

**NATIONAL "BOLSHEVISM"**

**IS**

**ANTI-BOLSHEVISM**

**Comintern (SH)**

This is a translation of the original German text  
[„Nationalbolschewismus ist Anti-Bolschewismus“](#)

thanks to our comrades of the  
USA Section of the Comintern (SH) [ *under construction* ]  
translation is from September - October 2018

**Study Text  
of the  
Comintern/ML  
2005**

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***National "Bolshevism"*  
is Anti-Bolshevism!**

***What is  
Russian  
National „Bolshevism“ (NAZBOL) ?***

**And how  
do we  
World Bolsheviks  
fight against it ?**

## Chapter I

**"We must be true to the end to the cause of proletarian internationalism, to the cause of the fraternal alliance of the proletarians of all countries."** (Stalin: 'Report to the Seventeenth Party Congress' in: 'Works', Volume 13; Moscow; 1954; p.388; English Edition).

**"The consistent and thoroughly revolutionary internationalism of the Bolsheviks is a model of proletarian internationalism for the workers of all countries."** (Stalin: 'Some Questions Concerning the History of the CPSU' in: 'Works', Volume 13; Moscow; 1954; p.96; English Edition).

**The fundamental questions of the Russian Revolution of Lenin and Stalin coincide with the fundamental questions of the World Revolution, which the Bolsheviks are faithful to - but are ignored by the National Bolsheviks.**

The Bolshevism of Lenin, Stalin, and Enver Hoxha cannot be replaced by any other "Bolshevism" - not even by National Bolshevism. The demarcation line is drawn:

**National "Bolshevism" is Anti-Bolshevism!**

The National Bolsheviks are particularly active in Russia. However, this is not just a typical nationalist flow of protests - especially by the youth - against the established Putinist system, but are militant, tightly-organized commandos that principally aim for violent action against the "system itself" and in particular denounce Putin's collaboration with the "Great Powers" of the Western World, above all the world's largest foreign power - the USA. Since other "Great Powers" are also collaborating with the USA, National Bolshevism finds fertile ground in these countries for right-wing "anti-Americanism" and nationalism, in order to present itself to the masses as "saviors" from foreign rule and the "protectors" of the interests to their own people. In this respect, we can also observe the spread of National Bolshevism beyond the borders of Russia, and certainly speak of the emergence of an internationally expanding movement, albeit more of a "movement" whose size (thus far) corresponds more to a sectarian splinter group. But since these groups are very active and skillfully exploiting the moods among the masses, it is important to be vigilant and not to underestimate National Bolshevism. It quickly polarizes opponents and sympathizers. Various representatives of the National Bolsheviks were put into Putin's prisons as "opponents of the regime" and thereby upgraded the National Bolsheviks, especially within the youth. Superficially, therefore, it seems that these are "revolutionary" forces whose actions are directed "against" the rulers and with whom we should actually cooperate with and whom we should support. On closer inspection, however, serious doubts emerge, especially if one deals with the political aims, the program, and the ideological background

of the National Bolsheviks, then their counterrevolutionary character is blatantly expressed behind the "revolutionary" public appearance, then one feels the blows of the old, reactionary spirit of the "Black Hundreds". It is impossible to judge the National Bolsheviks by what they say about themselves, but by what they really are, not to be dazzled by their clever agitation and propaganda, but to get to the bottom of it to find out what the National Bolsheviks really are. In short: we get a picture of them by proceeding scientifically, that is, with the method of Marxism-Leninism.

We acknowledge that as "outsiders" we have limited insight, and so our statements are likely to be flawed and highly fragmented, so we do not want to claim the "last" word. It is about our first impression, about our conclusions that we would like to correct in the course of our further examination of National Bolshevism. So we are interested in the information of our Russian, Marxist-Leninist comrades and their assessment of the National Bolsheviks "on site" and would like to get to know their points of view in order to clarify our own position. Conversely, we would be happy if our Russian Bolsheviks could help us with our struggle with National Bolshevism and if the Marxist-Leninist world movement unites in the struggle against National Bolshevism. We regard the National Bolsheviks as a serious fascist threat, which must be dealt with at an early stage and not only "if it has already become too late for that".

We Marxist-Leninists always try to find out which classes are the breeding ground for a particular political movement, especially when it puts "the revolution" on a "red" flag, whose class interests are served by National Bolshevism, from which class it is and under what specific social and political conditions it grows, what historical background it has, and on what economic, material basis it is based, in which direction it develops, etc.

Which forces are trying to influence the National Bolsheviks?

