

Workers of all countries,  
unite!

Workers of all countries,  
and oppressed peoples,  
unite!

# Journal for Scientific Communism

Theoretical Organ of *Gegen die Strömung* (Against the Current), Organisation  
for the Building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany

## Special edition: extract from "Rot Front" (Red Front) no. 2 of July 1996

The theses extracted from "Rot Front" no. 2 (320 pages, 20 DM, in German) of July 1996 which are published here are explained in much more detail by the way of lecture essays in the journal itself. They are connected with the resolution on communism and dictatorship of the proletariat, the resolution on proletarian internationalism and proletarian world revolution, as well as the resolution on the history of the German imperialism, its origin and its development until 1994, which are published in "Rot Front" no. 1 (150 pages, 10 DM, in German) in January 1996.

## Resolution 3

### Death to German Imperialism, Revanchism and Militarism

#### II<sup>nd</sup> Part:

#### Touchstones in the Struggle Against German Imperialism, Revanchism and Militarism, Against German Chauvinism and Racism, creeping Fascism and Enhanced Exploitation

1.

In the struggle against German imperialism today, we have to propagate and defend primarily the fundamental Communist program of the socialist revolution in a principled manner and in a struggle on two fronts; at the same time, the basic aspect of the struggle has to be combined inseparably with the peculiarities of the struggle against the special forms and features of German imperialism as they have developed from its history and by virtue of the current situation,

and which we have to scrutinise very carefully. To unmask the peculiarities of German imperialism and its forms of appearance, to break its authority within the working class and the mass of the working people, to unmask as concretely and precisely as possible its criminal nature and its imperialist, militarist and revanchist politics, its politics of creeping fascism – all this is an indispensable part of the task of preparing, in the economic and democratic partial everyday struggles, the socialist revolution.

**Rot Front**

## 2.

Understanding the prehistory of German imperialism –

- the defeat of the peasant wars in 1525,
- the contrast of the conditions in Germany with the successful revolution in France in 1789,
- the "liberation wars" against Napoleon in 1812, characterised, as they were, by German chauvinism,
- the belated development of the German bourgeoisie, the defeat of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in 1848,
- the development of the German nation after 1866 (the so-called "small-German solution") and of the German empire as a militarist entity from above and in the counterrevolutionary war against the Paris Commune in 1871

– the understanding of all these crucial points is a basic precondition in order to analyse central peculiarities of the emergence and development of German imperialism on the one hand, but also peculiarities of the history of the masses of the working people and of the struggle of the working class right up to the present situation, and to be able to take them into account for the preparation and execution of the socialist revolution today.

## 3.

The emergence of the "junker-bourgeois imperialism" of Prussian-militarist coinage after the bloody defeat of France 1870/71 came about with a historical delay, in comparison to other imperialist powers. German imperialism – a latecomer in the struggle for colonies and in the division of the world, and a loser in this game in relative terms, which already practised the methods of genocide in the imposition of its imperialist machinations in Africa – pursued the triggering of the first imperialist world war, which was an imperialist war from both sides and which German imperialism lost.

## 4.

The relatively strong German labour movement largely formed by Marx and Engels later succumbed to the dominance of revisionism and, connected to the development of a relatively broad layer of a worker's aristocracy, to the chauvinist frenzy in World War I; the social-democratic movement developed during and after World War I in the November revolution of 1918 into an active proimperialist and counterrevolutionary force. The emerging revolutionary and Communist forces grouped around Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht who, in 1918, founded the KPD under the influence of the

victorious October revolution in Russia in 1917 were unable to bring the November revolution to a successful end by a proletarian revolution. The successful overthrow of the monarchy in Germany was not the prelude to the socialist revolution; rather the November revolution ended, drowned in the blood of the revolutionised working class, with the strengthening of a counterrevolutionary bourgeois-parliamentarian dictatorship of German imperialism, a dictatorship which, after the crushing of all armed struggles of the revolutionary proletariat – the struggles for the creation of the council republic in Munich, the Red Army on the Ruhr and the uprising in Hamburg – won a relative stability in the years after 1923.

