!

"... Systematic exposure of all operations of the imperialist Bundeswehr over the years, over decades even, is a crucial starting point. These will allow day to day struggles against this or that crime by the Bundeswehr finally to become struggles which can be led by a true communist party that will place the entire system of German imperialism, militarism and revanchism into question. It is necessary to fight for the fall of the bourgeoisie in a revolutionary civil war, then to realize the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy. The complete destruction of capitalism must be brought about in order to build up socialism and communism."

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Bulletin 2/02

**Information for the revolutionary,
Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries**

Excerpt and synopsis of the publications of „Gegen die Strömung“ – Organ for the building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany April–June 2002

★ Published quarterly in Turkish, French, English, Spanish, Italian, Dutch and Russian ★

The April leaflet from „Gegen die Strömung“, which appeared on May 1st, carried the title:

The imperialist „Lords of the World“ DON'T control everything!

**The just struggles of the Exploited and Oppressed
of the world will not be stopped!”**

The bourgeois media announce that the imperialist power holders have control over everything and that in the end all resistance against their rule is futile. In order to make this false notion appear plausible they attempt to silence all real struggles against imperialism on an international level, relegating important struggles and movements such as those in South Korea and Nepal and others, to marginal notes, distorting the very character of these movements and so on. Anti-racist protest actions, anti-Nazi struggles and even protest actions in German plants have for the most part been silenced.

In the following, two outstanding movements will be emphasized as examples:

Learn about the hard fighting workers of South Korea and support their struggle in word and deed!

For years the really fighting and partly militant movement of Korean workers has struggled and among their actions, four exemplary instances are briefly described. Despite great repression by the reactionary state apparatus, such as brutal beatings at the hands of the police as well as arrests and prosecutions, the workers, partly together with the help and support of students and farmers, have carried out strikes and factory occupations.

Support the armed liberation struggle in Nepal against feudal reaction and imperialist subjugation!

Since 1996 an armed struggle for liberation has been taking place in Nepal.

“The vast, mostly inaccessible mountainous regions of rural Nepal have served as the base for the armed struggle. Here the majority of the populace is comprised of very poor and landless peasants who have little property worth mentioning. Yet even the bourgeois media have since had to admit that more than one third of the country's 75 districts are now under the armed control of the revolutionary forces.”

The wide participation of women in the armed struggle as well as the linkage of a broad-based mass movement of the rural exploited with their counterparts in the cities are important features of this struggle.

The Nepalese state has reacted to this armed struggle with the most brutal terror. German imperialists are complicitous in this terror as they aid the reactionary rulers of Nepal with shipments of arms and machinery for arms production.

“It is the duty of workers and all progressive powers in Germany to expose and fight against these and all other machinations of German imperialism which serve as oppression of the revolutionary liberation struggle in Nepal. Whoever accepts or even supports such crimes are themselves guilty.

At the same time it is the duty of all forces arrayed against imperialism to support the revolutionary liberation struggle in Nepal as much as possible: morally, politically and materially. This includes and demands the study of documents as well as engaging in debates led in an atmosphere of solidarity together with those forces oriented on the red banner of communism in Nepal.”

And here in Germany?

"Protests against the many reactionary incursions of German imperialism, above all its war policies were few, momentary or sometimes there were no protests at all. A frightening level of 'comfort' predominates concerning this 'German normalcy', even among those forces that understand themselves to be democratic and revolutionary."

In the following, some of the struggles and actions against the murderous policy of deportation of the recent year in Germany. These struggles and actions were organized and carried out mainly by the same immigrants and refugees who were the targets of these policies. Of special significance is the continuity and variety of the struggles and demonstrations against the advance of Nazism.

Connecting the day-to-day struggle to a unified struggle against German imperialism: The perspective of the Proletarian revolution

The advance and the more impudent demands of chauvinist German imperialism steadily increase and in the past few months has been marked by moments of intensifying rivalry with US imperialism.

The further course of events will enumerate great political day-to-day tasks that must be addressed in Germany, among which are:

- *The struggle against the increasing international economic, political, and military big power activities of German imperialism, militarism and chauvinism*

- *Active support of the exploited and oppressed peoples, especially of those of who are exploited and oppressed by 'our own' German imperialism*

But we can't simply remain on the level of day-to-day political tasks. The point is to prepare the way for the proletarian revolution and to overturn the extant social order. This means ordering the democratic struggles within and under this larger struggle of the smashing of the the bourgeois state apparatus in the socialist revolution, in the revolutionary civil war and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In conclusion is stated that,

"Decisive above all else today is the struggle for the building of a revolutionary communist party ..."

„Proletarians of all countries unite!“

The decisive and crucial weakness also of the great struggles, such as in South Korea, must be disclosed.

"Missing is a true international solidarity of the various class struggles in all the countries of the five continents. Briefly put, the cause is the absence of a powerful communist world movement."

It is up to the communists of all countries to build true communist parties based upon the foundation of scientific communism, as decisive levers that we can grasp to successfully guide developing revolutionary mass struggles."

The bulletin contains a box listing the struggles in other countries over the course of the past year.



We publish the May and June leaflets in their entirety due to their great political significance and to avoid distortions caused by editing.

Fight the Growing Enmity Against the Jews in Germany!

It's once again expanding, growing stronger, and bolder and sometimes it even seems to argue. One moment nationalist, the next international, it is pushed forward by people who have names and addresses. It is propagated by seemingly contradictory political forces, from the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) to Möllemann of the Free Democratic Party, from chancellor Schröder to the author Walser and the Nazi Mahler. Multifaceted, it has a virtually inexhaustible arsenal of often amazing stupidities and bottomless

brutality as its backdrop: Not only pogroms, expulsions, murder and robbery, but also death camps like Auschwitz-Birkenau, Treblinka, Sobibor, Chelmno, Majdanek-Lublin... We are talking about anti-Semitism, the enmity and hatred directed against Jews.

Currently anti-Semitism rides a wave in waters that aren't so new: At the moment it supposedly accompanies 'Zionism' and the war between the Israeli army and the armed forces of the Palestinian autonomous zones. But the fact is that synagogues

have been attacked and burned, that 'Death to the Jews' can be read on banners, and further, that in the PDS-organ 'Neues Deutschland' ('New Germany') Möllemann celebrates the electoral victory of Haider's FPÖ as the 'emancipation of democratic forces'. And everywhere you hear the murmur that 'there's something to that'. Does it really pay to refute claims from the anti-Semite's arsenal that are already 'beneath contempt'? But because no one can convince these flesh and blood anti-Semites by arguments, other means must be sought. Against this current there still exists a tendency among democratic and revolutionary oriented forces in Germany that needs to be strengthened and supported. To that end, the thesis that 'the Jews themselves are responsible for anti-Semitism' must become the object of our criticism – because this ever-growing Anti-Semitism is increasingly becoming a more dangerous weapon of German imperialism, both at home and abroad.

The entire demagogic form of thought that 'the Jews themselves are responsible for anti-Semitism' is deeply rooted in the history of the enmity towards them. Anti-Jewish 'arguments' assumed the form used by religious Christian anti-Semitism, which repeated the empty phrases of the Bible, such as 'the Jews' were to blame for the crucifixion of Christ, as justification for its pogroms and crusades. Economic anti-Semitism claimed as grounds for its murder and pillaging that 'the Jews' were exploiting 'the poor' by means of greedy business and financial transactions. Rich Jews were simply too rich, and poor Jews were simply too poor. The racist anti-Semitism of the Nazis made use of these aspects as well, but mainly concentrated on the construction of a 'inferior race of Jews who were unworthy of life'. Like the Sinti and Roma, who were defamed by the Nazis as 'gypsies' and believed to be fundamentally bad and incapable of being reformed, the Jews were nothing more than bacteria that weren't to be dealt with or educated, but simply exterminated. According to this anti-Semitic view, the mere existence of the Jews is the problem. If they didn't exist, then there would no longer be grounds for any enmity against them.

It's known that this program for the extermination of the Jews was carried out by the Nazis in a great part. But despite the deportations to the death camps, despite the attempts of the Nazi army under General Rommel to conquer Palestine, the Nazis were unable to complete this program. As center of the anti-Nazi coalition, the Red Army liberated Auschwitz and Europe from the murderous Nazi regime. The anti-Nazi coalition, among which were many Jewish soldiers and partisans, conquered Nazi Germany.

Militarily defeated, the great majority of Nazis in Germany simply changed shirts and party badges.

In accordance with the Potsdam agreement Germany was occupied in 1945. The Nazi slogan that the „stronger have the right“ and the fact that the anti-Hitler coalition was at that time stronger, led to a superficial turning away from Hitler. But what of the crimes of the Nazis? The genocide of the Jews couldn't be denied or lessened by these parties, so instead they took it as a great humiliation. But what was hurt? The murdered Jewish families? In individual cases perhaps, but what actually caused the most pain was that Germany's honor had been wounded!!

German nationalism was the keynote in this propagandistic three-part harmony of the Nazis. 'Awake Germany' comprised in various views the basis for 'Juda verrecke' ('Death to the Jews!') and „Death to Bolshevism“.

If the third voice in the harmony momentarily seems to be missing, it is nevertheless present: After 1945 the reascension of 'Germany', the greatly weakened German imperialism was engineered without delay. „Death to Bolshevism“, directed against the victorious socialist Soviet Union led by Stalin, grew louder. And 'Juda verrecke' seemed to be muted. Yes, the old Nazis who were once again in exalted positions adomed themselves internationally – almost without exception – with 'Jewish friends'. They seemed to pay their respects and delivered Sunday speeches about how terrible things had been then and how much better they now were.

German imperialism strengthened. A Soviet Union long since robbed of revolutionary content by bureaucracy and revisionism, itself emerging as an imperialist power, dissolved under pressure from the other imperialist big-powers. But before it did, it managed to sell the caricature of a German socialist state similarly riddled with bureaucracy and revisionism in the form of the GDR to German imperialism. German soldiers fight together with their enemy 'friend', US imperialism, in nearly all parts of the world. Germany has awakened anew. Anything that even remotely reminded of Bolshevism, anything that even gave the hint of revolution is fought and at last German history appears finally to have been mastered.

The German base has awakened and the German superstructure moved along as well-sometimes more, sometimes less. The revision of history, the revision of the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition over Nazi-fascism had long since begun. The re-writing of history began right in 1945. Occasionally there were a few scandals along the way which became known to the

public to a larger extent. Someone 'caused trouble' here or there, and with that the third part of the Nazi ideological harmony was mobilized. The credo of anti-Semitism after Auschwitz became: 'The Jew causes trouble'. Put sarcastically and polemically 'Germans will never forgive the Jews for Auschwitz'. The memory of this mass-murderous act of Nazi-Germany is contained in the very existences of the surviving Jews. This is the contemporary conception of 'Juda verrecke'!

'The Jew causes trouble' – this was heard in Bitburg in 1985 as Jewish protesters demonstrated while representatives of the highest levels of West German imperialism placed wreaths on the graves of SS-murderers.

'The Jew causes trouble' – this was heard during the German 'historians dispute' with Nolte in 1989, when he 'explained' the mass murder of European Jews as a supposedly justified response to Bolshevism.

'The Jew causes trouble' – we hear it now in the strivings of German imperialism, both with and against US imperialism, as it again seeks to establish its old and new power and mastery throughout Europe and the world.

Anti-Semitism is present in the streets in the forms of Nazi-thugs and in Nazi-death squads. It is also seen in the various upper levels of German imperialism – sometimes in different roles, sometimes the same tone. It's present, active and at times used as an ace in the hole to clear obstacles out of its way.

Schröder, Walser and Möllemann have themselves in recent weeks written the most recent chapter of this unending story as day and night anti-Semitic attacks are carried out also in Germany.

Walser, a practicing anti-Semite and winner of the peace-prize of German book trade, years ago fought off the supposed 'Auschwitz cudgel', singing his own 'Awake Germany' to thunderous applause from the upper thousands of the German imperialist elite. Schröder once suggested that it was finally time for German soldiers to intervene in the Arab-Israeli conflict to help restore peace and order so that once again things would become 'normal'. 'In the interest of peace' German soldiers should 'go shoot Jews'. On May 8th of this year, Schröder met with the literary head of anti-Semitism, Martin Walser, in order to rant about the 'Awake Germany' program.

This was political support for the shortly following hate tirade by Walser about the 'Death of a Jewish Critic' which he so longed for (and wrote a novel about it), but which still hadn't come, because these Jews are tenacious and ageless and continue to plague Germany

with their existence -- we hear the same old tune once again.

In this time span, Möllemann has come to head a campaign to stabilize a LePen- and Haider-like movement in Germany. Its aim is to create an alliance with diverse reactionary regimes worldwide that share an intensified anti-Semitism and increased opposition to US imperialism.

'The Jew causes trouble' even to these manoeuvres of the leading personalities of German imperialism, he protests even against the political popularization of the anti-Semitic notion that 'Jews themselves are to blame', that without Jews there would be no anti-Semitism, and that if they should even open their mouths, then they'll get it right in the mouth.

Although it's almost secondary that Möllemann has connected this growing anti-Semitism to the persons of Michel Friedman (vice president of the Central Council of the Jews in Germany) and Sharon (in contemporary Israeli politics), and so – in his view – justifies his intensifying hatred of Jews, the following rhetorical question is all the more necessary for disproving:

If Israel was not today a reactionary state, but instead a progressive one, which consistently goaded and fought German imperialism, would there be less anti-Semitism in Germany?

If Michel Friedman, a member of the CDU (Christian Democratic Union, a political party), and really no consistent democrat, to speak carefully, if in his role as member of the Central Council of Jews in Germany he were more consistent, stubborn, inconsiderate, would there then be less anti-Semitism in Germany?

Anti-Semitism in Germany as a solid component of the ideology of German 'members of the master race' is once again in vogue on the ascent of German imperialism. It's popular even among the sectors of the population that understand themselves to be leftist.

Anti-Semitism in all of its facets must be fought to the death by all truly consistent democratic and revolutionary forces and in solidarity with all living and dead Jews, bearing in mind that, together with German nationalism and anti-Communism, it is one of the sharpest weapons of the German imperialist reactionaries.

GEGEN DIE STRÖMUNG, 30. 5. 2002

The leaflet also contains an excerpt of 'Rot Front' No. 2, resolution 3 of the 2nd party conference of Gegen die Strömung, 'Death to German imperialism, revanchism and militarism!', July 1996, p. 68-70:

Fight Anti-Semitism!

'Anti-Semitism means spreading enmity towards the Jews ... In other countries, too, we often see the capitalists fomenting hatred against the Jews in order to blind the workers, to divert their attention from the real enemy of the working people, capital... Shame on those who foment hatred against the Jews, who foment hatred towards other nations.' (Lenin, 'Anti-Jewish Pogroms', 1919, Works Volume 29, pp. 252-253)

Anti-Semitism was the ideology, which in the praxis of the Nazi dictatorship, contributed to the industrial and state-organized genocide of 6 million Jews – from infants to the elderly.

Anti-Semitism in Germany is a centuries old tradition. It is a deeply rooted negative inheritance of the German people that has spread its roots even into the ranks of the worker's movement. In no way was it invented by the Nazis, it also existed in West Germany since its founding and exists today in Germany in various forms and gradations. After the SS were honored in Bitburg it openly reappeared in public. Anti-Semitism has once again strengthened and became socially acceptable the extreme right and even certain 'left liberal' circles.

Shaken off is the reserve that was shown at least in some ways for decades. Shaken off is the reserve linked to the 'fresh' memory of Auschwitz and the supposed 'taboo' against 'criticism of Jews'. Now some 40 or 50 years later, old prejudices about supposedly 'Jewish behavior' are given free rein. Precisely those survivors of Auschwitz, those who represent what could be called a living indictment of the crimes of German imperialists, are being attacked and slandered up to the infamous reproach that only those most 'lacking in scruples', the most 'brutal', were in a position to have survived Auschwitz. This is the peculiar type of Anti-Semitism and Jew-baiting that we witness after Auschwitz, because of Auschwitz.

Anti-Semitism is one of the most extreme forms of chauvinism and racism. It immediately threatens the Jewish population of Germany and carries with it the threat of pogroms. Anti-Semitism has extremely increased during the last years. Vandalism and destruction of Jewish cemeteries are the order of the day. Anti-Semitic Nazi-fascist terror extends from the

arson attacks upon memorials at the former concentration camps in Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald to the arson attacks on the synagogue in Lübeck. Another example is the brutal killing of Karl-Hans Rohn, mistaken by Nazis as a person of Jewish heritage. All of this was made possible and even encouraged by the anti-Semitic propaganda expounded by representatives of the German state, additionally by making socially acceptable the denial of the industrial genocide in Auschwitz and the other death camps.

Therefore a revolutionary communist party in Germany must wage an intensified battle against all forms of anti-Semitism in solidarity with the Jewish population in Germany in its struggle against discrimination and persecution. The history of its struggle must be made known.

Because it is as Stalin said, 'the communists as consistent internationalists cannot but be irreconcilable, sworn enemies of anti-Semitism.' (see Stalin, On Anti-Semitism, 1931, works No. 13, p. 26)

Therefore we in the worker's movement must make no concessions to pseudo-leftist conceptions which hold what in reality is anti-Semitism – such as the lie that anti-Semitism contains some supposedly 'anti-capitalist elements'. Engels long since refuted this deeply reactionary idea when he wrote 'Anti-Semitism disguised as 'socialism' ... can only serve reactionary ends.' (Engels, 'On Anti-Semitism', 1890, Marx/Engels Works, No. 22, p. 50)

In the tradition of Marx and Engels, anti-Semitism must be seen as a reactionary manifestation of the exploitative orders and war must be declared against it mercilessly. The traditions of scientific communism, of the struggle of Marx and Engels, and also of the important struggles of Lenin, Stalin and the Communist International, also of the history of the working class movement's struggles against Anti-Semitism must be made known. As well the struggles to protect the Jewish population from the attacks of anti-Semites at the time of Marx and Engels, as well the efforts of KPD comrades during the hell of the concentration camps to protect and defense those most affected by anti-Semitism must also be propagated. But the omissions and mistakes of the communist and worker's movement, especially those of the KPD, its leaders and its cadres, must be uncovered and acknowledged – in theoretical, propagandistic and directly practical realms. Only in this manner today will we be conscious of and learn from these struggles.

In June 2002 the following leaflet was published

The Imperialist Big-Powers Turn the Peoples Against One Another In Order to Continue Their Expansion.

The Masses of the Working People of Israel and of the Autonomous Regions Together Will Begin a New Page in Their Fight Against Imperialism and Chauvinism

In light of current events in the Middle East the military proceedings of the reactionary Israeli army against the Palestinian autonomous regions as well as the bomb attacks by reactionary Hamas and other organizations directed increasingly only against Israeli civilians – revolutionary forces throughout the world turn no hope toward any short-term solutions. Theirs and our solidarity go out to the relatively very few democratic and revolutionary forces in Israel who are actively fighting the police state terror and discrimination resembling to racism and who as a result are branded 'traitors to their country' and 'helpers of Palestine'. In solidarity with the enslaved Palestinian masses they battle their 'own' reactionary government.

Theirs and our solidarity go out to the relatively very few democratic and revolutionary forces among the Palestinian population who make no concessions to the real coalition of the PLO and Hamas. They fight actively against the reactionary motto of an 'intervention of the big powers'. Instead they fight for their own rights and at the same time against all forms of Arab reaction and all occurrences of Anti-Semitism. They fight actively against any actions that lead to the defamation of all Israelis and „Jews“-and as a result are excluded as „Israeli collaborators“ and frequently threatened with and affected by execution and extermination.

Revolutionary forces throughout the world oriented to scientific communism know that only Jewish-Palestinian solidarity, which today exists only in seed form, can cut the cursed knot of enmity existing between the masses of the population of Israel and of the Palestinian autonomous regions. This is only possible in the common struggle against the imperialist big powers. These powers merely enflame this enmity so as then to put themselves forward as proponents of peace. In this common struggle against 'the own' reaction, a fundamental solution is at hand and is based upon the idea of two States, an idea supported in 1947 by the then socialist Soviet Union.

The following theses, which we submit for

discussion, are the first results of our debate over the war between Israel and the Palestinian autonomous regions.

Theses:

1. Over the past 20 years, the imperialist big powers have increasingly taken to using existing conflicts in the world as wedges to divide people. Supporting both sides in reactionary wars (such as the Iran-Iraq war), instituting carpet bombing as in the war against the ex-Yugoslavia, using purportedly nationalist movements – like in Kosovo – as ground troops and cannon fodder, to prolong and intensify these conflicts. We witness the same tactics being used to fuel the conflict between India and Pakistan in Kashmir as well as in the war between Israel and the Palestinian autonomous regions. What is especially striking today are the lengths to which the PLO-Authority goes to beg whimpering US-imperialism and the European imperialist big powers for 'help', while the pro-US imperialism reactionaries at the helm of the Israeli government increasingly distance themselves, whether only apparently or in fact, from US imperialism.

2. A current evaluation without the necessary historical background, however, allows for no true political understanding of the state of the war between Israel and the Palestinian autonomous regions. Any simple judgment which understands the conduct of the Israeli army against the Palestinian Autonomous regions, against Palestinian civilians and Palestinian armed forces as well as the attacks carried out by Hamas primarily against Israeli civilians as 'acts of desperation' rather than as expressions of a reactionary ideological political line, remains far too superficial.

3. The decisive juncture of these historical backgrounds came with the debate of the 1947 plan proposed mainly by the then socialist Soviet Union calling for the founding of two states. This plan was conceived after the call for the founding of a common state had failed. The essential impetus for these suggestions was first and foremost the experiences of the wars of liberation undertaken against Nazi

Germany and also thorough consideration of the history of both the Jewish and Palestinian peoples.

4. Everywhere in their imperialist war against English imperialism, the Nazis had bought and paid for the influence of corrupt leaders active in the anti-English movement in colonially oppressed countries. Such influence was purchased financially and with political and military support in lands such as India and Ireland, but also in Arab lands, above all in Palestine with the Mufti of Jerusalem being the most prominent. So developed the purported 'anti-imperialist' war of liberation against English imperialism in its colony Palestine, which set the masses of Jewish and Palestinian nationality against one another. Partly led and supported by Nazi Germany, this pro-Nazi struggle became the criminal „Fight Against the World Jewry“, in which the exterminationist component exercised considerable influence. The Mufti of Jerusalem embodied this tendency and even today he is celebrated as a so-called 'Palestinian patriot'. He helped the Nazis build the Bosnian-Muslim SS Units and in return for this 'distinction' received 'asylum' in Nazi Germany. The great majority of the persecuted Jewish populace however participated directly or indirectly in the world-historical liberation struggle against Nazism of the states and peoples comprising the AntiHitler coalition.

5. Reactionary Arab states refused to accept the plan for the founding of two states and in 1948 began the first war against Israel. The leading sector in Israel had, prior to the breakup of the Anti-Hitler coalition, developed into forces dependent upon US imperialism. With its support, they used the situation to turn Israel not only away from the English imperialists, but also against the Two State plan, thereby furthering their own territorial ambitions. Prior, during and after this war, reactionary Israeli organizations conducted massacres in Palestinian villages. Reactionary Arab states encourages the refuge of Palestinian people, promising the rapid repatriation of Palestinian refugees as a matter of weeks, following what they thought would be the military destruction of Israel. Since then the refugee problem has increased a hundred thousand fold. Palestinian refugees, their children and grandchildren, continue to live in refugee camps.

6. Increasingly Israel has been militarily outfitted to become a base of US imperialism in the Middle East. It has supported both ideologically and practically the worldwide crimes US-imperialism commits (Pinochet, the Contras in Nicaragua ...). At the same time the US still exerted massive influence on the other Arab states. For their part, reactionary Arab states have also been armed by the other imperialist big powers, especially

by the social imperialist Soviet Union. These states are then used as tools in the rivalry between these major powers.

7. The creation of the PLO as a national liberation movement alongside other revolutionary-democratic organizations worldwide, supported by democratic and revolutionary and communist forces in Israel, suffers from the outset from the following basically mistaken assessments:

- * The refusal on principle of the plan of 1947 for the creation of two states and the fundamental right for the existence of an Israeli state as proposed by the Soviet Union (led then by Stalin)

- * Orientation towards the reactionary Arab states and towards the Thesis of 'a single Arab nation'

- * No correct understanding of the reactionary, pro-Nazi influences found in the preceding era among the anti-English Palestinian movements

- * Denial of national elements among the Jewish population of Israel, instead reducing the conflict to that of a 'religious problem'

- * Failure to understand that the Soviet Union was, through the Brezhnev era, a revisionist-capitalist-imperial power. This led the PLO to get tied up with revisionist pro-Soviet forces in the 70s already.

8. Among other things, these false estimations helped bring about what until then was the largest single massacre of the Palestinian liberation movement. This was conducted by the Jordanian state led by US-imperialism and has come to be known as 'Black September'. At this time more than 20,000 Palestinians were murdered. This can truly be seen as the Middle East's version of „Chile“!

Systematically the US and other imperialist big powers increased their influence upon the PLO to transform it into a tool used to turn the peoples against one another. Every independent, democratic and revolutionary characteristic of the movement was destroyed. Such destruction of the movement is today nearly complete. The PLO administration lives off the money of the major imperialist powers as well as of Arab reactionary governments. It is in no way an independent power, not to mention the fact that revolutionary or even communist ideals are no longer even a part of its language.

9. In light of the pro-imperialist financing of the PLO administration in recent years, the reactionary Hamas movement has made great inroads with the Palestinian populace. It presents itself as a more 'radical' force than the PLO. Agreements of both an official and unofficial nature of the PLO and simultaneous

dependence of Hamas upon reactionary Arab states, has brought about a desolate situation for democratic-revolutionary Palestinian forces. These forces now find themselves fighting literally for their very survival. These Palestinian forces, tested on both sides by the Israeli as well as by the Arab reaction, are today left without democratic-revolutionary guidance of any sort.

10. German imperialism has always played its own dirty role in these affairs. A double-strategy is at work here: at one moment so-called 'special relations to Israel' are emphasized. This leads to the support of every pro-US act of aggression and expansion. At the same time, traditional support of reactionary Arab states is embraced. Tens of thousands of Nazi functionaries after 1945 sought and were given refuge in Syria, Egypt, Iraq and so forth. They were sought after as military and intelligence experts, not to mention for their expertise in torture. Additionally they were helpful in cranking up the import/export sectors of these economies. Not once was a thought ever given to supporting a just cause, but only to expanding the influence of German imperialism in these world politically and economically important regions.

11. After 1945 the Nazis who had found new homes in West Germany in the SPD (Social-Democratic Party of Germany), FDP and CDU also received absolution as they claimed to be pro-Israel. From the beginning they wrangled with openly anti-Semitic reactionaries who equated the Israeli leadership with Israel in general and above all with the Jews. And they continued the Nazi tradition of cooperation with reactionary Arab groups.

The Nazi movement in Germany increasingly made contact with organizations which call themselves 'islamistic' with the aim of serving as their military and logistical advisors. From Hamas over to the Ustascha forces to Bosnian fascists, a worldwide pro-Nazi network was born, a 'holy Alliance' modeled after the likeness of Nazi Germany in which German Nazis gained increasing prominence. This 'Holy Alliance' is especially evident among the participants of the worldwide conferences of Holocaust deniers. More and more these conferences take place under the leading of German Nazis, pro-Nazi Arab forces and other pro-Nazi groups from all over the world.

This powerful wave of European, especially German Anti-Semitism, has led to a reactionary coalition of official detachments of German imperialism with Nazi, Palestinian and even elements of self-described 'leftist' forces and organizations. A powerful confusion now rules in the camps of the many diverse, local anti-Nazi

groups and such which are organized in a larger area, its destructive effect seen in groups waving Palestinian and Israeli flags. This effect must be fought on all levels.

12. Today our duties regarding proletarian Internationalism are numerous:

- * The cooperation of all Israeli and Palestinian forces which follow a true revolutionary line against Imperialism and internal reaction must be strengthened and supported in their co-operation.

- * The machinations of the imperialist big powers must be unmasked in every sense: Their attempts to foment Israeli and Arab nationalism and turn the people against one another must be uncovered. Their maneuvers to build up bases of support and increase their influence in the Middle East, whether by peaceful neo-colonial means or warlike ones, must be exposed.

- * For us, the main emphasis of this exposure lies with the machinations of German imperialism, whose politicians partly separately partly simultaneously support the reactionary forces in Israel and those among the Arabs and Palestinians. In conjunction with US and other major imperialist powers, yet in increasing imperialist competition with them, Germany attempts to expand its influence in the Middle East.

- * Simultaneously and, in a certain sense prior to this, a powerful ideological and political battle must be waged against these domestic anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim nationalist and Nazi-influenced developments. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is in one sense merely an occasion and not the cause of this racist ideology and politics of the various departments of German imperialism.

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Bulletin 3/02

*information for the revolutionary,
marxist-leninist forces of all countries*

excerpt and synopsis of publications of "Gegen die Strömung" – organ for the building of
the revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: July–September 2001

Published quarterly in **English**, French, Italian, Dutch, Russian, Spanish and Turkish

The July leaflet of "Gegen die Strömung" had the title:

The Dilemma of the Union Dependent Strike Movement: The Construction Workers' Strike of June 2002

"From June 17–26, 2002 approximately 32,000 construction workers from about 2800 work sites went on strike (for the first time since 1945) for better working conditions and pay increases across Germany. As important and necessary as these first experiences of struggle are for many of these workers, the first in decades, this strike nevertheless shows the dilemma of struggles that come under the control of the DGB (Federation of German Unions) leadership and its apparatus.

First of all the strike is mobilized for insufficient demands (4.5% for all workers who get union wages). After this, the strike is strangled when only half the demands are implemented, indeed, a great success is claimed. This process was pre-programmed to bring about the demoralization and resignation even of the struggling colleagues. Secondly, what is shown with this strike is how through the state-supporting and chauvinistic policies of the union leadership, the reactionary bond of the mass of workers to German imperialism is forced forward and cemented into place. Because in the foreground among them is it 'equal pay for equal work'. But in reality their chauvinist policies are directed at the workers who are most exploited and most deprived from their rights: those from other countries who are forced to live and work here without papers."

The Bulletin next reports on the course of the strike and emphasizes the solidarity of workers from various countries who refused to work as scabs.

Rely on your own class strength and take the struggle into your own hands!

This is the lesson to be taken from this strike after the IG Bau (Industrial Union of Construction Workers) leadership sold its more than meager results as a 'great success' and broke off the strike.

How the chauvinist policies of the IG Bau leadership enflame the competition between workers!

The demand of a 4.5% wage increase for everyone cemented the split between the workers in the construction industry.

"In order really to implement the demand 'Equal pay for equal work' then a demand for approximately 8% wage raise for eastern Germany would have been necessary."

For those who in great numbers work at construction positions at starvation wages and inhuman times, the so-called "illegal workers", the industrial union management put forth no demands.

"They view the 'illegals' only as competition which literally must be stopped, using any means available."

The industrial union leadership is propagating an informant ring in the workplaces and the deportation of the "illegals" to their countries of origin.

"Every demand for limiting immigration rights and the unrestricted access of foreign workers to Germany is deeply reactionary. The necessary alliance beyond the borders of one's 'own' country with the workers of the world is impossible, if one doesn't fight comprehensively for the equal rights of all workers, regardless of their country of origin. That includes the right to unrestricted access."

For Proletarian Internationalism! Against the reactionary policies of the IG BAU leadership towards Colleagues from other countries!

Among the ranks of the IG-Bau voices, the voice speaking out against the reactionary policies of its leadership is isolated. A colleague from Hamburg claims:

"Solidarity must return to the construction site. Our motto must be: 'Workers of all countries, unite!'"

Unity of Colleagues in the struggle for a revolutionary perspective!

In this section the Bulletin maintains that the revolutionary perspective must be bound to the day-to-day struggles, which are subordinate to it.

"This means, that the capitalist system of exploitation must be destroyed with all its roots in the socialist revolution and that revolutionary democracy must be developed in order to fight for a socialist and then communist society."

Support the struggle of the Roma people of the former-Yugoslavia against the murderous deportation-terror of German imperialism!

"Since the end of April 2002 more than 700 Roma people from Serbia and Montenegro have been conducting a struggle against their threatened deportation by the German state and for an unrestricted right to stay here. After the resumption of the so-called 'German-Yugoslavian repatriation agreement' (currently for refugees from Serbia and Montenegro), many thousand refugees, above all Roma people from these parts of ex-Yugoslavia, are acutely threatened by German imperialist deportation orders. With their determined struggle against the deportation machinery of German imperialism, the Roma people of the former-Yugoslavia are also waging a struggle against the unbroken state persecution and the anti-Ziganism in Germany. The Sinti and Roma peoples have been persecuted for centuries and during the time of Nazi-fascism this persecution amounted to a state-organized and conducted genocide of approximately 500,000 Sinti and Roma from all parts of Europe. In the course of the last ten years, due to the reactionary wars plotted and incited by the major imperialist powers and the resulting expulsions, many have fled to Germany, above all from Kosovo."

For months the Roma people have fought their forced deportation to Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo, where they are threatened with miserable living conditions, pogroms and even murder. The German police apparatus responds with its own terror against the Roma.

Dzoni Sichelmann (speaker of the Center for Integration, Recognition and Liberation of the Roma in Germany) objects

"Roma and Sinti were, like the Jews, victims of the murderous, racist policies of the Nazis. But unfortunately we have no lobby. Therefore the Roma have simply been forgotten. Nobody forces the government to make good on its historical responsibility. If the Roma are deported, the German government is once again compli-

cit in their persecution."

The murderous policies of deportation of German imperialism by means of the "repatriation agreement"

According to the terms of the deportation agreement reached in 1996 with the reactionary Milosevic regime, tens of thousands of Roma from Serbia and Montenegro, some 40,000 from North Rhine-Westphalia alone, are to be deported.

"The word choice and language alone clearly show that even today German imperialism uses a sterile administration language similar to that of the Nazis. In official proclamations 'deportation' isn't mentioned but pretty words like 'reintegration', or 'repatriation' are used instead, as if it was a service for refugees."

With all forces support the fight of the Roma against deportation!

"... this means to fight against the cursed chauvinism and racism, against the repulsive anti-Ziganism, with internationalist solidarity. This means to support the Roma in their fight against their deportation and to fight with those facing any terrorist policies of deportation of the German state. It means to propagate this struggle."

Without such a democratic struggle then a really revolutionary struggle for socialism and communism with the international solution of "Workers of all countries, unite! Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!" is not even thinkable.

The Bulletin contains texts about: The Nazi murder of Ahmed Sharlak on August 9, 2002 in Sulzbach, Racist baiting in the bourgeois media against the struggle of the Roma, Fight anti-Ziganism! An excerpt from Red Front # 2, The Unbroken Tradition of Racism Against the Sinti and Roma in Germany



Learn from Dimitroff's Fight against Nazi-fascism!

"Most anti-fascist groups in Germany concentrate their fight against Nazi groups in their area, concerning themselves with the current anti-fascist struggles in Germany. Whoever would like to concern themselves more deeply with the already existing historical experiences of struggles against Nazi-

fascism and the continuing fascistization of the state apparatus and tries to evaluate today's struggles in light of the great international anti-fascist struggles, and thereby increase the striking power of the current struggles, cannot avoid investigating the anti-Nazi fight of Georgi Dimitroff. His experiences and

guidelines in the struggle against fascism and particularly against Nazi-fascism.

Georgi Dimitroff won great international distinction and fame by means of his fearless and politically outstanding defense during the 1933 Reichstag fire trial. He was able to transform his defense into an indictment of the crimes perpetrated by the Nazis. As Chairman of the Communist International, his major report in 1935 at the 7th World Congress of the Communist International, evaluated the experiences – both successes and failures – of the many anti-fascist struggles then being conducted in various countries. In this report he demonstrated the line for the necessary massstruggle against fascism. Whoever earnestly studies this report and the two speeches held by Dimitroff at the 7th World Congress, as well as the historical conditions, and works out and attends to the similarities and to the differences that apply between today's conditions and those previously, can learn a great deal that can be used in today's struggle against fascism. Dimitroff's guidelines are an important aid in the fight against the Nazi-fascists and the fascistization of the state, above all in correctly categorizing and subordinating this struggle in the comprehensive fight against capitalism and imperialism and the struggle for a socialist revolution. Dimitroff's revolutionary appearance at the Reichstag fire trial in Leipzig in 1933 dealt a severe blow to the Nazi-fascists."

Accused of having set fire to the Reichstag building on February 27th 1933, Dimitroff and other Bulgarian and German communists were arrested by the Nazis. The Nazi-fascists held the German Communist Party and the Communist International responsible for the fire. In fact, the burning of the Reichstag was a Nazi provocation,

"...which was the justification and start for which a great campaign of terror which was directed against the revolutionary movement of the proletariat with the aim of completely destroying it."

Dimitroff, despite severe abuse during his months of imprisonment, understood that rather than be the person accused of a crime during the course of the trial, he would instead become a dreaded prosecutor of the Nazi crimes. Only by means of international public support and mobilization Dimitroff had to be acquitted and finally on February 27th, 1934, after further months of imprisonment, allowed to depart for the Soviet Union.

Dimitroff's speeches to the 7th World Congress of the Communist International – fundamental guidelines for a worldwide anti-fascist struggle

In the following, the leaflet concerns Dimitroff's report to the 7th World Congress held in Moscow in 1935. At this time, fascist dictatorships were already in place in a variety of countries (in Germany for two years) and were in danger of being established in other countries.

Nazi-fascism – enemy to the death of the

working class

Dimitroff emphasized that regardless of its form, the essence of fascism could be summed up in the following manner:

"Fascism is the fiercest offensive of capital against working peoples. Fascism is the most unbridled chauvinism and rapaciousness. Fascism is the fiercest form of reaction and counter-revolution. Fascism is the worst enemy of the Working Class and all working people." (Page 8)

(All quotations printed in bold-italic are, unless otherwise noted, from Dimitroff's report to the 7th World Congress. The pages refer to its print in "Gegen den Nazifaschismus", Verlag Olga Benario und Herbert Baum, Offenbach.)