These are, above all, forces of a generation that have not experienced the socialism of Lenin and Stalin themselves, who have either grown up under the social-fascism of the new Kremlin Tsars or in the resulting "wild west" of present-day Russia, and have joined forces with the Russia's current crisis, which seeks a revolutionary alternative, that is, from people who are critical of international capitalism under US imperialist supremacy, their lackeys in Russia, but also revisionism in power, and who long for Lenin and Stalin "where the Russians were better off than they are today". The National Bolsheviks are trying to influence these forces in such a way that Russia's disintegration is particularly blamed on Marxism, that Russia must end the historical chapter of Marxism so that a new, National Bolshevik Russia can emerge. For National Bolshevism, Marxism is an obstacle that needs to be removed. It is this openly anti-Marxist attitude that hides behind the "revolutionary" nationalist slogans of the National Bolsheviks.

But anyone who rejects communism and Marxism-Leninism can not be a true anti-capitalist. The Russian petty bourgeoisie is characterized today by its resistance to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie as well as to the dictatorship of the proletariat and vacillates between the two classes, all the more vociferous against the attrition between the class polarization of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat as the antagonist class contradictions in Russia intensify. Hence the false revolutionary fervor of parts of the petty bourgeoisie get thrown down into the proletariat. These are, therefore, class forces hostile to the proletariat, and those parts that fall into the proletariat can be re-educated and subordinated to the cause of the proletariat, but in no way is it vice versa!! , So it can not be ruled out that among the ranks of these National Bolshevik forces, allies could perhaps be won over for the overthrow of the Putin regime, who want to support our goal of

rebuilding the dictatorship of the Russian proletariat in action. But these tactical questions arise from the course of the class struggle itself, and can only lead to success if we have drawn a clear demarcation line and ideologically separated ourselves from National Bolshevism, what this is primarily about. The Russian proletariat must again become an independent political force in Russia, must emancipate itself from such political currents as National Bolshevism, needs its own class vanguard, the reestablishment of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Which classes have developed in Russia?

The restoration of capitalism shook and disintegrated the Soviet Union, made a stinking corpse out of it that once completely eliminated socialist class relations. The ruling class today emerged directly from the Party and state apparatus of the revisionists in power. Today it still occupies the key position over the possession of the means of production, possesses the property and production relations, controls the state apparatus, the whole public life and above all the Russian financial and industrial capital. From the putrefaction has nourished a parasitic, waste-consuming bourgeoisie, interest warrants, the newly rich, a newly "well-off", living in great luxury and a open-minded, ruthless elite society, under whose rule the Russian people today suffer harshly. On the other hand, then, the vast majority in Russia is with poverty, unemployment, homelessness, neglect, hunger, catastrophic conditions in social and health care, violence and prostitution on the streets, lack of prospects for the youth, despair and hopelessness, drugs and alcoholism, moral decay and debauchery, cultural decline, demoralization, national oppression, alienation, loss of identity, manipulation, censorship, bribery, crime, murder, political oppression, state spying, arbitrariness and violence, brutal class justice, local wars, and all sorts of boils. In Russia, we encounter a new capitalist system at every step, an inhuman, exploitative and oppressive monopoly capitalist system, a fascist system that is covered in the fig leaf of Western parliamentarism and, in reality, competes with the world fascism of the USA. The development of the classes in Russia follows the development of the classes of the West. They fit into the world order of Western Imperialism, is the fastest and the most blatant in the rich Russian metropolises, and is somewhat slower in the impoverished provinces. Russia is one of those areas of the world where class disputes are most strongly expressed, clashes are escalating most rapidly, and a revolutionary situation is approaching, turning classes into radical movements and the revolution is on the agenda. The Russian bourgeoisie is weakened by the world crisis, can no longer govern as it wants, and the working class is no longer willing to continue suffering under the miserable conditions. The emergence of National Bolshevism is an indication of the imminent changes in Russia - a harbinger of the open collision of revolution and counter-revolution (the counter-revolution presents itself to the Russian masses as a "revolutionary renewal force" and the actual revolutionary forces of the Russian socialist proletariat are "historically settled " because they do not renounce their internationalism and are not prepared to be flogged by the nationalist whip, because the truly communist workers in Russia hate not the strangers, but the nationalist pogroms of their own bourgeoisie, because the revolutionary proletarians of Russia are today unwilling to slaughter each other and the foreign class brothers in a renewed imperialist war of conquest for the profit of the Russian monopoly bourgeoisie, but are ready to defend their recapture of the dictatorship of the proletariat and crush the state of the Russian bourgeoisie, as Lenin taught, and as the Russian proletariat made it a victorious historical fact in the October Revolution. The National Bolsheviks have set themselves the task of directing precisely this internationalist development of the Russian revolutionary proletariat into nationalist paths; in fact, with their hypocritical "revolutionary" phrases they are at the service of the Russian counter-revolution, acting on behalf of the new (old Russian monopoly

bourgeoisie). Russia is great. Russia is a great state - made for a great proletarian state of a great proletariat. Russia increases its proletariat hourly, regenerates hourly its old great socialist power. Russia is still the basis and lever of world proletarian revolution, and its internationalist significance is even higher today than it was at the time of the October Revolution - Russia is approaching a new October, and no National Bolshevik can stop this world revolutionary path of the Russian proletariat; rescue Russian monopoly bourgeoisie from its inevitable fall.

