

Workers of all countries,
united!
Workers of all countries,
and oppressed peoples,
united!

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

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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 4

The Principal Way of the Socialist Revolution in the Imperialist Germany

Ist Part:

The Role of the Proletariat as the Leading Class of the Socialist Revolution

1.

The idea of winning socialism and communism on a scientific basis, the idea of the armed uprising and the execution of the socialist revolution is inseparably bound to the understanding of the world-historic role of the working class, that special class that cannot liberate itself from exploitation and oppression without finally creating, by the consistent continuation and intensification of class struggle and the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the highest form of proletarian hegemony, a classless society without exploitation and oppression, that is, communist society.

2.

The working class is the only consistently revolutionary force in capitalist society, having also the capacity to rally further masses of exploited and oppressed working people around it to overthrow the ruling class in the civil war and to build socialism. This is an objective rule. To deny or diminish the role of the proletariat as the bearer of the socialist revolution means to declare the socialist revolution itself impossible or to fight against it.

3.

The ideological struggle for the defence of the historical role of the proletariat and its strug-

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gle for communism against the ideologues of the bourgeoisie and its revisionist and opportunist adjuncts requires that we reveal, beyond a concrete analysis of the objective and subjective conditions of the proletariat, the historical development and the objective rules of capitalist society offensively and in a deeper manner, that the peculiarities in today's imperialist Germany are analysed in connection with the basic reasons for the revolutionary role of the proletariat.

4.

In this, the point of departure is still the principle, developed by Marx and Engels against petty-bourgeois sceptics and bourgeois apologists of the existing conditions, that the revolutionary role of the proletariat does not result from the opinions and beliefs it holds today, but is rather a result of what is objectively preordained by the whole development of history. The socialist consciousness of the proletariat created by the Communist Party subjectively enables it to realise its historical role as hegemon in the struggle for communism.

5.

That the working class is not a unitary class is especially true under the conditions of imperialism. Therefore, our point of departure for the defence of the revolutionary role of the proletariat must be to understand and consistently fight, very clearly and very deeply, the role of the worker's aristocracy as a pacemaker, bribed by extra-profits and dependent on the bourgeoisie, of counterrevolution within the ranks of the working class. Beyond that, we have to analyse the peculiarities enabling the bourgeoisie of an imperialist big power like Germany to bind very large parts of the working class to capitalism by ideological, but also by material means. Therefore, it is of basic importance to follow the line of Lenin, to base oneself on the lowest, the most exploited and oppressed parts of the working class.

6.

A particularly important problem is the fact that the working class of imperialist big powers, that the working class in the big industrial companies in Germany, but increasingly also in agrarian enterprises, largely consists, especially in its lowest parts most read to fight, of workers who have left their countries of origin,

partly decades, partly years, and partly only a short time ago. For that reason, every analysis and every concrete struggle has a relentless unmasking of German chauvinism as its precondition.

Our basic line says that those parts of the international working class who live and work in Germany and have left their countries of origin remain part of the working class of these countries for a long time and are therefore mainly connected to the revolution of these countries of origin, support it and promote it according to the best of their abilities and possibilities. Their most progressive representatives will belong to the foreign organisation of the Communist Party of the countries of origin.

It is also part of our line that the comrades of this part of the working class, in closest collaboration with the Communist parties of their countries of origin and on the basis of varying conditions as well as on the basis of an evaluation of the experiences of the Communist parties during the lifetime of Lenin and Stalin, decide to give their primary support for the struggle for the proletarian revolution in Germany and for the building of the Communist Party in Germany.

In organising its members, the Communist Party in Germany right from the start does not ask after citizenship or nationality, but only after the perspective of the revolution. This holds especially with respect to all younger workers born and grown up in Germany.

7.

In the analysis of the concrete composition of the proletariat in Germany it is our point of departure that the industrial proletariat concentrated in the large-scale production in the cities and towns is the leading core of the working class. Every enterprise has to be our fortress. However, the agrarian proletariat concentrated in the capitalist agrarian enterprises is also a part of the working class that is crucial for our alliance with the masses of other working people. Apart from that, it is a complicated problem to separate from the working class those parts of the proletarianised parts of the working people who are put into action in enormous service companies, in the realisation of the profits of capital etc., without however, immediately taking part in the production, who are, as wage earners, subordinated to the dicta-

torship of capital and share some of the features of the proletariat in economic terms, but who in the strict sense of the word cannot be counted, from their position, their location in production, among the working class as a producing and surplus-producing class. The perspective of socialised production in socialism is an important criterion for these parts of the wage-earning masses in order to evaluate their development and their participation in the class struggle of the industrial proletariat.