And especially concerning Nazi-fascism in Germany:

"The most reactionary form of fascism is that of the German variety. German fascism plays the role of the strike force of the international counter-revolution, the greatest incendiaries of a major imperialist war, the initiators of a crusade against the Soviet Union." (Ibid, Page 8)

Nazi-fascism – the openly terrorist dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie

Dimitroff used this thesis unmistakably to counter the revisionist thesis that only the most aggressive parts of finance capital stood behind Nazi-fascism:

"...Fascism is itself the power of Finance-capital." (Page 5)

The leaflet continues:

"The class nature of the state as a tool of the ruling classes hasn't changed, but the form of the state has:

The ascension of fascism to power is not simply a replacement of one form of bourgeois government with another, but rather a removal of one state form of class dominance of the bourgeoisie democracy with a different form by means of an openly terrorist dictatorship."

The Armed Struggle against Fascism

Over the course of his report Dimitroff emphasizes that the fight against fascism cannot confine itself to a legalistic framework. He propagates and defends the struggles against the reformists in 1934 in Austria and Asturias (Spain) who maintained that an armed response was unnecessary. Although it ended in defeat, the anti-fascist movement was encouraged and strengthened as a result.

"The school of civil war, says Lenin, isn't attended by the people for no reason. It is a difficult school and to its full curriculum belongs inevitably even a victory of the counter-revolution, the rage of incited reactionaries, wild acts of revenge of the old power against the rebels and so forth. The confirmed reactionaries and feeble minded old fogies can complain if the people attend this tortuous school; but this school teaches the oppressed classes how to conduct a civil war and be

victorious in revolution. It builds up that hatred in the masses of modern slaves which is eternally harboured by the meek, dumb and unknowing and which, once they become conscious of the humiliation of their slavery, leads them to the greatest historical acts of heroism." (Lenin, "Inflammable material in World Politics", 1908, Collected Works 15, page 183.)

Against Chauvinism, "the Fascists principle instrument for ideologically influencing the masses"

It's been emphasized that it is important to react to the Nazi-fascist demagogues and that the questions of the fight against fascist ideology are not to be underestimated. In order to achieve its objectives, Nazi-fascism plays on the masses' nationalist and chauvinist prejudices in a sophisticated way. Therefore a two front struggle must be waged: against chauvinism and against national nihilism.

"Communists who belong to an oppressed, dependent nation cannot succeed against chauvinism if they simultaneously show the mass movement through praxis that they are in fact for the liberation of their nation from the foreign dominance. On the other hand, communists cannot do what, in the spirit of internationalism, is necessary for the development of the working masses of their nation if they do not wage a decisive struggle against their 'own' bourgeoisie's policies of oppression and for the full self-determination of their enslaved nation. If they don't do this then they do nothing to facilitate the oppressed people's vanquishing of nationalist prejudices." (Dimitroff, Volume 2, Page 74.)

The Tactics of the United Proletarian and People's Front against Fascism may not lead to a change of Strategy

The 7th World Congress of the Communist International set the communist parties the tasks of creating an anti-fascist united action and mobilizing for an anti-fascist mass struggle.

"This tactical line thought to a logical conclusion, the 7th World Congress – in case of a victorious struggle against the fascist regimes – had in mind even the government of an anti-fascist united and people's front, given certain requirements. This government would not be a government of a proletarian dictatorship."

Against revisionist attitudes it is said clearly:

"The idea of an united action and united front was a tactical orientation. It was a tactically necessary step to draw closer to the strategic goals of a revolutionary seizing of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat and was in no way meant as a change of strategy."

For a United Revolutionary Party of the Working Class in the Struggle against Reformism and Revisionism

The terrorism also against the social democrats brought about the rapprochement of revolutionary elements of social-democracy and the communist parties. Dimitroff worked out five criteria for the unity of the social-democratic and communist parties. A central criterion is:

"...the acknowledgement of the necessity of the revolutionary defeat of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a condition for unification."

The Construction and Consolidation of the Communist Party as the decisive prerequisite for a successful anti-fascist struggle

Near the end of the report Dimitroff again emphasizes that it's not sufficient,

"to assume the existence of the communist parties are now, so to speak, simply given and certain factors, and that we can now set ourselves the task of concentrating on external politics. He said that the communist parties are in a position to mobilize successfully the broadest masses of working people for a united struggle against fascism and the offensive of capital only if they strengthen their own ranks on all sides."

In conclusion Dimitroff lists the constituent elements for the construction of a party and says what this means for the fundamental elements of the construction of the party: theory, cadres and organization.

The Bulletin includes an article:

sFrom the stenograph of the court proceedings of November 4, 1933: Goring's interrogation

The Life of Georgi Michailowitsch Dimitroff (18.6.1882–2.7.1949) An Obituary by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union appeared in Pravda #184, July 3, 1949



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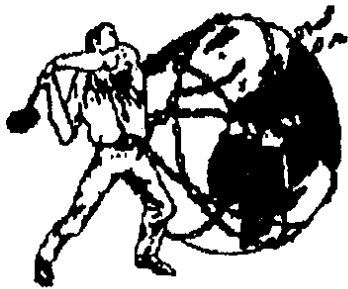
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Bulletin 4/02

**information for the revolutionary,
Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries**

excerpt and synopsis of publications of "Gegen die Strömung" – organ for the building of the revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: November 2002–January 2003

Published quarterly in **English**, French, Italian, Dutch, Russian, Spanish and Turkish

The November leaflet of "Gegen die Strömung" had the title:

Attacks, Cruelties, Assassinations, Murder:

Nazi-Terror!

"In recent months the situation for all people threatened by Nazi-terror has intensified. At least three murders and countless assaults perpetrated by Nazis have occurred. Simultaneously the danger that this Nazi-terror is being only "marginally" registered has heightened. This is due not only to the success of disinformation and manipulation of the bourgeois media that attempt to nip all resistance in the bud. This is due not only to the repression of anti-Nazi activists by German imperialism and the protection of these Nazis by its police. We ourselves are partly to blame, too: it is also due to the creeping poison of "growing accustomed" to the daily Nazi-terror and propaganda, to insufficient networking of anti-Nazi struggles and insufficient readiness to struggle."

Nazi Murder of Marinus Schoberl

In the Bulletin the events surrounding the murder of Marinus Schoberl at the hands of three Nazis (who

were known to the neighbourhood and indeed had been recently charged with Nazi crimes) in Potzlow (Brandenburg) are described. The cover-up tactics of the politicians and media are also denounced here, when they claim that no "marked rightist scene" is to be found in Potzlow – this despite the fact that since July 144 Nazi crimes are known to have been committed in this region. The Bulletin concludes with the charge:

"It is clear that against the increasing Nazi-terror we must do a more and better job of both enlightening and fighting. Only militant resistance and an offensive struggle against the Nazis and their ideology can yield success in a democratic struggle against Nazism and Nazis."

The Bulletin also contains a box entitled "Highlights from recent weeks of Nazi-terror" and a poster "Murdered by Nazis".

The December/January 2002-03 leaflet:

Study the Writings of Scientific Communism:

Convincing Arguments for Communism

"For more than 150 years communists have been slandered. Additionally it has been discredited by the police state caricatures of the communist ideas of Karl Marx: of the pseudo-communists in the Soviet Union, East Germany and other revisionist states that at the latest left the road to communism in the mid 1950's and established a bad copy of Western capitalist states under the mask of 'socialism', before the restoration of capitalism was fully and openly accomplished.

What then is actually the goal of communism? A simple utopia that will never be attained because humans 'are evil by Nature'? A beautiful but completely unrealistic ideal? Or is it, as the Nazi fascists pro-

pagandize, that 'fiendish building of lies wherein Jewish Bolshevik conspirators seek only their own advantage'? The slander and falsifications of communism continue to increase. Is it any wonder given the murderous reality of today's capitalism in its imperialist character that it cries out for the abolition of imperialism and the profit system, for the socialization of the means of production and so forth, that is, for communism?

An endless series of wars of plunder, the intensification of exploitation and suffering and the annual starvation of more than 30 million people who could be well-nourished long since, if things would be reasonable in view of the 'wretched of the earth' – all

this stands in stark contrast to the increasingly clearly visible possibilities of solving the fundamental problems of the broad masses of the world's population, given the gigantic technical progress, the accumulation of enormous wealth, the worldwide expenditure of \$800 billion annually on armaments which can seem to be reasonable to imperialism only. The masters of this earth murder, rob, plunder, squander and waste and, of course, have to continue to lie, saying, 'There isn't a better system, you'll have to put up with this one.'

Therefore it's all the more important to provide clarity over why and to what end the entire capitalist-imperialist system must be fought and abolished. Clarity over the goal of communism and why communism is rational and realistic and for whom!"

The goal of the Bulletin is:

"Stimulate and support the study of scientific communism, in the struggle for communism, and in the struggle for the building of a communist party!"

A short description of communist society

In 1927 Stalin gave the most meaningful sketch of communist society:

"The general characteristics of communist society are given in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Briefly, the anatomy of communist society may be described as follows: It is a society in which

- a) there will be no private ownership of the instruments and means of production, but social, collective ownership;*
- b) there will be no classes or state power, but there will be working people in industry and agriculture who manage economic affairs as a free association of working people;*
- c) the national economy, organised according to plan, will be based on the highest level of technique, both in industry and agriculture;*
- d) there will be no antithesis between town and country; between industry and agriculture;*
- e) products would be distributed according to the principle of the old French communist: 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs';*
- f) science and art will enjoy conditions sufficiently favourable for them to attain full flowering;*
- g) the individual, freed from concern about his daily bread and from the necessity of adapting himself to the 'powers that be', will become really free."*

(Stalin, Interview With the First American Labour Delegation, Works Volume 10, Pages 139-40)

Arguments for Social Property of the Means of Production

This section states and justifies why "the fundamental basis of communist society is ... the expropriation of the expropriator" as Marx had already

stated in his 1871 *The Civil War in France*:

"They Commune, they exclaim, intends to abolish property, the basis of all civilization! Yes, gentlemen, the Commune intended to abolish that class property which makes the labour of the many the wealth of the few. It aimed at the expropriation of the expropriators. It wanted to make individual property a truth by transforming the means of production, land and capital, now chiefly the means of enslaving and exploiting labour, into the mere instruments of free and associated labour. But this is communism, 'impossible' communism!"

Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 3rd Edition, 1977, page 75

"The undeniable feature of communist society that because technically, the only way of production is collective production, also the means of production may no longer be used by capitalists for exploitation, may no longer be 'private property'. Large-scale industrial production in capitalism has for decades been 'social' already. Rather it concerns this already social production be brought under social control and planning. This will allow not only the abolition of exploitation, but will also allow production to be increased in the interests of the producers. Thus the means to life can be more easily produced and better distributed."

Communism – A Society with neither Classes nor State

Another feature of communism is that it concerns a "classless" society. First the class of exploiters is abolished. But

"to abolish the class distinctions between the working people, for example between workers and farmers is a difficult long-term undertaking. Gigantic progress in production technology already diminishes the essential difference between industry and agriculture. Humans work ever more similarly and the abolition of the ownership of the means of production serves as a basis for the equal rights in principle of all human beings in this higher phase of communism. The state as machinery of oppression can finally be dismantled piece-by-piece if all humans take their production and their entire lives together freely and directly into their own hands."

Engels remarked that:

"Society which will reorganize production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, will put the whole state machinery where it will then belongs – into the museum of antiquities, by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze axe."

(Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1st Edition, 1978, page 210)

The following consequence can be seen worldwide:

"State borders lose their sense if the area for na-

tional oppression doesn't exist anymore and will disappear and national differences are overcome, and all countries and nations will merge into world communism."

Planning according to the needs of Communist society: A Scientifically and Technically Organized Economy

"The method of merciless competition up to and including wars of plunder, the method of competition that prevails between workers, the method of 'divide and conquer' will have been eliminated by the socialist revolution. Communist society develops by co-operating humans who attack and solve problems in a well-planned and scientific manner."

The leaflet states how this is possible – a central factor is that the maximization of profits is no longer the goal of production. Engels states that:

"Darwin did not know what bitter satire he wrote on mankind, ... when he showed that free competition, the struggle for existence, which the economists celebrate as the highest historical achievement, is the normal state of the animal kingdom. Only conscious organization of social production, in which production and distribution are carried out in a planned way, can lift mankind above the rest of the animal world as regards the social aspect. Historical evolution makes such an organisation daily more indispensable, but also with every day more possible."

(Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1986, page 35)

Moreover, there will no longer be a range of unproductive expenditures (insurance, advertising) thereby freeing resources. The development of technology will extremely simplify production. As Marx wrote:

"If machinery itself is considered, it shortens the work day. But if it is applied in a capitalistic fashion, it lengthens the workday. In itself, work is eased, but under capitalism the intensity increases. In itself it is a victory of humans over natural forces, but under capitalism humans find themselves yoked to natural forces. Instead of the wealth of producers being increased, they are made paupers. And so forth."

(Marx, *Das Kapital*, page 441)

But also administration will become easier:

"An important condition for the establishment of the classless and stateless communist society is that, based on highly industrialized and technologized human production, multiple management functions of the state will die off."

Lenin remarks:

"Capitalist culture has created large-scale production, factories, railways, the postal service, tele-

phones etc., and on this basis the great majority of the functions of the old 'state power' have become so simplified and can be reduced to such exceedingly simple operations of registration, filing and checking that they can be easily performed by every literate person, can quite easily be performed for ordinary 'workmen's wages', and that these functions can (and must) be stripped of every shadow of privilege, of every semblance of 'official grandeur'."
(Lenin, *State and Revolution*, Collected Works Volume 25, page 426)

World-wide Antitheses between Town and Country Will Disappear under Communism

In every country but also worldwide there is a fundamental antithesis between town and country. The leaflet states:

"Worldwide as well as in individual countries, communist society will planfully abolish, in the process of abolishing all class antitheses, the antithesis between town and country."

Why is the demand "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" a central feature of actual communism?

First let it be clear that after a socialist revolution

"society will still carry old structures, prejudices and through the power of custom old forms of human interaction. To the question: What is just? The answer will still widely be given that one will be paid according to what they've produced. Who works more, and in a more qualified manner will also receive more products!"

Enormous progress will have been made if the mass of working people receives as their wage or social achievements what they themselves have produced.

But until the fundamental principle of communism of 'from each according to their abilities to each according to their needs', has not been established, then the highest stage of communist society has not been reached."

There is a huge difference between

"whether I work according to need, so as to be able to live or whether I work because working itself has become a true need. As described above, by the high level of technology, by rational planning goods will be produced in more than sufficient numbers for all reasonable human needs and in a shorter period of time. The force of working as a specialist, caught up in the network of the human division of labour, is diminishing more and more. The possibility always more to learn, to be able to do, to attempt to do things in different manners of work, all this grows and eases labour, until the point is reached where labour, receives its central value as the actual meaning of each life wherein one works according to his abilities and

lives according to his needs."

Marx writes:

"In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and with also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished, after labour has become not only a means of life but itself life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly – only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!"

(Marx, Critique of the Gotha Programme, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 2nd Printing, 1976, page 17.

The Blooming of Sciences and Art in Communism (Elimination of the fundamental contradiction between Mental and Physical labour)

First it is stated that

"there is a deep divide in imperialism between the masses of the working people who work hard in industry and agriculture and are exploited and those who work in intellectual or artistic pursuits. Moreover in imperialism science is used as a weapon against the workers. The plant doctor, the police psychologist, and the scientific financier – all of these tighten the screws. Every person works in communism and is at the same time an artist. From youth onwards it becomes a goal to study all the fields of human knowledge and never again cease to learn, to study, scientifically to work. Finally, the opposition between production on one hand and science and art on the other hand is abolished with the abolition of mental and physical labour – the key is the change of the character of work on a high level of production."

The rest of this section of the Bulletin concerns the role of religion, on the one hand as an opiate for the people, and on the other hand a means of power for the rulers that furthers exploitation and subjugation. In communism, religion no longer has a role to play.

Nationalism as the ideology of exploiters, which divides people instead of uniting them, will also finally be buried.

Why in Communism is the free development of one the condition for the free development of all?

An anti-communist prejudice exists which claims that under communism all people will be made the same without respect for differences and personalities. Dolls and clones will be adjusted and produced with no wills of their own.

To this we say

"that it's not that all people are 'alike', but rather that in the face of every discrimination they shall have equal rights, equal worth and an equal possibility for development, indeed that this shall take place precisely through the retention and development of their unique features and characteristics."

In the Communist Manifesto it says that in communism

"the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

Marx/Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, Collected Works Volume 6, page 506

Why Struggles and Contradictions Still Exist Even in Communism, But How They Can Be Solved in a Productive Fashion

"The arguments of humans with nature and between humans will persist so long as there are humans, but they will assume a fundamentally different character. The 'struggles' between humans will not be class struggles nor armed struggles. Rather they will be struggles with arguments based in different experiences, knowledge and different interests that will be solved in one way or another. But the solution will be one that does not place the existence of any one in question or threaten the existence of any individual. The 'struggle' with nature has as its goal the long-term, planned, sensible and conscious reconfiguration of nature according to the long-term interests of humanity. This is a powerful difference from preceding 'struggles' in world history."

Communism is only to be reached through the violent proletarian revolution in which the bourgeois state apparatus is destroyed and in its place is established the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore the Bulletin contains the box "Communism – that which isn't easy to attain" and also a selection from Lenin's 1917 writing *State and Revolution: Over the Higher Phase of Communist Society*.

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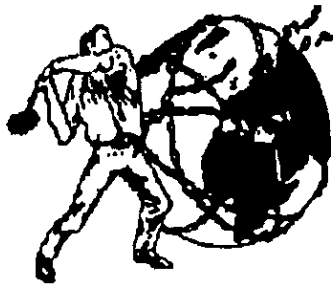
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Bulletin 1/03

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: February - March 2003



Appears quarterly in **ENGLISH, French, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Russian and Turkish**



On March 20, 2003, «Gegen die Strömung» published a statement on the begin of war against Iraq which is printed here in full length:

March 20, 2003: US and English Planes Bomb Iraq!

Statement Against US Aggression and the Tactics of German Imperialism in the Middle East

Fight the US Imperialist Aggression against Iraq!

After months long buildup of more than 250,000 soldiers, on March 20, 2003 the USA, the biggest and strongest imperialist big power, together with English imperialism, began to bomb Iraq, thereby setting in motion its gigantic murderous military machine for its occupation. The war against Iraq started by US and British imperialism is a reactionary, criminal war for the security and expansion of their political, economic and strategic interests. The other major imperialist powers are also there in pursuit of their very own interests of profit and power.

This war, which brings still more horrific suffering to the working and exploited masses of Iraqi peoples, must be condemned and fought without any ifs and buts as an imperialist aggression. The focus of the protest directed against the barbaric murders by means of imperialist bombing has absolutely nothing to do with sympathy for the murderous regime of Saddam Hussein. This thoroughly reactionary regime has been created by the system of imperialism.

This war, in fact, marks a decisive point, a new stage in the intensification of the international situation, bringing dramatic results and effects for the entire world. That the various imperialist powers, above all the major powers, have found themselves in such disagreement about this war is an expression of their immensely intensified struggle for supremacy in this region and throughout the world.

At work is the embittered struggle for the new division of spheres of influence. Possibly the largest direct control of raw materials by means of military intervention and occupation bear witness to this fact. The direct control of oil, for example, is of great significance among the imperialist rivals for the imperialist economy.

Adding to the drama of this rivalry is the fact that the impe-

rialist powers continue to trample underfoot their own laws, like international law, the prohibition of starting wars of aggression (they themselves signed it) and so on. In so doing they explain that these laws are null and void in order thereby to pursue their own rapacious goals against their rivals with raw violence. That is, if the struggles for loot, the ruling principle of the imperialist system - profit maximization, demands it. With ever increasing clarity, capitalist-imperialist society proves itself to be inextricably bound to wars of plunder, to military conflicts between imperialist robbers and acts of aggression against the peoples that extend as far as the worldwide slaughter of world wars.

Expose and Fight against the Tactics of our Primary Enemy: German Imperialism!

The hypocritical "No to this war" mouthed by German imperialists has nothing to do with a desire for peace. The German imperialists are in fact participating in this brutal war (ports, airports and railways as well as military bases and overflight rights for American troops in Germany, supply of AWACS planes of the Bundeswehr, ABC-Spirpanzer in Kuwait).

What is obvious in Nazi-organs like the "Nationalzeitung" is true in principle for all the peace hypocrites of German imperialism: They are against this American war because and in so far as it is not in the interests of their own imperialist, great power aspirations of German imperialism, militarism and revanchism.

In recent decades German finance capital has operated under the motto, "Do business in Iraq at any price", thereby increasing substantially its own influence in competition mainly with the USA. With its denunciation of the US military's "going its own way" in Iraq, they have attempted to and attempt to hinder the establishment of a pro-US imperialist regime there. At the same time they recognize that at this moment they have no comparable military power with

which to counter that of the USA, although they still attempt to prevent the threatened loss of profits and its hard-won influence.

But this doesn't mean that in the near term things might not turn around. German imperialism might still participate in the war in order to get its share of spoils that will otherwise be divided among the other imperialist powers. Plans for large-scale "reconstruction assistance" and stationing of German troops in Iraq are already in store. Thus the foundation is laid and ground is once again to be won in an intensified competitive struggle with US imperialism. Eventually German troops may be stationed in Iraq. German imperialism tries to be prepared for all contingencies: whether through capital or by means of troops it attempts once and for all to strengthen its influence as a major imperialist power.

Its "opposition to the US policy of going it alone" really is an attempt to send a political signal that German imperialism is prepared world-wide to intensify the competitive struggle against US imperialism - not just economically but also in political areas and finally, in the long-term even militarily. The goal is to win worldwide supremacy; therefore it forces the construction of new imperialist coalitions that serve its own interests against those of US imperialism. German imperialists attempt to ingratiate themselves with the peoples of the world, winning points against US imperialism and thereby linking their 'own' German populace further to German imperialism.

German imperialists use the war policies of the USA for intensifying its own war propaganda, war policies and military buildup. The German war minister recently announced that the Bundeswehr will protect "the security of Germany" also at the Hindukush. The German foreign minister ordered, in connection to recent developments in Iraq, increased arming.

More than 10,000 Bundeswehr troops are stationed in many countries of the world while about 60,000 are already committed to "international missions", from Afghanistan and Uzbekistan to Djibouti, from Somalia and Kenya to Bosnia, Kosovo and Macedonia. German imperialism is one of the world's leading weapons exporters: "Everywhere in the world German weapons and German money kill people", in Turkey, Indonesia, Nepal...

The trustees of German imperialism make use of the situation to conduct a true campaign against the workers and masses of other exploited and oppressed people - all this under the motto "National sacrifice during hard times". Hard won social rights are brutally battered. The fascistization, the dismantling of already greatly reduced bourgeois-democratic rights advances across a broad front. So it's no coincidence now that bourgeois politicians and media using the pretext of "existential threats" put the case for torture

and proceedings against the nazi-fascist NPD are halted. Under the pretext of war the very bourgeois laws and "standards" are massively shredded and thrown overboard. This was the case in the imperialist attack on Yugoslavia that violated the 1949 anti-Hitler coalition's prohibition (anchored in law) against wars of aggression.

All this has a still deeper background: For German imperialism, militarism and revanchism is the further thrust of the "German way" in connection with the US aggression against Iraq only a step further down the path of revanche for its defeat the peoples and states of the anti-Hitler coalition caused, fighting with regular armies and partisan wars.

In order ideologically or politically not to slip into tow with German imperialism, the currency and significance of the principle formulated by Karl Liebknecht is noted, "The principle enemy is in your own country!" This means that even with the justified branding of the crimes of other imperialists, it should never be forgotten that here in Germany German imperialism must first be unmasked and fought as exploiters and oppressors of the world, as our own source of war, as a major imperialist power with all its crimes domestically and internationally.

Don't Trust Berlin Politicians or the Talk of Pacifists: Fight the Bundeswehr in the barracks, the shops and the street!

In the struggle against the imperialist war there is no one among the Berlin parties that one can trust or support. They all serve, in one way or another, the interests of German imperialism. The politicians, who all speak up "against the war", have the intention of selling German imperialism as "peaceful" and binding the indignant progressive powers to the capitalist-imperialist system. It especially attempts to make the indignation against the US aggression useful to German imperialism in its interimperialist competition. Maybe very soon, the same politicians act as chief whips of war-mongering and chauvinism when there is a war "for German interests".

No pacifist whisperings or murmurs of non-violence help in this struggle against the imperialist war. As much as we greet the spontaneous protests, as well as the individual conscientious objections and desertions as a first step, we maintain that a discussion is absolutely necessary about more far reaching and more effective forms of action, about militant anti-militarist struggles, above all about the struggle against the Bundeswehr in the shops, on the streets and in the barracks.

Proletarian internationalism demands that we support the peoples of Iraq and this whole region in ridding themselves of their reactionary regimes and at the same time defending themselves against the interference and aggression of the major powers. Here in Germany we must attack the machinations of German imperialism.

The leaflet of February 2003 carried the title:

On January 30, 1933 Hitler was named Reich's Chancellor:

The Class struggle under direction of the KPD 1929 until the victory of Nazi-fascism in 1933

"Nazi terror in the streets, Nazi marches under police protection, incremental fascistization of the state apparatus, chauvinist warmongering German imperialism as an 'angel of peace' which must be freed from the alleged 'servitude' to US imperialism, among others ... These problems confront our comrades today just as they did our comrades of the KPD from 1929 to 1933. The openly terrorist dictatorship of finance capital was established in its nazi-fascist form in 1933. The Nazi-terror state was intensified and the revolutionary worker's movement, above all the KPD, was to be crushed in order to give the German bourgeoisie free hand in its wars of robbery, and plans for world domination and genocide. In the months that followed measures had gradually been introduced and implemented that established a police state dictatorship. Appointing Hitler Reich Chancellor in a coalition of Nazis and German nationalists in January 1933, the Reichstag fire in February, and finally the labor unions which were 'brought into line' in May were all milestones along the way to the complete establishment of the nazi-fascist dictatorship.

The KPD had loudly warned anyone who would listen about this path: "A vote for Hindenburg is a vote for Hitler! A vote for Hitler is a vote for war!" A communist-led mass movement could not prevent the imperialist expansion of Nazi Germany, the imperialist war of aggression against the socialist Soviet Union, the deportation and systematic annihilation of the Jewish population and of the Sinti and Roma peoples, the entire palette of nazifascist crimes. Nazi Germany had to be defeated and occupied by the peoples and armies of the anti-Hitler coalition."

The Program of Recovered German Imperialism

"Following a period of massive armed struggles and uprisings in the period following the defeat of German imperialism in World War One, a period of relative stability ensued until 1928. German imperialism, which had been primarily vanquished during World War One, recovered incrementally from its defeat, and piece-by-piece readied its rearmament and its revanchist war plans as well."

The *cause* for German imperialism's recovery to the status of a major power was the effect of the law of uneven development in individual imperialist countries. The Versailles peace treaty allowed German imperialism

"...to instigate chauvinism and revanchism among the German populace while at the same time shifting the attention of the working masses away from itself and the predatory financial conditions of the treaty. It diverted their attention to the reparation demands of the victori-

ous powers."

The leaflet continues by pointing out the steps that led to *shaking off the financial demands of the Versailles treaty*. The selection that follows is dedicated to the stages of *militarization and rearmament*.

"German imperialism raised its head ever more boldly. Ernst Thälmann stated: "Fourteen years after the conclusion of the previous world war, the problem of the new division of the world has again become a burning question which they are attempting to solve by means of war..."

The leaflet states further that the KPD grew and strengthened during this time:

"...with its fundamentally revolutionary positions, the preparation of the armed insurrection of the proletariat in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism, its goal, to win the majority of workers for communism and in the class struggle to bring about the fall of German imperialism piece by piece."

On the other hand, however, the KPD-as the leaflet explicitly explains-despite timely and correct evaluations nonetheless underestimated German imperialism.

Social-democracy Advances Fascistization

"For every communist-oriented worker of the Weimar period it was clear: The leaders of Social Democracy were the murderers of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht... They were the anti-communist murderers on whose account some 30,000 revolutionary workers were murdered from the time of the November Revolution to the crushing of the Munich soviet republic in May 1919..."

The leaflet explains *how the social democracy advanced the fascistization and rearmament of the 1930's*.

"The intensification of the economic crisis of 1929 and the strengthening class struggles brought about a decline in the 'popularity' of social-democracy."

This led to *changes in the interaction among the various departments of German imperialism*.

"From 1930 the SPD was forced further and further out of the state apparatus... step by step being discarded along the way. German imperialism now saddled up the German nationalists and Nazi-fascists ... At the time of the parliamentary elections of September 1930 the Nazi party received 6.4 million votes (compared to 800,000 in 1928). With one blow the Nazis were the second strongest party in Germany."

The KPD now had three tactical principles to observe:

*"The tactical principle, to secure a primary link, with which progress towards the goal of winning the majority of workers could be achieved, was increasingly clear: The fascistization of the state apparatus, the massive terror of the Nazis in the streets, the threatened take over of state businesses by the Nazi party-all this necessitated the daily struggle of an **anti-fascist course of action**, an anti-fascist self-defense and a militant struggle to defend against the Nazis."*

"The second tactical principle was, that only with experience, only in practical struggle, not solely by theoretical arguments could that sector of the working class influenced by the social democrats be reached. This was the only way to unite the majority of the working class under the leadership of the KPD in the daily struggles for their immediate demands as a first step and then bring about the long-term goal of the proletarian revolution."

The third tactical principle:

"...the principle of attentiveness to the characteristics of each country and careful application of this principle. To struggle against the 'faith in the state' so unique to the German situation, to strip away the 'respect for the law' so prevalent in the heads of the workers due to German ideology, especially revisionist social democracy in light of the experiences and necessities of the anti-Nazi struggle, and to promote the emancipatory role of massive, militant and armed actions in the daily fight against the Nazis."

Further Stages of Fascistization

Beginning in 1930 Germany became ruled by so-called 'presidential cabinets' that required no parliamentary majority to rule. First came the 'emergency decree', then dissolution of parliament and an imposition of a state of emergency. Reich's president Hindenburg, a war criminal of the first world war, stood as a guarantor for political continuity. Then finally in the 1932 elections the NSDAP became the strongest party. On July 20, 1932 Papen brought about a *coup d'état in Prussia* and removed the last SPD government.

Further Steps Toward the Establishment and Consolidation of the Nazi-fascist Dictatorship

On January 30, 1933 Hitler was declared Reich's Chancellor.

"Without true resistance from the working class, the bourgeoisie placed control of the state in the fascists' hands. Now the situation required an continuous chain of actions to prevent the Nazi-fascists from consolidating power."

The **Reichstag fire** of February 27, 1933 was the pretext that the Nazis used to strengthen a massive campaign of state terror against the KPD. Massive arrests were made. Hundreds were murdered. Those detained were not taken to prisons but instead tortured by the SA and then sent to the newly established concentration camps.

"Elements of civil war, armed actions against the Na-

zis, as Ernst Thälmann described them, flamed up without having the desired effect of igniting the passions of hundreds of thousands, let alone millions of working people."

On March 9, 1933 the 81 mandated parliamentarians of the KPD elected to the Reichstag on March 5 (despite the terror) were forbidden entry and the election results declared void. The KPD was banned. Following this the terror took increased aim at the Jewish population. Then the **trade unions** were "**forced into line**". On May 2, the SA and the police occupied the buildings of the trade unions ADGBG and AFA and arrested numerous labor leaders-this after the previous day had been made a paid "National Holiday for Labor". To conclude the leaflet it is explained:

"Even if the KPD had done everything down to the last detail correctly, even then it would not have been guaranteed that there would have been sufficient time and forces to prevent the Nazi-dictatorship by means of an armed counter-struggle. The 1905 Russian revolution suffered defeat despite the existence of a communist party with a correct line under the leadership of Lenin: a favorable or unfavorable balance of forces is not inessential to success."

"An important lesson from the struggle of the KPD is without a doubt that in a country like Germany a struggle must be waged not only for the primary objective of winning the majority of workers to the proletarian revolution and communism, but a great force must be expended in a democratic struggle against the Nazi ideology and chauvinism. This leads us to the conclusion that if the petty bourgeois masses cannot be won over, then they at the very least must be neutralized."

Conscious of these difficult problems we will more exactly analyze the KPD line from 1929-33, disclosing the mistakes in a type of self-criticism within the correct relentlessly scientific framework, while at the same time with our comrades and with and through struggle, remain in solidarity with 'our KPD'."

The leaflet contains an article with the topic "Two Necessary Corrections of Ernst Thälmann's to the positions of the KPD and the question of the militant armed defense struggle against the Nazis" and to "the False Position of the KPD to the 'national question': Critique of KPÖ-Member Alfred Klahr and the example of Austria."

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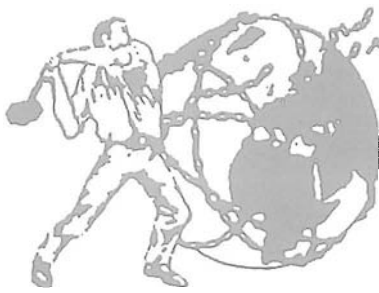
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Bulletin 2/03

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 - May 2003



Appears quarterly in ENGLISH, French, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Russian and Turkish



Gegen die Strömung's leaflet of April 2003 addresses the subject of:

March 5'h 1953: 50 Years Ago, Comrade Stalin died

Defend Stalin in today's Germany

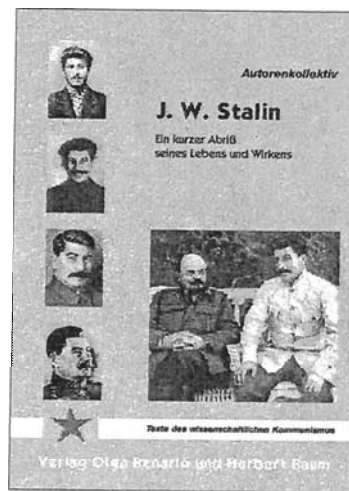
„Whoever publicly defends Stalin in Germany has a problem and that's putting it mildly. Rather several problems! Whoever expresses oneself positively on Stalin is up against an enormous coalition of all reactionary forces from bourgeois parties over Revisionists, Trotskyists up to Anarchists. Besides, there is a vast amount of incomprehension and ignorance. There is, to begin with, the incontestable fact that the socialist Soviet Union under Stalin's guidance played the major role in defeating Nazi fascist Germany. Only for this reason all democratic forces who hate Nazi fascism had to deal seriously with the question why Stalin is being slandered. Above all, it is incontestable that Stalin being a theorist of Scientific Communism wrote fundamental works, which are available for study, and at the same time had been and cooperated at the head of the socialist Soviet Union and the Communist world movement. for almost 30 years.”

To the victory over Nazi Germany it is argued:

„Stalin has broken Hitler's neck - literally spoken. ... Defend Stalin in Germany also means to get a clear idea of the Potsdam Agree-

ment, to defend it as a democratic document and to pillory its violation. Stalin saw very clearly that after a few decades German imperialism would regain strength, that German militarism would once more raise his head and would threaten the world with new imperialist wars...”

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NEW: J. W. Stalin - A Short Abridgement of his Life and Work



410 pages, ISBN 978-932636-65-3, available (in German) thru: Buchladen Georgi Dimitroff, Speyerer Str. 23, D-60327 Frankfurt/Main

It is pointed out that to defend Stalin means to study his entire available work. Concerning the question what happened after Stalin's death, it is said that

“after the 20' Party Congress of the CPSU, Stalin's successors, above all Khrushchev and Brezhnev in the CPSU, ran in opposition to Stalin a policy of capitulation to imperialism and of transforming the socialist state into a capitalist country, even into an imperialist big power, which invaded other countries and exploited

and oppressed them.”

Against the fact that nowadays Great-Russian chauvinists refer to Stalin, it is emphasized:

„Stalin, an enemy of Great-Russian chauvinism and an enemy of anti-Semitism as well as of all reactionary ideologies of exploiters, conflicts with such hypocritically Stalin praising reactionaries.”

The leaflet concludes with the remark:
„We as Communist forces in Germany tight
with all firmness to Stalin's defence in a scien-

*tific communist manner and in connection with
today's tasks.*”



On the occasion of the first of May the following leaflet appeared:

*The intensification of the rivalry between the imperialist big powers and the
touchstone: Fight against the German Bundeswehr!*

To the International Situation

“The US imperialist aggression against Iraq marks a crucial event, a new stage of the worsening international situation. And what about the resistance of the workers, the masses of the exploited and oppressed against it? Certainly there have been internationally big protest demonstrations of millions. But these protests have already quickly faded away, after the swift military victory over the reactionary Baath regime which was apparently without real support within the population. Even more: In recent weeks, it has become blatantly obvious here in Germany that the leading forces within the protest movement actually represent the interests of German imperialism against US imperialism. Revisionist forces such as the PDS spread smear-illusory phrases ‘against violence as such’ and give Schröder and Fischer encouragement to go an own ‘German path’. Is it therefore that the forces of imperialism and reaction have everything under control? It is right and necessary to refer to existing fights, internationally for example to the frequently militant fights in Bolivia, Argentina; Greece, Nepal and Peru, or in Germany, for instance, to the construction workers’ strike in June 2002.

But still, The international situation is currently not marked by that the imperialists are massively under the pressure of the fights of „their” female and male workers respectively of the subjugated peoples, which are really threatening to their interests: in. the foreground are presently rather the contradictions between the imperialist robbers who quarrel always more in the` fight for the biggest part of the booty, but then unite again according to the motto “Cad's fighting when ended is soon mended.”

What will come after the Yugoslavia, after the Afghanistan and now after the Iraq war hardly precisely to assess. This increasing factor of incalculability of the whole world development has led to a deep insecurity of many people. Against the paralyzing poison defeatism, we need to evaluate what the present contradictions among the imperialists mean based on the law of imperialism. Above all, it's about the analysis why these contradictions on a long-term basis do not only weaken the imperialist system. But rather add fuel to the fire, which will on a long-term basis worldwide and in every single country draw the attention of the female and male workers as well as of the oppressed peoples’ to the fact that this whole damn exploitative system has to be revolutionary smashed.”

■ Growing war danger

The leaflet states that the Iraq war has led to two imperialist formations, in fact the formation under the guidance of the USA and on the other hand the formation with Germany, France and Russia,.

The fight for the new division of the world

“The different imperialist powers have not developed equally over the last decades but very differently, with different speed and different in the political, economic and military field. This is especially evident for Japan and Germany. They had been defeated in the course of the Second World War... They were back on

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their feet as big powers and were at first in the economic field increasingly in the position to compete internationally with the USA."