## 5.

The German imperialists, working feverishly at the preparation of a revanchist war for the redistribution of the world and for the destruction of the Socialist Soviet Union, found themselves faced with a revolutionary worker's movement that grew stronger and stronger, purposefully and well organised by the KPD under the leadership of Ernst Thälmann. This led imperialism to the institution of the openly terrorist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the Nazi-fascist dictatorship of financial capital in 1933. Once again, German imperialism succeeded, with the help of the Nazi ideology and of German chauvinism and after the largely successful smashing of the worker's movement with a Communist orientation, in mobilising broad masses of the working people right into the ranks of the working class for a counterrevolutionary, imperialist policy, for a domestic policy of discrimination and pogroms against Sinti and Roma and against the Jewish population, for the institution of a system of concentration camps (the "KZ") and penitentiaries against the anti-Nazi forces, for a policy of imperialist wars of robbery and of genocide. A large majority of the German people supported the Nazi crimes against other peoples, especially during the time of the victories of Nazi Germany, thus implicating themselves in all its crimes, including the world-historically singular genocide of the Jewish population of Europe and of the Sinti and Roma that was organised and industrially executed by the state. The recognition of the implication and the co-responsibility of the German people and the recognition of reparations as high as possible following from this is a pivotal point of Communist politics that was written down as a principle by Marx and Engels from the beginning of the Communist movement, and was fixed as a programmatic point by the true Communist forces after the liberation of Germany from Nazi-fascism. The critical assessment of the resistance led primarily by

the cadres of the KPD has to be carried out in the spirit of solidarity and self-criticism. The fact that Germany had to be occupied by the allied armies of the Anti-Hitler-Coalition, that there was no realistic chance whatsoever for an uprising within Germany, is of basic importance for an understanding of the peculiarities of the situation after 1945.

## 6.

German imperialism, defeated but not crushed in World War II, re-established its state, its army and the capitalist-imperialist economic structure so successfully in the FRG after the partition of Germany that it was soon able to challenge the dominance of US imperialism, and to make an appearance as an autonomous imperialist big power with its own army, completely breaking the Potsdam agreements in the process. In the part of Germany occupied by the Red Army of the Socialist Soviet Union, the Potsdam agreements began to be realised, a far-reaching denazification was introduced, the expropriation of the war- and Nazi criminals was carried out, and, in the struggle for the realisation of the Potsdam agreements, the perspective of a socialist democracy and a socialist economy, the perspective of the erection of the dictatorship of the proletariat was opened up in a part of Germany. Important rightist and German-chauvinist mistakes of the SED, especially in connection with the development of the international Khrushchev-revisionism, wrecked this perspective; the GDR decayed into a revisionist-capitalist police state under the influence of counterrevolutionary Russian social-imperialism.

## 7.

The politics of the incorporation of the GDR by West-German imperialism in all its stages could be carried out to the end quickly and successfully after 1989 because West-German imperialism had been, in the framework of this policy, making all preparations for this case for decades and had created optimal conditions for this by its large-scale penetration of the revisionist GDR in the years before. The complete incorporation of the GDR (and also of West-Berlin, illegally created under its dominance long before) in economic and military terms has led to a big strengthening of German imperialism not only in these areas; especially in the ideological realm, German imperialism could strike a "victor's posture," and it will continue to challenge the other imperialist big powers in the struggle for world dominance more and more. Taking all these peculiarities of the new situation that has developed into account, the Communist forces of the former GDR, the former West-Germany and the former West-Berlin will build a unitary

Communist Party in imperialist Germany – in the struggle against modern revisionism of all shades, against all opportunist currents inimical to scientific communism and revolutionary Communist politics.

8.

In stating the peculiarities of German imperialism, it is our point of departure that, in an unbroken tradition of its criminal history during which it repeatedly and on an international scale took the lead in crushing revolutionary movements, it is still and in an outstanding manner an especially aggressive imperialist big power and an autonomous hotbed of war, confronting the peoples of the world as an international exploiter and oppressor in its struggle against other imperialist big powers.

9.

In view of two lost world wars, in view of the breaking of the Potsdam agreements, of the ideology and politics in relation to the countries of Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union and to all the countries that German imperialism had occupied at one time or another and whose peoples have dealt it blows in their partisan's struggle, German revanchism is visible in a particularly glaring manner. But it is also directed against the other imperialist big powers that defeated it in World War II, and which are subjected to ideological and political attacks by it, while it is waving the flag of "revenge" in order to prepare an imperialist war in a new pursuit of the project of a "New Order for Europe" under its leadership, without abstaining from its imperialist ambitions in all parts of the world for even a minute.