8.

The class analysis also includes as an important point the analysis of the classes and strata in the countryside. The class enemies in the countryside are the following: big peasants, big landlords, agrarian capitalists and financial capital. The proximity of the situation of life of the half-proletariat and the small peasants to the situation of the working class in the city as well as in the countryside enables the proletariat to find its closest ally in the struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie here, because the development of capitalism shrinks the future perspectives of the half-proletariat and the small peasants more and more. The petty-bourgeois strata of the cities and towns must also be analysed closely; their development and their behaviour has to be evaluated and influenced in order to win parts of them as additional allies in the struggle of the proletariat against capital and to at least neutralise other parts.

9.

Class struggle as the driving force of history will separate the chaff from the wheat in the cities as well as in the countryside. It is an important criterion to determine concretely scale and strength of the alliance of the working class with other working and exploited strata in the city and in the countryside.

10.

The analysis of the economic, social and political situation of all classes and strata in Germany in close connection with the concrete struggles of the exploited and oppressed masses is an important task of the Communist Party in order to be able to fight with a correct strategy and tactics for the hegemony and the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the program of communism.

IInd Part:

Communist Positions Concerning Democracy and Socialism

1.

The intervention in struggles against enhanced exploitation and oppression is an important and daily task of the Communist Party and its cadres, even if these struggles are carried out within the framework of capitalism and in the framework of the parliamentarian-bourgeois democracy that serves as a shell for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

It is exactly in the developing struggles of the proletariat and of other strata against the effects of the politics of German imperialism and against the enhancement of exploitation that the Communist and revolutionary character of the work of the Communist Party is put to test. Apart from maximal support and, if possible, leadership of the concrete struggles, it is the most important task to introduce so-

cialist consciousness, the program of communism into these struggles and to promote the hard work of rallying and organising the most advanced forces of the proletariat and other strata, the building of the Communist Party.

2.

A precondition for a successful work in this respect in the daily political and economic

struggles is, however, the clarity and power of persuasion in the explanation that and why really fundamental successes of the struggle cannot be brought about within the frame of capitalism and also – inseparably connected with that – not within the framework of parliamentary-bourgeois democracy as the shell of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The unmasking of the rules of capitalism and the character of parliamentary-bourgeois democracy under the concrete and real conditions in Germany and of the international situation is impossible without a sharp ideological struggle against the ideology of the bourgeois class and its opportunistic parrots.

3.

One crucial point to be elaborated is the fact that financial capital operates essentially two state forms: bourgeois democracy as the masked, demagogically veiled form of its dictatorship, and fascism, the openly terrorist form of its dictatorship. It is true, that between these, there are important differences which have to be taken into account under all circumstances with respect to tactics, with respect to approaching proletarian revolution. They are, however, not separated from each other in an absolute sense. For both forms of the dictatorship of financial capital, bourgeois democracy on the one and fascism on the other hand, have the same class character, are rooted in the same exploitative relations of production, are also generated by the capitalist system and develop, therefore, one out of the other and merge one into the other.

One basic tendency in the epoch of imperialism is the acceleration of creeping fascism within the bourgeois state apparatus in the imperialist countries as pre-emptive counter-revolution and part of the imperialist preparation of war, which has to be revealed concretely in all areas in its particular character in Germany, in order to strip German imperialism once and for all from its phoney-democratic mask.

4.

In an ideological struggle that has to be led as tough and concretely as possible, the defenders of capitalism and the "civil constitutional state" must be disproved. But first of all, we have to show the proletariat and its allies in a convincing manner the perspective of the socialist revolution, the perspective of the struggle for the annihilation of capitalism, bourgeois property of the means of production, for the creation of the socialist property of the means of production and the building of socialism, for the goals of socialism.

5.

In the ideological struggle, the struggle and the understanding of the terms "democracy," "democratic state," "democratic conditions" play a crucial role. In this harsh ideological struggle, it is the task of the Communist Party to elaborate the class character of the term "democracy" in historic terms, but also from the point of view of the conditions today, and to prove that, behind the semblance of the

"democratic conditions" in today's Germany, there is always the reality of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, of German imperialism. Against all anticommunist, revisionist and opportunist slanders, we have to show up the unity of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy, and to propagate as concretely as possible the features of socialist democracy that is safeguarded by the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the real democracy for the working class and the broad masses of the other working people.