World capital is increasingly taking possession of the "unlimited opportunities", cheap labor resources and mineral resources, sales markets. In short: abundant profit potential, which has much to offer Russia as a huge country, it opens up a big chunk of the world market, wildly exported as its financial and Industrial capital, pulls out for Russia maximum profits, creates the wealth of the country abroad, and the Russian state earns along with it, it strengthens its own power of exploitation and oppression in their own country, gets into ever greater dependence (indebtedness) of the other imperialists. At the same time, it increases the total world imperialist system to which the Russian monopoly bourgeoisie increasingly seeks to influence and on which it bases itself. It is itself expansionist and strives for world hegemony and thus does not differ significantly from all other imperialist "Great Powers". Today's Russia appears as a competitor in the world market, is one of the imperialist robbers of the whole world. So it is an imperialist country that exploits and oppresses other nations. Russia is dominated by the monopoly bourgeoisie and its monopoly capitalist state. The middle bourgeoisie is dependent on finance capital and large corporations of industry and trade, and thus is exposed to the concentration and centralization of capital, the formation and expansion of monopolies in Russia, the state monopoly control. She loses more and more positions in the apparatus, which are torn by an ever smaller and more powerful elite. All in all, it is in the interest of the Russian proletariat to overthrow not only the monopoly bourgeoisie, but the entire rule of the Russian bourgeoisie and crush it by its socialist revolution. The petty bourgeoisie, small traders, artisans, peasants, large sections of intellectuals, etc. - all of them are also suffering, especially those who are increasingly sinking into the proletariat. Only a small minority is rising to the bourgeoisie. The lower petty bourgeoisie especially affects the farmers. The great mass of poor peasants and poor peasants are still the natural allies of the Russian proletariat in the struggle for their revolutionary liberation. The working class suffers the most, because it is most brutally exploited and must try to keep its families alive in the worst working conditions. One colleague after another is unemployed and does not know how to survive. Many have not even received their pay, for months and years. In the factories built by foreign companies, where working conditions are somewhat better and wages slightly higher, a new layer of labor aristocracy is growing again. But these differences in wages and labor offset each other over time and only accelerate the depletion of the Russian proletariat as a whole, and thus also the deterioration of the global proletariat's overall situation on the international labor market through international wage dumping. The Russian industrial proletariat of large-scale enterprises, especially in the metal industry and in mining, is the revolutionary nucleus of the Russian proletariat capable of leading the revolution in Russia. The lumpenproletariat multiplies and sells itself for a piece of bread to the bourgeoisie in order to betray the proletariat. The Russian mafia reigns over the Russian people, brutally and ruthlessly expanding their sphere of influence in the rich foreign countries more and more. In Russia, the class contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is polarizing faster than in any other imperialist countries. The epoch of the downfall of imperialism and the victory of the proletarian revolution - as Lenin has said - is most evident in Russia today. In essence, nothing has changed since the revisionists' betrayal, the same mafia is still in power, siphoning its resources to international capital, filling its own pockets - everything has just become much worse and

more extreme, more open. Poverty and wealth are equally immeasurable.

Present-day anti-communism (imported from the West) is becoming ever more openly promoted in Russia, is the basis of the aggressive ideology and policies of Russian imperialism, expresses the interests of the Russian monopoly bourgeoisie, and seeks, on the one hand, the urge of youth for protests, new subversive ideas and, on the other hand, to exploit their political inexperience, in particular with the diffusion of capitalism and socialism, their alleged overcoming by a new, free, ideal world, modern forms of "anti-systems" capable of later integrating youth back into the system. By their very nature, these are models that make the class struggle outdated, obsolete and harmful. In Russia, it is particularly important for the bourgeoisie to discourage young people from returning to socialism, to overcome socialism as a past and to declare it unsuitable and useless for the present and future, for nowhere in the world is socialism more profound than in Russia. This is not only a ticking time bomb for the Russian bourgeoisie, but for the whole world bourgeoisie as well, which can go off at any time and for the defusing of it a great deal of effort has to be made. The influence of the old socialist society on the youth is again present through, is alive and cannot be stopped by anyone or by anything in the world, neither by revisionism nor by open anti-communism. This fact is extremely important to us Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, and that also makes it our duty to take a critical look at National Bolshevism, which is aimed at keeping young people away from Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism has no place in the National Bolshevism. They do not want the leading working class and its Bolshevik party to characterize their new state. They do not want the working class to join forces with the other working classes and strata to rebuild socialism as a renewed step toward communism. They do not want the working class to draw the right conclusions from the treason of the revisionists and return to Marxism-Leninism, equating the proletarian and bourgeois socialisms in order to keep the masses away from proletarian socialism.

