



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 ideologists 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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