In the following the leaflet points out that the military, warlike escalation makes it more and more clear,

".. that the new division of the sphere of influences isn't taking place peacefully and cannot take place without war. In the epoch of imperialism the question which sphere 'is entitled to' which imperialist is decided after all by military strength, that means: the violent mutual competition through imperialist war. This is mainly a fight between the imperialist big powers for world domination, which they want to, achieve, by local imperialist wars, by imperialist wars, by imperialist world slaughter even."

How strong are the individual big imperialist powers today?

In the sequel of the leaflet the strength of some of the imperialist big powers is briefly analyzed and evaluated. It is stated that US Imperialism by far still is the biggest economic and militarily strongest imperialist big power. Together with English imperialism, it is militarily advancing, above all after the military invasion in Afghanistan. True is that the potential of Russia is economically little in comparison with the other big powers, but nevertheless it keeps on fighting for spheres of influence in varying central regions of the world. And German imperialism:

"...which we specially have to pay attention to, because it is our main enemy, has enormously gained strength in recent years."

Germany makes all over the world and even politically a strong showing - in the meantime very open against the USA. ...German imperialism is also militarily advancing. Mainly with the imperialist war of aggression against Yugoslavia in the year 1999, German imperialism has demonstrated the world that it is in the position to claim its demands also by force of arms."

Where will the imperialist contradictions erupt next?

In this section, it is at first basically explained

that this is not predictable.

"The battlefield of the rivalry of the imperialist big-powers is in principle every corner of the world."

In the following, the leaflet talks about some regions of the world, where the growing contradictions are concentrated among the imperialist big powers and the leaflet demonstrates this by examples, such as the Persian Gulf, Iran, in states of the former Soviet Union (e.g. Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kirgystan, Georgia and Azerbaijan), China, India and Pakistan and East and Southeastern Europe.

Before it comes to a direct collision of the imperialist big powers: Representational wars ("Stellvertreterkriege")

"A worldwide military confrontation between German imperialism, US imperialism and the other imperialist big powers, a large-scale imperialist war, even a World War is not likely to happen in the next years. Under the present circumstances, the military confrontation between the imperialist big powers is still carried out in a different way:

Every imperialist big power tries to station as much troops as possible in other countries in order not to abandon the field to the other imperialist big powers...

This is especially true for the military advance of German imperialism. ... More than 10.000 Bundeswehr soldiers are stationed permanently in 14 countries. Considering the rotation, more than 60.000 soldiers are involved and planned.

The military fight between the imperialist forces is nowadays carried out above all in so called "Stellvertreterkriege", representational wars where the imperialists are not yet directly at war with their own arrays against each other, but support reactionary forces who depend on them and who lead a military fight against forces, who themselves are dependent on other imperialists and serve them."

Is a direct war between the USA and Germany conceivable at all?

Against a widespread opinion in Germany that in view of the military superiority of the USA; a

war between the USA and-Germany could not happen, the leaflet snakes clear:

"The long-term pursued goal of German imperialism now, after two lost world wars, is to carry through its worldwide imperialist goals in the third attempt. Therefore they summon up all their strength in order to prepare for the military confrontation with the other imperialist big powers which on a long-term basis is inevitable."

On this is further explained:

"The military strike power of German imperialism can be increased enormously not simply due to, the, great economic potential available to it but also due to- its capacity to convert the entire country into a kind of well functioning war factory. The particular brand of militarism found in Germany goes back mainly to reactionary Prussian spirit of subservience and slavish obedience as well as to the militarily branded 'German sense of order'. This particular German militarism was extremely bred in the days of the Nazis to the most atrocious form the world has ever seen. 'Prussian virtues' are deeply rooted within big parts of the German population up until today, which is a trump of German imperialism 'that should not be underestimated, because there has never been a real rupture.'"

German imperialism is extending its claim to leadership and dominance especially in Europe also increasingly in the military field.

"Even today German imperialism does everything to get access not only to economical but, also to military potential far beyond its own borders to be able to use it in, a future war."

■ **Touchstone: Fight against the Bundeswehr!**

In view of the Iraq war the rulers in Germany have announced their satisfaction about the fact that there is a movement against war which is not against them, but to a great extent in alliance with them.

Against this, it is necessary to point out like Lenin did during World War I:

"It is only possible to fight this war, when all

revolutionary forces consider that 'you don't take side of any imperialist bourgeoisie'. When the revolutionary forces make clear that 'both are the lesser evil', when they wish in every country for the defeat of the imperialist bourgeoisie, when they act according to the slogan of Liebknecht "The principle enemy is in your own country!"

It is therefore important to create consciousness of the role of the Bundeswehr and of the necessity of its violent destruction.

„The systematic exposure of all operations of the imperialist Bundeswehr over the years, over decades even is a crucial starting point. This will allow day to day struggles against this or that crime by the Bundeswehr to become struggles which can be led by a true Communist party that will question the entire system of German imperialism, militarism and revanchism."

In conclusion it is said:

„The imperialist world, as much as it puffs itself up, confirms its superiority, and beauty, proclaims its immortality, is in truth a colossus on earthen feed. Imperialism is a rotting system. Its grave-diggers, the proletariat of all countries, will have to suffer defeats and once more defeats, but they will never be finally defeated, Due to the increasing exploitation and oppression and to devastating wars of robbery the female and male workers of all countries will raise up again, and again to powerful fight actions against their own main enemy, sweep other exploited and oppressed masses and question the entire system of imperialism and smash it..."

It is absolutely necessary:

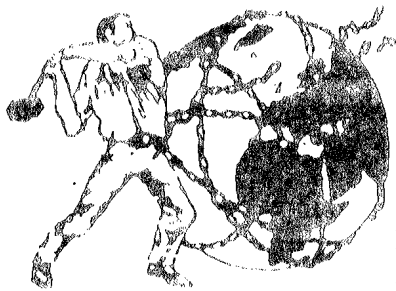
"...to develop and propagate clearly and intelligibly the answers based on scientific Communism, to start the building of truly Communist parties as decisive lever in order to successfully guide the developing mass struggles against imperialism and reaction."

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(*... but don't underestimate the secret services anywhere in the world)



Bulletin 1/04

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 2004**



Appears quarterly in **ENGLISH, French, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Russian and Turkish**



On the front of the January/February edition:

Fight the lethal German master race ideology:

Against Nazi terror and discrimination against dark-skinned people in Germany

"The German master race ideology has many guises. With a certain arbitrariness, specific groups of people living in Germany are being picked out, pilloried and set upon. Anti-Ziganism, hatred directed against the Sinti and Roma peoples (as in Rostock, 2002) is back in demand. Once again anti-Semitic stereotypes, hatred against Jews, have come to the fore (such as the Martin Walser speech of 1998, the Jurgen Mollemann debate in 2002, anti-Semitic attacks in Lubeck in 1995 and Dusseldorf in 2000). Afterwards, the 'Christian-Occidental' card, always at-hand, will be played against people of Arab countries (as in the current 'headscarf' debate), but also the classic chauvinistic colonial racism directed against dark-skinned people (as in Hoyerswerda in 199 or Lubeck in 1996), or the campaign of hatred against refugees (e.g. Mannheim-Schonau in 1992) or foreigners in general' (in Molln in 1992).

While Stoiber (CSU) sent out the rallying cry a few years ago against this 'slacking society' (which obviously hasn't done any harm to his career), the Nazis in Germany have long since considered dark-skinned people as one of their favoured targets with their murderous street campaigns and arson attacks."

In Germany there is a deep-rooted and primitive 'day-to-day racism', alongside state-sponsored discrimination and Nazi terror against dark-skinned people.

"Attempting to disprove racist arguments one by one is like nothing more than falling for the underlying assumption that logical arguments can have any kind of effect on the minds of the Ger-

man racist-nationalist 'master race'.

To get straight to the point: We are not saying for one moment that logical and convincing arguments should be abandoned in the fight against racism. Nevertheless, it is crucial to establish a willingness to take part in argumentative debate. In this respect, the decisive starting point is to carry out a concerted campaign in places where a concerted campaign against racists and exploiters is possible."

And it goes on to explain:

"During such a campaign, one must expose and overcome the divisive function of discriminating against people because of the colour of their skin at home and all over the world. One can still use such a campaign to gain people's trust and establish this willingness to take part in organised debate."

Away from such campaigns

"... the ideology of racism, the German 'master race' ideology, reveals a more far-reaching objective: To bind a large majority of the exploited and suppressed masses to their own exploiters and suppressors."

■ Elements of discrimination and Nazi terror against dark-skinned people in Germany

This section examines how German-racist nationalism has developed over time, namely hand in hand with colonial-chauvinism.

"German imperialism practiced a brutal regime in 'its' colonies, both exploitative and repres-

sive, going as far as the genocide of the Herero and Nama.”

“The German ‘master race’ ideology portrays black people as inferior and primitive, at best in need of civilizing. No surprise that people from Africa were even put on display in zoos-e.g. at the Hagenbeck Zoo in Hamburg. “

During the First World War, the

“German imperialists... in their campaign against ‘niggerfied France’ mobilised the German ‘master race’ ideology in their role as colonial power...”

Some 170,000 Africans from French colonies fought on the French side, as well as 50,000 African-Americans from the US army. Relatively few dark-skinned people lived in Germany between 1919 and 1945. Their situation became particularly tense after the ‘Nuremberg racial laws of 1935’, according to which they were to undergo compulsory sterilization.

“Between 1937 and 1942, at least 400 of them were compulsory sterilized. Up to now, not one of these people has ever received any form of compensation. “

In the Second World War, there was the following SS command, in Nazi jargon: “Niggers to be shot immediately upon capture. “ And after the smashing of Nazi-fascism:

“... German imperialism once again peddled this German master race’ mentality, deftly using it in the campaign against the Potsdam Agreement and the allied occupation forces, especially against the image of the ‘black GI’ going with German women, and of the ‘occupation children’ who were ostracized and discriminated against by society. “

■ **Nazi Terror**

“The first proponents of the German ‘master race’ ideology that spring to mind are the Nazis. After the annexation of the GDR in 1990 and the German-chauvinist frenzy whipped up by German imperialism, Nazi terror against dark-skinned people became more intense. “

This section denounces all the assaults, murders and pogroms carried out against dark-skinned people. For example the site of the first racist-nationalist pogrom in Germany since 1945 in Hoyerswerda (1991), directed against male and female workers from Vietnam and Mozambique:

“Organised by Nazi groups from both western Germany and the former GDR, and cheered on by numerous male and female residents and non card-carrying Nazi sympathizers, the Nazis were able to spread their terror, largely unchecked by police.”

■ **Racist-nationalist campaigns of hatred in the bourgeois media and state-sponsored discrimination**

“There is not just the problem that the police, bourgeois politicians and the bourgeois media sponsor and protect the Nazis. The German ‘master race’ ideology in itself is not just a characteristic of these Nazi killers. This ideology is propagated a million times over in racist-nationalist campaigns of hate against refugees in the bourgeois media, sometimes more, sometimes less openly. Further, this ideology is in fact a basic element of the domestic politics of German imperialism. The politicians and other representatives of German imperialism kick off German-chauvinistic campaigns, against Sinti and Roma one day, against ‘Arabs’ another, against refugees from Africa etc. on an other occasion. “

The following section gives evidence of state-sponsored terror against dark-skinned people:

“There is a huge number of dark-skinned people who have died as the result of police brutality, after being assaulted or abused. “

The following people have been murdered or driven to their deaths: John Amadi from Cameroon, Ms. Bongo from Angola, Aamir Omer Mohamed Ahmed Ageeb from Sudan, etc.

■ **Responsibilities and perspectives in the campaign against the German ‘master race’ ideology**

“Not only do we have to fight more and with greater effectiveness against increasing Nazi terror and the racist nationalism of the German ‘master race’, we must also expose it more and with greater effectiveness.

An urgent need or self-help is crucial due to increasing Nazi terror and the growth of the Nazi movement. Argument and persuasion is useless against Nazis in action. This means we need to deal with these hordes of killers with the utmost determination and without any sympathy! Self help against Nazis must be organised with all one’s

energies everywhere where Nazis are- especially together with those who are threatened and persecuted by the Nazis, dark-skinned people, refugees, those abused for being foreigners, homosexuals and the disabled."

The leaflet ends with the following comments:

"It cannot be overemphasised: All genuine democratic forces must unite in their resolute campaign against the German 'master race' ideology, the racist-nationalist campaign of hatred in all its variants, which must be seen as our deadly enemy. We must i ht in solidarity with all victims of state-sponsored terror and in the knowledge that this ideology is one of the strongest weapons of German-imperialist reactionaries together with the anti-communist movement. Without this campaign,



Appearing in the March 2004 leaflet:

Against this illusion making concerning capitalist system's alleged potential for reform:

Fight against increasing exploitation and impoverishment from a revolutionary perspective

"Today, German Imperialism is plundering the suppressed from all over the world, step by step German army engagements are being extended on the international stage. In Germany, state-sponsored terror, deportations, arrests of refugees are the order of the day and Nazi aggression continues unabated. At the same time, the social situation of workers is being attacked step by step and with ever greater force. The massive increase in workplace harassment, longer working hours, and a reduction in real salaries etc are increasing exploitation in the workplace. The German imperialists are on the march in all areas.. and are more and more brazen in testing just how far they can go. Using this softly-softly approach and the demagoguery of the 'lesser evil' together with other manoeuvres, they are still able to carry out such aggravation, without any real resistance - above all in the workplace. This manoeuvre of deception must be exposed and destroyed, so we do not give up but can organise an effective counterfront against appeasement in all its forms. Against all this talk of the so-called potential for 'reorientation' within existing structures of exploitation, against reformist illusion making and German-nationalist incitement, above all what

male and female « workers cannot break free of the chains which bind them to the German imperialists.

The leaflet also contains additional details in brief concerning the following

- Police search of anti-fascist "Cafe Exzess" in Frankfurt
- Crimes committed by the German imperial colonialists in Africa
- Particularities of the racist 'master race' mentality in Germany
- Dark-skinned communists murdered by Nazis!
- Examples of Nazi terror against dark-skinned people over the last three years
- Murdered by the German 'master race' just because of the colour of one's skin!

matters is this: We must throw, both practically and theoretically, the whole capitalist system into doubt, a system which is solely based on image. Of crucial importance: We must not be put off the important task at hand by anybody or anything, despite all the day to day difficulties and setbacks encountered. We must use all our energies to prepare for and carry out the complete destruction of this whole damn exploitative system of German imperialism."

■ Further deterioration in the living standards of the broader working masses

This section provides real examples of some significant and far-reaching examples of the deterioration in the living standards of workers in terms of health care, pension provision, protection against wrongful dismissal and unemployment benefit.

■ Three central manoeuvres of the capitalist system to bring about this deterioration

The rulers have a whole arsenal of strategies at their disposal to confuse and disorientate. Three manoeuvres are especially of note:

„■ *A tactical move of the German imperialists*

which is quite simply inspired was and is still to make use of the demagogic potential of a so-called 'left-wing' Social Democratic government in order to attack the living standards of the workers across a broader front...

■ *This is accompanied by the propaganda of the lesser evil...*

■ *Another important element is the combination of pessimistic horror scenario with a softly-softly approach.*"

The agenda of increasing exploitation and imperialistic expansion

"In particular, the working masses are expected to bear the costs of further armament and preparations for war. A huge programme of rearmament of the Germany army has been pushed through - 110 billion over the next five to ten years."

This is one of the reasons for the following facts:

"At the EU summit involving heads of states in Lisbon in 2000, the German imperialists were influential in slashing wages and social benefits, alongside the openly declared intent of the EU to have replaced the USA as the world's No. 1. economic power by 2010. Only all-out war against capital and the capitalist state can bring results!"

The situation is getting more and more desperate and can only get worse if we don't begin to steadfastly fight back, to strike, to occupy workplaces, in other words to exert pressure and give capitalism a real beating.....

This campaign can only be fought properly if directed against the politics of class appeasement, reformism and belief in the state, against the division of workers by German nationalism and German chauvinism. This campaign must be directed against capitalism, its parties and its state all in one."

■ **Strike at the root of the problem - For the revolutionary downfall of capitalism!**

Against the reformist illusion making

"..by various opportunist forces (such as ATTAC) who claim that applying pressure from below to existing structures can bring about 'a new political life' for this state....."

we must oppose the "this scientifically proven truth which has been confirmed day after day all

over the world'.

"As long as there is capitalism there will always be unemployment, factory closures, rationalization at the expense of the workers, wage cutbacks, exploitation and suppression."

Further explanation is provided about how it is therefore necessary to fight the capitalist system oneself.

"Hence, the means of production must no longer be held in the hands of a minority, that of the exploiters. Instead, monopoly capital must be expropriated dictatorially,... common ownership of the means to production must be made a reality. However, this is not possible without first smashing from top to bottom the whole, decaying edifice of the state as the instrument of power of capital."

In the war with the capitalist powers, the revolutionary worker movement will build a new kind of state on the rubble of the old exploitative state. This state will replace this hypocritical, bourgeois democracy of today with a completely new kind of socialist democracy belonging to the broader working masses, in other words- a dictatorship over the exploiters and reactionaries, the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

The leaflet goes on to add: **"The defence of trade union rights means: Offer no support to leaders of the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) and its apparatus!"**

☆☆☆

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(*Don't underrate the secret services of all countries)

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Bulletin 2/04

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 2004**



Appears quarterly in **ENGLISH, French, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Russian and Turkish**



Appearing in the April 2004 leaflet:

The "EU's eastward expansion":

Fight the advance of German Imperialism!

Fight German Chauvinism!

"On May 1st, this year, eight countries from Eastern and South-eastern Europe-Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Czech republic and Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Malta and Cyprus- joined the European Union, thus increasing membership of the EU by 10 states. By choosing May 1st – the international day of action of the working classes – as the date of EU expansion, the ruling classes have offered a deliberate provocation to the worker masses, to workers in Germany and in other EU countries. Considering the 20 million unemployed, considering advancing impoverishment, considering gravely deteriorating working and living conditions for the working masses of EU countries, it is more than apparent that the imperialist project for a "United Europe" has been forced through on the backs of and against the basic social interests of the working masses.

Over the last few months, and not without substantial media expenditure, the parties, proponents and propagandists of German imperialism have been in the position to push ahead with the project of a "United Europe" in tandem with EU expansion to the East and the debate on a new European constitution, and with the help of German chauvinism. Their aim has been to hush up the supremacist aims of German imperialism, militarism and revanchism, or going even further: to more or less justify them.

Despite failing to meet its aims in two world wars, German imperialism is once again trying to carry out its old objectives: Achieving hegemony in Europe is a decisive step towards realising its ambitions for global supremacy.

The leaflet firstly looks at the already well advanced preparations of German imperialism in its "third attempt at global supremacy". Nevertheless, increasing exploitation has led to large-scale strikes and large-scale battles, even in Germany. But the German imperialists are well prepared:

"Both police and military apparatuses are being built up and strengthened, largely under the 'war on terrorism' banner. More and more people are discussing the merits of using the German army to quash 'domestic unrest'. A well-coordinated propaganda apparatus has also been put in place, which has even influenced some on the 'left'. The purpose of this apparatus is to manipulate the lines of battle of existing mass movements or those in the future, to lead them in the wrong direction, into the minefield of German imperialism and German chauvinism."

■ Variants of German chauvinism

Let us emphasize here that German imperialism has a variety of outlets for its propaganda, each of which should address a different section of the population.

"However, do not jump to the conclusion that there exist 'two factions', the 'German Nationalists' and the 'German Europeans'."

In two short sections we would like to show the two faces of German chauvinism:

□ German chauvinism (I): "First Germany, ..."

"The demagogic capital of propaganda used by the German Nationalist variant is to put any wors-

ening of the German social situation firmly at the door of the EU... Much is made of the 'German national community', the mythical contrast between the 'German Volk' and other peoples in order to hush up the actual reasons for the deterioration in the situation, just as the Nazis did. In other words, to cover up the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the domination of capitalism, and to propagate the idea that the only escape is to be found in imperialist aggression. "

□ German chauvinism (II):

"We are the best Europeans"

Under the slogan "We are all Europeans ", the demographic capital used by champions of the EU is to portray the EU eastern expansion as 'necessary', in order to be able to 'compete' with the USA – above all to mobilise anti-Americanism – and also Japan. Revanchist ambitions of supremacy of German imperialism are hidden behind pan-European slogans such as 'the house of Europe', or 'A Europe of regions', in which 'borders no longer matter'.



Appearing in the May 2004 leaflet:

The hypocrisy of German imperialism with respect to the crimes perpetrated by its imperialist rival, the USA:

Torture -perfected in Germany!

"Politicians and the media in Germany have expressed their 'dismay', even their 'anger' with respect to published photos of mistreated Iraqi prisoners, in particular at the hands of US army personnel. This is a demagogic manoeuvre in two ways. Firstly, it diverts attention from the fact, documented in various places, that large numbers of people are still being maltreated in German prisons and police cells, in checks and searches, and at the hands of the German army. This applies especially to refugees who face frequent abuse in deportation camps, police cells and during violent deportations, some of whom do not survive these deportations. On the other hand, politicians and ideologues of German imperialism are calling more and more often for the use of torture 'if and when required'. In other words, to cause systematic and deliberate suffering to force confessions from people. This ranges from specific official threats and concrete preparations for the use of torture in the Frankfurt police academy, which have met with a shocking degree of approval, right up to the 'pub-

■ **For proletarian internationalism! Workers of all countries, unite!**

This section focuses on the following:

"The workers of Germany must never allow themselves to be hitched up to that old banger- German imperialism. They must stand up against any deterioration in their situation as a result of the plans for Europe of German imperialism. Any involvement in its rapacious orgies, its combat operations, and the imperialist wars of plunder must be refused and fought with all force.

All-out war must be declared on German chauvinism- one of the deadliest weapons of German imperialism! The class struggle must be expounded across all regions- shoulder to shoulder with the workers of all countries!

The leaflet also contains another short article: **"Fight the increase in exploitation of the worker masses of Eastern Europe by German imperialism!"**

lic intervention for the use of torture in the 'war against terror' as asserted by a professor at the German Bundeswehr academy. The fact that such 'considerations' of the use and usefulness of torture are even taking place in public is another aspect of the increasing fascistization of Germany. "

The first section of this leaflet gives an historical outline of the development of German imperialism to masters of torture.

■ **The Nazi-fascist Gestapo – a byword for counter-revolution all over the world**

There follows a discussion of the "Geheime Staatspolizei", or Gestapo:

"The German Nazi-Gestapo ... with its system of torture and murder, denunciation and espionage, became synonymous world-wide with highly-advanced methods of torture. "

■ **The building up of state organs of repression after 1945 using Nazi cadres**

This section goes on to show how the German Fed-

eral Police Agency (BKA) and the German army were built up almost entirely from Nazi cadres. Nazis were also influential in the redevelopment of the German Intelligence Service (BND), Military Security Service (MAD) and the Secret Service (VS).

■ **Global demand for German Gestapo torture experts**

This section describes how German torture experts were employed across the world after the Nazi era, e.g. Klaus Barbie in Bolivia, etc. The point is stressed here that this even remained the case in the following generation.

■ **Scientific research into torture**

In the 1970s, scientific research into torture was stepped up to perfect torture techniques. This section looks at this and backs up its discussion with facts.

■ **German conditions in 2004**

"From an ideological perspective, German imperialism is making different approaches towards the legalisation and legitimization of torture; it is talking about 'special cases' and 'exceptional circumstances'."

The rest of this section backs this up with facts. There then follow four sections which go on to show how people are already being tortured and maltreated in Germany today.

□ **"German conditions" (I): Simulated torture and executions as part of German army training program of the Bundeswehr**

□ **"German conditions" (II): Maltreatment in German police cells and prisons**

□ **"German conditions" (III): Systematic maltreatment and torture on a large scale in German deportation camps**

□ **"German conditions" (IV): Torture in country of origin is "no reason for not deporting"**

■ **Torture – a weapon from the arsenal of repression and counter-revolution**

The leaflet takes up the theme:

"In the arsenal of counter-revolutionary repression, torture can be said to have predominately three functions. Each function is applied in accordance with the respective seriousness of the situation in the class struggle and struggle for liberation:

- *To apply torture on a huge scale to intimidate during the intensification of revolutionary and anti-*

imperialist battles...

- *To extort information...*

- *To break cadres and public retractions..."*

The next section rounds everything up by showing how the torture of Iraqi prisoners are crimes of US imperialism:

"which must be revealed and fought against by all democratic and revolutionary forces of the world."

A good reason against playing down the significance of German imperialism:

"German imperialism is an especially aggressive imperialist power, an international exploiter and oppressor of the peoples of the world. Its long-term aim is to make a leap for world supremacy... For this reason, German imperialism is redoubling its military aggression abroad, domestically it is pushing ahead with the fascistization of the state apparatus, while continuing to cut back on democratic rights which are already barely existing. At the same time, it is stepping up the criminalisation of democratic and revolutionary groups and structures, even those which are barely established and a long way from becoming powerful mass movements. The legalisation of torture is another step in this direction."

The leaflet also contains other contributions on the following issues:

- Communists who stood up against torture carried out by the class enemy: Using the example of KPD comrade Lilo Hermann who was murdered by the Nazis;

- **„... Now I understand why people want to kill themselves in this prison."** A report from Alice Mutoni from the Eisenhüttenstadt deportation camp;

- This man knows what he is talking about: **"...at some point, very soon, he would have to start talking..."** (voice of Daschner, Frankfurt deputy president of police);

- How the "squabble between two thieves" becomes the "midwife of truth" (Marx)

- Why have representatives of German imperialism for years refused to sign the supplemental protocol of the UN Anti-torture convention?

- Code of conduct for revolutionaries in their clandestine work

As part of our preparations for our 3rd party conference, we kindly ask all readers – in confrontation with our discussions in ROT FRONT # 2 – to discuss the following leaflet from July reproduced here in full, and to send us your comments and suggestions.

The struggle against German revanchism is unavoidable!

What is German revanchism?

Before you can fight German imperialism you must first know what it is. We believe that an understanding of what German revanchism actually means and how it is connected to German imperialism is essential if a modern, enduring campaign is to be mounted against it.

Considering two lost world wars, considering the violation of the Potsdam Agreement, considering the expansive ambitions of German imperialist forces vis-à-vis the countries of Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, Austria and all those other countries formerly occupied by German imperialist forces and whose peoples dealt a blow to German imperialism in partisan wars ... Considering all of this, German imperialism is using the propaganda of revanchism for its wide-reaching expansionist aims, and has long since recovered to become the especially aggressive imperialist power it is today. More so today than was the case five or fifteen years ago, revanchist ideology and politics are now more pronounced, directed against other imperialist powers of the world who defeated Nazi fascist German imperialism in the Second World War. Today, revanchist ideology is being used especially for the increasingly apparent global confrontation with US imperialism.

Nevertheless, this revanchist ideology is by no means the stuff of so-called "old reactionaries" or the supposed "right-wing cartel" within the ruling classes. Revanchist ideology does not only refer to Germany's 'Drang nach Osten' (expansion towards the East) or the recapture of supposed 'German homeland' territories. Instead, it has to do with the peculiarities of German imperialism in general, which are a product of historical developments since the First World War. The full-scale war against our main enemy, German imperialism, requires us to understand and apply this correctly to today's situation whilst also taking into account the historical background, and also to hone the accuracy of the Communist position.

■ German revanchism after the Treaty of Versailles and the defeat in the First World War

German imperialism, which has been active as an imperialist big power for some 100 years, has been using revanchist ideology since its defeat in the First World War.

After this defeat, revanchist propaganda was principally developed in response to the Treaty of Versailles, the first step towards a relatively fixed and self-enclosed reactionary ideology: The ideology of German revanchism.

The idea of revanchism (from the French "revancher", to avenge), which was, it should be noted, the slogan of the French bourgeoisie after the defeat in the Franco-German war of 1871, was taken up from this point by the German imperialist plagiarists, as a means of stirring up popular support for revenge, for a revanchist war on a real economic basis. The revanchist hate campaign aimed to shake off the "Versailles regime", to avoid reparations and to rebuild German military forces without interference from outside. Germany wanted to recapture those colonies taken from her, as well as Western (principally French) territories such as Alsace-Lorraine, and in the East recently conquered Soviet territories (Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, 1918) and Polish territory, lost after the defeat. The aim was to reunify the states of "all (supposed) German territories" including Austria and areas of Czechoslovakia ("Sudetenland") and Poland. Nevertheless, the main purpose of inciting such a revanchist hate campaign was to wipe out the "humiliation" of having been defeated by principally directing German nationalism against England, France and the USA.

The ideology of revanche, the idea of revanchism

had its real material basis in the entire economic system of German imperialism. This young and especially aggressive imperialist thief, defeated in the First World War, knew that the wide-scale mobilisation or at least the neutralisation of the broad masses was needed to prepare for and carry out a new imperialist world war with the aim of recapturing old territories and seizing new ones and of world supremacy. Without this, the millions of soldiers required in modern warfare as well as the necessary levels of production on the "home front" could not be kept from any nasty surprises, disruptions, or even revolutionary developments.

The union of all reactionary movements in Germany which had revanchist origins under the command of the Nazi fascist party, the NSDAP, managed to stabilise over time, chalking up one success after another: Reconstruction of the German army, the annexation of Austria in March 1938 as well as parts of Czechoslovakia in the autumn of 1938, the occupation of Poland in 1939 and France and other countries in Europe in 1940, the attack on and occupation of large regions of the Soviet Union in 1941,...

The strong appeal of revanchist ideas initially came from its utilization of the fact that the Treaty of Versailles, alongside correct stipulations (in particular, that German imperialism was required to respect the sovereignty of the Polish and Czechoslovakian states, outlawing any "Anschluss" with Austria) was all in all a rapacious treaty created by the victorious imperialists against the defeated German imperialists. The Versailles peace treaty thus gave German imperialism especially demagogic potential to poison large parts of the German population with the ideology of revanchism and chauvinism, whilst trying and succeeding in shifting the rapacious demands of the Versailles treaty onto the working classes.

Revanchist ideas had an apparent defensive and restorative quality, and appeared to be directed against the "injustices" of imperialist logic. This made it easy to gather the masses under the command of a German imperialism with restored powers.

However, after these revanchist aims had been met, the logic of German imperialism began to unravel at

a rapid pace into a markedly more aggressive propaganda for the attainment of global supremacy and realisation of the historically determined "German world mission". (In addition to this were the distortive metaphors taken from history to serve as a model for the "Third Reich", such as the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" as the "First Reich")

■ ***German revanchism
after the defeat of German Imperialism
in the Second World War,
after the Potsdam Agreement***

German revanchism in its guise as an unretractable element of the totality of Nazi ideology, as a primary masquerade for world supremacy ambitions, was given a massive boost after the defeat during the Second World War through massive rearmament of the propaganda machinery of German imperialism – in the form of its mass media.

However, after the defeat of German imperialism, in one regard, a significantly different situation arose for the continued development of the ideology of revanchist thought:

This was not only a defeat at the hands of competing imperialist powers, but above anything else a defeat in the battle against the socialist Soviet Union and the armies of nations suppressed by German imperialist forces.

These forces of the "Anti-Hitler coalition" – including the competing imperialist powers, USA, England and France – created a well-considered and for any honest, democratic thinking individual a justifiable program for defeated Germany, a marked difference to what happened after the First World War: The program of the Potsdam Agreement.

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On the basis of a German state established in the Potsdam Agreement, a program of denazification, demilitarization and democratization was agreed, including reparations. Territories plundered in history and home to German "minorities" stirred up by the Nazis were formally repopulated in accordance with the resolutions of the Potsdam Agreement. A new German border was established in the East, which took into account historical expansion and the situation of the German imperialist attack on Poland in 1939. For German imperialism, this meant a significant reduction of its territory.

German imperialism casted certain aspects of Nazi ideology aside, now applying ten times the ideological force in a more intense revanchist cry against "Bolshevism"; who it saw as being mostly responsible for its defeat. The West German population was bombarded with elements of Nazi ideology, with increased anti-Communism. The ideology of German revanchism, against a background of a real loss of territory, firstly focussed on the question of the supposed "unfairness" of the new Eastern border, the "expulsion" of condemned resettlements and the much-discussed "German reunification"; and the question of reparations. From the outset, the Potsdam Agreement was attacked ideologically as an alleged "injustice against Germany".

This ideological revanchist propaganda, made up of a multitude of different aspects, was partly pushed forward, focussing on anti-bolshevism, in cooperation with former "enemies", i.e. together with US, English and French imperialists. At the same time, German imperialism never lost sight of its own position in this revanchist outcry.

In West Germany, the economic power of German imperialism was not broken after the lost Second World War. This was the material basis for the conversion of Germany into the big imperialist power it is today. The German army has been built up since 1955. A systematic policy of sucking the GDR dry was enforced as a prelude to its annexation. This was made easy by a pseudo-socialist GDR which degenerated into a caricature of capitalism having the structures of a police state. The program of long-term re-

venge generated one success after another.

The stipulations of the Potsdam Agreement, the most important legitimate instrument for keeping German imperialism at bay, were violated step by step by the FRG. The so-called "Two plus Four agreement" of 1990, set against the annexation of the GDR, was the last step in the full rejection of a German peace treaty with the victorious powers, as set out in the Potsdam Agreement.

More than this, a decisive psychological-ideological step was made: The social-imperialist Soviet Union, caught up in internal difficulties and which had long since betrayed the legacy of the socialist revolution, basically capitulated to the relentless onslaught of German imperialism. This was the violent push which enabled German imperialism to proclaim itself as "victor" over Russia and proudly wave the flag of "reunified Germany" wherever it went. In this way, German imperialism humiliated the former Soviet Union, whereby it should be noted here that today's Russia – with its military power – is still an important factor in the equation.

Nevertheless, as proved time and again in the history of German imperialism, the achievement of separate objectives of its imperialist-revanchist program did and does not mean that it will become quieter, more satiated, or perhaps more harmless.

Quite the opposite: Each small victory meant an increase in the strength of German imperialism. Militarism and revanchism focussed and still focuses attention on other areas:

In close collaboration with that old and razor-sharp weapon of German nationalism and chauvinism, in recent years, German imperialism has continued with its revanchist propaganda in all directions. Tirelessly and with greater intensification, German imperialism continues to work towards reinstating hitherto unfulfilled return to 'former borders'!

Since Second World War, however, revanchist propaganda and politics principally began to focus on the major rival in the current rivalry

between the large imperialist powers in the battle for global supremacy: US imperialism.

Revenge for the “humiliation of defeat” suffered by German imperialism is now principally directed against US imperialism, which bombed and occupied Germany. Today, English and French imperialism, but more so US imperialism, stands in the way of the revanchist agenda for 1945.

■ German revanchism as an instrument for mobilizing the broad masses for German imperialist aims of global supremacy

Over the last forty plus years, German modern revisionists of SED and DKP (and today of PDS as well) have been responsible for reactionary and pernicious propaganda concerning “revanchism”, which still remains in place to effect today. This is true even if the facts tell their own story: German revanchism is supposedly only to be found in the CDU; these are supposedly two parts to German capital, whereby the one represented by the CDU is supposedly the more aggressive, and so on.

Using the fact as a pretext that in view of a mass relocation of people in West Germany, some 7-10 million, revanchist propaganda was intensified in the 1950s and '60s, the DKP and SED kept quiet about the all-embracing character of German revanchism, by no means only directed towards the East, but which of course included Austria and other parts of the world within its revanchist ambition.

In particular, however, anti-Americanism has been surgically removed by revisionist and opportunist forces from its position as the central element in the revanchist outcry of German imperialism, as it makes a third attempt at global supremacy.

Any struggle against German imperialism and militarism would not be complete without a profound and comprehensive understanding of German revanchism as the ideology of stirring up the masses to new expansion and wars in its far-reaching ambitions. The German revanchist agenda – its revanchist propaganda – is addressed to the German masses, in order to bring them in line behind the aims of German imperialism.

On an ideological level, German revanchism is an important and indispensable element of the “German ideology” of German imperialism, together with anti-Semitism and anti-Ziganism. Racism and anti-Communism, together with all varieties of German nationalism, must above anything else be eradicated from the minds of the majority of the German working classes in order to effectively fight and defeat German imperialism.

Ideologically speaking, German nationalism is without doubt the most potent source of power for German revanchism, and in many respects the basis of its effectiveness. The reason being that the entire revanchist program of aggression needs the “we sentiment” from the apparent “injustice carried out against us Germans”. For this reason, it would be a mistake to equate German nationalism with German revanchism.

Is German revanchism only an ideology?

The revanchist program is also a part of the politics of German imperialism, it is advanced through diplomacy and political manoeuvres (in the 1970s, e.g. the treaties with the Eastern bloc).

At the same time, it would be wrong to reduce the entire politics of German imperialism to this one revanchist aspect. Revanchism, in ideology and politics, by no means comprises the whole program of German imperialism, which after all consists of achieving world supremacy in the battle against other imperialist powers.

German revanchism is based on German militarism and is realised through it. It is therefore based on the real program of militarism, warmongering and actual combat operations (Yugoslavia, Afghanistan). German militarism is based on the peculiarities of German imperialism – an imperialist predator who came “too late” as the imperialist era began around 1900, and came up “too short” when spheres of influence were handed out, its particular aggressiveness after two lost world wars, and its consolidation as an autonomous war focus.

The understanding of German revanchism as an

ideology and as a component of German imperialist policy would be a superficial one, were it not to delve deeper into German militarism and to the real source of strength, German imperialism. After all, German revanchism and German militarism only arose, developed and continue to develop as a means of sustaining the capitalist order of exploitation and to secure maximum imperialist profits of the German monopoly capital and its striving for global supremacy.

Only on this basis can the entire spectrum, the forms and expressions of the real realization of the German revanchist program really be understood: We must analyse distinguish situations when it is more favourable to German imperialists to carry out an openly revanchist hate campaign, or firstly to use disguised revanchist political manoeuvres-hidden behind the banner of social or humanitarian help-until a suitable moment arises to openly pursue revanchism. Of great importance here is the degree of resistance put up by the peoples threatened and attacked by German imperialism, and the state of affairs within Germany, the "German conditions". And, last but not least, should German imperialism use or initialise some "scandal" or another for revanchist purposes, which with the help of the mass media creates a sense of "We've had enough!", so as to take two steps forward here or there, whilst perhaps taking one step back.

■ ***The essential struggle against German revanchism and the war of destruction against German imperialism***

The ideological and political struggle against German revanchism is in actual fact indivisible from the proponents of German revanchism, bound to German imperialism, is a part of the struggle for democratic rights for the working masses of other countries threatened and choked by German revanchism, and is an ideological and political struggle for the minds of the working classes and the exploited working masses in Germany. It is a mandatory element of the struggle against war preparations and war-mongering.