The ideologies of anti-communism are constantly endeavoring, also in Russia, to "reformulate" the old theses and theories in order to adapt them to the special conditions and requirements of historically evolved Russian conditions. One result of their activity is the theory of "de-ideologization". This theory will also gratefully be accepted by the leaders of the National Bolsheviks. The ideology and the ideological struggle consider it especially considers the ideology of Marxism-Leninism outdated as anachronistic, meaningless and superfluous. By de-ideologizing, the National Bolsheviks endeavor to replace the deep crisis of bourgeois ideology in the West with a "reformulated" bourgeois ideology of the East and thus to combat Marxism-Leninism. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels have spoken in their work "The German Ideology" of the **"end of ideology"**, but they did not mean the same thing as the National Bolsheviks. They meant only bourgeois, idealistic ideology, the entire international system of all views of the declining classes, who are not interested in the scientific reflection of the historical reality of capitalism and socialism, because that would be directed against them. That is why they turn the realistic conditions **"upside-down as in a camera obscura"**. (Marx, Engels: 'The German Ideology' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 5; Moscow; 1976; p.36; English Edition).

Any "anti-capitalist" current is allowed, with the exception of socialism, the only real anti-capitalist trend that is now equated by the bourgeoisie in Russia with revisionism, that is, an ideology that leads to the restoration of capitalism. All combinations and inter-dependencies of "leftist" radicalism with nationalism are appropriate for keeping the revolutionary youth from communism. Even if today the state still reacts sensitively, these trends will adapt over time, the state will increasingly deal with them "tolerantly", he will understand their benefits better and better, and they will be used as a completion of the

everyday image of the "good functioning" capitalist society. The Russian bourgeoisie will be able to deal with this problem faster than Western countries, because it can learn from the experience of control and instrumentalization of the "left" currents of the West. The anti-Marxist-Leninist political currents are all bought by the bourgeoisie. The best touchstone for the power of a political movement, for the prospect of its success, is to be recognized in the market of political ideas, that is, in the market that the monopoly capitalist class finances and policies. This also applies to the market of "anti-American currents", which are not only organized by the CIA. The Russian monopoly bourgeoisie has long been on the market of "anti-imperialist" currents to profit from it. Maoism is not a threat to Russia. On the contrary, even there the bourgeoisie tries to portray the Mao Zedong Thought, anarchism, guerrillism, Castroism, all varieties of the petty-bourgeois false revolutionary fervor as "revolutionary" in order to discredit Marxism-Leninism and undermine its rebirth in Russia. In Russia, the petty-bourgeois false revolutionary fervor should help to prevent the reconquest of socialism. As we see today in Russia, the petty bourgeois ideologists of anti-communism are misleading the rebellious youth on the wrong track of the revolucency, equating the reconquest of socialism with the reconquest of revisionism with all its reactionary and social-fascist acts. It is clear that we Marxist-Leninists do not equate the ideological leaders of the radicalized youth with their basis. Some of us will fight them, others will try to comradely convince them.

The higher the imperialist wave rolls over the earth today, the more devastating and catastrophic it is to whip all of humanity into its whirlpool, the faster it generates an increase of rebellion, resistance, and liberation of all the oppressed and exploited on this earth, the harbingers of the socialist world revolution. This biggest historical event in the history of the liberation of humanity is now announcing. It cannot be stopped by anything - not even by the new nationalist movements. With the rapid incorporation of Russia, world imperialism, especially in this country, is rapidly developing the class struggle not only there but also in Europe and around the world. With the pent-up demand of world capitalism in Russia, the anti-revisionist need to catch up with socialism in Russia is satisfied. If the socialist renaissance is predestined in Russia, it is an even greater impetus for the spread of the world socialist revolution than it was in Lenin's and Stalin's time.

Following the stream of the basic law of capitalism, it is no coincidence that the nationalist wave is on the rise worldwide, for it is the logical and natural consequence of the huge wave valley that leaves behind the cosmopolitan, violent and brutal globalization wave of world capital that erupted as a result of the world crisis and spilled all over the world, breaking down national barriers after the collapse of the socialist dams that had previously undermined the social-fascist rats from within. The essence of national oppression is rooted in the nature of imperialism. Proletarian internationalism, based on the objective commonality of the fundamental interests of the international proletariat, is therefore antithetical to international capital, its politics, and ideology. The anti-national character of nationalism today manifests itself most clearly in the stage of imperialist capitalism. Lenin's analysis of imperialism is therefore not only generally relevant to today's world imperialism, but applies in particular to Russian conditions.

We will not involve Marxist-Leninists in building such dams to divert the flow of globalization away from America into our own promised land (for example to Russia and Europe). - All "anti-capitalist" - non-socialist "new creations" always and legitimately run out to only one thing - capitalism and nothing but capitalism! - The only "herb that has grown up against capitalism" remains to be proletarian (anti-revisionist, internationalist) socialism!!