6.

On the basis of a fully elaborated theoretical and programmatic ideological struggle about basic question of the economic system and the political system, the Communist Party makes use of all instruments of the science of strategy and tactics that developed out of the history of the Communist-led worker's movement, in order to introduce, in the struggle against revisionism and opportunism and on a clear theoretical, programmatic basis, strategic and tactical orientation into the concrete struggles of the proletariat. The strategic point of departure in this is that in imperialist, highly industrialised Germany, there can be no in-between between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat, that the proletarian revolution is, historically, on the agenda, that the proletarian revolution can be carried out successfully only by the armed uprising of the proletariat, that by the proletarian revolution, it is possible to win the struggle for socialist democracy, to promote the building of socialism and to safeguard and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

7.

In order to counter the demagoguery of the bourgeois ideologues and to show the reality of socialist democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is the task of the Communist Party to prove – in view of all the empty promises about "democracy" and "equality of men" supposedly realised by the bourgeois republic, but actually, if at all, existing only partially, in a mutilated manner and by virtue of the pressure of the struggles of the masses – that the dictatorship of the proletariat will take care for the immediate legal realisation of such bourgeois-democratic promises – like, e. g., the immediate liquidation of all legal inequalities between men and women or all legal inequalities between people of different nationalities etc. –, and that it is a characteristic feature of socialist democracy that it does not only create the legal, but with it also the material preconditions to establish the proclaimed equality of rights between all people not only in a formal manner, but to realise, step by step, real equality in everyday life, as has been proved by more than 30 years of the history of the Socialist Soviet Union during the time of Lenin and Stalin.

8.

On this basis, we have the task to lead, with the correct strategy and tactics, a democratic struggle in a variety of areas, in order to un-

mask the antidemocratic grimace of German imperialism and its pseudo-democratic demagoguery, to defend and, if possible, extend hard-won democratic rights, to create an encompassing consciousness that doesn't disguise the class character of bourgeois democracy for the working class and the allied strata, and carries within it the seed of the idea of socialist democracy and of the proletarian-dictatorial repression of reaction. It is the task of the Communist Party to break the authority of the bourgeoisie in the questions of "democracy", of democratic struggle.

9.

In this, it is of decisive importance to elaborate, in the concrete political struggles, be it economic-political everyday struggles or struggles for more far-reaching democratic demands, the antagonism towards this state and towards the ruling bourgeois class, to German imperialism, to declare war to all forms of reformism and to explain in a clear form that successes and concessions of the ruling class are results of hard struggle, often accompanied by demagogic manoeuvres of the ruling class, and not at all "proof" of the supposed possibility of reform within the imperialist system. Quite to the contrary, the intervention into the everyday struggles, and if possible, leadership in them, especially of the democratic struggles, can be viewed as a success only if we succeed in demonstrating the irreconcilable class contradictions of this system and to introduce the perspective of the proletarian revolution, especially into the working class. The democratic struggles must be used by the communists as starting-point for the connection of the legal work with the illegal work, for the covering and strengthening of the illegal work, for the revolutionary preparation of the proletariat for the socialist revolution.

10.

In order to lead the mass struggles to the goals and positions of the proletarian revolution, it is also necessary to combine the various fronts and the varied tasks of the democratic struggle in a concrete and realistic manner, to combine the struggle for the rights of the working class in apparently "purely economic" struggles with the democratic struggle against all forms of racism and nationalism, against the creeping fascism of the state and the Nazi gangs, against war mongering and historical lies, as well as with the internationalist democratic struggle of the international working class and the struggle of the oppressed peoples. Within the democratic struggle, too, the communist forces are the most active, the most consistent and the most farsighted part of the struggling masses. The communist must not allow in these forms of the struggle any concessions to the ideology of legalism and pacifism, but quite to the contrary, must transgress the legal framework of German imperialism according to their possibilities even in the democratic struggle, in order to use the democratic struggle as a school of class struggle and to gather experience in the violent and illegal struggle against this state apparatus. It is espe-

cially important for the working class and the other strata allied to it to gain more and more clarity about the character of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the necessity of the destruction of its state apparatus through own experience in the struggle, to gain consciousness of the necessity of the realisation of the slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!" and "Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!", and to test the point of view of the Communist Party in the light of their own experience and recognise it as correct. Without extensive own experience in the economic and political struggle it is impossible to approach the proletarian revolution, to organise and execute it in a conscious manner.