But at the same time, it is still just another part of the struggle against German imperialism as a whole. The

more profound struggle against German imperialism as a struggle for the socialist revolution against capitalism is and remains the fundamental, essential and superordinate task – without for one minute letting up on the struggle against all concrete machinations, and especially in the struggle against the ideology and politics of German revanchism.

The fundamental ideological and political objective of the Communist Party – which we must rebuild – is to win over the majority of workers in Germany in unison with other masses of the working people to establish a socialist revolution, to prepare and carry out the smashing of the state apparatus of German imperialism, to overthrow capitalism, to build a socialist democracy and a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to win them over to communism. In this context, our slogan is:

**Death to German imperialism,
militarism
and revanchism!**

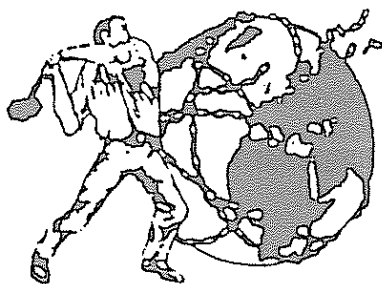


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(*... but don't underestimate the secret services anywhere in the world)



Bulletin 4/04

Information for the revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopses from "Gegen die Strömung" –
Organ for the building of the Revolutionary Communist
Party of Germany: **October – December 2004**

Published quarterly in Turkish, French, ENGLISH, Spanish, Italian, Dutch and Russian

Appearing in the October leaflet:

On the strike and strike outbreak at Opel:

Twofold lesson

"Between 14th and 21st October 2004, workers at the Opel factory in Bochum took to the streets in protest against threatened mass redundancies. This strike action was initiated and maintained without and against trade union management. Management at IG Metall and the top dogs of the Opel works council were against this autonomous strike from the outset. With the backing of various politicians such as Schartau, Clement and Schröder, they tried to stir up the fear that a strike would bring about the permanent shutdown of the plant. The capitalists' attempts at intimidation – including threats of instant dismissal and damage claims did not deter the workers at Opel. The strike was successfully prolonged for seven days despite the attempts of the worker aristocrats of the works council committee to turn workers against themselves. It wasn't until 21st October that they finally managed to break up the strike, operating jointly with the capitalists with the aid of an undemocratic ballot. A twofold lesson is clear from all of this: Firstly, the strike demonstrated the enormous strength of the workers who fought autonomously. On the other hand, it also showed the tremendous power of trade union management and its apparatus to pacify workers in the service of the capitalists."

After it was revealed that some 12,000 jobs would be cut at Opel in Europe – 3,500 of these in Bochum – some 3,000 workers in Bochum went on strike, which is deemed illegal by German labour law.

Trade union barons, politicians and worker aristocrats against the strike

"Right from the very first day, striking workers were confronted by a united front consisting of trade union leaders, politicians and works council bureaucrats, all of whom agreed on the following: Regardless of everything else, production had to continue."

Solidarity with striking colleagues

"Solidarity with the workers ... is huge... Local people especially showed their support ... whole school classes came ... And colleagues from other factories and other industries ... On a 'day of solidarity' organised across Europe, 50,000 workers from General Motors came out in protest ..."

How the strike ended

A ballot took place in a works meeting stewarded by plant security, in which workers were not allowed to speak:

"The ballot paper is a clever trick. On it appeared the following question: 'Should the works council continue negotiations with management and production be resumed?' ...the option of negotiating while at the same time remaining on strike was not on offer."

Only 1,759 workers from a total of 6,463 voted in favour of the strike.

The fight to save jobs at Opel is not over!

"Workers at the Opel factory in Bochum have shown colleagues in other companies that a

strike without trade union management is both possible and necessary. ...

At the same time it is also true that trade union heads and the worker aristocrats of the works council at Opel have again managed to stifle the worker's struggle ...

All this has shown the enormity of the task facing progressive forces in the factories to combat the impending sense of resignation cultivated by

these appeasers, while at the same time having the staying power to promote the organisation of autonomous cells in the class struggle."

Fight without and against trade union leaders!

The leaflet features the following articles: Nazis demonstrate against Hartz IV • Militant anti-fascist actions in Leipzig on 3rd October: The right response • The filthy German-Chauvinist arguments used in the defence of capitalism

Appearing in the November/December 2004 leaflet:

The Nazi ideology of lives "not worth living":

From discrimination to mass murder

"Nazi crimes directed against people classified by the Nazis as 'lebensunwert' ('unworthy of life') started to take place soon after January 1st 1933. After the racist Sterilisation Law came into effect on 14th July 1933, the Nazis began carrying out brutal compulsory sterilisations, mostly on disabled people.

Nazi mass murder directed against people classified by the Nazis as 'unworthy of life' began in October 1939, shortly after the Nazi invasion of Poland. It was carried out on the basis of 'previous experience' made and the 'data' collected in the course of compulsory sterilisations, and began with the mass murder of disabled infants in hospitals and mass executions by firing squad of disabled adults by the SS. From January 1940, this mass murder had become mass murder with poison gas in specially designed extermination centres in Germany and Austria. It was continued and extended to state institutions and hospitals using enforced starvation, drugs and electric shocks up until May 1945. In total, the Nazis murdered between 200,000 and 270,000 people in Nazi Germany.

The Nazi ideology of 'a life not worth living' was a product of both German and European history – taken from Plato, Luther, even the 'Weimar Republic'. Without an understanding of this background, without understanding that

what the Nazis managed to do was to latch onto existing reactionary ideas, bring them to the forefront and to apply them in 'practice' with the help of the state apparatus of German imperialism, it is difficult, nigh impossible, to comprehend the true extent to which this tradition has been retained in post-war West Germany/Germany: The climate of living '... as if nothing had ever happened!' The majority of Nazi murderers were either exonerated or escaped punishment in West Germany. Some even started new 'careers', and the victims who had managed to survive were discriminated against once more. The West German state and the German imperialists refused and continue to refuse to pay victims any compensation which is even remotely fair!"

Mass compulsory sterilisations and Nazi mass murder

The first main section briefly describes the stages of development of murderous Nazi 'euthanasia'.

• **State-run compulsory sterilisations from 1933 were a "test run for Nazi mass murder"**

This section considers three essential Nazi laws of which the **"Law for the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring"** and the Nazi **"Hereditary Health Laws"** were the most important.

"The medium term objective was to sterilise between half a million and 2 million people, the Nazi ideologue Fritz Lenz even spoke of 12 million."

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German doctors aided and carried out compulsory sterilisations

"In total, around 375,000 to over 400,000 people were compulsory sterilised in Nazi Germany and the annexed territories, Austria, the 'Sudetenland', Danzig and the 'Memel region' between 1933 and 1945 ..."

As a direct result 5,000 – 6,000 women and 600 men were murdered.

• Nazi mass murder began in October 1939

This section describes the development of Nazi murder of people deemed 'lebensunwert':

Mass murder of babies, infants and children from October 1939

"In the Frankfurt 'Euthanasia trial' of 1962, the number of victims was estimated to be at least 5,000. Other estimates put the figure at up to 8,000."

SS mass murder by firing squad from October 1939

"Even by October 1939, the 'Eimann' SS unit had murdered at least 3,500 disabled and sick people ..."

Mass murder through poison gas in institutions of murder from January 1940

"The smooth-running Nazi machinery of destruction murdered at least 80,000 to over 90,000 sick and disabled persons mainly in Germany and Austria between January 1940 and August 1941. Estimates put the number of Jewish victims at 4,000 – 5000. According to estimates, approximately 10,000 to 20,000 mentally disabled persons were murdered in Poland and the USSR before 1945. This figure included many Jews, Cinti and Roma."

"Operation 14f13" March 1941 – March 1943 – The murder of concentration camp prisoners with poison gas

"After March 1941, both the SS and the Nazi 'T4' organisation (T4 was the Nazi organisation which planned and carried out the mass murder of seriously ill and handicapped people) picked out prisoners, mostly the seriously ill and disabled but also Jews, from the concentration camps of Dachau, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Neuengamme, Ravensbrück, Wewelsburg, Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen – other concentration camps after 1941 – and murdered them with poison gas in the gas chambers of these extermination centres."

Extension and increase in the numbers of mass murders through enforced starvation, drugs, venous air injections, and electric shocks between June 1941 and May 1945

"During the verdict of the Nuremberg Trials against the major Nazi war criminals in October 1946, the total number of victims murdered in Nazi Germany and countries occupied by the Nazis through Nazi 'euthanasia' was put at over 270,000. Today's estimates put the total at over 200,000 victims."

Discrimination and suppression up to 1933

The second section examines the pre-history of Nazi 'euthanasia', covering the following issues:

• Ideological precursors and starting points of the Nazi ideology of "a life not worth living"

"The Nazi ideology of a life 'not worth living' and Nazi racism has its roots and ideological forbearers in both German and European history. The Nazis developed and systemised existing ideas and applied them to the extreme. They didn't really need to 'invent anything new'."

This is demonstrated using excerpts from Plato, Luther and Nietzsche, amongst others.

• Discrimination in the Weimar Republic

During this time, hundreds of thousands of disabled people were housed in degrading conditions, mostly in state institutions. This section looks at this in greater detail.

Post-War West Germany: "... as if nothing had ever happened!"

The third section examines the following five issues:

• How the vast majority of Nazi murderers were acquitted by West German courts since 1945

"While it is true that the sentences passed on Nazi murderers in the 'Nuremberg medical trial' of October 1946 and in similar trials in the Soviet Occupation Zone, even in West Germany in 1947 were largely fair, not one single Nazi murderer was brought to trial and convicted of murder in West Germany since the establishment of the FRG in 1949."

The text gives some special examples.

• **Hardly any compensation from the West German/German state**

"After 1945, the Nazi Sterilisation Law was not repealed ... Federal German courts upheld the 'legitimacy' of the 'hereditary health courts' to enforce these laws, free of Nazi aims ...

Written in Nazi jargon, compensation claims were rejected on the basis that it would cost over a billion DM, and that 'up to 60 per cent of this compensation would have to be paid out to the mentally ill, retarded and to heavy alcoholics'."

• **How the Nazis started German "human genetics" and "demography"**

"Nazi racists, Nazi 'anthropologists' and Nazi 'population scientists', who took part in the mass murders of the Nazi euthanasia programme set up the 'German Association of Demography' and the 'German Association of Anthropology'."

The section goes on to give an account of the careers of Nazi racists in West Germany. It also describes Nazi files were used after 1945 to discriminate against disabled people, and examines the climate that has remained intact since 1945.

• **The propaganda of "a life not worth living", discrimination and murder on a day to day basis**

"In the 70's, German 'human geneticists' began to halt reproduction by genetically diseased' and 'asocial' people. National 'human genetic advice centres' were set up for this purpose."

The section goes on to provide a more detailed description of developments.

Actions against disabled people occurred again and again in West Germany. Examples of these are given later on in the leaflet.

• **"The German conditions" today for the disabled, sick and the elderly**

Some examples:

"According to statistics provided by care initiatives, over 400,000 people were living in old people's homes in 2001. Of these 85 per cent were undernourished, 36 per cent were suffering from dehydration and 25 per cent had open sores due to a lack of care. Around 10,000 people died each year due to such conditions.

1.6 million sick and disabled people must live of social welfare.

The leaflet goes on to conclude as follows:

"The racist and German-nationalist discrimination of severely disabled people and the murderous ideology of 'a life not worth living' boast a long and deeply rooted tradition in Germany, a tradition which culminated during Nazi fascism in the mass murder of people not thought to be 'erbggesund' (i. e. those free of any hereditary defect), and thus 'unworthy of life'. Above all this meant the severely disabled and seriously ill.

The 'German situation' today for the severely disabled and seriously ill is marked by day to day discrimination, state discrimination and Nazi terror, from partially subhuman living and care conditions to the murder of seriously ill and disabled infants in hospitals.

Communist forces in Germany must today use all their powers to fight for the maximum compensation for the victims of the Nazis, to oppose Nazi terror, to oppose all forms of the murderous ideology of "a life not worth living" and the murderous practices which are a product of it!"

The leaflet appears in both an abridged and full version. The full version also features the following additional articles:

On the Nazi ideology of "a life not worth living" • The mass murder of disabled Jews • The sick and disabled condemned to death fight back: "You will pay for this with your own blood!" • The mass murder of the sick and disabled in Poland and the USSR • On the problematic nature of the scope and effectiveness of protests against Nazi mass murder • On the problematic nature of discovering the real number of victims of Nazi "euthanasia" • The Nuremberg medical trial of 1946 and trials against Nazi murderers until 1947 • Nazi organisations and their roles as rabble-rousers of the Nazi ideology of "a life not worth living" and Nazi terror • On the health system of the Soviet Union during the Stalin era.

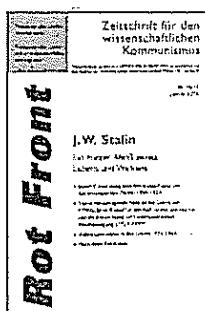


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Appearing in the January leaflet:

Modern Revisionism is and remains the main threat!

"In today's situation, there is almost nothing which there isn't: Anarchist groups such as sections of the FAU propagate the ideas of Stalin (all of a sudden there is also such a thing as "autonomous" Communists), while rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Communist party and forming coalitions with Trotskyite groups. Groups such as the MLPD aggravate with the ear-piercing volume of their proclamations, indirectly proportional to the Communist content. They also use terms such as "Volk" (as in the 'people' who as poor worker masses had fought in China prior to 1949) in a vulgar, nationalist manner, in order to cosy up to the worst habits of the "German people" in the most embarrassing of ways, including here the carnivalistic "Helau MLPD". Groups such as the DKP and the "Communist Platform fraction of the PDS" as well as the KPD-Ost "Rote Fahne" suddenly have "revisionism" on their lips, but of course do not mean themselves, as if they had never had anything to do with Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Ulbricht and Honecker.

And so, just as they have all more or less taken the "peaceful path" vis-à-vis this German state and the class enemies, these groups have suddenly become so "peaceable" to one another, holding meetings at "round tables", forming "election pacts" and swearing "unity". And given that things are so wonderfully peaceful over there, along come groups which actually consider themselves "anti-Revisionist", such as the "Arbeiterbund" or KPD-"Roter Morgen" and who knows who else besides, forgetting everything that was ever said about Communism while trying tactically to "forge together" a "Communist unity" with neither a Communist programme nor a Communist strategy".

The theses are printed in full in the following section.

Theses against Modern Revisionism

I. A prehistory and the first appearances of modern Revisionism

■ The history of the Communist movement since Marx and Engels is also a history of the struggle against opportunist currents.

At the time of Marx and Engels, the struggle against anarchism and right-wing opportunism by Bakunin and Proudhon to Lassalle and Bernstein. And during the Lenin and Stalin eras up to the beginning of World War II, the struggle against self-proclaimed Marxist renegades, from Kautsky to Trotsky to Bukharin.

In contrast to these movements, we define modern revisionism as a revision of the basic principles of Scientific Communism, especially post 1945.

■ Not every force or person who calls themselves a Communist is a Communist. Even forces which quote Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin may just be doing this as a ploy exactly as a means to drive through a revision of the major tenets of Scientific Communism.

Today, modern Revisionists have a long prehistory, from Bernstein and Kautsky's summoning of Marx during the establishment of the keystones of their ideas at the time of the 2nd International, up to the variants of modern revisionism after the victory of Anti-Hitler coalition forces over Nazi-Fascism. In the latter, when, in 1947/48, Titoism, which was a variant of Kautskyism and Trotskyism, appeared as a kind of nationalism and quoting Marx and Lenin began on

the road towards the sell-out of the country to the Western imperialist big powers. This was the first time the leadership of a Communist party changed its colours while in power. From this point on, there was now the phenomenon of modern revisionism with state power at its disposal.

■ After 1945, the ideology and policies of modern revisionism represented by Titoist revisionism became a centre of attraction for all renegades and those wavering elements who were now dreaming of an end to the "class struggle" against the clear legitimacy of the theory of imperialism and the proletarian revolution based on a misunderstanding of the phase of the Anti Hitler coalition after 1945. At the same time they were dreaming of an era of peaceful co-existence, in which the imperialist big powers and the socialist Soviet Union (and afterwards the people's democracies) would work "together" for the good of humanity and whatever else was contained within these clichés. The real policies of Titoist Revisionism — domestically, authentic Communist forces were hunted down with brutal terror — exposed as lies the clichés of "neutrality" and "national independence", since the Titoist Yugoslav state came under the influence of the US, English followed by the German imperialists. The atmospheric influence of Titoism could also be felt to varying degrees in other Communist parties especially in Western Europe. This manifested itself in clichés such as the "special national course", the "peaceful path" and "the struggle against dogmatism" with the pretext of alleged fundamental "new conditions" coupled with the denial of the demise of the Anti-Hitler coalition. A thorough analysis of the prehistory of Khrushchev Revisionism as sketched out here is of great importance in order to be able to recognise — and destroy — the roots and shoots of Revisionist positions as part of a self-critical analysis of the international Communist movement. Starting points include the historical struggle of the CPSU (B) and the Kominform against Tito Revisionism and the important ideological orientation provided by Stalin's last two theoretical works "Marxism and Questions of Linguistics" and "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR".

■ Within Germany, especially within the SED after 1946 it turned out that the theories of the "democratic path to socialism" and the lack of clarity about the basic conditions necessary for the dictatorship of

the proletariat was the major gateway through which the theory and practice of modern revisionism could enter. The transformation of the SED (and also the KPD in West Germany) into fully Revisionist parties also had strong roots in their own histories, their own mistakes and problems in their basic positions, alongside the considerable influence of Khrushchevian Revisionism after the XXth Congress of the CPSU in 1956.

II. The transition from Khrushchevian Revisionism to Brezhnev's Social Imperialism

■ Immediately after Stalin's death in 1953 it became clear that Revisionist forces in the USSR and the CPSU had long since taken up their positions alongside the ideological stance of Tito and under pressure from US imperialists and other imperialist forces. These forces staged well prepared campaigns against the "Stalin personality cult", "dogmatism" and the alleged "disdain for the role of the mass of the people", rehabilitated Tito Revisionism very quickly, and made the absence of principles and demagoguery the force of their propaganda. As early as 1956, at Khrushchev's XXth Congress, they were able to cultivate and consolidate their power and clearly force through their Revisionist program of "destalinification", of collaboration with imperialism and the propaganda of the "peaceful path", and the restoration of capitalism within the Soviet Union.

As before during the split between the Titoists and the international Communist movement — this was also accompanied by the politics of intrigue, the imprisonment of Communist forces, the rehabilitation of renegades and the restoration of capitalism backed up by state corruption, and use of state moneys for bribery, etc. After the Khrushchev Revisionists had removed the dictatorship of the proletariat from power, the state-run "planned economy" was no longer oriented towards the needs of the Soviet population, or more precisely its worker majority. Instead, it followed the policy of the gradual introduction and consolidation of the principle of maximum profit, especially in foreign trade, agriculture and industrial works.

■ In the first decisive Revisionist phase of the restoration of Communism under supposedly reformulated "Communist theories", principally after Stalin's death, though especially during the Khrushchev

era from 1956 to 1964, the dictatorship of the proletariat was dismantled from top to bottom and replaced by the dictatorship of a corrupt bureaucratic Revisionist clique. The instruments of state power- the army and the commanding heights of the economy were now in their hands: The Communist party had changed its colours.

The alleged "unity" of the international Communist movement, proclaimed in the congresses of 1957 and 1960, was used to underpin Khrushchevian revisionism. The first public objections, criticisms and exposures, coming especially after 1963 ("Polemic") and the result of internal criticism of Khrushchev's direction by the PAA of Albania and the Communist Party of China were the first strikes for freedom against the suffocating 'course of embracement' of Khrushchev Revisionists with respect to Communist forces.

■ On the world stage, the period up to 1964 was mostly marked by increased collaboration with global imperialism: Khrushchev's support for the imperialists against the liberation struggles in Congo and Algeria and his support for the Indian government's aggression against socialist China were unprecedented acts of betrayal of Proletarian Internationalism, the beginnings of an imperialist understanding, in which the Soviet Union in its role as imperialist "big power" took part in the filthy games of exploitation of the other imperialist big powers. Relations with Eastern European and "Warsaw Pact" nations were increasingly characterized by the classic imperialist principles of "uneven trade".

III. The blossoming of Brezhnev Revisionism, Social imperialism and its crimes

■ The diplomatic transfer of power from fiber-renegade Khrushchev to Brezhnev in 1964 marked the beginning of the blossoming of modern revisionism, which would continue up until the 1980s. Khrushchev was dropped as a result of vehement, and in many respects, fully justified criticism from the CCP, PAA and other Communist forces all over the world, and for the way in which he had come to be discredited as a clown by world opinion. The group with Brezhnev at its head was to dominate the politics of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact for the next 20 years or so. Greater Russia nationalism and ideology of Russia as a big power were massively revitalized in

order to dupe the masses of their own country and shore up their position. The exploitation of other countries was formalized, also involving armed interventions disguised as "assistance". Increasingly, the rivalry with other imperialist powers in the power games of the imperialist big powers became a feature of its politics.

All domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet Union under Brezhnev were imperialist and counterrevolutionary. Their sole purpose was to consolidate and develop the power of the bourgeoisie wearing the party badges, the new bourgeoisie.

The list of crimes perpetrated by the Brezhnev Revisionists is a long one- the same people who quoted Marx and Lenin, who even appeared to have toned down Stalin's "destruction" compared to Khrushchev — but in reality merely refined it:

The main aspects here include the counterrevolutionary stance towards the PR China and PR Albania, up to provocations on the Chinese border, the counterrevolutionary stance towards the bloody events in Indonesia in 1966 and Chile in 1973, the occupation of Revisionist capitalist Czechoslovakia with other Warsaw Pact states in rivalry with the western imperialists, the imperialist policies on Eritrea and Angola, up to the social-imperialist attack on Afghanistan in rivalry especially with US imperialism.

■ The stance towards the counterrevolutionary ideology and policies of Khrushchev-Brezhnev-revisionism remains the primary, decisive indicator of an authentic Communist force: Between us and modern revisionism there can be no third way, no compromise, no purely academic debate and no appeasement.

Modern revisionism is directed against Scientific Communism, and operates in the interests of global imperialism. It is a variant of capitalist ideology and reaction. Its crimes should never be allowed to pass into obscurity, especially in view of the necessary theoretical examination of the wealth of its Revisionist books and school books produced by state institutions.

IV. The bankruptcy of social-imperialist revisionism

■ Up until 1989, the western imperialists achieved

some decisive successes in their rivalry with the social imperialism of the Soviet Union, mostly as a result of the social-imperialist intervention of the USSR in Afghanistan, the increasing infiltration of huge foreign credits in the USSR and direct investments and capital exports, the increasing contradictions between the brutal, naked capitalist reality and the increasingly unusable and superfluous Revisionist shell. In 1989, it wasn't Socialism that collapsed, but the last Revisionist vestiges disappeared after Gorbachev.

V. Revisionism and its effects in China, Albania, Korea, Vietnam and Cuba

■ Up until the mid'70s, the PAA under Enver Hoxha and the CCP under Mao Tse-tung were the first to expose the social imperialism of the Brezhnev regime and its foot soldiers and the first to criticise the ideology and theory of modern Revisionism.

Although certainly aimed in the right direction, these critiques in themselves could be said to have offered some shabby concessions to modern Revisionism, in different degrees. The change in colours of the socialist PR China in the mid'70s after the death of Mao Tse-tung and that of the socialist PR Albania a short while later represented a huge defeat for the international Communist movement after its first massive defeat in 1956. This demonstrated the size of the danger posed by Revisionism in all its variants, and how necessary it is for the principles of Scientific Communism, backed up a thousand times by experience and the direct result of such experience, is as a starting point for theory and practice in our own country.

■ Today one can still find states calling themselves socialist while demonstrating all the hallmarks of revisionism in their party line and all the features of Capitalism and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie: The PR China, the PR Korea, the PR Vietnam and Cuba have long since opened the doors for the sell-out to Western imperialism, the police state hidden

behind the cliché of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" serves to protect imperialist investments and the domestic, increasingly unrestrained capitalist structures of exploitation. The orientation towards these last remaining Revisionist structures by this or that Revisionist organisation, in Germany as well, is essentially a remnant of Brezhnev Revisionism and is almost always accompanied by a justification of the crimes of Brezhnev revisionism, such as by the DKP and their various offshoots.

Today's Mao- and Hoxha glorifiers are to be found within small, predominately right-wing opportunist and reformist groupings within Germany. The essential aspects of these groups is not so much their recourse to Mao Tse-tung and Enver Hoxha (whose Communist positions we support, but whose errors we must criticise, taking Lenin's critique of Rosa Luxemburg as our basis, but rather their increasing orientation towards German imperialism, German nationalism, and their currying favour with the counterrevolutionary trade union bureaucracy coupled with a shocking legalism and disgusting pacifism.

VI. Continue the struggle against modern revisionism in all its guises

■ Picking up from previous work on the history of modern revisionism, its ideology and theory as well as its policies, forces orientated towards Scientific Communism must continue the comprehensive and systematic struggle against modern Revisionism whose material sources lie in imperialism in the building of the Communist Party. This is the primary task in the struggle against all guises of the bourgeois-reactionary ideology within the legitimate movement of the working classes and progressive forces against exploitation, suppression and reaction.

Modern revisionism is and remains the main threat to the building of the Communist party- also within our own ranks!



February's leaflet only features doctrines and has therefore been reproduced in full. It has the following theme:

60 Years since the bombardment of Dresden: A touchstone for the correct stand against Nazism and nationalism

Why the Nazi Fortress of Dresden Had to Be Destroyed!

By no means unrelated are the two demonstrations against the Nato Security Conference in Munich on 12th February and against the Nazi march in Dresden on 12th/13th February. The order of the day of both demonstrations was to stand up to German imperialism, militarism and revanchism, to expose and to fight it. The involvement of German imperialists in contemporary conflicts and its own autonomous preparations for war as part of its rivalry and alliance with other imperialist big powers is, ideologically speaking, connected more and more closely with the falsification of history regarding Nazi Fascism. As always, the openly Nazi NPD are the standard bearers of doctrines which were and continue to be developed by recognised ideologues of revanchism. The deception of the allegedly oh so "unfair" bombardment of Dresden takes up its place of honour here. Given this, we see it as a matter of the utmost urgency to give this web of lies the 'kiss of death', to begin with by providing as thorough an argumentation as possible.

1. The bombardment of Dresden is not by chance the hottest issue when denouncing the war carried out by the states of the Anti-Hitler coalition against Nazi Germany as a war crime. The reason being that this complex of questions is a nexus of some fundamental, complicated issues.

A basic clarity about German imperialism, Nazi Fascism and the course of World War II, as well as the peculiarities and problems of the Anti-Hitler coalition are needed before one can understand how to fight the aggressive campaign of deceit carried out by the German imperialists, without giving way or giving up. This is also a necessary condition to prevent complicated problems from being improperly simplified, or simple ones from being improperly overcomplicated.

To be able to assume a correct and well-founded stance on this complex of questions — regarding the bombardment of Dresden, the allied air campaign against Nazi Germany as a whole, as well as the objective set by the states of the Anti-Hitler coalition to occupy Germany- one must first illuminate **history**

of this question. Goebbels made these questions the focus of Nazi propaganda after the beginning of air raids on Germany, especially during the last years and months of the war. This had the aim, supported by evidence, of binding those who no longer believed in Nazi ideology and in a "German victory" to the Nazi state and the Nazi Wehrmacht.

2. That the Goebbels propaganda machine was both well-oiled and hugely successful, especially amongst "normal" Germans — in other words those who had no important function in the Nazi apparatus- was most crassly apparent in the last weeks and days of the war. On account of the reactionary incitement, pigheadedness and lack of character on a scale unprecedented in world history, the vast majority of the **German people were incapable of ending the war by their own efforts and incapable of overthrowing the Nazi leadership.**

3. After the war in 1945, great care and attention was lavished on the issue of the "bombardment of Dresden" without any real interruption and relentlessly up until the present day. Analysing the books and articles on this issue reveals how- with very few exceptions- authors have not only worked with lies about the bombardment of Dresden per se in the Goebbels tradition but also events which lead up to it, but have also attacked the allied air campaign head-on, labelling it as "barbaric". This above all serves one primary purpose: The ideology of "but they did it too" means that the legitimacy of the war of liberation by the states of the Anti-Hitler coalition is itself called into question. The criminal and murderous conduct of the Nazi army in the war, especially in the last few months, is thus defended and justified. Germany is thus portrayed as the "victim" of an alleged "attack" by the allies.

To mitigate or even justify the disgraceful way in which the majority of the German population "clung on" to the line of Nazi propaganda literally right up to the last minute of the war — a dis-

grace unprecedented in world history.

It comes as no surprise that the leading "historian" of today of internationally active Nazis, D. Irving, published as many as three books on Dresden and the air campaign for the German market in the '60s and '70s, in which he denounced the bombardment of Dresden as a "war crime", before announcing to the world that the existence of Nazi concentration camps was an "Auschwitz-lie". D. Irving's strategy was to first of all say nothing about Auschwitz and shout off about Dresden- before he assumed Nazi positions more openly and directly.

4. Why is it that many teenagers today understand absolutely nothing about the "Dresden" issue complex — influenced by the bourgeois printed press and other bourgeois media, while at the same time being critical vis-à-vis the bourgeois press regarding many other questions?

Before being able to present a calm and convincing explanation and justification, one needs a basic understanding of the reasons why peoples of attacked countries that are actually or allegedly plundered and enslaved have the right to defend themselves, have the right to conduct a war of self-defence which is fully justified — and just.

This is the very first, relatively straightforward step one must make before being able to understand the second one: It was obviously not enough just to push the Nazi Wehrmacht back to Germany and in this way liberate one's country from the Nazi murderers. Why wasn't that enough, even absurd? For the simple reason that the Nazis with their military machinery could have recovered on German territory before resuming the war with full force. This was the main reason why the war aims of the Anti Hitler coalition went further; to achieve a real end to the war on the basis of the ***unconditional surrender of Germany*** after the crushing of the Nazi state and especially the Nazi army. This was the decisive reason, if not the only one, why the states of the Anti-Hitler coalition crossed into German territory, and why they had to occupy Germany. Out of this came the problem that allied soldiers had to fight on "German soil", which, as became clear, gave the Nazis a great opportunity to bind the population to Nazi Germany once more and to "rename" their war of aggression against

other peoples as a "war of self-defence", a war which was anyway now a "just" war, given the offensive of the states of the Anti Hitler coalition.

5. Such a situation could only have been avoided if Stalin's hope made at the beginning of the war had been fulfilled, i.e. that there would be an upsurge in anti-Nazi forces in Germany based on the revolutionary traditions of the German worker movement- which would be made easier by the hard blows inflicted by the partisans and allies against the Nazis (see 'Stalin, Collective Works', Vol. 14, pp. 2551250. However, as it became more and more obvious that such an upsurge was unlikely (even when imprisoned, the majority of the frequently quoted "simple German soldier" — soaked to his skin in Nazi ideology — was not prepared to fight against the Nazi criminals), the only realistic aim that remained was of ending the war and liberating Europe and Germany from Nazi Fascism through the ***complete occupation of Germany by the regular armies of the states of the Anti-Hitler coalition.*** This would be the basic condition for the full surrender of Nazi Germany.

6. Only those who acknowledge the justification of the aim to fully occupy Nazi Germany have any chance to understand and accept ***why the systematic bombardment of all cities and regional capitals in Germany*** was both an important and (for multifarious reasons) ***justified*** development of the war conduct of the air forces of the USA and England.

The reasons supporting such an air campaign can by no means ***only*** be seen from a "purely military" perspective, even if this is without doubt a significant one. An extremely important purpose was to "convince" the majority of the German population that the Nazis were megalomaniacal liars.

7. The bombardment of cities was a novelty in war, and was first carried out by the Nazis at Guemica, in Rotterdam, Warsaw, Coventry, etc. After these raids, Nazi leaders had boasted that "no bomb would ever be dropped on a German town". At the zenith of their power, the Nazis believed they were "invincible".

One of the very aims of the war operations by the Anti-Hitler coalition was to destroy the German Luftwaffe's ***"myth of invincibility"***, to use each bomb to help smash the belief in the "infallibility" of the Nazi

leaders, as a means of breaking the bond between the majority of the German population and a leadership which obviously could no longer be able to keep its promise to "protect them". Internal Nazi records reveal that the bombardment of German cities was effective in this regard, was actually very successful, even in demoralising direct Nazi supporters. After the bombing of Hamburg in 1943, the SS "Security Service (SD)" reported:

"Seeing one city after another being reduced to rubble comes to all national comrades as a kind of nightmare, and is a very significant factor in the strengthening of a feeling of insecurity and hopelessness."

(SD report from 2917143, Borberach, Munich 1968 "Meldungen aus dem Reich", quoted from: Berganer, G, "Dresden im Luftkrieg", Köln 1977, pp. 100)

This was especially true for that large majority of people for whom ideas such as "guilt for Guernica", or "moral responsibility" for concentration- and extermination camps fell on deaf ears. This majority, brought up with and religious followers of the philosophy of the "whoever is strongest is right" couldn't just turn their backs on Nazi leaders on discovering that the Nazis had started an illegal war. This was only possible when it became clear that this war could not be won with Hitler and his people, that the "strongest" were really the other side, i.e. the allied armies. This was the reality; this was how the majority of the German population thought.

8. At the same time, it is very important to understand that the above considerations were not the only reasons, perhaps not even the most important reasons, for the air campaign. There was a **clear military necessity to respond to the Nazi strategy of "converting cities into fortresses"**, to destroy supply lines and infrastructure as well as industry, to force the evacuation of the civilian population in order to destroy the Nazi machine of destruction, and especially to pave the way for an occupation of Germany with as few allied losses as possible.

9. To the credit of the nations and armies of the Anti-Hitler coalition is the amount of effort with which they put in time and time again to inform the German population of the obvious fact that German cities as logistical and military centres had always been part of the combat area. Tirelessly and ceaselessly they

instructed the German population to leave the cities.

And even if they were too cowardly to revolt against Hitler, they should at least bring children, the old and the infirm away from the cities that had been declared a military battlefield, to carry out evacuations themselves or — using Berlin as an example here — to work against the Nazi state. The following quote comes from an English leaflet from 1st September 1943 entitled ***"To the civilian population in German industrial areas"***, published by the anti-fascist Plenum and the Jugend-Antifa-Aktion of Braunschweig on the 50th anniversary of the bombardment of Dresden:

"On 10th May 1942, Prime Minister Churchill publicly declared all German cities having armament factories belonging to the German war machine as an "area of war", and called upon the German civilian population to leave these cities. For over a year now, the German government has in a criminal manner refrained from taking the necessary preliminaries to enable the evacuation of the population from these areas. While there is still no unconditional surrender, all of these German industrial cities represent a theatre of war. It follows that any civilian found in this theatre of war also runs the risk of losing his life, just as any civilian would when trespassing on a battlefield..."

Whoever chooses to disregard this warning has only himself to blame for the consequences."

In a similar leaflet dated June 23rd 1943:

"This area is battlefield.. Women and children have no business on a battlefield."

(Cited from: Bergander, G., "Dresden im Luftkrieg" (Dresden in the Air Campaign), Cologne 1977, pp. 403)

Millions of leaflets, daily broadcasts in German by Radio Moscow and the BBC (often enough the BBC would give the exact time of bombardments) make it clear these raids were directed against Nazi Germany, and were a part of the struggle to bring about Germany's unconditional surrender, and to destroy the power of the Nazis.

10. What were the **results of the allied air campaign**, what did this mean for Dresden as well?

a) German big-mouthedness of the "destruction of the Soviet Union and England" gave way to the defensive Nazi gibbering about the "destruction of Ger-

many”.

b) Even parts of Nazi support drew the conclusion from the air campaign that the war was lost, that the allies were stronger.

c) German aeroplanes and military forces were bound up to the large towns under attack, instead of being on the frontline.

d) A large proportion of industrial plants and housing for industrial workers, supplies and supply lines and also headquarters of Nazi administration were destroyed.

11. Based on the above considerations, it should now be possible to comment on the “arguments” which have been produced to attack the bombardment of Dresden since 1945, arguments which have been produced time and time again without interruption and always with the same lack of standards. To begin with, it is not at all trivial to note that all those arguments considered to be very particular “Dresden reasons” are not arguments against the bombardment of Dresden, but in favour of a more intense bombardment of Berlin or Hamburg! Although certainly conceivable on an abstract level, this argument does not exist in reality. **All these “Dresden reasons” are only used as an excuse to defame the air campaign, to label allied conduct in the war as a whole as “unjust”, even to defame it as an alleged “war crime”.**

Is it really worth countering these “Dresden reasons”, even on an individual basis? Yes, if one looks from the perspective of helping waverers and the unsure to see through the whole demagogic chain of the hate campaign against states of the Anti Hitler coalition.

12. The **fivefold credo of the “Dresden ideologies”** runs as follows:

a) **“But the war was already decided”.** Would the bombardment thus have been justified two years earlier? Is that is what is meant here? Very unlikely. That the war was already “decided” is only a half-truth. On the one hand, it can be seen as true after the battle of Stalingrad, but on the other it isn’t since up until 5th May 1945, the Red Army was still having to fight house-to-house battles in Berlin, and losses, especially those of the Red Army took on large dimensions

in the last months of world war II. Although the war “had already been decided a long time ago”. Since “decided” remained hypothetical until the unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany could not be enforced in reality.

b) **“But Dresden had no military significance,** its bombardment therefore made no sense”, it is said by many. The Nazis, who systematically developed Dresden into a “fortress”, saw things differently. The allies also had a different opinion and unequivocally declared Dresden an important Nazi fortress. A Soviet statement from 1945 stated that Dresden,

“is an armoury of Germany, a powder keg, a supply hub, which provides the materials for the destruction of free peoples.”

(Ruhen, W. A., “Abschaurn der Menschheit”, 216145, daily newspaper for the German population)

In a command issued by the Red Army Supreme Command in 1945, Dresden was characterized as a

“powerful node of defence in Saxony”.