Comrade Stalin, one of the Classics of Marxism-Leninism, stressed:

**"So far our country has proved to be the only one ready to overthrow capitalism. And it really has overthrown capitalism and organised the dictatorship of the proletariat."** (Stalin: 'The National Question and Leninism' in: 'Works', Volume 11; Moscow; 1954; p.368; English Edition).

One should think at first glance that the National Bolsheviks would start from this irrefutable truth as the basis of their political action. Not even close!! It is exactly this truth that the National Bolsheviks deny - and, mind you, even though they have Stalin on their banner. **"We knocked down autocracy and capitalism", the Bolsheviks said. They knocked down the autocracy but there was no capitalism"** (quoted from Limonka's article: "Capitalism and Socialism - Siamese Twins" - published on the homepage of NBP - National Bolshevik Party of Russia. This is found in Chapter 14 of the text of the text for National Bolshevik's article "Another Russia" - edited by Edward Limonov, with whom we will deal in more detail).

**Our  
Basic Thesis  
for the classification of the ideology of National Bolshevism means:**

**The root of National Bolshevism, the whole political line of the national Bolsheviks, the purpose of their existence is the demarcation of Marxism-Leninism by adapting Bolshevism to the cosmopolitanism of imperialism, which is wrapped in nationalism, more precisely into a "great" Russian neo-nationalism. National Bolshevism is a swan song of the decaying, dying, Russian social-imperialism, dreams of the resurrection of the Tsarist empire, is a counter-revolutionary ideology of the Russian monopoly bourgeoisie ruling today, with concealment of imperialist politics by national ideology.**

What that has for international political consequences, we want to announce here quite openly and freely:

Cosmopolitanism, shrouded in National Bolshevism and derived from the hegemonic aspirations of the Russian social-imperialists, is designed to help world imperialism move smoothly from New York to Moscow in order to save it from bankruptcy, because has already been in the United States for too long and can no longer develop, there he threatens to destroy himself by his own parasitism, his own rottenness all too fast. Rockets are magnets, because New York should not become the deathbed of international finance capital. World imperialism is supposed to recover in Moscow, where it should free itself from its parasitic ballast and undergo some cosmetic surgery there, because - as it looks today - world imperialism is better housed in a country "that liberates the "world from Satan", as in a country that has become the symbol of Satan and since September 11, has been in too hot of pavement. Such a feigned "international liberation" war from the American yoke would be welcomed by the world much more than a "defensive" war by American world rulers. You can supply both sides with material, which would bring much more profit than just for the war economy of the USA.

"Under Russian patronage, you'll fare better than with the Americans!" - that is what the National Bolsheviks want to promise the world financier, and this friendly invitation has already reached New York - the National Bolsheviks cheer that they already meet with some interested people for sympathy - that promises to come a great deal closer to their

goals of self-realization of "brotherhood, sex, and liberation from work"! And world imperialism does not care who beds it, mainly because it can easily follow the law of aspirations for maximum profits from anywhere - and Eurasia is a bigger bed than the tight US bed. It would also be more central to the emergence of a world (war). From Russia one can bring the weapons "faster" than from America, because the profitable zone lies between Gibraltar and Vladivostok and not between Texas and New York - in other words, it is too wasteful: the plaster is too costly. The stores could do better elsewhere than in the US, because too many take the cream off, elsewhere you could still reduce the elite circle of finance capital - without having too high of friction losses, of course. All in all, a beautiful new world - without Satan, without capitalism, without socialism - capital will achieve its goal and live "longer" than the capitalist and the socialist world! And if it is in ruins, well, it is not a pity then, then the capital will just start all over again to multiply and will "make the world happy again".

But how do the National Bolsheviks absorb the fresh "socialist" blood without first, poisoning their own nationalism and, secondly, without it flowing into the Communist International on its own? Capital would like to know that beforehand to be sure. The National Bolsheviks divide the socialist ideas of their origin eastwards and westwards and bind them to the opposition of those who will be "generous" towards Russia and those who regard the National Bolsheviks as enemies, whether capitalist or socialist. are all held together as the "national" enemies of the "Great" Russia. ( Russia - a country that Marx openly disliked. (...) Marx came up with his biting opinion about Russians: "A mix of the psychology of a slave and of the Mongol world conqueror" - Quoted from Limonka "Capitalism and Socialism - Siamese Twins" - homepage of the National Bolshevik Party website. The National Bolsheviks deny that the October Revolution confirmed Marxism!).

The National Bolsheviks carry Lenin, who spoke of a "counter-revolutionary Russian people (1848, for example), as a holy image. Let's let Lenin have a chance to prove that the National Bolsheviks can not stand on the side of Lenin, because this was on the side of Marx, who called for revolutionary national wars against absolutism, including in 1848 and in the later War against Russia. Lenin was also on the side of Friedrich Engels, who has fueled the revolutionary national hatred of the Germans against Russian Tsarism. But to incite the national hatred today, as the National Bolsheviks do, is only to foment hatred of the peoples, of the proletarians of all countries, since we live in the epoch of imperialism and not in the epoch of absolutism only, Lenin hate and despise.