11.

It is a special challenge for the principled tactical work of the cadres of the Communist Party to go and work among the lowest strata of the masses, to lead, even in the counter-revolutionary bourgeois mass organisations, in part covertly, in part openly with the risk of exclusion, of arrest and sentence the economic and the democratic struggle in all its forms in such a manner that the illusions about the char-

acter of such mass organisations can be destroyed and autonomous forms of organisation become not only understandable for maximally large parts of the members, but a practical necessity.

12.

While the Communist Party systematically supports the development and strengthening of radical labour- and democratic organisations in various forms and under its leadership, its cadres also work, in part openly, in part covertly, in non-reactionary organisations, committees and action groups with special goals for the active support of just demands and struggles, to develop the work with respect of its content and to propagate, advocate and discuss the ideas of communism in a well-reasoned form and in a manner that the cause of the proletarian revolution as a whole is advanced. This does neither mean (and this is the main danger) to spend all one's forces totally in the struggle for partial questions of a democratic nature, nor a sectarian approach that will make it easy for the opportunists and reformists in such organisations to isolate the Communist cadres and to exclude them as "ele-

ments harmful to the struggle." The participation in such non-counterrevolutionary organisations is, different from the participation in counterrevolutionary mass organisation, not a work "making use of" possibilities for Communist propaganda, but has to have the character of exemplary support, insofar and inasmuch this work is useful for the struggle against German imperialism and against the imperialist world system in the widest sense.

13.

Decisive criterion for the participation of the cadres of the Communist Party in just mass struggles, in economic and political struggles against German imperialism is always the promotion of the anchoring of the party in the most advanced parts of the working class and other strata to really disseminate the idea of the proletarian revolution, of the cause of Communism and to realise it in such a way that the everyday struggles and the democratic struggles themselves are carried out in a consequent and consistent manner, and mainly, that they become transmission belts in the struggle for the approach to, for the preparation and the execution of the proletarian revolution.

IIIrd Part:

The Armed Socialist Revolution of the Proletariat and Questions of the Armed Struggle and the Armed Uprising

1.

The erection of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the goal of communism require the violent revolution of the proletariat, the violent destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus from top to bottom.

2.

The orientation of the Communist Party and the class-conscious and organised proletariat toward armed struggle, the armed uprising and the civil war as conclusion from all class struggles of history and as quintessence of the whole experience of the revolutions under the leadership of the working class led by its Communist Party in all countries of the world is our immovable fundamental position.

3.

In the preparation of the socialist revolution, it is a characteristic feature that the enlightening, liberating role of the violence of the proletariat and of the armed struggle of the proletariat have to be fully understood and propagated.

4.

The theory of the "peaceful road" or of the "possibility of the peaceful road" as central

position of revisionism and opportunism is a counterrevolutionary position which has to be resolutely fought against and destroyed in all its varieties.

5.

The preparation and execution of the armed uprising against German imperialism and all reactionary and counterrevolutionary forces is, on a scientific basis under evaluation of the whole experience of the armed struggle and the armed uprisings, central part of the preparation of the socialist revolution, the enlightening and consciousness-raising, organising role of the Communist Party. Because of the fact that the workers and the masses of the other working people in imperialist Germany are confronted with a unitary, highly centralised imperialist state apparatus, the Communist Party takes a basic course towards the military road of the October revolution, i. e., to prepare and execute the armed uprising in the cities (without excluding, however, that strong armed forces of the proletariat can also fight in the countryside in particular situations even before the armed uprising in the cities).

6.

The art of the preparation and execution of the armed uprising requires the struggle for the

hegemony of the proletariat, the correct strategic orientation of the proletariat towards all partners and allies, the correct approach to all daily struggles against exploitation and oppression, which have to be bundled and have to be subordinated to the struggle for the socialist revolution and the armed uprising.

7.

The uprising is no military conspiracy and no coup by a minority, but a deeply democratic concern of the broad masses. To be successful, the uprising has to take hold not only among the vanguard and the class-conscious parts of the proletariat, but has to base itself on the broad masses of the proletariat, has to be carried and supported by the revolutionary advance the sympathy of the majority of the exploited masses.