(Cited from: Sächsische Zeitung, 3rd/4th May 1975)

c) **“But Dresden opened its doors to thousands of refugees”** they say, “those poor refugees” usually follows here. The real problem however was that the movement of refugees was advantageous to the Red Army. Nevertheless, the cordoning of, administrative supply and military recruitment of such refugees only served to stabilize the collapsing Nazi regime. A tragic element of this phase of the war was that, in this regard, the refugees believed more in the Nazis than in the allies, who had demonstratively and on a massive scale called for the evacuation of German cities. It should also not be forgotten that a not insignificant proportion of these ‘refugees’ were Nazi criminals who, not without justification, feared punishment from the Red Army.

d) Perhaps most unbearable here is all that gibbering about **“destroyed culture”** and the destroyed “Frauenkirche” (which is now to be rebuilt for countless millions). The Revisionist SED especially distinguished itself here. In its standard literature on the destruction of Dresden there appears the gibbering again and again on the destruction of **“Dresden — the jewel of humanity”** (see: Weidauer, W., “Inferno Dresden”, Berlin 1990, pp. 5).

A war was going on. It is that simple. Those who

didn't want the destruction of culture had to take the risk and rise up against the Nazi regime instead of taking part in the Nazi war right up to the end!

e) Certainly the most demagogic argument is the claim that the **destruction of 60 percent of Dresden's houses was actually directed against the advance of the Red Army**. This sort of argumentation (certainly not only put forwarded by the SED Revisionists), overlooks the fact that the Nazis implemented a "scorched earth" policy one way or another during their retreat. One of inconsistencies of the "Dresden ideologues" is that on the one hand they claim that the air campaign was especially heavy in the East, in order to make it difficult to establish the economic basis for the rebuilding by destroying the Red Army. At the same time, however they also "denounce" the fact that so little industry was destroyed in Dresden. Just as a passing note: The destruction of Dresden is minor when compared with the destruction of buildings in cities such as Cologne, Stuttgart, Pforzheim, etc. This also shows how this line of argument is like a shot that backfires.

Of course there were disagreements between the armies of the Imperialist countries such as the USA and England on the one side, and the army of the Soviet Union on the other. Nevertheless, these did not involve the Soviet Union, say, criticizing England for fighting Germany with too much force and brutality. Quite the reverse, it was argued that England was fighting with too little force, and too ineffectively.

The bombardment of German cities took place with the agreement of all the allies. The records show this unequivocally. For example, on 19th April 1943 Stalin wrote the following to Churchill:

"I am pleased that you are planning to continue the bombing raids on German cities to a steadily increasing degree."

(Stalin, correspondence with Churchill, Attlee, Roosevelt and Truman, Berlin 1961)

On 14th January 1944, Stalin wrote to Churchill:

"As a result, you should not lessen the bombardment of Berlin, instead, where possible it should be intensified."

(ibid., pp. 230)

Occupying the correct stance on Dresden is not some specialist question for university-bred military

men or would-be "military specialists", who talk shop about where more bombs or less bombs should have been dropped.

At a closer look, this question isn't really about Dresden: It's more about justifying Nazi war conduct as a form of "defence", about defaming the states of the Anti-Hitler coalition, about the step-by-step rehabilitation of Nazi fascism- steps which are getting bigger day by day.

It is the imperative task of all Communist forces, even if all this is only about questions to be clarified in a consequent, democratic manner, to distribute information, materials and documents as a means of clarifying these questions, in order to help authentic anti-Nazi documents come out in the face of the falsifiers. of history.

The leaflet also features an article on the following subject: ***"Down with the filthy Chauvinism of the PDS regarding the bombardment of Dresden!"***



Appearing in the March leaflet:

Solidarity with the armed liberation struggle in Nepal!

„Not even a news blackout from the reactionary Nepalese regime nor the banishment of news of the struggle to brief articles appearing sporadically in the imperialist media has managed to prevent the armed struggle in Nepal from continuing unabated. Even after the dissolution of parliament and a proclamation of a state of emergency by the King at the beginning of February of this year has had no effect.

Since 1996, a revolutionary armed war of liberation has been gathering momentum in Nepal. This war has relied upon the active support and sympathy of a broad mass of people who number among the most exploited and subjugated, predominately from the countryside, but which is also established in urban areas. A quite remarkable feature of this struggle is the large number of women who are involved, and also in the armed campaigns.

The nervousness of local Nepalese rulers and the concern of the imperialist superpowers, not withstanding the German imperialists, has to do with the fact that at the forefront of the armed struggle are forces which are orientated towards scientific Communism, forces which see themselves as a part of the forces of the proletarian world revolution, which from the outset have declared their unequivocal aim to be a far-reaching anti-imperialist, anti-feudalist revolution in Nepal. This revolution is based on the one successfully carried out under the direction of the Chinese Communist Party in China in the '30s and '40s as part of a long lasting „people's war“.

Some features and peculiarities of the revolutionary conflict in Nepal

Covering the following themes:

- Anti-feudalist and anti-imperialist revolution
- armament
- establishment of military bases and territories

■ bringing together the male and female peasant fighters with workers in the cities, the widespread involvement of working women

■ the widespread involvement of suppressed minority peoples and suppressed castes.

The leaflet ends with a section on the policies of suppression of the imperialist superpowers in Nepal, above all the USA, England and Germany, whose aims have been to directly destroy the armed liberation struggle. India's role is duplicitous here: As well as following its own expansionist interests, it also functions as a tool for the imperialist superpowers. To sum up:

„It is the obligation of all anti-imperialist forces to support as much as possible the revolutionary liberation struggle on a moral, political and material basis. This requires the study of related documents and the solidary debate with Communist forces in Nepal. Proletarian internationalism means solidarity in both words and deeds.“

The leaflet also features articles on the following themes:

- On the road to revolution in Nepal
- Our assessment of the teachings and works of Mao Tse-tung
- Some facts about Nepal
- German Imperialism - The lethal enemy of the fighting worker masses in Nepal.

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Bulletin

3/05

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 - October 2005**



Appears quarterly in **ENGLISH, French, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Russian and Turkish**



In July/August the following leaflet appeared:

50 years of Bundeswehr - Fight the third attempt of German militarism!

The future plans of German military: WAR

"The history of German military is marked by wars of conquest, massacring of the revolutionary worker movement, unprecedented crimes against the civilian population of the colonized and invaded countries, mass murder and genocide. Today in the phase of consolidation, after the defeat of the nazi-fascist Wehrmacht in 1945, the present of German military means: Bombardment of Serbia in 1999, at that time still together with England and the USA; advance guards in more than a dozen countries; a policy of occupation in Afghanistan and on the national territory of former Yugoslavia. The perspective in internal direction is indisputable: Conversion of the Bundeswehr into an army of civil war for the purpose of safeguarding capitalism in the inside! What are the future plans of German imperialism?"

What is behind the slogan „The operational area is the entire world” and the aim of „unhindered access to markets and raw materials all over the world”? The answer is: Third attempt to the new division of the world and to world domination through imperialist wars!

I. The „The defense policy guidelines” from 2003 - An Expression of the war plans of German imperialism

The leaflet shows with the Bundeswehr defense policy guidelines, the central public planning paper, which medium- and long-term goals the German officers are pursuing.

War minister Struck declared the entire world as the operational area of the Bundeswehr.

„In the meantime the Bundeswehr has stationed about 6500 soldiers in other countries and has build

up military bases in different countries, especially in Afghanistan, Kosovo, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also in Uzbekistan or at the Horn of Africa... due to the rotation of the soldiers there are more than 100.000 female and male soldiers in action internationally only since 1998.”

The leaflet shows with quotations from the defense policy guidelines:

„This is nothing else than the paraphrasing of imperialist aggression and war of aggressions in order to, for instance, secure German imperialism free access to raw materials and markets.”

The following aims of German imperialism are verified with further quotations from the defense policy guidelines:

■ First aim: Against „international terrorism” and „growing migration movements”

„In the sights of German military strategists are especially the „conflicts”, in which the peoples that are oppressed and exploited by German imperialism fight against their misery, against their exploitation and against the plundering of their countries. As well as the millions which are forced to flee from their countries to the imperialist capitals.”

The German imperialists fear anti-imperialist revolutions: They also

„... define revolutionary, Communist organizations, which lead a militant fight for the goal of anti-imperialist revolutions, as ‘terrorist’...” It remains to be emphasized:

„The Bundeswehr is a murderous instrument of German imperialism against the oppressed peoples

and their struggles for liberation.”

■ **Second Aim: Against the imperialist competitors, above all against US imperialism worldwide.**

„German militarists see the building and the formation of an EURO army as an instrument for their goal to wage war worldwide without the USA being involved or interfering in it.”

German imperialism provides the highest number of troops within this European army. Apart from that German imperialism backs on an alliance with Russian imperialism: „Particularly beforehand the Iraq war, the joining together of German, French and Russian imperialism, which was more like a coalition, an alliance against the coalition of US imperialism with English imperialism, has for the first time become clearly visible on an international scale.”

■ **Third aim: „Further requirements on the Bundeswehr while taking charge of tasks in internal direction” as an army of civil war.**

According to quotations from the defense policy guidelines the leaflet verifies:

„The slandering of revolutionary organizations and militantly led fights against German imperialism as „terrorist” or „criminal” actions proves clearly against whom the operation of the Bundeswehr will be directed.”

II. The program of arming and extensive miniaturization for the next years

This section shows how German militarism is going to realize its goals militarily, economically and ideologically. The German population is getting used little by little to always bigger and more open war actions. It is emphasized,

„that the most important questions can only be solved by means of military action...”

German imperialists will mobilize all reactionary ideologies possible, such as chauvinism, racism and anti-communism.

„Because without chauvinistic incitement of the own population German imperialists won't be able to realize their war and world domination goals.”

III. The long-term goals of German imperialism: New division of the world in the third attempt to world domination

The difficulty is pointed out that topical facts and proves for a planned revanchist war cannot simply be shown:

„The whole dimension of a future intensification of the situation can only be analyzed based on the fundamental laws of imperialism in general and based on the fundamental features and characteristics of German imperialism in particular.”

Under the heading: „**Is a war against the USA possible?**” all basic aspects and factors are listed, which prove that German imperialism is not in a „hopeless position” in comparison to the USA.

„The fact that German imperialism is (still) weaker than US imperialism in different fields and partly is at a disadvantage in comparison to other imperialist big powers does not mean that it isn't taking up the fight. The facts are even thus that German imperialism precisely makes every effort with special aggression in order to mobilize each and every factor to change this medium- and long-term.”

Even if the momentary assessment draws the conclusion that a direct war between the imperialist big powers is not - or at least not immediately - likely to happen, the leaflet points out that the new division doesn't take place peacefully:

„In the epoch of imperialism the questions which sphere of influence 'is entitled to' which imperialist and which imperialist robber has the 'right' to get the biggest part of the booty, are decided after all by military strength, that means the violent mutual competition through imperialist war. Above all this is a fight between the imperialist big powers for world domination, which they want to achieve by local imperialist wars, by imperialist world slaughter even.”

IV: Fight the Bundeswehr, the murderous machinery of German imperialism, militarism and revanchism!

„The Bundeswehr is not more and not less than an instrument of specially aggressive German im-

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perialism. It serves in external as well as in internal direction the safeguarding of the basic principle of this capitalist social system, that means profit, maximum profit' and the division of the world according to the law of the jungle. The Bundeswehr as main component of its state apparatus is the instrument of counter-revolution and imperialist aggression.

German imperialism is a dangerous and independent source of war, which is preparing itself for an imperialist war to a new division of the spheres of influence among the imperialist big powers.

It is important to realize:

„The history of all revolutions confirms that armies such as the Bundeswehr do not disappear by themselves and that their elite units, but also other units, will shoot without hesitation at revolting soldiers and rebels in one's own country. It is impossible to overcome and to remove such an army through the „convincing“ of the soldiers from the inside.”



The leaflet of September/October deals with the following issue:

„The majority of the workforce voted in favor of a strike. If someone cannot deal with democratic decisions, he or she has to take the consequences.”

Strike at Infineon Munich: Lessons learned about the necessity of fighting against scabs

„The attacks of capitalists against female and male workers at Infineon Munich-Perlach go along with the attacks against female and male workers at VW, Daimler-Chrysler, Opel and other enterprises. At Infineon they announced the closure of the work site for the year 2007 and the moving of the production to two different work sites. All of the 800 employees directly employed by Infineon and 200 people-employed by suppliers will lose their job.”

The female and male workers from Infineon initiated a strike for an indefinite period against the closure of the factory on 10-24-2005 in Munich-Perlach.

The **support** by female and male colleagues from other enterprises and trade unions was huge and they showed **solidarity** from the first day on.

This struggle requires:

„....systematic exposure of all operations of the imperialist Bundeswehr over the years, over decades even, is a crucial starting point. This will allow day to day struggles against this or that crime of the Bundeswehr finally to become struggles which can be led by a true Communist Party that questions the entire system of German imperialism, militarism and revanchism.”

The leaflet also contains the following articles:

- Bundeswehr trains how to capture houses and conquer towns
- The Bundeswehr: Built up by officers of the SS and the criminal Nazi Wehrmacht
- The interests of German imperialism in Sudan compete with those of US imperialism
- Linkspartei/PDS side by side with German imperialism)

■ Appeasement tactics of the DGB bosses

Fritz Schlosser, a DGB labor aristocrat from Bavaria, promptly stabbed the struggling colleagues in the back:

„He is not mentioning the police operation, but leads a policy of appeasement and rabble-rousing against the striking colleagues.”

He goes along with/joins the rabble-rousing of the capitalists, which deemed the blockade of the factory gate illegal.

■ Fight against scabs - Fight legalism

„On the second day of strike Infineon, deployed a group of one hundred of the riot police (eine Hundertschaft der Bereitschaftspolizei) as an attempt of intimidation.”

In spite of all rabble-rousing of the capitalists, scabs and bourgeois media the striking colleagues did not let themselves be intimidated.

„The experience of the strike shows that it is right not to limit ones actions to the narrow frame of legalism, which e.g. stipulates to leave a 4 m wide passage for scabs.

It is necessary to consequently stop production and thereby produce a chain reaction in other factories, which neither can produce smoothly due to the undelivered parts.

Because of that the pressure on the capitalists is enhanced in order to push through the demands/claims of the striking colleagues...

The majority of the workforce voted democratically in favor of the strike. And if the striking colleagues didn't push through the majority decision against capitalists and scabs by all means, they would give up a fundamental means of fighting."

Against the accusation of acting dictatorially it is necessary to answer:

„We have made a democratic majority decision on the question of the strike and we will push through this decision dictatorially. Our strike therefore is democratic and dictatorial at once.

However the attacks of the capitalists and the police, which take up the cause of defending the rights of the exploited minority, are anything but democratic."

■ **Day to day struggles without and against the trade union apparatus!**

As often enough the sting of the strike was taken out of by the IG Metall leadership, before the pressure put on the capitalists was really big enough...

The striking colleagues couldn't achieve their goal to prevent the closure of the factory. The result was restricted to delay the closure for three months. The female and male workers could achieve that a higher severance pay as usual will have to be", paid: 1.3 monthly salaries per year of employment. Only if the female and male workers organize the struggle in the factory autonomously and against the trade union aristocrats and make contact to other factories, exists the possibility to orientate the struggle on a different perspective."

For Communist forces it is necessary:

„...to carry into their fighting strength, activity and arguments in every just day to day struggle. It is about supporting these fights to the best of one's ability and if possible to take over their guidance. Besides it is necessary to systematically unmask the reactionary role of the trade union apparatus and the union bosses.

The Communist forces won't hide that all day to day struggles have their limits within the capitalist system. They won't hide that in these day to day struggles it is actually about carrying into the perspective of the revolutionary overthrow of the exploiting class and the program of Communism. Furthermore it is about driving forward the hard work of collecting the forces of the female and male workers as well as of other strata and the building of the Communist party."

The leaflet also contains the following articles:

- The threat to use firearms against striking female and male workers at Infineon
- French imperialism used military against striking colleagues: Solidarity with the strike of the sailors seamen in Marseille and in Corsica
- Strikes in Germany that had been hushed up
- The social situation of the working class and of other exploited working people, especially the unemployed, is increasingly worsening in Germany

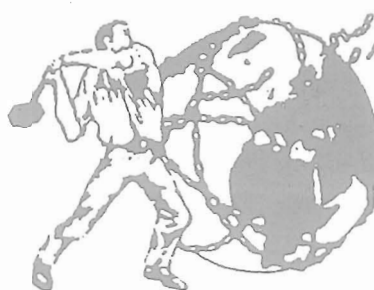


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Bulletin 4/07

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: September - December 2007



Appears quarterly in **ENGLISH, French, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Russian and Turkish**



The leaflet from September/October has as its theme:

90 years since the victorious socialist October Revolution in Russia The victorious armed insurrection of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie

„The socialist October Revolution, which began in Russia on October 24th, 1917, and lasted ‘ten days which shook the world’, was quite clearly prepared over the preceding years, indeed decades. The October Revolution showed that a victorious armed insurrection in a country like Russia, with its three million working women and men and its one hundred million working peasant women and men, can indeed be truly successful, even if such an insurrection represents just one step on the long road to the socialist revolution. It is therefore of major importance that we examine carefully the precise requirements, the hidden agenda, the strategy and tactics for these ‘ten days which shook the world’.

1. Preparation of the October Revolution I:

In the section „**From the 1917 February Revolution to August 1917**“ the leaflet goes on to describe how, even if it did not achieve tsarism’s absolute destruction, the armed struggle smashed it to pieces and made it incapable of exercising power, as well as the role that was played by the butchery of the imperialist First World War. The February Revolution created the Soviets of workers and peasants.

At this point the bourgeois Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries were the majority against the revolutionary Bolsheviks. At the same time the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie established their own so-called ‘provisional government’. This was the beginning of the so-called ‘dual power’.

At this point (from April 1917 onwards) the Bolshevik Party was headed for the transition to the proletarian revolution. At the crux of the issue the following goals took centre stage:

„The downfall of the bourgeoisie, the armed dem-

olition of the bourgeois state apparatus and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets, the expropriation of the banks and large companies, the gradual construction of socialism across the whole country. Other than this it is important to fully realise the remaining democratic objectives of the civic revolution, provoked by the February Revolution, characterised for example by the dispossession of the landowners, the nationalisation of land and the combating of national suppression. Ultimately one of the most decisive democratic demands was the termination of the imperialist war, a question of special importance for winning allies among the exploited masses.

In May 1917 the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries crossed over into the camp of the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie...

The Bolshevik Party fought side by side with the exploited masses against the imperialist war, fighting for the conversion of this imperialist war into a civil war as well as for the overthrow of their ‘own’ ruling class. The Bolsheviks fought under these slogans in this democratic struggle, and united them into a coordinated revolutionary struggle. They mobilised the working class for the struggle for the socialist revolution, for socialist goals and made clear that all of these goals, democratic or socialist, were only achievable through the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by armed insurrection.”

In July 1917 the ‘dual power’ came to an end.

2. Preparation of the October Revolution II: „The direct preparation for the armed insurrection across the entire nation“ (Sept.-Oct. 1917)

a) Lenin on the requirements for a successful armed insurrection by the proletariat

„In September 1917 Lenin concluded that armed insurrection was high on the agenda and had victory in its sights. Amongst other issues, he specified in his letter „Marxism and Insurrection“ those particular conditions in which an armed insurrection by the proletariat can be successful:

- **Firstly:** in order to be successful, the insurrection must not be based on a plot between parties, nor on one single party, but rather on the great majority of the working class.
- **Secondly:** the insurrection must be based on the rebound of the exploited masses in the cities and rural areas.
- **Thirdly:** the insurrection must be based on that particular turning point in the history of the growing revolution, when the activity in those foremost rows of the exploited is at its greatest and the jitters in the rows of the enemy and in the rows of the weak, half-hearted, indecisive friends of the revolution are at their strongest.

b) The strength of the revolution and the strength of the counterrevolution in October 1917

The leaflet now turns to the question of how the Bolsheviks realistically evaluated the strengths of their own forces as well as of the counterrevolutionary forces. An indicator was the composition of the Soviets, but other aspects were important too:

- „**In rural areas** the working and exploited peasants crossed over from using methods such as the withholding of rent payments to the annexation of the landowners' estates. ...“
- „But the **oppressed peoples of Russia** stood up for the struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie. ...“
- „The exact evaluation of the **situation inside the army** of the reactionary 'Provisional Government' was of great importance. ...“

In section c), „**Lenin's guiding principles for the implementation of the armed insurrection**“, the leaflet goes on to explain the five golden rules in the art of uprising:

„1. **Never play** with insurrection, but, when beginning it realise firmly that you must **go all the way**.

2. Concentrate a **great superiority of forces** at the decisive point and at the decisive moment, oth-

erwise the enemy, who has the advantage of better preparation and organisation, will destroy the insurgent.

3. Once the insurrection has begun, you must act with the greatest **determination**, and by all means, without fail, take the **offensive**. 'The defensive is the death of every armed rising.'

4. You must try to take the enemy by surprise and seize the moment when his forces are scattered.

5. You must strive for daily successes, however small (one might say hourly, if it is the case of one town), and at all costs retain '**moral superiority**'.“
(Lenin, Advice of an Onlooker, 1917, Collected Works“, vol. 26, p. 180)

There then follows the section „**The concrete plan for the implementation of the armed insurrection**“. The following appears in conclusion to this section:

c) The armed insurrection in Petrograd

The following three points are addressed:

- The trigger for the insurrection
- Occupation of all places of importance inside the city and gathering the armed revolutionary forces
- The process of the armed insurrection

In closing the leaflet elaborates:

„But the counterrevolution, internally as well as externally, had still not been destroyed once and for all. ...The struggle to fight back intervention by foreign powers as well as the internal counterrevolution lasted until 1920. This difficult struggle by Soviet forces, beset by losses, but which was ultimately successful, secured Soviet democracy by securing the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this manner the conditions were created for the further construction of socialism.“

☆☆☆

The leaflet contains as a supplement a short extract from „RotFront“ (pp. 91-131) with the title „**The tricks and speculation of the modern revisionists with an ostensibly possible 'peaceful development' towards socialism in Russia in 1917**“, in whose introduction it is claimed:

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„The upshot of our analysis is as follows: For a particular period of time in particular historical situations, such as during the phase of ‘double-leadership’ from April until July 1917 in Russia, Lenin and Stalin did not fully rule out a ‘peaceful’ further development of revolution. However, in this context they did not by any description use the term ‘peaceful’ in the sense of ‘non-violent’. The basic principle of this term, according to Lenin and Stalin, is that there was no non-violent, non-revolutionary, unarmed path to socialism and that there never would be; that the proletarian revolution, at any rate, was only possible if the revolutionary path was followed; that the path to socialism could not, therefore, exist without the forceful demolition of the incumbent bourgeois state machinery and with-

out their replacement by the power of the armed working class, the dictatorship of proletariat, which – on the basis of its revolutionary violence – held down the overthrown exploiters and other reactionary forces in their entirety.“

This supplement is eight A4 sides long. The entire leaflet is eight A3 pages long and contains the following additional supplements:

- The armed insurrection in Moscow
- Western European chauvinist instigation against the October Revolution
- Lenin’s Greetings from April 1919 to the Bavarian Republic of Councils
- Decrees and provisions of the socialist October Revolution (October 1917 – January 1918)



The leaflet from November/December has as its theme:

Experiences of the strike by train drivers and by other personnel of the Deutsche Bahn:

Expose the tricks and mudslinging against the justified struggle by the personnel of Deutsche Bahn!

„On August 6th, 2007, an indefinite strike was declared by the train drivers of the Deutsche Bahn, as well as the accompanying train and service personnel, who shared membership of the union GDL (Gewerkschaft Deutscher Lokführer – Union of German Train Drivers). Their demands were: a separate wage settlement of their own, a wage rise of up to 31% and a limit on working hours which would fall to 40 hours from 41 hours. Thus the longest-ever strike in the history of the German railways commenced at the start of August, which laid low the vast majority of transport system repeatedly and for many days at a time; private travellers and commuters, as well as freight services, were stopped in their tracks. In the face of the massive real-term losses in wage values in the last few years, as well as the enormously aggravated work conditions in the transport service, we cannot hesitate to lend our support and solidarity to this justified struggle by the women and men employed as train drivers and as other personnel in this field against aggravated exploitation.

In the process of this strike, however, a complex jumble of positions emerged which is difficult to understand: the strike is not being led by the um-

brella-organisation DGB (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund – German Confederation of Trade Unions) in this area, the area of Transnet (which previously had close relations with the SPD), but rather by the GDL, a union which is a member of the German Civil Service Federation, which has close links to the CDU. At the same time an enormous campaign against these strikes has been formed. This smacks of the federal government, bourgeois parties and media, the capitalist syndicates all the way through to the leadership of the umbrella-union DBG, Transnet, IG-Metall, Verdi, to name only the most important. In the face of this situation it seems to us to be vital to expose the tricks and mudslinging of this anti-strike campaign, in order to defend the justified struggle by these employees, without taking the false friends out of the firing line. The universally touted legal ban on the strike show clearly how absurd it is to characterise this situation as ‘neoliberalism’, characterised as it is by an increasing sharpening of state-organised suppression. It is difficult to evaluate the outcome of the strike right now. But, in any case, more important at the moment than the actual outcome of the strike are the experiences of this mo-

mentous strike action.

The strike as of July 2007

The leadership of Transnet and of the GDBA (Gewerkschaft Deutscher Bundesbahnbeamten und Anwärter – German Railway Civil Servants' Union) delivered a rushed and ridiculously low wage settlement after the first warning strikes in July 2007. There then follows a description of the strike under the leadership of GDL between August and November 2007. Finally, the following conclusion is drawn:

„The fact is that the only reason Deutsche Bahn let itself be forced into making these concessions at all was as a result of the strikes in the last few weeks and months. That the GDL strikers – comparatively small in number – have been successful in repeatedly laying this enormous transport system low for days at a time is an acutely important and tangible experience whose importance reaches far outside the area of labour relations at Deutsche Bahn.“

The section „Solidarity“ contains a description of how the strikers received a relatively high degree of sympathy from the general public for their strike, as a result of their determined struggle.

Expose the mudslinging against the justified strike by the personnel of Deutsche Bahn!

This section highlights the attempts to confound the strikers and nip solidarity for them in the bud – both by Deutsche Bahn as well as by the leaders of the DGB union, with their concerted demagogic trickery and manoeuvring. Three of arguments used to whip up hostility towards the strikers which stand out the most must be exposed:

☐ **Mudslinging argument # 1: „This strike means terror!“**

☐ **Mudslinging argument # 2: „This strike is only about protecting privileged special interests!“**

☐ **Mudslinging argument # 3: „The strike means the end of solidarity and weakens the unions!“**

The concluding section „The solidarity with the striking GDL members and the position vis-à-vis the reactionary GDL leadership“ explains that the GDL leadership is only a militant force at face value, who simply used the strike to make themselves appear to be a better alternative than the leadership of Trans-

net. The GDL leadership is not forward-looking; it sees itself as entirely grounded in the capitalist social order. It supports the flotation of Deutsche Bahn and has concluded wage settlements with many privatised companies, far underneath the level of Deutsche Bahn. This means for the working women and men:

„The struggling working women and men must prepare themselves for the eventuality that, in particular situations during the struggle for better working conditions, the leadership of the GDL, as well as the leaderships of the DGB and their umbrella unions, are in the position to force themselves to the forefront of these justified struggles and to celebrate even half-hearted victories, in order to increase their reactionary influence and to abort the struggles at their most promising moment.“

In all of these questions of a year-long or decades-long struggle, one of the central objectives of the Revolutionary Communist Party has to be the creation of a truly revolutionary clarity and awareness amongst the working women and men. The creation of this clarity and awareness is therefore the number one objective for the most conscious forces amongst the proletariat today.“

The leaflet is four A3 pages long and contains the following additional supplements:

- Give the Nazis the right answer! Anti-fascist resistance against anti-Semitic provocation in Prague on November 10th, 2007
- Deutsche Bahn – a conglomerate of German imperialism, expanding worldwide
- Strikes and demonstrations by railwaymen and women and other personnel as well as by students in France
- On the importance of the transport and communications systems for German imperialism
- Supplement: Roter Pressespiegel 3/07 (May-June 2007)



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(*... but don't underestimate the secret services anywhere in the world)



January's leaflet has as its theme:

Struggle for clarity regarding socialist democracy!

„There is a central question which cannot and may not be subject to democratic decision within the framework of bourgeois democracy: namely, to whom the banks and industrial corporations, to whom the actual core of capitalist society in relation to its economics should belong. Who has the final say? Who determines who owns the banks and corporations? Who is allowed to decide on this?

In the same way that it is impossible for the United Nations to 'decide' that the financial resources of big capital should be distributed to the starving and exploited – or that exploitation should be abolished – so it is beyond the bourgeois parliament in Germany (regardless of whichever coalition of parties is in power) to 'decide' that the economic power of the ruling class in its entirety should be broken by outright expropriation. And in case of emergency, the Bundeswehr, the German Armed Forces, are still there.

Socialist democracy demands as a prerequisite that the question of the ownership of the means of production is settled: banks, industry, land and property must be expropriated as a central measure of socialist democracy – that is, for the majority of

the working class in conjunction with the exploited masses. These means of production then have to be put into the hands of these masses of once exploited working women and men.

Whoever claims that the class of exploiters will take such moves lying down, are either deliberately lying or has learnt nothing from history and will, either way, be disabused of such a misconception: socialist democracy firstly assumes, if we look at its development, that a 'despotic' intervention in matters of property ownership takes place. And it is unavoidable that this intervention will be denounced by the dispossessed exploiters, stripped of their freedom to exploit, as dictatorial and a denial of their freedom – in just the

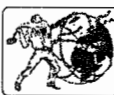
same way that slave owners decried the abolition of slavery as the revocation of their own freedom to own slaves.

As necessary and invaluable it is to have a scathing criticism of the hypocrisy of the bourgeois-parliamentary democracy, this does not explain or justify the necessity or the hallmarks of socialist democracy.

New!

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE
WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES, UNITE!

GEGEN DIE STRÖMUNG



Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany
In German: March 2005, in English: March 2007

Solidarity with the Armed Liberation Struggle in Nepal!

The armed conflict continues unabated in Nepal despite the news blackout ordered by the reactionary Nepalese regime and the banishment of news of the struggle to brief articles appearing sporadically in the imperialist media. Even the dissolution of parliament and proclamation of a state of emergency by the King at the beginning of February 2005 has had no effect.

Since 1996, a revolutionary armed war of liberation has been gathering pace and scope in Nepal. This war can rely on the active support and sympathy of the broad masses who number among the most exploited and subjugated of Nepal, mostly coming from the countryside. It is however also firmly anchored in urban areas of the country. One remarkable feature of these struggles is the number of women involved, even in the armed operations.

A prime reason for the nervousness of local Nepalese rulers and the anxiety of the imperialist great powers, lest we not forget the German imperialists, is the fact that the commanders of this armed struggle are forces orientated towards scientific communism, forces which also see themselves as fighting for the proletarian world revolution. From the outset, these forces have made clear their aim of bringing about an all-encompassing anti-imperialist, anti-feudalist revolution in Nepal, based on that successfully carried out under the command of the Chinese Communist Party in the 1930s and 1940s in China, by means of a protracted people's war.

Some features and peculiarities of the revolutionary war in Nepal The anti-feudalist and anti-imperialist revolution

Nepal is a country predominantly agricultural in nature. Given this fact, the people's war aims at the expropriation of the estates of the large feudal landowners (the Zamindars) and the subsequent redistribution of such lands to the poor, landless peasantry. However, this war of

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The following sections will discuss the essential primary characteristics and the most obvious main problems of socialist democracy in a newly constructed socialist state. But we can only describe this state as emphatically different from a police state, such as the GDR and Soviet Union were in the last 35 years of their existence, if we successfully repress the counterrevolution on the basis of socialist democracy, with the goal of the protection of this socialist democracy and the construction of socialism.

I. Three basic starting points in understanding socialist democracy

The leaflet opens by making quite clear that there is no irreconcilable contradiction between democracy and dictatorship of the proletariat, no matter how commonly claims to the contrary are made.

Forceful and armed socialist revolution as the beginning of socialist democracy and the repression of the counterrevolution

This section explains why the proletarian revolution, the forceful demolition of the bourgeois state apparatus, is a democratic act right to its very core, in the face of agitation by the bourgeois ideologues:

„...because this revolution is based on the broad mass of the proletariat and borne by the sympathy of the majority of the exploited masses. ... As well as this, the goal of this revolution – namely the establishment of a dictatorship for the exploited majority over the exploiting minority – as the first step in the direction of the establishment of a classless and stateless Communist society, is likewise a democratic act right to its very core.“

Expropriation of the banks, factories and land

This section emphasises:

„It is deceptive to speak of equality, freedom or democracy, if this does not involve the freeing of capital along with it. The expropriation of the banks and factories is the material prerequisite for the abolition of the regime of exploitation, as well for the abolition of wage labour; in order to make it possible to organise a life without exploitation.“

On the further repression of the counterrevolution

At this point the leaflet explains the necessity of keep-

ing the previous exploiters pinned down after their downfall. The section concludes with the paragraph:

„Quite simply, the point is that what sustains this dictatorial course of action, these forceful sanctions against an exploitative and anti-democratic minority in a particular country by the great majority of exploited workers (under the leadership of the working women and women), is that it is a measure specified by socialist democracy. That is simply the central concept for a proper understanding of the term, coined by Marx, ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’.“

II. Hallmarks and functions of socialist democracy

„1. The questions – in a certain sense, the vital questions – for a socialist democracy, which first of all intervenes ‘dictatorially’ in the laws of capital ownership and expropriates the capital in the forceful socialist revolution, arise after the demolition of the old reactionary state apparatus: what is democratic; what is an undemocratic course of action? What differentiates socialist democracy from bourgeois democracy? Which historically tried and tested principles of democracy must socialist democracy, so to say, ‘adopt’ in order to solve fundamental political questions? Precisely what is the agenda against which socialist democracy should fight? Is the newly constructed apparatus of the socialist state actually socialist at all; is it actually democratic at all? How is that shown, how is that proved and which fundamental criteria and considerations exist behind those historical forms of socialist democracy? For we are all familiar with them since they became, quite blatantly, police states in the 1950s. These anti-democratic forms of government created a new bourgeoisie, which enshrouded its dictatorship with Marxist and socialist phrases. These important and fundamental questions certainly cannot be answered here in the comprehensive fashion they require; but fundamental aspects of these questions, however, definitely can be discussed.

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The arguments surrounding the hallmarks of socialist democracy cannot be dismissed out of hand simply by deflecting attention from the actual problem by talking about 'democratic socialism for all'. Talking about 'socialism with the appearance of democracy' is simply obfuscatory and does not answer the questions of the class system, the ownership of property or the necessity of the repression of the counterrevolution, which will appeal for 'humanity' and for 'mercy' for the old tsarist family, for the Emperor of China, the 'poor' Krupp, etc. (i.e. for the reactionaries, for the capital.)

Communist forces set an entirely different question: without doubt, the dictatorship over the counterrevolution and the forceful repression of it is necessary, indispensable and, in this sense, the very requirement for socialist democracy to succeed at all and be protected for the great mass of workers. But – and this cannot be overemphasised after the experiences of the pseudo-socialist police states in recent decades – socialist democracy must be comprehensible, demonstrable. It has to be an attractive example for the free productive development in the capabilities of the great mass of workers, who will then go on, with the help of the mechanisms of socialist democracy behind them, truly to exercise the stately power of the majority of the working class and its allies.

'Dictatorship of the proletariat' is in this respect a democratic concept right to its very core, because the term does not just mention dictatorship, but rather the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working women and men operate this dictatorship, along with the once exploited working masses, in a coalition over the small minority of counterrevolutionaries and their enablers. The more comprehensive their participation is in this essential objective, the better. The more democratically the working class is organised, the more effectively the struggle by all sides against the exploiters and against the counterrevolution can be fought. The exercising of the dictatorship of the proletariat is, therefore, closely linked to the evolution of socialist democracy, to the evolution of one's own initiative and to the democratically organised activities of the masses of workers under the leadership of the working women and men.

This dictatorial objective of the socialist state, which is expensive both in terms of strength and of energy, does however only concern one field of ob-

jectives, which is nevertheless invaluable and must and should not be restricted, even if another great field of objectives, geared towards Communism, has to be tackled at the same time: the planning, organisation and construction of a life free of exploitation, the creation and the expansion of an increasingly transparent democratic relationship in terms of conflicts and inconsistencies amongst those once exploited. This, so to say, 'constructive' side of the socialist state – the evolution of socialist democracy and economy, is the actual source of the energy and enthusiasm which bring with them the strength not to let up in the vital struggle against the counterrevolution.

2. The objection of whether something is right or wrong cannot be decided by the majority, because one plus one would still equal two, even if a majority decided that it equalled three: this objection is demagogic and contains a half-truth.

It is true that the mass of working women and men, who will have the power in their own hands after the revolution, will – even when pursuing socialist democracy – make wrong decisions when building up their state, and that these wrong decisions will have been supported by a great majority. Nevertheless – and this is essential – these wrong decisions can then be democratically corrected.

We see here, broadly speaking, two reasons for such problematic decisions:

- The reactionary habits or views, which are left over from the old social order, will not be defeated with a single slap even after the proletarian revolution has taken place. So, for example, the distillation of vodka was not outlawed in the revolutionary Soviet Union immediately after 1917, despite all the problems it caused (amongst others, the use of grain not for a basic source of sustenance, but for the manufacture of alcohol, or rather for the manufacture of the problem of alcoholism.) In this respect it is important that it is not simply the perspective of the Communist Party and its scientifically grounded argument that is crucial, but that it is also an important part of socialist democracy that one has to live temporarily with false majority decisions, before using the provisions of socialist democracy in order to ensure that these decisions are corrected.
- All of this is also important if the causes of such a wrong decision are caused not by a bourgeois

ideology, but are due to the fact that at that point of time the standard of knowledge was insufficient.

Previous socialist democracies to the present day do not just give us examples of correct decisions, but also of mistaken decisions explained away by the situation, by the tradition and by the respective level of knowledge and of science. These mistaken decisions were nevertheless commensurate with the opinion of the majority of the working class. Not for nothing did Lenin explain that the force of habit is the most dreadful power and that freeing oneself of it will take a drawn-out struggle.