**"Mr. Gardenin in Zhizn labels as "revolutionary chauvinism"—but chauvinism—Marx's stand in 1848 for revolutionary war against the European nations which in fact had shown themselves to be counter-revolutionary, viz., "the Slavs and the Russians in particular". This reproof of Marx reveals once again the opportunism (or—properly speaking and—the inconsequence) of this "Left" Socialist-Revolutionary. We Marxists have always stood, and still stand, for a revolutionary war against counter-revolutionary nations. For instance, if socialism is victorious in America or in Europe in 1920, and Japan and China, let us say, then move their Bismarcks against us—if only diplomatically at first—we certainly would be in favour of an offensive revolutionary war against them."** (Lenin: 'The Collapse of the Second International' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 21; Moscow; 1974; p.221).

The National Bolsheviks attack Marx to openly defend Tsarism! The revolutionary Marx, however, opposed the reactionary Tsarism, its omnipotence and its predominant reactionary influence on the democratic development of the European West in the mid-nineteenth century. Lenin rightly defended Marx when he says:

"That this attitude was correct was most clearly and practically demonstrated in 1849, when the Russian serf army crushed the national liberation and revolutionary-democratic rebellion in Hungary. From that time until Marx's death, and even later, until 1890, when there was a danger that tsarism, allied with France, would wage a reactionary war against a non-imperialist and nationally independent Germany, Engels stood first and foremost for a struggle against tsarism. It was for this reason, and exclusively for this reason, that Marx and Engels were opposed to the national movement of the Czechs and South Slavs. A simple reference to what Marx and Engels wrote in 1848 and 1849 will prove to anyone who is interested in Marxism in real earnest and not merely for the purpose of brushing Marxism aside, that Marx and Engels at that time drew a clear and definite distinction between "whole reactionary nations" serving as "Russian outposts" in Europe, and "revolutionary nations", namely, the Germans, Poles and Magyars. This is a fact. And it was indicated at the time with incontrovertible truth: in 1848 revolutionary nations fought for liberty, whose principal enemy was tsarism, whereas the Czechs, etc., were in fact reactionary nations, and outposts of tsarism.

What is the lesson to be drawn from this concrete example which must be analysed concretely if there is any desire to be true to Marxism? Only this: (1) that the interests of the liberation of a number of big and very big nations in Europe rate higher than the interests of the movement for liberation of small nations; (2) that the demand for democracy must not be considered in isolation but on a European—today we should say a world—scale. (...) no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations.

If the concrete situation which confronted Marx when tsarism dominated international politics were to repeat itself, for instance, in the form of a few nations starting a socialist revolution (as a bourgeois-democratic revolution was started in Europe in 1848), and other nations serving as the chief bulwarks of bourgeois reaction—then we too would have to be in favour of a revolutionary war against the latter, in favour of "crushing" them, in favour of destroying all their outposts, no matter what small-nation movements arose in them. Consequently, instead of rejecting any examples of Marx's tactics—this would mean professing Marxism while abandoning it in practice—we must analyse them concretely and draw invaluable lessons for the future. The several demands of democracy, including self-determination, are not an absolute, but only a small part of the general-democratic (now: general-socialist) world movement. In individual concrete cases, the part may contradict the whole; if so, it must be rejected. It is possible that the republican movement in one country may be merely an instrument of the clerical or financial-monarchist intrigues of other countries; if so, we must not support this particular, concrete movement, but it would be ridiculous to delete the demand for a republic from the programme of international Social-Democracy on these grounds. (...) At that time, West European democracy, liberating the big nations, was opposed to tsarism, which used certain small-nation movements for reactionary ends. Today, the socialist proletariat, split into chauvinists, "social-imperialists", on the one hand, and revolutionaries, on the other, is confronted by an alliance of tsarist imperialism and advanced capitalist, European, imperialism, which is based on their common oppression of a number of nations. (...) the main thing today is to stand against the united, aligned front of the imperialist powers, the imperialist bourgeoisie and the social-imperialists, and for the utilisation of all national movements against imperialism for the purposes of the

**socialist revolution. The more purely proletarian the struggle against the general imperialist front now is, the more vital, obviously, is the internationalist principle: "No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations".** (Lenin: " in: 'Collected Works', Volume 22; Moscow; 1974; p.340-342).

The National Bolsheviks can not really be in favor of the return of US imperialist plunder if they are not at the same time for the release of the spoils of the monopoly capitalists of Russia. They wrap themselves in silence!