10. German militarism with its history of Prussian slavish obedience, of a spirit of subservience and the so-called "German sense for order" became, especially during the time of the Nazi crimes, justly the paragon of German mentality. By the creation of the Bundeswehr, its reconstruction of the German army with Nazi cadres, and the industrial self-reliance concerning all important war materials, German imperialism is in the possession of an extremely dangerous instrument within and outside of the country. The use of the militarist and revanchist Bundeswehr troops outside of Germany has become the order of the day, militarisation penetrates the whole public life, influences and marks enterprises as well as the so-called "humanitarian" aid organisations, the media and the schools.

11.

The all-round struggle against the ideology, politics and practice of German imperialism, militarism and revanchism being car-

ried out internationally as well as in Germany itself, shoulder to shoulder with the workers of all countries with a revolutionary and Communist orientation, with the oppressed peoples of all countries, is an indispensable basic precondition for any serious struggle against German imperialism to take place at all.

12.

In the present period of the history of German imperialism, parliamentarism, with its parties which each bind another part of the population to German imperialism in a well-crafted distribution of roles, serves as a crucial means to mask the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and to systematically roll back the democratic aspects introduced into the state as a consequence of the victory of the peoples of the anti-Nazi coalition, to carry out an all-embracing creeping institution of fascism with methods of the police state, a system of spying, arrest and even officially covered executions which has its particularly dramatic expression in the prisons of German imperialism as one of the basic props of German imperialism. In all this, the creeping fascism of the state combines more and more with the pogroms initiated and promoted by the Nazi parties and groups, thousands of arsonist attacks and raids, often enough supported and protected by the German state apparatus. A special target of the creeping fascism of the state which plays the main role in all of this, and the Nazi pogroms and attacks are, apart from democratic and revolutionary forces, those minorities who have traditionally been the targets of murderous German chauvinism.

13.

In the process of the creeping institution of fascism, German imperialism ideologically mainly resorts to the time-honoured means of chauvinism and racism that found its apogee in Nazi fascism. Tuned to the situation of the moment, the vituperative attacks of the largely state-controlled media and the Nazi propaganda against workers without a German passport, against people with a different colour, against Sinti and Roma and against the Jewish population and other minorities increase. In the struggle for the indispensable solidarity with all people threatened by the creeping fascism of the state, but also by Nazi propaganda and attacks, we have to challenge the ideology, politics and murderous practice of German chauvinism and racism on all levels and to lead the struggle against them.

14.

One front that has a very close connection to the ideology and politics of German im-

perialism is the struggle against all forms of the oppression of women, its ideological and class-based integration into the struggle against German imperialism and against imperialism in general. The multiply varied ideology of the "German woman", supposedly emancipated and superior to other women, must be confronted with the reality of the exploitation and oppression especially of the working woman in Germany; at the same time, the struggle for the economic and social rights, for a true, that is, a materially guaranteed independence of women must be developed, while the point of view of the man-as-the-master has to be destroyed down to its finest roots.

15.

In view of the accelerating relative and absolute pauperisation of the broad masses of the working people, the poisoning of the general conditions of life for the working people and the continuing limitations of the possibilities of economic and political struggle, the counterrevolutionary function of the DGB apparatus – based mainly on the worker's aristocracy bribed by extra-profits from the exploitation of oppressed peoples – in the struggles of the masses becomes clearer and clearer. This apparatus has to be consciously and methodically unmasked, and against it, the perspective of the autonomous struggle of the lowest strata of the working class and the working masses has to be developed.

16.

The different struggle fronts against the peculiarities of German imperialism, against the concrete worsening of the situation today must be connected and combined by the Communist Party, and the struggles have to be led as militantly as possible, hitting German imperialism as hard as possible. This has to happen in the consciousness that, all the necessary economic and political daily struggles as well as more far-reaching democratic struggles notwithstanding, the deeper goals of this struggle can be realised only by the socialist revolution led by the working class, in the struggle against anticommunism, in the struggle for the destruction of German imperialism in the civil war, for the erection of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the struggle for communism.



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