The process of formulating opinions, the democratic process of deciding one's own thoughts on a matter are basically dependant on whether logical arguments – the for and against on the one hand, but also the balance of power, the strength of the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces and the reality of the situation on the other – are comprehensively, seriously and controversially analysed and evaluated. Even if rash decisions do have to be made and no room for exhaustive analysis can be found, there will not seldom still be points to argue, issues which have not been 100% resolved. Nevertheless, decisions still have to be made, and in fact – there is no other possibility – decided democratically, which means by those bodies democratically authorised to make such decisions. The role of the Communist Party must be a model in this respect.

3. Being able to judge everything and doing everything consciously – these high demands for the development and expansion of socialist democracy require not only transparency and maximum simplification of the state's activities – which would render increasing numbers of 'full-time'-civil servants unnecessary – but also that the knowledge and the education of the broad mass of workers becomes all the more professional, so that they understand everything.

The development of socialist democracy is based on the enhancement of the consciousness and activity of the masses, through the increasing participation of the broad mass of workers in the machinery of the state in an increasingly wide field. An important hallmark of socialist democracy is, therefore, whether or not this culturally revolutionary facet, which demands active participation of the universally educated and knowledgeable work-

ers, is developed or not. (This question is, incidentally, much more important than the question of whether this or that particular group of exploiters and reactionaries have the right to vote temporarily withdrawn or not.)

4. It would be fatal to equate 'menace to socialist democracy' simply with active counterrevolutionaries. The necessity of developing effective forms of organisation also involves the emergence of new, relatively strong structures, as well as the emergence of a state apparatus with characteristics which are, at first glance, reminiscent of the bourgeois state: ministries, authorities, judiciary, police and military. Thus the simplification of the administrative offices of state – which, indeed, is a prerequisite for maximising the participation of the masses in the activities of state, with maximal organisational efficiency – also contains the danger that a new sense of routine develops, which increasingly forces the meaning and substance of individual decisions or roles into the background and ceases to bring them into question.

As well as this, the petit-bourgeois self-serving trend of 'functionaries' comes into the equation: they declare themselves indispensable and exalt their importance, whilst the matters they come into contact with they inevitably complicate and render opaque, in so doing accumulating a certain unchecked power – in short: the tendency towards bureaucracy, which turns the socialist state into a self-preserving system, instead of rendering itself increasingly unnecessary by simplifying state affairs and involving the masses.

We know, as a result of our experiences of the socialist democracies of history, that this problem is twofold. It is unavoidable that after the revolution the problem of bureaucracy will be exemplified by the fact that the socialist state, still for want of its own 'red' specialists from the rows of workers, will still have to fall back at first on bourgeois organisational specialists, in order to take care of certain matters. But while this is happening, the problem in the phase of socialism's development is that the once militant Communist women and men – tried and tested in production and by the class struggle – look after their own back when they come to exercise power over state affairs; they start commanding. In short: display negative tendencies which become dominating if they are not compre-

hensively tackled. Bureaucracy, blind discipline, erosion of meaning – which are also the experiences of historical socialist democracies – form the medium for Communist-lacquered bureaucrats and careerists to turn themselves into ‘the new masters’, basically into a new bourgeoisie, so that capitalism can be restored.

The culture-revolutionary aspect, the anti-bureaucratic aspect, the fight against self-important and insipid bureaucrats; the claim to be engaging the broad masses of workers to the fullest extent through access to education and transparency, to allow them to inform themselves, judge decisions, participate in the concrete leadership of the state; the maximum development of criticism and self-criticism ‘from below’; and accountability – all of these aspects are measurements for the mobilisation of the masses, for their participation in the leadership of the state. They are hallmarks of socialist democracy in just the same way as it is undoubtedly a hallmark of socialist democracy that fear and anxiety before the organs of the socialist state is absent.

5. Socialist democracy does not just develop and evolve with the fight against the counterrevolution, but rather constantly with the struggle with the apparatus developed by itself. This system is necessary and indispensable, but must be accompanied by the fundamental idea that it renders itself unnecessary by so thoroughly simplifying all its operations that a position in the civil service is eventually no longer a ‘full-time job’, but rather a position in which the workers themselves can participate – alongside their daily occupations – so that the responsibility of taking care of these affairs of state can be shared.

It is on this foundation that the bureaucratic apparatus ‘withers away’, as a direct consequence of the simplification of its functions, as well as of its adoption of maximal transparency and by restricting itself to what is absolutely necessary. Alongside this increasing activity and consciousness of the masses, the requirement also emerges that, bit by bit, all those who were once exploited and repressed can truly participate in the management of the state.

6. When it is victorious worldwide, when it knows no classes, no state apparatus, Communism will quite logically mean that democracy, as a state form, will no longer exist. But in Communism and

on the path to Communism there will exist, however, the hallmarks of socialist-democratic methods: there will be debates with decisions made democratically and by majority vote. The democratic transactions and relations of the great masses of workers will determine the direction of everyday life in its entirety, in the factories and workplaces as well in the regulation of all basic questions of human coexistence. These democratic relations will create an atmosphere in which argument is at the forefront, in which controversy and debate form the arena for arguments to be suggested and fought out, and in which it is not intrigue and the balances of power which are decisive. In short: the attitude towards the masses of workers must be marked by this mentality of democratic thought and behaviour, of open debate, of fair argument all the way through to voting and majority decisions: this atmosphere, this inner attitude will then bring Communism to its fullest fruition.

7. One of the biggest issues in the struggle between capitalism and Communism was, and is, the area of the granting of and/or the restriction of classical bourgeois-democratic freedoms, as they were codified after the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in the bourgeois constitutions, and then for good reason were later also incorporated into constitutions of the socialist Soviet Union, China, Albania, etc. By freedoms we mean, for example, free expression and speech, freedom of assembly, the freedom of the press and freedom of demonstration.

It is justifiably pointed out that these freedoms exist formally in the existing bourgeois democracies, but that they are in reality doubly restricted: for one thing by the absent material conditions for the usage of these freedoms by the broad masses (particularly evident with the freedom of the press and by the private-capitalistic ownership of the publishers and newspapers) and for another thing by legal back-doors and practical damages to these freedoms through hectoring, prosecutions, prohibition of strike action and prohibition of demonstrating, etc.

In as far as the Communist forces, as the exponents of socialist democracy, decry this hypocrisy, these grievances in practice, they also adopt the duty of taking these basic democratic freedoms – which (as an aside) are not fundamentally ‘new’ ideas; they were not invented by the bourgeoisie –

into the programme of socialist revolution and realising them. Of course, without the hypocrisy; without the contradiction between promise and practice, between word and deed; without false conceptions of the supposedly absolute nature of these bourgeois rights and freedoms.

The Communists must openly and honestly declare the extent to which they will behave dictatorially and the lines they will not cross. It was for this reason that Marx deliberately chose the phrase 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. Socialist democracy withholds democratic rights from the counterrevolutionaries and does not deny this. For it is a fact of life that this is the only way that it is possible to defend the democratic rights of the once exploited. At the same time, socialist democracy must make it clear that such a denial of political rights, that such restrictions of freedom are necessary simply as means to counter the attempts by the exploiters and class enemies to maintain or restore their privileges.

It is patently reasonable that the military and political organisation of the counterrevolution must be suppressed and that this suppression is legitimate. The problems begin when matters turn to the expression of opinion, to art, culture or philosophy. Of course we know, too, that after breaking the exploiting class' military and economic resistance, after defeating the open counterrevolution, the battle to break the ideological resistance by the exploiters and reactionaries takes on paramount importance. And this battle is more difficult and more protracted than the demolition of the tools, means and media of the bourgeoisie's ideological reign.

Therefore, the socialist state should not simply restrict the intensification of the class struggle to military or political matters, but should rather expand and refine this class struggle increasingly widely in order to properly defeat the bourgeoisie and capitalism in all areas, including in the area of ideology.

If it must be that at this or that point, in the context of political and military operations by the counterrevolutionaries, certain dictatorial incursions in the ideological field (possibly for good reason) had or have to take place, the fundamental problem nevertheless remains that the real class struggle by the proletariat cannot be developed in some sterile fashion, but rather by active discussion of ideol-

ogy and of the theories of the counterrevolutionaries of the international bourgeoisie and their theoretical and philosophical predecessors.

8. In view of the political analysis of the situation as a whole, there was quite honestly no room for the idea that the repressive component of the state – which, to name names, include the army and security service – would be allowed to 'wither away' in the Soviet Union in the 1930s. As a result of the international aggravation of the struggle between revolution and counterrevolution, actual concrete measures and forces, as opposed to abstract planning, had to be deployed in great number for the fight against the counterrevolution: instead of letting it wither away, these areas of the socialist state had not just to be kept alive, but also to be strengthened in terms of personnel and technology. The victory over Nazi-Fascism proved that this decision was correct.

As a direct consequence of these repressive tasks of the socialist state, one must be aware – considering the daunting caricature of the police states in revisionist states – that they degenerate into a revisionist police dictatorship when these tasks are not accompanied by the enhancement of the consciousness of the soldiers and by the ever closer connection between the army and the other security services on the one hand and the masses of workers on the other.

It is, therefore, a central objective that the relationship between the repressive aspect of the socialist state (that is, the defence against the counterrevolution), and the constructive aspect of the socialist state (that is, the actual construction of socialism), is very firmly constituted on the basis of theoretical analysis of the particular period of time and the particular situation.

And that is not the end of the problem. If the counterrevolution declares open war on the victorious proletariat and invades the country, it is not just the repressive component of the state – the fight against the counterrevolution – which is thrust into the foreground. On the condition of an imperialist invasion, for example, the democratic relationship between the workers and socialist democracy itself has to be restricted, or at least has to become more precise. In times of war, other forms of socialist democracy more suited to the war situation have to be worked out and implemented.

III. Forms of socialist democracy

In this section, various socialist state forms are discussed: the **Paris Commune of 1871**, the **socialist Soviet Union** and the **peoples' democracies** after 1945. The leaflet explains in conclusion:

„It is obvious from these examples that the question of the form of socialist democracy cannot be engaged with in some abstract way, independent from such factors as time and place, independent of the specific historical particularities of a given country, independent of whether or not the country finds itself in an open civil war, in a war with imperialist powers or in a phase of the peaceful construction of socialism.

Everything will depend on paying close attention to nurturing socialist democracy in practice, re-

gardless of its form, even if that means under the worst conditions of war or even under the threat of renewed war. If this is done, the counterrevolutionaries' attempted forceful restriction of socialist democracy will fail to avert the inevitable: that the armed proletariat will, quite independently and in a democratically organised fashion, lead the double fight against the counterrevolution and for the ultimate victory of Communism.“

The leaflet is six A3 pages long and contains the following additional supplements:

- On the terms 'democracy', 'dictatorship' and 'state'
- Particular aspects of the struggle led by the Communist Party of China and the PAA of Albania in the expansion of socialist democracy
- References for further reading



February's leaflet has as its theme:

**On the protests against the mass layoffs at Nokia:
Against appeasement and nationalist campaigns:
Intensify the struggle, occupy the factory!**

„It was announced on January 15th that the Finnish Nokia corporation wanted to close its factory in Bochum in the coming months and throw all its 2,300 working women and men onto the street. Some further 2,000 colleagues in firms supplying the factory, as well as providing it with temporary 'leased' workers, are also directly affected. The process of their dismissal is already underway. The first protests were organised quickly, among them particularly the demonstration on January 22nd, 2008, with more than 15,000 participants. Messages of solidarity were received immediately from other factories. The protest by the working women and men of Nokia is justified – that does not even come into question.

But from the beginning, the existing attempts of this justified protest and the struggle for the retention of these jobs were, for several reasons, extensively paralysed and disorganised: there was the intolerable invocation of the alleged 'Nokia Family', to which, even now, one is expected to prove ones 'worth' to be a member of this family through ex-

emplary work. There was the dishonest claptrap of 'politics in its entirety, all the parties will back you up.' This was combined with a German-nationalist propaganda campaign by bourgeois politicians, bourgeois media as well as the leaderships of the unions and factories. 'Defend Germany as a business location' and the German 'national community' were chauvinistically propagandised with arguments against greedy and inhumane 'Finns', for 'Made in Germany' and against 'Romanian unreliability'. This was accompanied with a media-effective exaggerated frenzy by bourgeois politicians to get rid of their Nokia mobiles.

All of this is supposed to help to hinder the very implementation of a really effective struggle by the colleagues at Nokia, be it strike or, above all, even an occupation of the factories. Above all, questioning about the real reasons behind the threatened closure of the Nokia factory in Bochum is supposed to be blurred and distorted, when these reasons lie in the foundations of the capitalist-imperialist system. Therefore the decisive struggle against this

entire network of appeasers and disorientators is an essential objective for all colleagues who really want to fight to secure clarity over the further perspectives of the struggle.

No footing for nationalism

This section explains how nationalist argument tries to confuse the working women and men and play them off against each other.

„A separation between the allegedly social and reasonable companies – German companies – and greedy and unreasonable ‘foreign’ companies is not just far from realistic, nor does it just fuel illusions of the ability of capitalism to be reformed. Rather such a separation is, ultimately, nothing more than ammunition for the nationalist propaganda of ‘Defend Germany as a business location’ and of a national community, where those up there and us down here are all in coalition with each other; a ‘community’ which bears no resemblance to that which exists in reality.“

The following argument is used against this nationalist concept of ‘German high class workmanship’ and against the apparently worse ‘Romanian labour’:

„As long as the working women and men allow themselves to be stirred up and played off against each other by the capitalists, according to their nationality and ‘business location’, the capitalists are pleased, since they can amplify the exploitation in peace and unchecked. Bringing one section of the working women and men into the inner circle with flattery and adulation, that is in a nationalist-chauvinist manner, whilst playing them off and instigating them against other sections of the working class – these tactics of division and reciprocal instigation are used by all capitalists, regardless of which country they come from. Such tactics are practiced by Volkswagen, BMW and Deutsche Bahn over and over again – and often to a much greater extent than that currently seen at Nokia.“

Emphasis falls on the following:

„It is a prerequisite for a successful struggle that we turn against all attempts at dividing us, against a division between working women and men from Germany and colleagues in Romania, against a division between temporary ‘leased’ workers and permanent workers, etc.“

In conclusion the leaflet stresses:

„Based on fundamentally theoretical work and practical experiences of the struggle by the working women and men, Marx formulated guidelines on the necessity of the decisive struggle led on a daily basis by the working women and men, and on the boundaries of this struggle in the context of capitalism. These guidelines have lost none of their meaning:

„By cowardly giving way in their every-day conflict with the capital, they would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiating of any larger movement.

At the same time (...) the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these day-to-day struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction (...) They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in these unavoidable guerilla fights incessantly springing up from the never-ceasing encroachments of capital or changes of the market. (...) They ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword, ‘Abolition of the wage system!’“

(Karl Marx, „Wages, Price and Profit“, 1865, Peking 1975, p. 78)

As before, the concluding words of the ‘Manifesto of the Communist Party’ by Marx and Engels apply:

„Workers of all countries, unite!“

The leaflet is two A3 pages long and contains the following additional supplement:

- Successful occupation of the Continental factory in Mexico



Contact thru:

*e-mail: info@gegendiestroemung.org

*<http://www.gegendiestroemung.org>

(* ... but don't underestimate the secret services anywhere in the world)



Bulletin

1/08

Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries

Excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Stromung" - Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany: **January - February 2008**

Appears quarterly in **ENGLISH, French, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Russian and Turkish**

January's leaflet has as its theme:

Struggle for clarity regarding socialist democracy!

„ There is a central question which cannot and may not be subject to democratic decision within the framework of bourgeois democracy: namely, to whom the banks and industrial corporations, to whom the actual core of capitalist society in relation to its economics should belong. Who has the final say? Who determines who owns the banks and corporations? Who is allowed to decide on this?

In the same way that it is impossible for the United Nations to 'decide' that the financial resources of big capital should be distributed to the starving and exploited - or that exploitation should be abolished- so it is beyond the bourgeois parliament in Germany (regardless of whichever coalition of parties is in power) to 'decide ' that the economic power of the ruling class in its entirety should be broken by outright expropriation. And in case of emergency, the Bundeswehr, the German Armed Forces, are still there.

Socialist democracy demands as a prerequisite that the question of the ownership of the means of production is settled: banks, industry, land and property must be expropriated as a central measure of socialist democracy - that is, for the majority of

the working class in conjunction with the exploited masses. These means of production then have to be put into the hands of these masses of once exploited working women and men.

Whoever claims that the class of exploiters will take such moves lying down, are either deliberately lying or has learnt nothing from history and will, either way, be disabused of such a misconception: socialist democracy firstly assumes, if we look at its development, that a 'despotic ' intervention in matters of property ownership takes place. And it is unavoidable that this intervention will be denounced by the dispossessed exploiters, stripped of their freedom to exploit, as dictatorial and a denial of their freedom - in just the

same way that slave owners decried the abolition of slavery as the revocation of their own freedom to own slaves.

As necessary and invaluable it is to have a scathing criticism of the hypocrisy of the bourgeois-parliamentary democracy, this does not explain or justify the necessity or the hallmarks of socialist democracy.

GEGEN DIE STROMUNG



Organ for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany
In German: March 2005, in English: March 2007

Solidarity with the Armed Liberation Struggle in Nepal!

The armed conflict continues unabated in Nepal despite the news blackout ordered by the reactionary Nepalese regime and the banishment of news of the struggle to brief articles appearing sporadically in the imperialist media. Even the dissolution of parliament and proclamation of a state of emergency by the King at the beginning of February 2005 has had no effect

Since 1996, a revolutionary armed war of liberation has been gathering pace and scope in Nepal. This war can rely on the active support and sympathy of the broad masses who number among the most exploited and subjugated of Nepal, mostly coming from the countryside. It is however also firmly anchored in urban areas of the country. One remarkable feature of these struggles is the number of women involved, even in the armed operations.

A prime reason for the nervousness of local Nepalese rulers and the anxiety of the imperialist great powers, lest we not forget the German imperialists, is the fact that the commanders of this armed struggle are forces orientated towards scientific communism, forces which also see themselves as fighting for the proletarian world revolution. From the outset, these forces have made clear their aim of bringing about an all-encompassing anti-imperialist, anti-feudalist revolution in Nepal, based on that successfully carried out under the command of the Chinese Communist Party in 1930s and 1940s in China, by means of a protracted people's war.

Some features and peculiarities of the revolutionary war in Nepal The anti-feudalist and anti-imperialist revolution

Nepal is a country predominantly agricultural in nature. Given this fact, the people's war aims at the expropriation of the estates of the large feudal landowners (the Zamindars) and the subsequent redistribution of such lands to the poor, landless peasantry. However, this war of

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Speyerer Str. 23, 60327 Frankfurt

The following sections will discuss the essential primary characteristics and the most obvious main problems of socialist democracy in a newly constructed socialist state. But we can only describe this state as emphatically different from a police state, such as the GDR and Soviet Union were in the last 35 years of their existence, if we successfully repress the counterrevolution on the basis of socialist democracy, with the goal of the protection of this socialist democracy and the construction of socialism.

I. Three basic starting points in understanding socialist democracy

The leaflet opens by making quite clear that there is no irreconcilable contradiction between democracy and dictatorship of the proletariat, no matter how commonly claims to the contrary are made.

Forceful and armed socialist revolution as the beginning of socialist democracy and the repression of the counterrevolution

This section explains why the proletarian revolution, the forceful demolition of the bourgeois state apparatus, is a democratic act right to its very core, in the face of agitation by the bourgeois ideologues:

„ ...because this revolution is based on the broad mass of the proletariat and borne by the sympathy of the majority of the exploited masses. ... As well as this, the goal of this revolution - namely the establishment of a dictatorship for the exploited majority over the exploiting minority - as the first step in the direction of the establishment of a classless and stateless Communist society, is likewise a democratic act right to its very core. "

Expropriation of the banks, factories and land

This section emphasises:

„It is deceptive to speak of equality, freedom or democracy, if this does not involve the freeing of capital along with it. The expropriation of the banks and factories is the material prerequisite for the abolition of the regime of exploitation, as well for the abolition of wage labour, in order to make it possible to organise a life without exploitation. "

On the further repression of the counterrevolution

At this point the leaflet explains the necessity of keep-

ing the previous exploiters pinned down after their downfall The section concludes with the paragraph:

„ Quite simply, the point is that what sustains this dictatorial course of action, these forceful sanctions against an exploitative and anti-democratic minority in a particular country by the great majority of exploited workers (under the leadership of the working women and women), is that it is a measure specified by socialist democracy. That is simply the central concept for a proper understanding of the term, coined by Marx, 'dictatorship of the proletariat' \"

II Hallmarks and functions of socialist democracy

„ L The questions - in a certain sense, the vital questions - for a socialist democracy, which first of all intervenes 'dictatorially' in the laws of capital ownership and expropriates the capital in the forceful socialist revolution, arise after the demolition of the old reactionary state apparatus: what is democratic; what is an undemocratic course of action? What differentiates socialist democracy from bourgeois democracy? Which historically tried and tested principles of democracy must socialist democracy, so to say, 'adopt' in order to solve fundamental political questions? Precisely what is the agenda against which socialist democracy should fight? Is the newly constructed apparatus of the socialist state actually socialist at all; is it actually democratic at all? How is that shown, how is that proved and which fundamental criteria and considerations exist behind those historical forms of socialist democracy? For we are all familiar with them since they became, quite blatantly, police states in the 1950s. These anti-democratic forms of government created a new bourgeoisie, which enshrouded its dictatorship with Marxist and socialist phrases. These important and fundamental questions certainly cannot be answered here in the comprehensive fashion they require; but fundamental aspects of these questions, however, definitely can be discussed.

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The arguments surrounding the hallmarks of socialist democracy cannot be dismissed out of hand simply by deflecting attention from the actual problem by talking about 'democratic socialism for all'. Talking about 'socialism with the appearance of democracy' is simply obfuscatory and does not answer the questions of the class system, the ownership of property or the necessity of the repression of the counterrevolution, which will appeal for 'humanity' and for 'mercy' for the old tsarist family, for the Emperor of China, the 'poor' Krupp, etc. (i.e. for the reactionaries, for the capital.)

Communist forces set an entirely different question: without doubt, the dictatorship over the counterrevolution and the forceful repression of it is necessary, indispensable and, in this sense, the very requirement for socialist democracy to succeed at all and be protected for the great mass of workers. But - and this cannot be overemphasised after the experiences of the pseudo-socialist police states in recent decades - socialist democracy must be comprehensible, demonstrable. It has to be an attractive example for the free productive development in the capabilities of the great mass of workers, who will then go on, with the help of the mechanisms of socialist democracy behind them, truly to exercise the state power of the majority of the working class and its allies.

'Dictatorship of the proletariat' in this respect is a democratic concept right to its very core, because the term does not just mention dictatorship, but rather the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working women and men operate this dictatorship, along with the once exploited working masses, in a coalition over the small minority of counterrevolutionaries and their enablers. The more comprehensive their participation is in this essential objective, the better. The more democratically the working class is organised, the more effectively the struggle by all sides against the exploiters and against the counterrevolution can be fought. The exercising of the dictatorship of the proletariat is, therefore, closely linked to the evolution of socialist democracy, to the evolution of one's own initiative and to the democratically organised activities of the masses of workers under the leadership of the working women and men.

This dictatorial objective of the socialist state, which is expensive both in terms of strength and of energy, does however only concern one field of ob-

jectives, which is nevertheless invaluable and must and should not be restricted, even if another great field of objectives, geared towards Communism, has to be tackled at the same time: the planning, organisation and construction of a life free of exploitation, the creation and the expansion of an increasingly transparent democratic relationship in terms of conflicts and inconsistencies amongst those once exploited. This, so to say, 'constructive' side of the socialist state - the evolution of socialist democracy and economy, is the actual source of the energy and enthusiasm which bring with them the strength not to let up in the vital struggle against the counterrevolution.

2. The objection of whether something is right or wrong cannot be decided by the majority, because one plus one would still equal two, even if a majority decided that it equalled three: this objection is demagogic and contains a half truth.

It is true that the mass of working women and men, who will have the power in their own hands after the revolution, will even when pursuing socialist democracy - make wrong decisions when building up their state, and that these wrong decisions will have been supported by a great majority. Nevertheless - and this is essential - these wrong decisions can then be democratically corrected.

We see here, broadly speaking, two reasons for such problematic decisions:

H The reactionary habits or views, which are left over from the old social order, will not be defeated with a single slap even after the proletarian revolution has taken place. So, for example, the distillation of vodka was not outlawed in the revolutionary Soviet Union immediately after 1917, despite all the problems it caused (amongst others, the use of grain not for a basic source of sustenance, but for the manufacture of alcohol, or rather for the manufacture of the problem of alcoholism.) In this respect it is important that it is not simply the perspective of the Communist Party and its scientifically grounded argument that is crucial, but that it is also an important part of socialist democracy that one has to live temporarily with false majority decisions, before using the provisions of socialist democracy in order to ensure that these decisions are corrected.

- All of this is also important if the causes of such a wrong decision are caused not by a bourgeois

ideology, but are due to the fact that at that point of time the standard of knowledge was insufficient.

Previous socialist democracies to the present day do not just give us examples of correct decisions, but also of mistaken decisions explained away by the situation, by the tradition and by the respective level of knowledge and of science. These mistaken decisions were nevertheless commensurate with the opinion of the majority of the working class. Not for nothing did Lenin explain that the force of habit is the most dreadful power and that freeing oneself of it will take a drawn-out struggle.

The process of formulating opinions, the democratic process of deciding one's own thoughts on a matter are basically dependant on whether logical arguments - the for and against on the one hand, but also the balance of power, the strength of the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces and the reality of the situation on the other - are comprehensively, seriously and controversially analysed and evaluated. Even if rash decisions do have to be made and no room for exhaustive analysis can be found, there will not seldom still be points to argue, issues which have not been 100% resolved. Nevertheless, decisions still have to be made, and in fact - there is no other possibility - decided democratically, which means by those bodies democratically authorised to make such decisions. The role of the Communist Party must be a model in this respect.

3. Being able to judge everything and doing everything consciously - these high demands for the development and expansion of socialist democracy require not only transparency and maximum simplification of the state's activities - which would render increasing numbers of full-time 'civil servants unnecessary - but also that the knowledge and the education of the broad mass of workers becomes all the more professional, so that they understand everything.

The development of socialist democracy is based on the enhancement of the consciousness and activity of the masses, through the increasing participation of the broad mass of workers in the machinery of the state in an increasingly wide field. An important hallmark of socialist democracy is, therefore, whether or not this culturally revolutionary facet, which demands active participation of the universally educated and knowledgeable work-

ers, is developed or not. (This question is, incidentally, much more important than the question of whether this or that particular group of exploiters and reactionaries have the right to vote temporarily withdrawn or not.)

4. It would be fatal to equate 'menace to socialist democracy' simply with active counterrevolutionaries. The necessity of developing effective forms of organisation also involves the emergence of new, relatively strong structures, as well as the emergence of a state apparatus with characteristics which are, at first glance, reminiscent of the bourgeois state: ministries, authorities, judiciary, police and military. Thus the simplification of the administrative offices of state - which, indeed, is a prerequisite for maximising the participation of the masses in the activities of state, with maximal organisational efficiency - also contains the danger that a new sense of routine develops, which increasingly forces the meaning and substance of individual decisions or roles into the background and ceases to bring them into question.

As well as this, the petit-bourgeois self-serving trend of functionaries 'comes into the equation: they declare themselves indispensable and exalt their importance, whilst the matters they come into contact with they inevitably complicate and render opaque, in so doing accumulating a certain unchecked power - in short: the tendency towards bureaucracy, which turns the socialist state into a self-preserving system, instead of rendering itself increasingly unnecessary by simplifying state affairs and involving the masses.

We know, as a result of our experiences of the socialist democracies of history, that this problem is twofold. It is unavoidable that after the revolution the problem of bureaucracy will be exemplified by the fact that the socialist state, still for want of its own 'red' specialists from the rows of workers, will still have to fall back at first on bourgeois organisational specialists, in order to take care of certain matters. But while this is happening, the problem in the phase of socialism's development is that the once militant Communist women and men - tried and tested in production and by the class struggle - look after their own back when they come to exercise power over state affairs; they start commanding. In short: display negative tendencies which become dominating if they are not compre-

hensively tackled. Bureaucracy, blind discipline, erosion of meaning—which are also the experiences of historical socialist democracies—form the medium for Communist-lacquered bureaucrats and careerists to turn themselves into 'the new masters' basically into a new bourgeoisie, so that capitalism can be restored.

The culture-revolutionary aspect, the anti-bureaucratic aspect, the fight against self-important and insipid bureaucrats; the claim to be engaging the broad masses of workers to the fullest extent through access to education and transparency, to allow them to inform themselves, judge decisions, participate in the concrete leadership of the state; the maximum development of criticism and self-criticism from below; and accountability—all of these aspects are measurements for the mobilisation of the masses, for their participation in the leadership of the state. They are hallmarks of socialist democracy in just the same way as it is undoubtedly a hallmark of socialist democracy that fear and anxiety before the organs of the socialist state is absent.

5. Socialist democracy does not just develop and evolve with the fight against the counterrevolution, but rather constantly with the struggle with the apparatus developed by itself. This system is necessary and indispensable, but must be accompanied by the fundamental idea that it renders itself unnecessary by so thoroughly simplifying all its operations that a position in the civil service is eventually no longer a full-time job—but rather a position in which the workers themselves can participate—alongside their daily occupations—so that the responsibility of taking care of these affairs of state can be shared.

It is on this foundation that the bureaucratic apparatus 'withers away' as a direct consequence of the simplification of its functions, as well as of its adoption of maximal transparency and by restricting itself to what is absolutely necessary. Alongside this increasing activity and consciousness of the masses, the requirement also emerges that, bit by bit, all those who were once exploited and repressed can truly participate in the management of the state.

6. When it is victorious worldwide, when it knows no classes, no state apparatus, Communism will quite logically mean that democracy, as a state form, will no longer exist. But in Communism and

on the path to Communism there will exist, however, the hallmarks of socialist-democratic methods: there will be debates with decisions made democratically and by majority vote. The democratic transactions and relations of the great masses of workers will determine the direction of everyday life in its entirety, in the factories and workplaces as well in the regulation of all basic questions of human coexistence. These democratic relations will create an atmosphere in which argument is at the forefront, in which controversy and debate form the arena for arguments to be suggested and fought out, and in which it is not intrigue and the balances of power which are decisive. In short: the attitude towards the masses of workers must be marked by this mentality of democratic thought and behaviour, of open debate, of fair argument all the way through to voting and majority decisions: this atmosphere, this inner attitude will then bring Communism to its fullest fruition.

Z One of the biggest issues in the struggle between capitalism and Communism was, and is, the area of the granting of and/or the restriction of classical bourgeois-democratic freedoms, as they were codified after the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in the bourgeois constitutions, and then for good reason were later also incorporated into constitutions of the socialist Soviet Union, China, Albania, etc. By freedoms we mean, for example, free expression and speech, freedom of assembly, the freedom of the press and freedom of demonstration.

It is justifiably pointed out that these freedoms exist formally in the existing bourgeois democracies, but that they are in reality doubly restricted: for one thing by the absent material conditions for the usage of these freedoms by the broad masses (particularly evident with the freedom of the press and by the private-capitalistic ownership of the publishers and newspapers) and for another thing by legal back-doors and practical damages to these freedoms through hectoring, prosecutions, prohibition of strike action and prohibition of demonstrating, etc.

In as far as the Communist forces, as the exponents of socialist democracy, decry this hypocrisy, these grievances in practice, they also adopt the duty of taking these basic democratic freedoms—which (as an aside) are not fundamentally 'new' ideas; they were not invented by the bourgeoisie—

into the programme of socialist revolution and realising them. Of course, without the hypocrisy; without the contradiction between promise and practice, between word and deed; without false conceptions of the supposedly absolute nature of these bourgeois rights and freedoms.

The Communists must openly and honestly declare the extent to which they will behave dictatorially and the lines they will not cross. It was for this reason that Marx deliberately chose the phrase 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. Socialist democracy withholds democratic rights from the counterrevolutionaries and does not deny this. For it is a fact of life that this is the only way that it is possible to defend the democratic rights of the once exploited. At the same time, socialist democracy must make it clear that such a denial of political rights, that such restrictions of freedom are necessary simply as means to counter the attempts by the exploiters and class enemies to maintain or restore their privileges.

It is patently reasonable that the military and political organisation of the counterrevolution must be suppressed and that this suppression is legitimate. The problems begin when matters turn to the expression of opinion, to art, culture or philosophy. Of course we know, too, that after breaking the exploiting class 'military and economic resistance, after defeating the open counterrevolution, the battle to break the ideological resistance by the exploiters and reactionaries takes on paramount importance. And this battle is more difficult and more protracted than the demolition of the tools, means and media of the bourgeoisie's ideological reign.

Therefore, the socialist state should not simply restrict the intensification of the class struggle to military or political matters, but should rather expand and refine this class struggle increasingly widely in order to properly defeat the bourgeoisie and capitalism in all areas, including in the area of ideology.

If it must be that at this or that point, in the context of political and military operations by the counterrevolutionaries, certain dictatorial incursions in the ideological field (possibly for good reason) had or have to take place, the fundamental problem nevertheless remains that the real class struggle by the proletariat cannot be developed in some sterile fashion, but rather by active discussion of ideol-

ogy and of the theories of the counterrevolutionaries of the international bourgeoisie and their theoretical and philosophical predecessors.

8. In view of the political analysis of the situation as a whole, there was quite honestly no room for the idea that the repressive component of the state - which, to name names, include the army and security service - would be allowed to 'wither away' in the Soviet Union in the 1930s. As a result of the international aggravation of the struggle between revolution and counterrevolution, actual concrete measures and forces, as opposed to abstract planning, had to be deployed in great number for the fight against the counterrevolution: instead of letting it wither away, these areas of the socialist state had not just to be kept alive, but also to be strengthened in terms of personnel and technology. The victory over Nazi-Fascism proved that this decision was correct.

As a direct consequence of these repressive tasks of the socialist state, one must be aware - considering the daunting caricature of the police states in revisionist states — that they degenerate into a revisionist police dictatorship when these tasks are not accompanied by the enhancement of the consciousness of the soldiers and by the ever closer connection between the army and the other security services on the one hand and the masses of workers on the other.

It is, therefore, a central objective that the relationship between the repressive aspect of the socialist state (that is, the defence against the counterrevolution), and the constructive aspect of the socialist state (that is, the actual construction of socialism), is very firmly constituted on the basis of theoretical analysis of the particular period of time and the particular situation.

And that is not the end of the problem. If the counterrevolution declares open war on the victorious proletariat and invades the country, it is not just the repressive component of the state - the fight against the counterrevolution - which is thrust into the foreground. On the condition of an imperialist invasion, for example, the democratic relationship between the workers and socialist democracy itself has to be restricted, or at least has to become more precise. In times of war, other forms of socialist democracy more suited to the war situation have to be worked out and implemented.

///- Forms of socialist democracy

In this section, various socialist state forms are discussed: the **Paris Commune of 1871**, the **socialist Soviet Union** and the **peoples' democracies** after 1945. The leaflet explains in conclusion:

„ It is obvious from these examples that the question of the form of socialist democracy cannot be engaged with in some abstract way, independent from such factors as time and place, independent of the specific historical particularities of a given country, independent of whether or not the country finds itself in an open civil war, in a war with imperialist powers or in a phase of the peaceful construction of socialism.

Everything will depend on paying close attention to nurturing socialist democracy in practice, re-

gardless of its form, even if that means under the worst conditions of war or even under the threat of renewed war. If this is done, the counterrevolutionaries 'attempted forceful restriction of socialist democracy will fail to avert the inevitable: that the armed proletariat will, quite independently and in a democratically organised fashion, lead the double fight against the counterrevolution and for the ultimate victory of Communism. "

The leaflet is six A3 pages long and contains the following additional supplements:

- On the terms 'democracy', 'dictatorship' and 'state'
- Particular aspects of the struggle led by the Communist Party of China and the PAA of Albania in the expansion of socialist democracy

J References for further reading

February's leaflet has as its theme:

On the protests against the mass layoffs at Nokia:

**Against appeasement and nationalist campaigns:
Intensify the struggle, occupy the factory!**

„ It was announced on January 15th that the Finnish Nokia corporation wanted to close its factory in Bochum in the coming months and throw all its 2,300 working women and men onto the street. Some further 2,000 colleagues in firms supplying the factory, as well as providing it with temporary leased workers, are also directly affected. The process of their dismissal is already underway. The first protests were organised quickly, among them particularly the demonstration on January 22nd, 2008, with more than 15,000 participants. Messages of solidarity were received immediately from other factories. The protest by the working women and men of Nokia is justified — that does not even come into question.

But from the beginning, the existing attempts of this justified protest and the struggle for the retention of these jobs were, for several reasons, extensively paralysed and disorganised: there was the intolerable invocation of the alleged Nokia Family', to which, even now, one is expected to prove ones 'worth 'to be a member of this family through ex-

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Emphasis falls on the following:

„ It is a prerequisite for a successful struggle that we turn against all attempts at dividing us, against a division between working women and men from Germany and colleagues in Romania, against a division between temporary 'leased' workers and permanent workers, etc. "

In conclusion the leaflet stresses:

„ Based on fundamentally theoretical work and practical experiences of the struggle by the working women and men, Marx formulated guidelines on the necessity of the decisive struggle led on a daily basis by the working women and men, and on the boundaries of this struggle in the context of capitalism. These guidelines have lost none of their meaning:

„ By cowardly giving way in their every-day conflict with the capital, they would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiating of any larger movement.

At the same time (...) the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these day-to-day struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction (...) They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in these unavoidable guerrilla fights incessantly springing up from the never-ceasing encroachments of capital or changes of the market. (...) They ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system!'"

(Karl Marx, „Wages, Price and Profit", 1865, Peking 1975, p. 78)

As before, the concluding words of the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' by Marx and Engels apply:

„ Workers of all countries unite!"

The leaflet is two A3 pages long and contains the following additional supplement:

0 Successful occupation of the Continental factory in Mexico

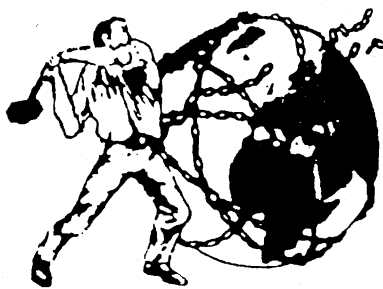


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Bulletin 2/08

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: March - May 2008



Appears quarterly in ENGLISH, French, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Russian and Turkish



March's leaflet has as its theme:

„Xenophobic motives can be excluded“???