In particular, the National Bolsheviks try their best to confront the Classics Lenin and Stalin with the preceding Classics of Marx and Engels, although they have not yet commented on Enver Hoxha, the fifth Classic of Marxism-Leninism, so far the only one in the world has turned fascism into socialism - that is one of our sharpest weapons against National Bolshevism!!!! In this way, that is, the nationalist break-out of Lenin and Stalin from the internationalist building of Marxism-Leninism should be brought to a collapse. The scheme pursued by the National Bolsheviks is clear: the National Bolsheviks attribute Marxism to the sphere of power of the West, while they place Lenin and Stalin in the realm of the East and try to separate them from proletarian internationalism. Internationalism - whether capitalist or Marxist coinage = enemy; Nationalism, whether capitalist or "socialist" coinage = friend. This pattern is also adapted to the "anti-capitalists" Che, Fidel and Mao - who are "reliable" models for the National Bolsheviks compared to international Marxism-Leninism. The motto is: Everything that is against Western capitalism and Western Marxism, everything that Eastern Capitalism and Eastern Socialism consider useful for the National Bolshevik movement, they try to put into their nationalistic service. Therefore, it is not the scheme "left to right", but the scheme "West against East". The power of the East is to replace the power of the West - in this stream, all currents are to flow together, whether they are "left" or right. Thus, they give themselves the nimbus of being a "liberator" and "savior" of the world from the clutches of the Western World, they deny the class character of the world, they deny the hegemony of the world proletariat, they deny the proletarian internationalism, they deny the international character of Bolshevism and try to turn it into a nationalist "Bolshevism," not to eliminate the world domination of imperialism in the first place, but, on the contrary, to actually save world imperialism by subordinating Western imperialism to eastern imperialism. Of course, the National Bolsheviks do not say that, but their policies boil down to that. A loyal lackey, to bail out imperialism (and, not least, to bail out American imperialism, which of course the National Bolsheviks pay for!). National Bolshevism means robbery. The NBP in Russia extends its hands to Europe to conquer the new empire of Eurasia and to remove the US competitor with the support of Europe in a Third World War. The National Bolsheviks hypocritically speak of the "liberation" of the peoples from US imperialism in order to lead them to the slaughter for their own profits. The National Bolsheviks act according to the motto: "Either Russia perishes or we make Russia healthy and destroy others for it!" Support of reaction within and reactionary imperialist great power politics outward - that is the line of the Russian national Bolshevism - that lies behind their "Anti-Americanism" and its" struggle "against the forces profiting from moving Russia to the West. The National Bolsheviks must not succeed in sacrificing the European peoples on the slaughterhouse of an imperialism that wants to replace the supremacy of US imperialism in order to secure itself the fattest spoils. Behind this is the old Russian great-power chauvinism which seeks to enter into an alliance with the European powers to plunder foreign lands. The National Bolsheviks offer themselves as an alternative partner, who in the future guarantees a greater share of the loot than the one granted by the current American partner. The Eurasian peoples will transform into cannon fodder imperialist war for the replacement of the supremacy of US imperialism by Russian imperialism. Anyone who goes to war is promised to settle old bills and to

distribute the spoils of war fairly.

However, there are forces that believe that National Bolshevism is a "protective wall" against international finance capital.

But this protective wall can only be guaranteed by the leadership of the world proletariat, by the internationalist struggle, not by the nationalist struggle. [Although our internationalist struggle initially takes on national forms, the national framework of the internationalist struggle in the beginning, that is, now, has even greater significance than in the final phase of this struggle. Thus, formally referring to the national framework, Bolshevism is differentiated by the different national conditions, but Bolshevism, by its nature, is a tactic of the whole world proletariat, and Bolshevism is based on proletarian internationalism and not bourgeois nationalism, which - as already mentioned - today leads to nothing other than the defense of world imperialism against the world proletarian revolution, against world communism!]

Under no circumstances have subjugated peoples, through the war of one people against another, achieved their "freedom." The wars of nations merely reinforce the bondage of peoples. The liberation of Russia from world imperialism is not possible by strengthening its own imperialism, but only by smashing Russian capitalism, reestablishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and reconquering the socialism of Lenin and Stalin! The workers in Russia will not shy away from sacrifices in the struggle to regain their freedom, because they remember very well that only the October Revolution had actually changed the political conditions of Russian life, that only the complete safeguarding of the principles and foundations of Marxism- Leninism is capable of guaranteeing the victory of socialism over capitalism.

We cannot describe this in detail here, but we try to gather some important evidence for the confirmation of our thesis that the

### **National Bolshevism basically an anti-Marxist Current**

The National Bolsheviks attribute the label of fictionalism to Marxism-Leninism [any doctrine which cannot give the state maximum profit as proof of its correctness is thrown as a "fiction" on the trash can of history. The value of a theory only increases to the extent that it has proved useful or could prove useful in the future; the Marxist-Leninists would pretend that "there was ever a contradiction between capitalism and socialism, and in the end the stronger will prevail over the weaker." Fictionalism is a trait of the pragmatic positivism that the US imperialists had adopted as their way of thinking. What good is the truth to the imperialists if they cannot profit from it? If they could get more profit with antediluvian means, they would even whistle for the most modern technology. And what that translates to the theory of history means that we quote from the American positivist John Fiske:

***"The two great branches of the English race have the common mission of establishing throughout the larger part of the earth a higher civilization and more permanent political order than any that has gone before".*** (Fiske: 'American Political Ideas'; New York; 1885; p.8).