8.

Point of departure is that the armed struggle will not be the victory of 99 percent of the population over 1 percent of the class of the German bourgeoisie, but will take the form of an enormous civil war of the masses of the exploited working people led by the socialist proletariat against the class of the bourgeoisie. The latter will make use of important parts of those layers of the population from all classes

and strata that are incited and bound to German imperialism by various material and ideological strings, among them no small number of people belonging to the bribed parts of the working class, the worker's aristocracy. In these class battles, the struggle for the neutralisation of wavering forces also plays an important role.

9.

The struggle against the army and other armed formations of German imperialism is not a struggle for "winning over" these forces, but a struggle to crush and destroy all armed forces of German imperialism. The struggle for the neutralisation or even winning over of parts of the members of the armed forces of German imperialism may be an important component of the preparation and execution of the armed uprising of the socialist proletariat and its allies – which, however, can never replace the civil war, the victorious armed uprising of the socialist proletariat, can never reform or neutralise the core and the structure of the armed forces of German imperialism. From the task of the armed destruction of the military apparatus of German imperialism and the execution of the revolutionary civil war, there follows the necessity to build armed formations and militias of the proletariat and the exploited masses (as embryonic forms of a later Red Army) even before the armed uprising.

10.

The systematic scientific planning of the preparation and offensive execution of the

armed uprising up to the exact pin-pointing of the date, the distribution of the forces of the uprising and the winning of daily and hourly successes presupposes the knowledge that the reality of the class struggles also knows spontaneous armed mass struggles, unplanned revolts and revolutions – and the Communist Party does not reject them by any means but supports them maximally and struggles for the leadership in them.

11.

While the Communist Party basically takes a course for the victory of the armed socialist revolution and the civil war of the socialist proletariat before the outbreak of an imperialist war of German imperialism, it also has to take into account the very real possibility that it has to prepare and execute the armed struggle and the armed uprising in connection with the struggle against the imperialist war of the German imperialists. In this, all tactical experiences, especially of the Bolshevik party of Russia for the "fraternisation of the soldiers at the front," but also of the united actions of revolutionary armed forces of other countries must be evaluated and applied to the conditions of Germany. Forms of guerrilla- and partisan warfare have to be combined with the preparation of the transformation of the imperialist war into the civil war and with the preparation of the socialist uprising of the proletariat.

12.

The systematic preparation and planning of the armed struggle of the socialist proletariat

also requires the support of spontaneous violent and armed clashes with German imperialism long before the victorious uprising. Our struggle against the proponents of "individual terror" is not based on a "moral rejection," but on the fundamental ideological and tactical reasoning that the "worship of spontaneity" on the part of individuals separated from the working men and women does not contribute to the raising of the consciousness and organisation of the proletariat, but rather binds the forces with a revolutionary orientation and prevents them from fulfilling their decisive task of systematically preparing the socialist revolution. The road of the proponents of "individual terror" is not a road whatsoever for the destruction of the state apparatus of German imperialism, primarily its military apparatus, but is bound – closely connected with reformist and revisionist conceptions concerning the proletariat – to turn into resignation and demoralisation.

13.

Our line concerning armed struggle, the preparation and execution of the armed uprising and the civil war of the socialist proletariat is an inseparable part of our line in the creation and strengthening of a Communist Party, which, in its internal order, its structure and its work, has to be built right from the start in the struggle against the bloody terror of the German imperialists and for the leadership in the armed struggle of the uprising and the civil war of the socialist proletariat.

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- ☆ works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin – available in different languages,
- ☆ writings of communism and the Communist International – available in different languages,
- ☆ revolutionary working-class novels, antifascist and anti-imperialist literature,
- ☆ literature and material for the struggle against racism, anti-Semitism, racism against Cinti and Roma people, against German chauvinism and nationalism,
- ☆ literature about the history of the German workers' movement and about German imperialism,
- ☆ "Rot Front" – theoretical organ of "Gegen die Strömung" – Organisation for the building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany,
- ☆ regular publications and monthly leaflets published by "Gegen die Strömung",
- ☆ "Bulletin – Information for revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries" which contains excerpts and synopsis from the publications by "Gegen die Strömung". It appears quaterly and in Turkish, French, English, Spanish and Italian.

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