Fight indifference and resignation about Nazi Terror!

„German conditions in 2008: people from other countries, people with dark skin, Jewish women and men, Cinti and Roma, the disabled, people attracted to members of the same sex, the homeless, anti-Nazi activists, anti-fascist union activists – day in, day out, all of these people have to face being threatened by Nazis, being chased, beaten up or even murdered. And day in, day out is no cliché in this instance: even official statistics have been forced to acknowledge that, on average, more than three acts of Nazi aggression are perpetrated in Germany every single day – to say absolutely nothing of the public displaying of Nazi symbols or of Nazi agitation and slogans.

And this Nazi terror is making an impact – and not just in terms of the threat to those immediately affected. This is an apparently paradoxical impact: many hardly even notice it any more and react to it with indifference; they have simply got used to its existence and accept it as part of everyday life in Germany. Even some people who understand themselves as progressive are not immune to this dangerous habituation effect. But one thing is clear: whoever simply lets themselves ‘get used to’ the Nazis’ terror or accepts it or does nothing against it in the factories, in the suburbs, in the schools, in the universities, on the streets – these people have already resigned themselves; they have let themselves become demoralised.“

German conditions in 2008: intensified Nazi terror

Focusing on certain particular cases, this section highlights current Nazi assaults and attacks. For example in Ludwigshafen:

“On February 3, nine women and children of Turkish heritage died in the flames of a burning residential block. A further sixty people were to some extent seriously injured. The circumstances of the crime point to a mas-

sacre perpetrated by Nazis. The German State immediately started a cover-up operation and pulled out all the stops to render the existence of ‘xenophobic motives’ seemingly impossible.“

Systematic cover-up and playing down of Nazi terror and the German chauvinism of the diversion tactics used by the bourgeois press and politicians

„The problem is not just the Nazis. ... The problem is that the Nazis’ marches and attacks are not even mentioned at all, at least not regularly or only vaguely. ... And if the issue refuses to be swept under the carpet, then it usually recorded as a simple side note...“

This process is comprehensively revealed below using the example of the arson attack in Ludwigshafen and described in detail. It is highlighted in conclusion:

„The decisive fact of the matter is not whether we can prove beyond any doubt whatsoever that the arson attack in Ludwigshafen was an arson attack by Nazis. The salient point is the enormous effort that went into covering it up, that was perpetrated and still is being perpetrated, not least because of the effort to force anti-Nazi activists onto the defensive. A Nazi crime, so it is claimed, must be proven right down to the minutest detail before it can be labelled as such. And when, in any given case, there turns out to be no Nazi-related background involved, the case is appreciatively trumpeted with satisfaction by German imperialism and by its politicians and media and used to downplay Nazi terror in general.“

The argument that there are more important things than the fight against the Nazis

„In reality, the extent of the fascistisation of the State is fundamentally more substantial in breadth and con-

sequence than simply these attacks and the agitation by Nazi gangs on the street. ... And, as far as the long term is concerned, it is in fact more important that we deal with the whole problem – which involves fighting and destroying the capitalist system in Germany and pulling our own weight when it comes to defeating the worldwide imperialist system. In reality, for the dominant classes one of the main functions of the Nazis is to tie down the progressive and revolutionary forces.

Nevertheless, this principle – that the fight against the Nazis is actually not of foremost importance – has a major flaw. For the fight against the Nazis is in one particular respect of absolute importance – nothing should be relativised, nothing should be dusted out of the picture using fancy explanations. Because whoever does not move against this extreme form of anti-democratic action with fury and hate, full of energy and with a cool head – whoever does not fight against it, whoever is not outraged by it, organises no action against it – the fact is, when we reflect on it more closely, that in reality they are a lost cause for all righteous struggle.

... The fight against the Nazi murderers has to be



April's leaflet has as its theme:

Exploitation and repression are intensifying! – Let there be no illusions about the leaderships of the unions!

May 1 2008: Fight against capital and its State!

„The situation of Germany in 2008: while German imperialism is forcing the plundering of working men and women around the whole world, and while the deployment of the German Army at an international level is being expanded step by step, and while domestic circumstances point to the forming of a police state in Germany, while the deportation of refugees is the order of the day and while attacks by Nazis continue without interruption, increasingly massive attacks are being carried out step by step against the social conditions of working women and men in Germany. Due to to enormously increased intensification of labor, the extension of working hours and the decrease in the real value of wages, the exploitation in the factories is being intensified. At BMW, Siemens, Nokia and so on, there are thousands of working women and men being thrown out onto the street.

However, on every occasion these working women and men – as well as others – have protested against

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conducted in conjunction with the fight surrounding fundamental, wide-reaching questions and goals. And beyond just the action against Nazi gangs, these goals in fact involve throwing light onto the inseparable link with the history of this country, with the political environment as it currently exists, and with the crimes of German imperialism, at home and abroad. ...“

The leaflet covers four A3 sides and contains the following supplementary contributions:

- *Spotlights of the Nazi terror of February 2008*
- *Highlights of anti-Nazi struggles (January-March 2008)*
- *Appendix: Roter Pressespiegel 4/07 (July-August 2007)*

intensified exploitation and cuts in social services in countless instances of strike action and demonstrations. Such as recently, for example, in the train drivers' strike or wage negotiations in the retail sector. Yet why is it still possible for the rulers, time and again, to enforce their plans more or less unopposed?

Whoever fights against capital takes on the State and gets into trouble with the princes of the unions

Whoever leads the fight against intensified exploitation will inevitably come across three related problems: the capitalists, the bourgeois apparatus of the State, and the DGB trade union leadership and its own apparatus. The leaflet puts the emphasis on unmasking union leaders and showing it for what it really is.

„It has been shown time and time again, and will indeed continue to be shown, that the apparatus of the

unions is firmly in the hands of a small but well-paid and completely paid-off class of union princes (Lenin called them the „worker bureaucrats“), which for its part cannot be sure of the continued support of the hardly insignificant working class, the so called workers' aristocracy. The heads of the DGB unions, along with their apparatus, stand together in many respects in the closest of relationships – indeed, in fusion – with capital and State. They are present on the boards of directors and all possible committees and are thus directly involved in the organisation of capitalism.

Although we have such an absolutely negative assessment of them and their apparatus, we do not argue that working women and men should not participate in the trades union. One must also fight against the enemy from within. It is necessary to fight together with our most active colleagues against the union leaders, with their bureaucratic and undemocratic apparatus, in order to achieve the goal of the mobilisation of as great a proportion of union members as possible. Whoever still holds firm to old illusions about union leadership will surely lose them in this struggle. ...

What we are fighting for: Regardless of whether inside or outside of the DGB unions, the struggle for improvement can only be developed and the subsequent struggle to defend gains made can only be conducted without and against the union princes and their apparatus. This applies all the more for the more wide-ranging of our goals.

We come decisively to the fighting strength of the working women and men and to their readiness and ability to strike a real blow to capital and its state, to not be cowed or held up by union leaders and their apparatus of power – if possible, even to take advantage of particular structures in these unions, without becoming addicted to the power they bring. That is the first and most central point.“

The leaflet ends with a quote from Marx' and Engels' „Manifesto of the Communist Party“, published in 1848:

„The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workers of all countries, unite!“

The leaflet covers two A3 sides and contained the following supplementary contributions: „Let there be no illusions about the union leaders!“ It is claimed therein:

„The complete extent of the corruption, the lack of character and the criminal potential within the DGB leadership can at least be revealed by our approaches, if we shed light on the history of the union movement in Germany.

Although they themselves had originated in the struggles of the working class, the union leaders – just like the Social Democrats – as traditional class fighting organisations ended up to lend lent their support to German imperialism in the First World War, as well as to the suppression of the uprisings by working women and men in 1918-19.

In the years 1918 to 1933, faced with millions of class-conscious working women and men that were still organised within the unions, the union leaders purged the most militant members out of the unions. What was started in 1918-19 ended on May 1 and 2, 1933, with their disgraceful support for the Nazi-Fascists and for the Brown May 1st, which they made possible.“



May's leaflet has as its theme:

Against Nazis and police violence

On the experiences of the militant struggles on May 1, 2008

„The marches and campaigns on May 1, 2008, revealed a very varied picture: while the police were initially restraining themselves at the Berlin May 1st, apparently in order to 'de-escalate' the situation, the police in Wuppertal thrashed the anti-fascist, revolutionary May 1st demonstration in Wuppertal and tried to bring 'everything under control' in Nuremberg through

the use of overwhelming force of personnel and the closure of streets in order to keep them free for Nazis. But the militant struggle in Hamburg shows that German imperialism and its powers of repression cannot have everything under their control if appeasers like the union princes can be unmasked and decisive opposition against Nazis and the police system can be

maintained.“

The leaflet reports on the demonstrations in various towns and cities, as well as on the police actions instigated against them.

Berlin – „De-escalation“?? – 162 arrests

Brutal police terror in Wuppertal

Civil war manoeuvring in Nuremberg

The leaflet stresses:

„These demonstrations and counter-actions were and are urgently necessary, because – protected and encouraged by police, judiciary and other representatives of the German State, and in many cases tolerated by the union princes – the Nazis are becoming ever more brazen in their appearances and are trying to turn May 1st to their own advantage. The Nazis are increasingly helping themselves to seemingly social and pseudo-anticapitalist topics such as work and ‘social fairness’ ..., but only for the Germans, of course! Using shrewd propaganda with music and fashion, today’s Nazis are increasing their efforts to connect particularly with younger people and are doing so all the more, quite successfully.

Those in positions of power in the unions are appeasing this and are trying together with the police to prevent anybody from being able to act effectively against the Nazis.“

An additional section underlines positively the militant struggle of the anti-Nazi forces in Hamburg against heavily armed police officers who were there for the Nazis’ protection, thus enabling their march:

The anti-Nazi struggle on May 1, 2008, in Hamburg!

„Out of a total of around 10,000 participants in the well-organised anti-Nazi demonstration in Hamburg, around 3,000 resolute anti-fascist activists took part in militant assaults on the Nazis and put up militant struggle against the police. ...

As a result of this action, the Nazi march was initially prevented from taking place for several hours. ...

It is a bitter truth that even on May 1 this year, the main Nazi marches could not be prevented. But even more important is the fact that the militant struggles, above all in Hamburg, have proved beyond any doubt that the State, union leadership and police do not have everything in their grasp, and that struggles against Nazis and the police are still possible. But in all of this, it is

important to position ourselves against the apparatus of the Confederation of Trades Union and other appeasers, in order to be able to prepare ourselves, together with the more progressive among local residents. We do this above all to avoid being driven onto the defensive. Militancy and varied tactics will also be put to the test in the next year, so that we are able to frustrate the Nazi marches and the police forces. It is certain that the militant struggle against Nazis and state machinery will not just be interpreted in terms of this year’s May 1st, but that we will learn from all past struggles to learn ahead of those struggles still to come.“

The leaflet covers four A3 sides and contains the following supplementary contributions:

- *Militant struggles on May 1, 2008, in Istanbul*
- *A commentary by anti-fascist activists on the police terror on May 1 in Wuppertal: do not believe the lies of the police press!*
- *Teamwork between Nazis and police – Nazis take control of a regional train*
- *Nazis are a part of German imperialism: the Nazis in the core of the State’s apparatus*
- *Appendix: Roter Pressespiegel 5/07 (September-October 2007)*
- *Appendix: Hamburg-Altona 1932: militant struggle against Nazis and the police – three original articles from the ‘Rote Fahne’ newspaper of the KPD from 1932*

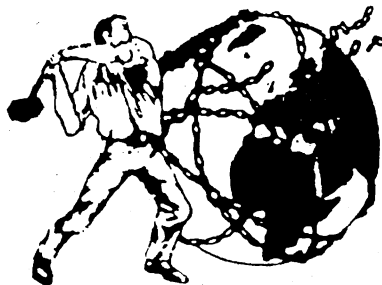


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Bulletin

3/08

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: **June - August 2008**



Appears quarterly in ENGLISH, French, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Russian and Turkish



June's leaflet has as its theme:

Solidarity with refugees suffering imperialist persecution!

Step up the fight against the police state's murderous terror!

„In light of the fact that, on average, at least three Nazi attacks occur in Germany every day, the fight against the Nazis is of enormous consequence. Indeed, one could argue that it is the most important fight of all. After all, those who do nothing in the face of this strengthening Nazi terror or those who ceased to do anything to confront it, are in general not suited for any sort of organised force against the apparatus of state, or for any other struggle with any broader objectives. The numerous campaigns and demonstrations of recent years have, quite rightly, positioned themselves against the enormous growth of Nazi terror, as well as against the Nazis' rampages, which have taken place with the express protection of the state. And these campaigns and demonstrations must, clearly, be stepped up. But let us be quite clear: the key player in all of this is the apparatus of the German state, with its murderous strategy of state terror against refugees.“

The programme of murderous police terror against refugees

„*The right to asylum in Germany was extensively eradicated by legislation passed in 1993.* The ground for this legislation had been prepared and accompanied by a comprehensive smear campaign against 'asylum seekers' by politicians and the media, which took place in the context of Nazi massacres and pogroms in which dozens of people were murdered. In one fell swoop, hundreds of thousands of people were slapped with a *status resulting in their absolute deprivation of the most basic rights.*

Particularly in the last fifteen years, the forces of German imperialism have been single-mindedly, clinically and precisely implementing the police state's programme of liquidation of the 'asylum question'. The intensity of this policy has been ratcheted up step by step in recent years. This criminal programme ... is comprised of a

combination of three interrelated and interdependent methods of state terror.“

Murderous police terror prevents refugees from crossing the national borders

This is partly caused by visa regulations, but the main reason is the armament of the border police. With thousands of federal agents, as well as additional auxiliary police enlisted specifically for this purpose, the full terror of the police state is first organised and then exacted against refugees.

... This murderous campaign against refugees, which is carried out under the slogan of 'Cracking Down on Illegal Immigration', is currently taking place with ever-*increasing intensity on the external borders of the European Union.* ...

This presents the danger that the murderous role of German imperialism is allowed, quite unjustly, to sneak out of the line of fire.

It is thus all the more important to emphasise the following: firstly, German imperialism is in the driving seat of the implementation and transposition of this murderous policy on the external borders of the EU. ... Secondly, the main point in all of this is to recognise the machinations and interests of the great imperialist powers in Europe, and especially of German imperialism, which – alongside France and Britain – carries the greatest weight in the institutions of the EU.“

Deportation: the murderous policy of state terror

An increasing number of deportation prisons have been built since 1992. As many as 3,500 refugees are presently being detained in advance of their deportation.

„Tens of thousands of refugees, whose applications

On today's international Nazi network and its structure

Historically, the power that German imperialism had between 1933 and 1945, both in Europe and the wider world, was essentially prepared by the Nazis' 'Fifth Columns'. And today? The official policy of German imperialism is too concerned with its own prestige to be at all interested in open cooperation with the international Nazi scene. But in its advance primarily against US imperialism, its arsenal is by no means limited only to such supposedly benign things as capital export, the Goethe Institut and the ever-increasing training of police. There are also important channels, experiments and real relationships between the German Nazis and their international contacts, right up to the level of such major players as Iran, Hamas and Hezbollah. The PR machine of the German secret service, the BND, which has spread its roots to practically every country on Earth – as recently became clear during its mediation between Hezbollah and the Israeli government – is admired around the world, and the BND has consequently taken on the role of the supposedly 'honest broker'. But, in reality, the BND is operating on the basis of a concealed and systematic coordination of contacts between official Germany and the German Nazis, in exercises which allow them to work closely together.

Even today, there doubtlessly exists an international network of Nazism. Based on old traditions, this network has been continuously established and built up since 1945, primarily by German Nazis, in a process that continues to this day. This network is preserved and strengthened mainly by Holocaust deniers and their conferences and music concerts, and by international meetings or mutual support for each other's demonstrations. ..."

Europe / the USA

„One of the important pillars of the international network of Nazism is support in Europe and the USA. Notable organisations in the USA are the NSDAP/AO and other Nazi forces in the Ku Klux Klan and the 'National Alliance'. Examples in Europe include the Nazi forces in the Belgian 'Vlaams Belang' or the Nazi forces in the English BNP. Nazi forces in Europe and in the USA presently function primarily as shelter for German Nazis; but they also provide a basis for the uncensored and barefaced production of literature denying the Holocaust and other such Nazi propaganda, which is then made available in Germany and in other countries via the internet and international shipping. ... Many Nazi cadres received military training mainly from the Ustaše fascists in the Croatia of the 1990s. These Nazi cadres then went on to fight alongside the Ustaše

fascists in the Balkan War.“

The leaflet exposes the role of the German NPD, which is currently taking on a particularly important role in the Nazi network and which is systematically gathering and coordinating the forces of international Nazism. Horst Mahler, the leading NPD-cadre and Nazi ideologue, is a participant in almost every single large-scale conference of Holocaust deniers. And as though that were not enough: in the aftermath of the attacks of the 11th September 2001, he began openly propagating an alliance between pro-Nazi forces and organisations disguising themselves as 'Islamic'. In line with his anti-Semitism, he describes Hamas and al-Jihad as natural allies in the fight against the USA and their 'commanders' in Israel, who are supposedly the world's 'true secret puppetmasters'.

The Middle East

„Another important pillar in the network of Nazism can be found in the Middle East. Hamas and Hezbollah are the most important organisations to mention in this regard. Hamas was established in the Palestinian Territories in 1987 by the 'Muslim Brotherhood', which had been collaborating as far back as the 1930s with Nazi fascists in Egypt and in other countries. The Hamas Charter of 1988 is their most important programmatic document and is as valid to them today as it ever was.

The leaflet reveals how Hamas perceives itself as the „spearhead of the fight against international Zionism“. The anti-Semitic lies about „Zionist world domination“, which the Jews are supposedly seeking, are quite openly replicated in Article 32 of the Hamas Charter. The Charter also makes direct reference to the so-called „Protocols of the Elders of Zion“ in an attempt to provide some sort of proof for its claims. By means of its TV broadcasting channel Al-Aqsa, which it established in 2006, Hamas is able to disseminate its eliminationist anti-Semitism.

Iran

„In a speech in the city of Zahedan in the south-east of Iran on the 14th December 2005 – a speech which was carried live by the Iranian news channel Khabar – the Iranian prime minister made reference to the „myth of the massacre of the Jews“.

The fact that a national leader, in the form of the Iranian state president Ahmadinejad, is willing openly to spout Nazi propaganda down any microphone stuck in front of him has never happened before in the post-war world. As such, it is

working in conjunction with German Nazi fascists. As we fight to protect those in the Islamic faith community in Germany against their Nazi attacks, these reactionaries will attempt to exploit our struggle. These forces will try to attach themselves to the protests against the Nazis. The fact is, though, that supporters of the Iranian president, or Turkish forces claiming to be 'Islamic', or supporters of Hamas, or supporters of Hezbollah – none of these can be allowed to march alongside us in protests, campaigns and demonstrations against the German Nazis. ...

On top of that, one thing remains a prerequisite: the political ambitions and the anti-Semitic and anti-democratic character of these organisations all have to be uncovered and exposed on the basis of irrefutable proof. ...“

Ostensible and actual contradictions within the Nazi movement

„At first glance, it seems illogical that German Nazis stir up public feeling against new mosques, against people from Turkey and from Arab countries, and against people of the Islamic faith, while, at the very same time, they are work together on the most intensive basis with organisations, which unashamedly hide themselves under the cloak of 'Islam'. But if you think about it, it is clear that this cooperation is the result of a logic with both historical and contemporary roots. German imperialism's cooperation during the Nazi years with the forerunners of such organisations established a tradition which is still being perpetuated and preserved to this day. In the same way that they waged war primarily against English imperialism during the Nazi years, dressing it up as an inter-imperialist power struggle for the support of and cooperation with fascist movements in India and Palestine, they are now – in the context of a worldwide imperialist confrontation especially with US imperialism – giving absolute support to all those organisations which position themselves against US imperialism.

Look closer and you will see that the power and strength of these organisations portraying themselves as 'Islamic' came and comes from engaging with the justified anger of the broad masses against imperialist suppression, from silencing the genuinely democratic and revolutionary forces, and thereby from concentrating the masses' fight into a fight against one particular imperialism. In so doing, they function as mercenaries for all the world's other brands of imperialism. ...“

German imperialism and Nazis in Germany

„As necessary as it is to make such individual distinctions, we must nevertheless make sure not to lose

sight of the main point. The same goes for whenever we closely scrutinise the differences and commonalities between official German politics and the Nazi organisations in Germany. Contradictions between them certainly exist objectively, and involve questions of Germany's image in the world or of tactical or non-tactical references to Hitler. But over-emphasising these differences is part of a multi-pronged strategy using nuanced arguments and methods to bring the various groups within the population together for the same old ends – namely, strengthening German imperialism, eking out as hegemonic power within Europe, and supporting an international style of politics which seeks primarily to oppose the main competitor, US imperialism.“

The touchstone: The fight against anti-Semitism

„This grand imperialist master plan also encompasses anti-Semitism, which is by no means confined to the Nazi groups, but which crops up in different shades and varieties as a 'primal instinct' within the German mentality and is part of a criminally irrational nationalist feeling.

It is a long time since the motto „I am proud to be a German“ was the exclusive preserve of the Nazi NPD's stickers. Anti-Semitism in the sense of the 'troublesome Jews' – troublesome because they represent the institutionalised memorialisation of Auschwitz, which of course can only damage Germany's kudos in the world – is the mainstay of official Germany. All the days of remembrance and formal government statements in the world cannot change that.

This absolutely does not mean that the historic dimensions of religious anti-Judaism – the roots of which are by no means confined to capitalist societies – and the historic dimensions of the so-called 'social' anti-Semitism against the 'extortionate Jews' can be ignored. In short, we cannot ignore anything drawn from the repertoire of Nazi propaganda and German reactionaries, even those preceding the Nazi years.“

The leaflet emphasises:

„The fight against anti-Semitism – regardless of whatever inane, tactical arguments it tries to draw upon – cannot be postponed or cancelled, but must be treated as an existential and thus indispensable touchstone fight of our movement. This is the case even if it should seem superficially that this restricts the mass of organisations participating alongside us.“

The leaflet from July/August has as its theme:

On the Antifa Conference „Rightist Populism in Europe“, held in Cologne from 5th-7th September 2008

Let us not shy away from conflict!

„It is decidedly important and pleasing that groups within the Antifa movement are currently concerning themselves with the following issue: namely, that the absolutely vital struggle against those reactionary forces disguising themselves as ‘Islamist’, such as Hamas, Hezbollah and the Taliban, should under no circumstances be used as an excuse for tolerating the various types of Nazi attacks against the Islamic faith communities in Germany. This applies equally whether these attacks are perpetrated by open supporters of Hitler or by figures masquerading as ‘right-wing populists’.

Nazi lowlifes are fomenting a racist-nationalist cocktail of prejudices against people from Turkey, Iran and the Arab countries. By using murder and culpable homicide as weapons, and by carrying out arson attacks and street attacks, these gangs are engendering a climate of fear in this country. In order to properly wage the necessary war against the Nazis, disgust at and hatred of them are without doubt two indispensable prerequisites.

It is, however, by no means possible to argue that the debates which have taken place in recent years within the Antifa movement have been properly settled.“

The leaflet goes on to clarify:

„There are certain arguments which simply cannot be tolerated – however left-wing the person making them claims to be.

- On the one hand, there is the unacceptable position, using the veneer of anti-Germanness, not only of directly supporting the USA, but also of celebrating the invasion of Afghanistan by the US imperialists and the German Army, and finally calling at maximum volume for the invasion of Iran.
- On the other hand, though, is the unacceptable position of supporting fascist movements around the world, even those closely related to the German Nazi movement. This danger is particularly evident

in support for the reactionary Iranian regime and its president, who mistakenly be understood as progressive or anti-imperialist.“

Practical solidarity with the Islamic faith communities! War above all against the Christian-German ideology!

„A prerequisite for all such discussions is our express solidarity with those threatened and constantly attacked people in the Islamic faith community in Germany.

However, in our opinion, this behoves us to confront all those groups who betray their most primitive prejudices by equating the Islamic faith community with Hamas, Hezbollah and other such organisations which disguise themselves as ‘Islamic’. All this does, be it deliberate or not, is stoke up and perpetuate nationalist and racist tendencies in Germany.

It belongs to the truisms that have to be repeated here that our necessary criticism of religion does not entail opposition to new mosques, churches or synagogues. ... Moreover, it is quite appropriate for us to reveal how politics has historically misused these religions for its own benefit.

In the face of Nazi marches opposing mosques, or of anti-Islamic conferences, it is therefore simply unacceptable that no attention be paid to the necessary and overriding struggle against the Christian-German ideology, and the advocates of this ideology.“

Let us not lose our internationalist view!

The extract emphasises that:

„But let us not focus exclusively on those Nazis in Europe that try to camouflage themselves as ‘right-wing populists’. Let us focus instead on the international Nazi movement as a whole. It is indeed a fact that the speakers who addressed the fascists’ congress in Cologne come from Europe. But we must not let this result in the international network of fascism and Nazism being allowed to sneak out of the firing line. It cannot be allowed to hide from debates about Hamas and Hezbollah. ...“

No concessions to German nationalists supporting Hamas!

„The anti-Nazi movement in Germany cannot close its eyes to the threat posed by reactionary foreign forces

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for asylum have been rejected, along with other 'undesired aliens', are arrested every year and subsequently deported by the immigration authorities. It is not uncommon for deportations to take place to countries, such as Turkey, which are known for torturing prisoners. These are often the very same countries from which the refugees had fled in the first place. Meanwhile, the infamous „grounds“ for such arrests and the officially sanctioned time limit on the resulting imprisonment have been continually expanded in recent years. ...

But this is all quite in keeping with the tradition of the German ruling classes and of German imperialism. This means quite deliberately to create an atmosphere of intimidation against a specific group of people, in order to spread fear among them, using murderous terror as a weapon to achieve these ends. ...

This is also an indirect way of showing those people with a German passport the value that this passport supposedly has: namely, that all other human beings are merely second class in comparison. In short: an official policy is being implemented involving the stoking up German-nationalist hubris.“

The unbearable conditions of daily existence for refugees in Germany

„Due to the state's policy of such absolute disenfranchisement, of starvation and of subjection to the permanent chicanery of the police state, the daily lives of the approximately 200,000 'tolerated' refugees in Germany – who, for various reasons, cannot be deported, either immediately or at all – is made into a living hell. ... This is all carried out with the express intention of wearing these refugees down, in order to force them into consenting to what – to all intents and purposes – will then appear to be their 'voluntary' exit from the country. ...

The feeling of hopelessness this causes is quite deliberate, and is increasingly leading to a situation in which refugees, in their despair, end up taking their own lives

– all of which also forms part of the German state's murderous policy concerning refugees.

The situation of the refugees that are forced to live illegally in Germany is, quite simply, desperate. ... These refugees, who have no papers or identification, are denied even the absolute most basic human rights by the state. ... The consequences even in this regard are often murderous. To take one example: the fact that people are condemned to die for no reason other than because they are refused medical examinations and treatment.“

The leaflet notes in conclusion:

„A terrifying 'familiarisation effect' predominates vis-a-vis these 'German conditions', and can even be detected in those forces understanding themselves as democratic and revolutionary. That is the sad reality. It is absolutely clear that this has to change. In addition, we must discuss how we can be successful in the fight against Nazis, against state terror against refugees, and against fascistization. We must then discuss how we can bring together all of these fights in order to form a unified democratic struggle against German imperialism.“

In conclusion, it is emphasised that:

„Without the necessary advances, particularly in terms of solidarity with those refugees persecuted by German imperialism, it would be impossible even to dream that a true proletarian-internationalist revolutionary movement could develop on any large scale.“

The leaflet spans two A3-sides and contains the following supplementary contributions:

- *Excerpts from „Prüfsteine“ – Documents from the 3rd Party Conference of „Gegen die Strömung“, 2004*
- *„The PDS/ The Left Party“ and their cooperation with the state's murderous deportation policy*



a unique development since 1945, and its gravity cannot be underestimated.“

In a report published on the website of the English-language „Teheran Times“ from the 24th/25th December 2005, notorious Holocaust deniers were quoted in support of the Iranian President Ahmadinejad's theory regarding Nazism. Among those having their say were the German Nazi Horst Mahler and the French Nazi Robert Faurisson.

Historical background and preconditions of the modern Nazi movement

„Assisted mainly by the NSDAP/*Aufbauorganisation* outside Germany during the Nazi years, German imperialism managed to establish an international network of Nazism. In many countries, so-called ‘ethnic Germans’ formed the basis of the ‘Fifth Columns’, such as – for example – in the South American countries or in Eastern European states like Czechoslovakia (specifically the Henlein Movement). Around the world, and in accordance with the specifics of the countries concerned, support was provided to existing reactionary movements which aligned themselves in opposition to England, France and the USA. Examples of this worldwide support can be found in the anti-English movement set up around Subhas Chandra Bose in India, or the Flemish movement in Belgium. Additionally, German imperialism created its own organisations in order to kindle pro-German struggles and uprisings in the English and French colonies, as well as in the imperialist “motherlands” of England, France and the USA. This was seen in 1942 in Iraq, an English colony at the time, when a pro-German uprising was kindled but then subsequently failed. And even in France, England and the USA, the Nazis’ ‘Fifth Columns’ were present in more or less full health. This was the case particularly in France, where their role was so great that they eventually helped to facilitate the speedy victory by the Nazis over French imperialism.

In the **Middle East**, the Nazis relied particularly on organisations disguising themselves as ‘Islamic’, which were engaged in a struggle against French and English imperialism. One of the most important of such organisations were the ‘Muslim Brothers’, which were able to spread outwards from 1930s Egypt – with the particular help of the Nazis – until they had strongholds throughout the entire Middle East.

A central figure in the Nazis’ ‘Fifth Column’ in Palestine was the **Mufti of Jerusalem, Amin el-Husseini**. ... He kindled an anti-Semitic and pro-German movement in Palestine which agitated against England. This movement participated in recruiting additional adher-

ents to the ‘Fifth Columns’ from the members of the Islamic faith community in Palestine. ...

To be sure, German imperialism lay in ruins in the years **after 1945**. But, nevertheless, the Nazis continued to work busily away, constructing new staging posts in as many countries as possible around the world. They then used these hideouts by transporting their cadres to them and keeping them there in safety. ... They constructed escape tunnels – the so called ‘rat tunnels’ – with the help of (among others) the Vatican and the Red Cross, and then used them in successfully smuggling many Nazis to other countries, where they then continued their work towards the same old political goals. ...

From 1953 onwards, **Nasser’s Egypt** became one of the most important Middle East Nazi bastions in the entire post-war era. Nasser himself was an unashamed anti-Semite, who spread the lies about the ‘Protocols of the Elders of Zion’ and openly denied the Holocaust. ...“

The leaflet closes with the conclusion:

„One of the biggest weaknesses of the grassroots Antifa groups is their tendency to try to avoid questions about the unbroken traditions of the Nazis and of German imperialism. ... The fundamental unbroken tradition of German imperialism, of Nazi ideology and of the Nazi movement is not understood, it has not been properly worked out, and as a consequence nobody is fighting against it. It is true that many of its specific forms and almost all of the people involved in it are genuinely new. But this guise of ‘modernisation’ cannot be allowed to deceive us. The core is the same as it has always been. Therefore, even if it seems like doing so has gone out of fashion, it is still necessary to proclaim:

Death to Nazism!

Death to German imperialism!“

The leaflet spans four A3-sides and contains the following additional supplements:

- *Hezbollah: Anti-Semitism as a bedrock*
- *Hamas: Anti-Semitism as a bedrock*
- *Iran: Anti-Semitic Holocaust denial*

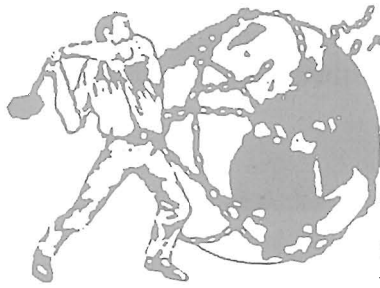


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Bulletin

1/09

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 2009**



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



January's leaflet has as its main theme:

The reason why campaigns like the one carried out by Antifas in Hannover are very important:

Fight any habituation to German militarism!

„The German Army, like every imperialist army, requires a certain degree of acceptance and support on the part of its own domestic population. Through the employment of a vast apparatus of propaganda, supported by the bourgeois media, German imperialists and militarists have managed to prepare and carry out their gradual military expansion dynamically and effectively. They have managed to habituate the German population to increasingly open and large military interventions, under several different flags. They have done all this without encountering any significant resistance. At the same time, they have successfully managed to paint themselves as a fundamentally 'dovish' and 'human' force by pointing the finger at others – particularly at US imperialism – thus diverting attention from their own war campaigns and war crimes.

Therefore, a direct declaration of war against the German Army itself, against its war missions as well as against the forced militarisation it embodies, is of great importance, especially when it is accompanied by direct action such as that in August 2008 against the military festival 'Sommerbiwak', organised by the Army's 1st Panzer Division in Hannover. The importance of this movement is grossly underestimated in the progressive and democratic movement. Those involved on this day of action were able to universally denounce not only the increasing militarisation in society and in public life in its entirety, but also the Army's intensely planned and rehearsed missions as a force of civil war, directed against the 'enemy within', and – last but not least – the increasing number of Army war deployments in other countries, thinly disguised as 'humanitarian' actions...“

„Humanitarian assistance“ and open war propaganda

„Above all since its incorporation of the German Democratic Republic in 1990, German imperialism has managed bit by bit to prepare, implement and expand its wars and occupations. Step by step, they managed to justify their war missions, primarily with the propaganda of so-called humanitarian assistance, as well as the so-called responsibility resting on the country because of its history of Nazi fascism. An example of the use of this propaganda is the war against Yugoslavia in 1999. Even if the humanitarian argument is still being used, other arguments are today playing an ever-more important role in this propaganda.

The story goes that the Army's role in these occupied countries is a mere provision of technical relief, a mere task of rebuilding infrastructure such as water processing facilities, canalisation, and so on. German imperialism is equally trying to act as the ambassador of western-occidental culture through, for example, the construction of school buildings and training of teachers. ... As part of its deployment in the Congo, for instance, the Army emerged to assist the construction of a 'civilised democracy' as observers during the elections that were being held. ... As well as all of this, a major role is played by the forming of policing and administrative structures in the countries under occupation by the German Army.

Only very rarely, if at all, does one find open war propaganda – under whatever pretext – and massive war operations designed directly at the annihilation of the enemy up for discussion on any open agenda. This is the case even despite the constant military forays, such as during the war mission in Afghanistan. ... It is a fact that the troops of the Special Forces Command (KSK), made up of several hundred special units, have been conducting a war in Afghanistan for years, aimed at the complete destruction of the enemy. ...All of these propagandist tricks and

functions of the German Army ... lead directly to the downplaying of German militarism.

Trivialisation and pro-imperialist propaganda

„But what is important is not just the direct Army propaganda created by German imperialism. The political whitewashing by bourgeois parties like the SPD, the Greens and the LINKE/PDS also carries great weight. Joining in with the whitewash are all the sell-out lords of the trades union, dragged along in tow of the parties: with all their excuses for imperialist war politics, they have softened up many an anti-war campaigner over the years, creating sympathy for German imperialism in the process. ...“

Wrong positioning

„Also, though, the wrong positioning of pseudo-Marxists and other opportunists weaken the anti-war movement from within. ... As a result, the German Army is still considered by many people to be ‘the lesser of two evils’ when compared to US imperialism, or is simply designated as being ‘in the tow of US imperialism’. Even the more radical position inside the antiwar movement limits itself to the view that the German Army is a mere part – even if it is a leading part – of a so-called ‘EU imperialism’. ...

All the talk of this ‘EU imperialism’ completely overlooks the fact that internal competition exists in the EU between the imperialist states of Germany, France, the UK and Italy, and that *German* imperialism is a war focus and warmonger in it’s own right – in essence, that German imperialism is its own, independent imperialism. Talk of an EU imperialism overlooks the fact that it is precisely German imperialism, with its own domestic Army, that is the main enemy in Germany.“

Militarisation of society

„A prerequisite for waging wars is quiet on the home front. The process of ensuring that the home front becomes attuned to these wars occurs through the news coverage of the bourgeois media, through public military parades and public discussions of national war memorials and war medals for those who are supposed to have ‘fallen for the fatherland’. ...

Another factor which cannot be underestimated is the indoctrination of the soldiers themselves, who commit themselves to several further years of war service after their initial compulsory conscription. With this commitment, they obligate themselves to ‘missions’ in other countries. When they then ‘return’ to Germany afterwards, they know ‘from personal experience’ of the war missions – be they in

Kosovo, Macedonia, Afghanistan or the Congo – how to properly conduct oneself as a colonialist occupier, and therefore serve themselves to exacerbate militarism in society. ...

At the same time as the external war missions in other countries, there is an acceleration of the Army’s deployment domestically in Germany. ... The best example of this is the enormous military deployment to Rostock in June 2007: to put down the protests against the G8 summit being held in the city, the armed forces deployed 2,000 soldiers to Rostock, accompanied by Tornado aircraft to carry out surveillance, German navy vessels, and armoured reconnaissance tanks.“

The Struggle against German militarism

„... Although it is absolutely necessary to create a counterpropaganda against militarism, and to publicly reveal the Army’s machinations and crimes for what they are, we must still ensure that the following is never forgotten:

Simply trying to unmask the Army with publicly available facts cannot bring about any mobilisation: these ‘facts’ simply are not there for us to use, because the Army operates publicly with precisely such facts and numbers. ... Ultimately, the only way to truly uncover German militarism is through direct action directed against the military. ... Even during the mass demonstrations against the security conferences of NATO, the protest can and must be directed against German imperialism and its wars, in order to really drive the message home: the main enemy is here, in its own country. ...

The task for the Communist forces within the anti-militarist movement is clear: we must explain and prove that the fight against the Army must be seen as a vital part of the fight against German imperialism and the state it controls. For this was a matter on which Marx was utterly clear: the capitalist state, including its army, must be entirely destroyed!“

The leaflet covers two A3 sides and contains the following additional supplement:

■ *German Imperialism, Militarism and Revanchism
(Theses for Discussion)*

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German imperialism in Greece

„The impressive struggles of the militant youths and numerous workers in Greece, particularly in the wake of the 6th December 2008, when the 15-year-old Alexis Grigoropoulos was murdered by a police officer in Athens, have attracted great attention in revolutionary circles in many countries around the world, and particularly in Germany. ...

Our solidarity with our campaigning comrade brothers and sisters in Greece should bring our attention to one particularly important issue: educating the public about our 'own' imperialism – that is, German imperialism – and its role in both the history of Germany and in its present-day circumstances.“

The article starts by establishing that:

„Today, Greece is a capitalist country that has on the one hand its own expansionist interests, which are particularly prosecuted against its neighbour countries (Macedonia, Cyprus); but is on the other hand also fundamentally dependent on the great imperialist powers of the world. US imperialism has ensured that, to this day, US military bases in Greece are retained and that troops remain stationed there. This provides US imperialism a foothold with which to compete against the great imperialist powers of Europe, particularly that emanating from Germany, for influence in Greece.

...Because of this global competition between the imperialism of the German state and that of the other great imperialist powers, particularly America, German imperialism is busily making up on lost time in Greece.“

The leaflet emphasises that:

„German imperialism disguises itself so that it can camouflage its unbroken tradition of Nazi fascism. It falls to us to thwart them in this manoeuvring of theirs. ... By means of the politics of coalition and deception in the state it controls, imperialism in this country has successfully been able to force a very large proportion of those in Germany who understand themselves as members of the revolutionary left into a situation where they uncritically accept such phrases as 'globalisation' or 'EU imperialism'. In this way, such revolutionaries actually help to sanitise the history and tradition of German imperialism, instead of exposing it and fighting against it. It is our intention to take up the fight against this ten-

dency with our next published report, highlighting the need for internationalist proletarian solidarity to actively involve, and not to simply ignore, the fight against 'domestic' German imperialism.“

Highlights: the impact of German imperialism in Greece

Economic impact

„... Ever since the beginning of the 20th century, Germany has been the most important sales market for Greek products. ...

The powers that be in the world of German financial capital were not spared their militarily defeat in 1945. But from as early as the 1960s onwards in Greece, the German financial rulers managed to become a leading voice – indeed, in some arenas, *the* leading voice – in matters of Greek economics. ...“

The following examples are discussed: For years, Germany has been Greece's most important trading partner, both in terms of manufactured imports and manufactured exports. Large-scale projects such as the Athens Metro were and are carried out with the substantial participation of German capitalists. Capital export: alongside the USA, Germany is one of the most important 'investors' in Greece. The leaflet continues:

„... The significance of German imperialism in Greece can be clarified particularly in connection with the important struggles that have recently been conducted against German monopolists and capitalists.“

There follows a short summary of relevant examples: Strike against RWE in March 2006 against the takeover of the Greek semigovernmental energy company Public Power Cooperation (DIE) by the German energy corporation RWE. Strike against Siemens in August 2008 against factory closure and mass redundancies in the city of Thessaloniki. Strike against Deutsche Telekom in March 2008 against their planned market entry into Greece through the largest Greek network provider, Hellenic Telecom (OTE).

Political impact

„... The German imperialists carry out their pincer attack by also focusing on expanding their political influence. This is evident not only in their support

between 1967 and 1974 of the murderous military dictatorship in Greece, when German imperialists supplied the junta extensively with weapons and other materials. It is also clear in how they used the situation that many Greek politicians found themselves in in Germany – i.e., exile – to paint themselves as friends of a democratic Greece: the personal connections that were then established could be used to strengthen German interests in Greece after a changeover of power. ...“

Military impact

„At the end of the 1940s, US imperialism superseded the hitherto hegemonic English imperialism.

...

However, the military impact of German imperialism cannot be underestimated. That is clear just from looking at its manoeuvring in recent decades. Since the 1960s, German imperialism has been participating in NATO manoeuvres using its own Army units stationed in Greece. Since the 1970s, units of the German Army in Greece have been carrying out their own operations. Since 1971, the German Army has at its disposal missile launch bases on the island of Crete, as well as landing rights at Greek air bases. Greek officers are present in military academies to participate in the training of the general staff of the German Army, and Greek soldiers of all ranks are trained in the schools of the German Army. All of this is quite evidently the product of a historic tradition. General Metaxas, who was the head of the military dictatorship from 1936, was not only an admirer of the German Nazi fascists, but was also a graduate of the Prussian War Academy.

Above and beyond its position in NATO and in the EU, German imperialism has been busily strengthening its military influence in Greece for years – in fact, for decades. It has been doing this in no small measure by extensively equipping the Greek Army with German-made munitions...“

In conclusion, the leaflet emphasises that

„The fact is that as a major aggressive power, German imperialism exercises enormous influence in the fields of economics, politics and the military in Greece, which it is increasingly reconstructing to shore up its own position in rivalry with other major imperialist powers. The fact is also that major struggles against exploitation and oppression in Greece are directed directly against the forces of German financial capital such as Siemens, Deutsche Telekom and RWE – and that the quite specific responsibility falls to us in Germany to actively and

directly support these struggles.

In all of this, it still remains absolutely vital to unmask the unbroken tradition of German imperialism in Greece, which began during the years of Nazi aggression against and occupation of Greece. This responsibility is all the more pressing in light of the German state's persistent and ongoing refusal to provide any sort of compensation to Greek victims of Nazi massacres and of the Nazi genocide in Greece. Without stepping up as an advocate for these just demands, there is no way for honest solidarity here in Germany, not even on a democratic level. A voluntary, conscious and revolutionary coalition of our forces is impossible if there is no mutual trust. But we must ask ourselves: how can the working men and women of Greece ever develop this trust if they never see or sense the fact that, here in Germany, the working class is already engaged in confronting the German imperialists that control this country, along with all their machinations and the crimes they commit?

The fundamental issue is this: if we do not prioritise the fight against our 'own' imperialism's machinations here in Germany, against the German imperialism which controls this country, then no internationalist proletarian coalition can exist. Without fighting our 'own' imperialism here, we can never ally ourselves with those working men and women being exploited and oppressed by German imperialism, nor with the revolutionary forces already struggling against it in Greece. This is proved by the Communist principle enshrined in Marx and Engels' *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: 'Workers of the world, unite!'"

Death to German imperialism, militarism and revanchism!

The leaflet covers four A3-sides and contains the following additional supplement:

- *The campaign in the wake of the murder of Alexis Grigoropoulos by Greek police in December 2008*
- *The 17th November 1973*
- *Greece: 1941-1949*



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(* ... but don't underestimate the secret services anywhere in the world)



Bulletin 2/13

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: **March - June 2013**



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



The leaflet from March/April 2013 dealt with:

The Experience at Opel Confirms the Slogan:

**If you fight you can lose,
but if you don't fight, you've already lost!**

Over 76 % of the Opel workers in Bochum have rejected the so-called 'restructuring wage agreement' that the leadership of the metal workers' union IG-Metall had agreed with Opel management. This rejection is completely justified. ... There are many voices claiming that it doesn't make any sense to fight in a situation like this. That it would only make things worse. Those who fight will only lose, that's the logic that the union- and works council chiefs are trying to make us believe.

But the experience at Opel in Bochum confirms both directly and indirectly exactly the opposite. Those who fight can lose ... but without a fight, without a determined defence, without exerting any significant pressure, the capitalists and their State will be able to continue to impose ever-worsening conditions. And most of all: without a fight, without coming together in a long-term, irreconcilable struggle against capital and the capitalist system, with victories, setbacks and defeats along the way, the workers will never be able to put themselves in a position to get rid of capitalist exploitation and oppression once and for all.

The Opel „Restructuring Wage Agreement“ – A Document of Intensified Exploitation

This section made clear the meaning of the agreement that the trade union bosses and the united works council of Opel had agreed with the capitalists from the Opel board: compulsory redundancies, the ending of car production in Bochum, wage cuts, lies about „safeguarding the future“ and the fomenting of a German-chauvinist atmosphere, division

and blackmailing of the Opel workers. The section concluded:

For the union and works council chiefs and their apparatus it is important to prevent any effective struggle. Above all, they want to prevent by any means a repetition of the powerful and independent strike of 2004, and to prevent a spark of resistance that might ignite at other Opel sites. They haven't been able to achieve this yet.

Step It Up, Don't Ease Off!

The next section emphasised:

The decisive factor is the combativity of the workers, their readiness and ability to land effective blows against capital and its State, to go on strike, to occupy factories, to really turn up the pressure.

The more they lead a determined fight against exploitation and oppression, the more they can begin to reject the politics of class collaboration, of reformism and belief in the State, to reject the division of the workers through German nationalism and chauvinism – and vice versa. And the more they can approach a struggle directed against the totality of capital, its parties and its State. Such a struggle can make it easier to make connections with resistance against Nazis and tendencies towards State fascism, against policies of militarism and war, and against imperialist exploitation and oppression due to German imperialism across the globe.

Take the Struggle into our Own Hands - Without and Against the Trade Union Bosses!

This section addressed the question of whether it really makes any sense to fight within the trade unions:

... We want to summarise our position in three brief points:

- The trade union apparatus is firmly controlled by a small layer of well-paid and fully bought-off union bosses (Lenin called them the „labour bureaucracy“). This layer of bureaucrats can count on the support of a not insignificant layer of the working class, the so-called „labour aristocracy“. The leadership of the German Trade Union Federation and its apparatus are thus in many ways closely linked – and coalesce with – the State and capital. ...
- But we are not saying that this completely negative appraisal of the trade union leadership means that we shouldn't work within the trade unions. Sometimes it's necessary to fight your enemies from within. Together with our activist colleagues we need to fight against the leadership of the trade unions, their bureaucratic and undemocratic apparatus with the aim of mobilising the maximum number of union members. But we must be careful, we're operating in „enemy territory“. ... Slander, denunciations, sackings, expulsions from the union – these are all part of the harsh reality for those who dare to challenge the union bosses, who expose their intrigues and who get a bit too close for their comfort...
- The decisive thing is to rely on our own strength, not to allow ourselves to be intimidated and stopped by the union bosses and their apparatus, and where possible, to use some of the structures of the union, without making ourselves dependent on them. ...“

For the Revolutionary Overthrow of Capitalism

... The task of the communist forces is to support all of these daily struggles with all their strength, to bring their militancy, activity and arguments into these just struggles. The communists will, however, make clear that every such struggle within the capitalist system has its limits. In the long term, this struggle can slow down – but not stop – the general deterioration of conditions. Unemployment, work closures, pay cuts, exploitation and oppression will always occur as long as capitalism still exists....

In the long term these daily struggles can only lead to success when the workers actively attack capital and its State, the system of capitalism. That means too that the most important thing is not the immediate outcome of a struggle. In the long term the decisive factor in all of the struggles is the advancement of the revolutionary unity of the workers for the overthrow of capitalism. ...

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels developed the program for the road and the goal of the struggle of the revolutionary workers. „Down with the wage system!“ - that means that private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of one person by another need to be abolished. But the precondition of this is that the old bourgeois State, an instrument of capitalism, needs to be smashed from top to bottom and a completely new revolutionary workers power, the dictatorship of the proletariat needs to be constructed. That's a clear program which lays out in plain language and without fear of the ruling class, on the one side the necessity of dictatorial measures against capital and against the capitalists, and on the other side the socialist democracy for the working class on the way to a classless, communist society. other ss the proletariat needs to be constructed. The appeal of the communists remains: Workers of all lands should unite. That's the meaning of International Workers' Day, the red First of May.

The leaflet consisted of four sides of A4 and also contained the following articles:

- *Highlights of workers' struggles across the world (February-March 2013)*
- *The Fight of the Ford Workers from Genk (Belgium) – an Example to Follow!*
- *Opel Union Boss Einkenkel & Co. – Stopping a Real Fight by „Talking Left“*
- *Supplement: Appeal of the Opel workplace reps on May 1, 2013*



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Solidarity with the Struggling Workers in Bangladesh!

Over 1,100 textile workers died in Bangladesh after being forced to work, despite warnings, in a factory in imminent danger of collapse. The cause was immediately clear: in an atmosphere of bottomless poverty, extreme oppression, terrible exploitation and inhuman working conditions, it was the combined profit greed of the capital of imperialist countries and the local ruling class, the factory owners and managers which led to the deaths of over 1,100 textile workers.

The deadly working conditions in the textile industry in Bangladesh were also a subject in the German media in Germany for a short time. The deadly – in the literal sense of the word – working conditions in the textile industry in Bangladesh were also a topic in the media in Germany for a short period of time. But the subject quickly disappeared again, and was anyway treated as if it was a particular problem among a low-cost firms in the textile industry. European subjects quickly dominated international news reporting once again. But in reality the events in Bangladesh place questions of proletarian internationalism on the agenda, of perspectives for revolution in very different oppressor and oppressed countries across the globe.

*In the next section **the deadly working conditions of the textile industry in Bangladesh** were described.*

*A further section told of the **struggles of the textile workers in Bangladesh** which are directed against these deadly working conditions.*

*The section headed „**Reject the German-European Perspective**“ discussed how the promotion of a German-chauvinistic and European-chauvinistic attitudes aims to create and strengthen an atmosphere of class peace in Germany.*

The following section identified and examined factors which explain the difference in living standards of the working, exploited classes in different countries and regions: The history and development of living standards in each country, the particular traditions in a country and most of all how

the fierce worldwide struggles of the working masses achieved social improvements. Another factor is the colonial and neo-colonial exploitation of countries dependent on imperialism by the imperial metropolises.

*The section ‘**Solidarity in the Struggles**’ started by establishing that capitalism across the world means that the working class in every country sinks ever deeper into poverty. It continued:*

Struggles of the working class continually develop up to the present day in all capitalist countries against this ‘absolute pauperisation of the working class’ (Marx).

Today in the so-called ‘low-wage countries’ there are increasing struggles to raise the living- and working conditions to the well-known working and living conditions in the imperialist centres.

In the imperialist centres there are struggles of varying size and intensity in different countries against increasing unemployment, cuts in welfare services and low pay. The ever-increasing sharp rivalry between the imperialist great powers over the next decades will lead to increasing international crises and wars. Out of all of these aspects arises the prospect – also in the imperialist centres - of the lowest layers of the labouring masses, above all the workers, becoming revolutionary and then breaking with the labour aristocracy and opportunist leaders.

On top of that is the fact that workers from countries with poor economic conditions are being forced to sell their labour power in ever greater numbers in countries where the economic situation is better, merely in order to survive. This modern migration, triggered by capitalism and imperialism, provides great opportunities and possibilities for a united struggle of the workers of different countries against the common enemy of the capitalists, who are trying with all means at their disposal to set one group of workers against another.

In Germany it is necessary to lead a **systematic and determined fight against German chauvin-**

ism and European arrogance in the struggle for the unity of workers in all countries. This is especially clear in the class struggles of countries such as Bangladesh.

If we can succeed in making contacts, in organising a left-wing union- and democratic movement in Germany which acts in solidarity with those fighting, if we can organise a common struggle across borders in the current union battles, if we succeed in fighting against German and European chauvinism in these struggles, then it will be an important step in the right direction.

In all of these struggles it will become clear how effective it is when the working class of several countries, often quite different countries, enters into a common struggle against the capitalist class of their 'own' countries, in a fight against capitalists who are no longer simply capitalists in one country but who are organised as imperialist monopolies and companies operating worldwide. It becomes possible to recognise common enemy.

But it would be naïve to think that the centuries-old division of the world into colonial countries and imperial metropolises, and the centuries-old chauvinistic jingoism can be overcome in a few decades.

It will be a long road, a road on which there will not simply be isolated struggles, trade union questions and democratic conditions, but rather the building of a common fighting revolutionary front on all of the important issues. The possibilities of a common struggle across all borders have grown enormously over the last decades. Travel and information routes have been shortened dramatically. It's not just the case that the ruling class in all countries can more easily organise common exploitation and oppression despite increased competition. The working people of the world can also more easily make contact with each other and organise common, revolutionary struggles to bring down imperialism.

In recent years there has been increasing discussion that the capitalist system doesn't just have problems, but that it is itself the problem. Capitalism

needs to be 'overcome' or 'abolished', as it's often vaguely put. But sooner or later it becomes clear that these fine words often disguise or ignore the real problem and thus fail when confronted with the harsh reality. For it won't be possible to just somehow 'overcome' or 'abolish' capitalism, that's the typical language of reformism! The capitalist system and its machinery of power need to be smashed in a real revolution.

So as it has become increasingly clear in the last few years that capitalism means war, death, exploitation and oppression, that capitalism now represents a worldwide system, then it has also become clear that precisely the powerful class struggles in the so-called low-wage countries can have an immense importance in the weakening of imperialism and can deal it heavy blows in individual countries. It can become clear that the class struggles in each country can help the class struggles in other countries."

In conclusion it was emphasised that there can be no solution without the unity of the working class of all countries, without the line of unity of all exploited and oppressed masses inside and outside of the main imperialist centres. That's why Karl Marx proclaimed the slogan:

„Workers of all countries, Unite!“



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Bulletin 3/13

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 - October 2013**



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



The leaflet from July/August was on the subject:

Police Terror Against Refugees Executed with Cold-Blooded Calculation in Munich on 30.6.2013:

Solidarity with the Struggle of the Refugees against the Deadly Police and Deportation Terror of the German State!

The hunger and 'thirst' strike of over 50 refugees at a protest camp in the city centre of Munich was ended on 30th June by a brutal police action carried out with deadly premeditation. This was a new peak in the police terror against the refugee movement. Refugees, weakened through thirst and hunger, were attacked, beaten and some dragged away without even medical aid. Bourgeois press and politicians lied and libelled: the police terror was allegedly „to save lives“, and the struggling refugees were abused as „extortionists“.

The hunger strike of the refugees in Munich is part of an offensive struggle that they have been waging for over a year against inhuman living conditions imposed by the German state, against racist laws, against their isolation, against restrictions on their freedom of movement and against deadly police-, isolation- and deportation-terror.

Despite the strengthening struggle of the refugees, active solidarity with the refugees is not a central focus of the really democratic forces. This can be clearly seen in the almost complete absence of protests against the police terror of 30 June. The reasons for this are primarily to be found in the development of the struggle of the refugees over the last few months, in the role of reformist groups and with the effect of German and European chauvinism, which appears to stretch even into the ranks of the anti-racist and anti-Nazi groups.

The following section „Police Terror against

Hunger-Striking Refugees“ described the brutal clearance of the refugee camp in Munich by the notorious „USK“ special police unit. The declaration of the refugees was quoted as follows:

„It is a clear contradiction to say that 300 police officers tried to ‘rescue’ us when, on the sixth day of our ‘dry’ hunger strike, they tried beat us almost to death. All of us were beaten, forced to go to hospital and even put in prison without any medical supervision. We were all put under pressure to sign incriminating statements against our representative (Ashkan Khorasani). We were even offered a legal residency status if we were to cooperate with them.“

The police also acted with brutal violence against the supporters of the camp, which can only be understood as a threat to all of those forces struggling in solidarity with the refugees. The goal of this police terror was spelled out: to make an example of the struggling refugees in order to smash the developing and radicalising refugee movement.

In conclusion it was emphasised that the struggling refugees in Munich didn't let themselves be intimidated and that they are continuing to struggle for the fulfilment of their demands.

The following sections were entitled „The Dirty Lies of the Bourgeois Media and Politicians to Legitimise the Police Terror“ and „On the Acts of Solidarity with the Refugees in Munich“.

The Hunger Strike in Munich is Part of the Self-Organised Struggle of the Refugees

The hunger strike of the struggling refugees in Munich is part of a strengthening refugee movement in Germany since March 2012. Its importance and the actions of the German state on 30 June need to be seen in the context of these strengthening struggles of refugees in Germany. ...

The following section reported the continuing actions of the refugees since March 2012 and summarised thus:

The public action with tent camps and hunger strikes spread to a total of eight cities (Würzburg, Bamberg, Aub, Regensburg, Passau, Nuremberg, Düsseldorf and Berlin) in the next few months, with well over 100 hunger-striking refugees. An important goal here was the conscious abandonment and the publicly visible boycott of the refugee camps. Numerous incidents of harassment and terror from the police, courts and local authorities were endured, along with threats of punishment aimed at restricting their right to freedom of assembly. The protest, directed against the deadly police- and deportation terror as well as the racist laws for refugees in Germany, was summed up in four central demands:

- Stop All Deportations
- Shut Down the Refugee Camps
- Abolition of „Compulsory Residence“
- Recognition of all Asylum Seekers as Political Refugees

Behind the demand to **Stop All Deportations** is the demand for an unlimited right to remain, which is a demand primarily from those whose asylum applications are rejected and who have the status „tolerated“ refugees, often for many years, as well as by those subject to immediate extradition, who are permanently under threat of deportation.

Shut Down the Refugee Camps is a demand for the abolition of isolation, for the right to a private sphere and a private apartment, and thus for the abolition of these unbearable living conditions for ref-

ugees.

The so-called „**Compulsory Residence**“ - which doesn't exist anywhere else in Europe - is a product of the bureaucratic German system of order and control, whereby every departure from an arbitrary area (a rural district, administrative district or federal state, depending on the particular rule) needs an approved request. This law stands in the tradition of the Nazi „Police Rules for Foreigners“ from 1938, and of the colonial laws of the German colonialists, as for example in the German colony „German Togoland“ (today the nation of Togo), which were designed to restrict the freedom of movement of the African population in order to better control the anti-colonial resistance against the German „master-race“. It's a question of the right to freedom of movement and of the free choice of residency, generally proclaimed as a human right and enshrined in the „General Declaration of Human Rights“, to which the Federal German Republic has formally signed up.

In addition, the striking refugees made the demand for **Recognition as Political Refugees** which, flowing from the residency status would automatically fulfil all other the demands, because the hostel- and „compulsory residence“-terror would no longer apply. ...

The following section reported from the continuation of the refugees protest and in conclusion it was emphasised:

The state and the government of the Federal Republic of Germany were justly accused by the refugees of being the main cause of their intolerable situation:

- Firstly: through the colonial injustice and the fomenting of wars, through imperialist, neo-colonial exploitation and oppression, and through militarization, training and support of the ruling apparatus of repression in their countries of origin, of destroying their countries and thus creating the conditions causing their flight.
- Secondly: through the practical abolition of political asylum, through the permanent terror of deportation and through the sealing of the borders of Europe, of being jointly responsible for the deaths of thousands of refugees.
- Thirdly: through the system of isolation camps and of racist laws, of causing mental and physical suffering for the refugees and leading up to

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racist murder through police violence which was detailed by several concrete cases. ...

The Next Steps in the Struggle

What should be done in the light of this situation?

We believe that the first step has to be a massive strengthening of solidarity with all of the refugees persecuted by imperialism and reaction against any and all manifestations of German-European chauvinism and arrogance in our own ranks, in the ranks of the anti-racist and anti-Nazi groups. This is a precondition if we are able to gain the confidence of - and to develop further cooperation with - all of the struggling refugees.

In the longer term we need to discuss how we can build a united fighting front between the anti-racist and anti-Nazi groups and the refugees, persecuted by imperialism and reaction in order to fight

against state police- and deportation terror and against Nazi-terror, and to struggle for unqualified political asylum for all those persecuted by imperialism and for all of the legitimate demands of the refugees.“

The 8 page leaflet also contained the following articles:

- *Declaration of the hunger/striking refugees in Munich*
- *The deadly program of the German state against the refugees persecuted by imperialism and reaction*
- *Joint Demonstrations of Anti-Fascist and Anti-Racist Groups and Refugees (August 2012 – May 2013)*
- *The declaration of the protest movement of the refugees in Germany from 13.10.2012*
- *On the problems of the demand of „asylum for all“ and on the reactionary pro-Nazi tradition of the „right of asylum“ in the Federal Republic of Germany*



The subject of the leaflet of October 2013 was:

Over 360 refugees die off Lampedusa; 200 refugees die in the Strait of Sicily ...

German Imperialism and the Mass Murderers from „Frontex“

On the morning of 3 October 2013 a boat carrying 545 refugees, mainly from Eritrea and Somalia, caught fire and sank off the coast of the island of Lampedusa in the Mediterranean. The Italian coast-guard only showed up an hour later, even though it has the ability to detect ships hundreds of kilometres away. Over 360 people died in the fire or drowned, 26 are still missing. The refugees who survived were immediately the subject of proceedings by the Italian authorities because of ‘illegal entry’.

On 11 October 2013 a boat with over 400 refugees, primarily from Syria and the Palestinian Territories capsized and sank in the Strait of Sicily. Survivors reported that a patrol boat of the Libyan coast-guard had chased and fired at their boat for over six hours until it finally capsized. 200 refugees drowned in the Mediterranean.

The politicians in Berlin reacted as if the deaths of over 560 refugees in the Mediterranean had nothing

to do with the policies of the German state or with German imperialism. Hypocritical crocodile tears were shed and the blame was laid at the feet of the so-called ‘trafficking gangs’. But what is really the role of the German state and German imperialism in the deadly terror against refugees on the external European borders, for example in the form of the murderers from ‘Frontex’?“

In the section „‘Frontex’ is part of the deadly program of the German State against refugees“, the structure and role of „Frontex“ was described. The subsection „The deadly practices of ‘Frontex’“ addressed the issue that „Frontex“ is directly and indirectly responsible for the deaths of thousands of refugees in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

The section „The intensification of the deadly terror against refugees under the leadership of the ‘Frontex’ murderers since 2006“ told of the previous „successes“ of the „Frontex“ murderers and of

their future plans (e.g. the complete surveillance of the Mediterranean).

The sealing of the sea- and land routes, the mass deportations in aircraft and the coordinated hunting down of refugees with non-EU countries has already cost the lives of many refugees. The bourgeois newspaper „Frankfurter Rundschau“ was quoted as follows:

„In the last 25 years at least 19,000 refugees met their deaths on the outer borders of Europe. Most of them drowned in the Mediterranean. The actual number is surely much higher. Since the formation of ‘Frontex’ there has not been any reduction in the number of deaths on Europe’s external borders, in fact, quite the opposite. In 2011 alone, according to official sources, over 2,300 refugees were driven to their deaths.“

The final section emphasised the need for a fight against ‘Frontex’ and the whole system of imperialism:

How to fight against „Frontex“ and the whole murderous program of German imperialism against refugees

The struggles in Hamburg for the right to remain of the Lampedusa refugees, the struggles of anti-racist and anti-fascist groups together with the refugees in Würzburg, Munich and Berlin in recent weeks and months, as well as (for example) the struggles in France against the deportation of a Roma family are the right answer to the murderous terror of the police and the deportations. For only the most radical fight can produce the necessary pressure in order to win concessions from the imperialist states.

There can be no question of appealing to the alleged ‘humanity’ of the State in the way that for example the group Pro Asyl (and the refugee councils that it organises) very often does in a particularly nauseating way. That is worse than useless, as it encourages illusions in the state.

Instead of appealing to a non-existent morality of the German State, in the next step we need to devel-

op a militant, united mass struggle of the anti-racist and anti-fascist groups and the refugees, on the streets, in schools and in the workplaces which transcends local and legal borders – against the state police and deportation terror, against the murderers of ‘Frontex’ and against the terror of the Nazis, for the right of unconditional political asylum for all of those persecuted by imperialism and for securing of all of the justified demands of the refugees.

The question which flows from this is: How can the causes of the misery of the refugees be eliminated once and for all? We need to discuss how we, in this imperialist Germany, can make our contribution to the destruction of the system of world imperialism, a machinery which generates imperialist wars, hunger, misery and exploitation, and which forces these „prisoners of want“ to leave their home countries and to flee to the imperial metropolises. For us, that means placing questions about the goals and the road to revolution in imperialist Germany and the task of supporting genuinely revolutionary forces across the globe on the order of the day.“

The 4 page leaflet also addressed the following subjects:

- *Solidarity with the struggles in Hamburg against racist police controls and for the right to remain of the Lampedusa refugees!*
- *A difference between France and Germany: School students across France campaign against the deportation of a Roma family*



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Bulletin 4/13

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: **September - December 2013**



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



The subject of the leaflet from September 2013 was:

The German Secret Services, the nazi murder network NSU and el servicio secreto NSA:

"HQs of German secret services stormed! All data has been secured!"

"These should have been the headlines after tens of thousands of members of the IG Metall and other unions under the umbrella of DGB trade union confederation together with activists of the young anti-fascists and 'Pirates' of all shades had had enough. Instead of the cover-ups and the appeasement of the bosses of the DGB and IG Metall and the leadership of the so-called 'Die Linke', they could have taken the answering of some central questions into their own hands.

'Could have' - because it's still a dream that needs to become reality. ... But even before the wished-for storming of the headquarters of the intelligence services, we can give some pretty clear answers to the main questions based on experience and plausible reflection:

1. There are dozens, even hundreds of Nazis operating as so-called „contact people“ or informers in the service of the German authorities.

2. The Nazi movement in Germany today has its people sitting in the executive, in the army, in elite units, in the police and in the secret services. They've placed their people there systematically. That they could do this is largely due to the construction of the entire German state apparatus under the leading participation of former Nazis after 1945. The Nazis then also managed to organise and carry through the handover to a new generation in the core areas of the state apparatus. An important basis for this was the ideological conformity in central questions and solutions of the Nazis and the propaganda of the 'official' parties of German imperialism, such as

German chauvinism in theory and practice, big power politics and wars abroad, deportations and terror of deterrence at home.

3. There's no question that the German secret services are using all the technical possibilities – irrespective of their legality – to comprehensively monitor telephone and internet and to gather and store data. They're doing this together with the U.S. and with the help of their spy technologies, but also without and against the U.S. That's because intelligence services such as MAD, BND and Verfassungsschutz are highly specialised and well-equipped secret services of German imperialism. They possess their own independent surveillance systems which they employ not just internally against all democratic and revolutionary groups, but also as a weapon against their imperialist rivals in the worldwide competition over spheres of influence.

4. Informants in our own ranks? This is where the biggest surprises will be found after the wished-for storming of the headquarters of the intelligence services. Everything that we know about such activities which are allegedly directed against the Nazi movement (the Nazis are no enemies of the state, but controllable supporters of the state, sometimes being held back or sometimes activated) is nothing in comparison to the actual current programs and operations of the state against all left-wing movements and organisations. These programs and operations are part of a long tradition stretching from the German Empire of the Kaisers, the Weimar Republic, and Nazi-Fascism through to the German Federal Republic.

Is this all nonsense, ‘unproven allegations’?

That’s something that we will only know for sure after the seizure and inspection of the secret files and electronic data of the German police and secret services!“

The two-page leaflet contained the following additional contributions:

- *The so-called „Left Party“ (“Die Linke”) covers up the role of the German state in the setting-up of the NSU nazimurder gang.*
- *Nazis? Police? Or both? attack an occupied house in Frankfurt am Main together with SEK (Special Operation) units on 6.9.2013!*
- *The construction of the West German state apparatus after 1945 took place under the leading participation of former Nazis.*



The subject of the leaflet from November-December 2013 was:

German Imperialism and the Mobile Phone of German Chancellor Angela Merkel

In the intensifying struggle between German and US imperialism there’s a new form of the burgeoning German nationalism. ... The media are ‘deeply dismayed’ that ‘our Chancellor’ was really spied upon and bugged by the imperialist US secret service. But at the same time that the campaign against the police-state methods of the U.S. is finding a huge echo, the whole program of the security services in Germany, from comprehensive data retention to targeted eavesdropping operations and their so-called Trojan viruses is still being legally rubber-stamped – to say nothing of what they’re actually doing in practice. For democratic and revolutionary groups in Germany it becomes important to take a clear and decisive stance on the issue, without giving an inch to German nationalism.

Solidarity with Those Forces Who Really Lay Bare Imperialist Secret Service Machinations

It was and is surely not insignificant for the secret services of the U.S. that ‘one of their own’, specifically Edward Snowden, has published undeniable evidence and documents about their secret activi-

ties, specifically the operations against ‘friendly governments’. People like him face lifelong prison sentences – and that’s not an empty threat. The so-called ‘traitor’ Pollard, who worked for the US secret services but passed information to the officially ‘friendly’ Israeli government, has been in jail for 28 years so far. He was sentenced to ‘life’ in the U.S..

The anti-democratic, worldwide imperialistic activities of the US secret services, with their external prisons for torture, with official orders for death-squads, include a technically highly-developed spy program to listen in and read along, both in a general and in a targeted fashion. That’s why it is understandable that all democratic and revolutionary groups in the U.S. welcome the actions of Edward Snowden and are on his side, and are doing all they can to defend him. That’s true worldwide for all genuinely democratic and revolutionary groups.

Hypocrisy and Contradictions between the Imperialist Big Powers

At the same time the whole issue is also objectively part of the inter-imperialist contradictions between the largest countries of the world, between the U.S. on one side and China, Russia and above all Germany on the other.

The surveillance and secret service activities are not just directed against revolutionary and demo-

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cratic forces across the globe: they are also directed – sometimes very fiercely - against their imperialist rivals. That means that the secret services of German imperialism are trying to increase the effectiveness of their activities in the U.S., in Great Britain, France and other countries. At the same time they are extremely annoyed when it becomes clear that the secret services of the other big powers are clearly more advanced in this or that area. The symbol of this superiority was exactly that infamous mobile phone of Mrs Merkel. The moral indignation in the media with great lofty phrases is nothing but shabby hypocrisy from the forces of German imperialism, which in this instance were clearly not so well equipped.

The Secret Services in Germany and the Absence of a ‘German Edward Snowden’

We could get a realistic picture of the aggressive force and the police-state reality inside Germany if an organisation such as the Chaos Computer Club in its early stages, or technically competent groups inside or outside the Pirate Party could succeed in documenting and providing evidence of the wide-ranging bugging activities of the German secret services: in politics, in economic questions, in the surveillance of their own military, in the offices of the trade union bosses, and above all against all of those groups who are struggling against the State apparatus of German imperialism on democratic, revolutionary or communist grounds. It is only by accident or through isolated incidents that we get to see the tip of the iceberg of the real situation. For example, we learnt through the anti-Nazi protests in February 2011 in Dresden that the police had gathered details of over a million mobile phone calls which they stored and analysed, and that they used a so-called IMSI catcher, which is capable not just of locating mobile phones but can also eavesdrop in real-time.

But it's part of the reality in this country - until now at least - that there's no 'German Edward Snowden'

Nationalistic Agitation and real Interwinning of the German and U.S. Secret Services

Despite the outraged nationalistic outpourings against the U.S. and their secret services, the question remains as to why, in terms of high politics

and official diplomacy, there has been effectively no reaction whatsoever. Apparently it's more important at the moment – due to internal imperialist reasons - to mobilise the masses against the U.S. in a nationalistic way, than to take any significant action against the US secret services. Why is this?

In the German imperialist media and its different sections, the one who wins the most applause at the moment is the one who complains hardest, fiercest and loudest against the U.S. secret services. But German imperialism apparently has the problem that, having created a nationalistic atmosphere against the U.S., it knows that the U.S. secret services have learned a few things from their comprehensive information gathering which they could make public and thus expose the hypocrisy of the German imperialists and their press organs:

- The U.S. secret services surely know more about the involvement of the German secret services in the Nazi movement and the activities of the NSU gang than German imperialism would like.
- And the U.S. secret services with their different departments have surely been involved in criminal activities consciously working together with the German secret services, activities which would even be illegal under existing German laws. Such cases are at least in outline already known about, for example when German citizens have been taken to some of the illegal prisons of the secret services of the U.S. and tortured with the knowledge of the German secret services.
- German politicians must also assume that the U.S. secret services could release information about the economic and political machinations of German imperialism, whether it be about materials for chemical weapons in Syria, or about the nuclear program of Iran or similar activities.

Tasks and Problems in the Struggle against the Machinations of the Secret Services and German-nationalist Agitation

The whole episode touches on questions of revolutionary, communist activity in several ways:

- The enormous technical changes in eavesdropping on people, in gathering data, the various possibilities for surveillance, right up to the many possibilities to discreetly kill, to murder people, clearly affects every organisation which has de-

cided not to cooperate with this State or even to deliver it with information about its own organisational structure. Here there are a wide range of large technical problems which go far beyond naïve conceptions such as ‘Don’t worry, we only send encrypted e-mails’.

- But primarily there’s a much bigger political and ideological problem at the moment. When we speak of a revival, even an explosion of German nationalism in connection with the NSA wire-tapping affair then it’s not just about the invocation of a cross-class solidarity with the caste of politicians and chancellor Merkel or about the invocation of a so-called ‘national community’ under the slogan ‘we Germans against the U.S.’. More, it’s a question of discussing and understanding the specific nature of this nationalism against the U.S. (often described as ‘Anti-Americanism’) in order to combat this particular form of German nationalism.

It has a quite specific reason. In the arsenal of German nationalism there is not just the adulation of an allegedly unified ‘German People’ but there are also a range of specific lies, half-truths and accusations against other countries. Thus the agitation and spreading of over-simplified and contemptuous prejudice against people from Turkey has different features to that directed against people from Poland. The German arrogance which is connected with this is expressed differently against ‘the Austrians’ as compared to that against ‘the Dutch’. And against ‘the Russians’ it is different to that against ‘the Americans’ or ‘the English’. In the fight against German nationalism we need to combat the full range of obnoxious agitation as well as the targeted use of prejudice, in order to fight against nationalism not just generally but as concretely as possible.

In two further sections the following subjects were dealt with:

- *Peculiarities of German Nationalism Directed Against the U.S.*
- *Don’t Underestimate the Demagogic Potential of German Imperialism*

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The leaflet consisted of four sides of A4 and also had articles on „Ukraine and German Imperialism“ and „The Party ‘Die Linke’ (The ‘Left Party’) – nationalist trailblazer for the ‘sovereignty’ of German Imperialism“. In this article it stated:

As soon as the bugging operation against Merkel became known, the representatives of the so-called ‘Left Party’, from Gysi to Wagenknecht, hurried to present themselves as the main defenders of German sovereignty. As long as Germany and its government tolerated such things then it is not a sovereign country, said Gysi. Wagenknecht demanded ‘Sovereignty not Big Brother’. For them it’s not a question of shedding light on the role of the secret services of all imperialist states, above all the big powers U.S., Russia, Great Britain, France, Japan and here especially Germany, but instead a nationalistic mobilisation for German ‘sovereignty’ against ‘Big Brother’ USA. Once again we see that it’s a fixed part of the party’s arsenal to play the populist card of German nationalism. The deceitful ‘Left Party’ propaganda, which portrays the increasing rivalry between German imperialism and US imperialism as a justified struggle for German national sovereignty contributes directly to the nationalistic incitement of the German population.

The leaflet ended with the slogan:

The main enemy is in the own country!