And:

***"in assigning our boundaries we must look to the great and glorious future which is prescribed for us by the Manifest Destiny of the Anglo-Saxon Race. Here's to the United States,—bounded on the north by the North Pole, on the south by the South Pole, on the east by the rising sun and on the west by the setting sun."*** (Fiske: *ibid*; p.101-102).

Replace the English/Anglo-Saxon race with the Russian race, and the essence of the program of the National Bolshevik Party has already been met: " - Global purpose of National-bolshevism is the creation of Empire from Vladivostok up to Gibraltar on the basis of Russian civilization. Russia is everything, rest is nothing!".

The National Bolsheviks are concerned with their "Eastern World" as John Fiske was concerned with the "Western World": the history of the USA or the history of Russia = a history of the struggle of "chosen" peoples against "inferior" peoples. Hitler did not see the history of Germany any differently (with the subjugation of the Slavic peoples). Today, Bush leads the "superior" white race into the final battle to subjugate all "inferior" races to the "civilization" of the Western world. ***"Only then can the world be said to have become truly Christian."*** (Fiske: *ibid*; p.152).

Forbid the forbidden for profit maximization purposes. If you do good business, then your theory is also "good" and "true". If you do not do good business, then it is "wrong" and "useless". Anyone who provides the evidence to the contrary - as we Marxists do - is subject to an "error", a "fiction" that is "wrong" and "bad", because socialist theory is not "true" only because it is useless and extremely harmful for the Capitalist. The loss of the Russian market by the dictatorship of the proletariat of the socialist Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin was a bitter loss to world capital, and the world revolution throbbed on its world-dominated door. But the capitalists finally managed to extract capital from socialist theory by incorporating it into the arsenal of their demagogic lies. A socialism in words and a capitalism in deeds, this is the "true" socialism (= revisionism). Revisionism, therefore, was useful to the capitalists, for it was proof of their success in transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat back into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Only, the proletariat learns not only from the mistakes of the capitalists, but also from its own mistakes, this time its revived dictatorship will not let itself be taken over by the revisionists again. If revisionism proves to be less useful in the case of recurrence in order to prevent the reconquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat, then one can sometimes try National Bolshevism (Bolshevism in words and nationalism in deeds) or combinations of both. So the proletariat should not be deceived by this, must tear down all the new masks that capitalism takes on, and unerringly trace back its proletarian, revolutionary path, to rediscover the beginning of the red thread, to regain lost power - Marxism.

We must expose the influence of National Bolshevism as a bourgeois influence in the ranks of the workers' movement, because all anti-Marxist-Leninist, right-wing and "leftist" opportunist currents are mobilized today as a reservoir for strengthening fascism. The crisis in Russia is forcing the capitalists to pull a bigger fascist club out of the bag and to put back the unusable "parliamentary" tool (which may be used again at a later time) back in. A premature open battle between right and left is not expedient for this purpose, which is why these contradictions are now not unnecessarily stoked, so it is possible to whitewash by killing the left leaders at the right time later. First of all, they want to find out who can be won and who cannot.

If they threaten to dash their hopes, then they will also rear other sides. It is clear to them that they cannot get established and firmly convinced Communists on their side. Then they

try not to solve the problem with conviction, but with the well-trying means.

Our fight against the National Bolsheviks is therefore today an integral part of our anti-fascist and anti-imperialist class struggle, which aims at the victory of world Bolshevism, the victory of proletarian internationalism, the victory of world communism:

"Socialism instead of imperialism! International class struggle against the fascist dictatorships of the bourgeoisie and their imperialist wars - with whatever justification they are erected and led! Proletarians of all countries, unite! Long live the world socialist revolution!"

This is the banner under which we Communists gather and unify the whole world today. May the National Bolsheviks make their choice to stand under our banner or to oppose it.

Whose time has passed, that of capitalism or that of socialism? The time of capitalism has expired, the time of socialism has not even really started yet! It only really starts when it has replaced the capitalist world system with the socialist world system! Socialism began with the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin - this Russia, we Communists faithfully defend until our death. But it was also the Russian traitors who reproached the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin with the capitalists. Russia was equally involved in the beginning and the end of the previous socialism. That is why it is so important for us Communists outside and within Russia to recapture what Lenin and Stalin once created, and not to give it up (but the National Bolsheviks say they do not want to "recapture" but create something "new", rejecting socialism). We do not allow ourselves the right to retrieve what we once paid for with our sweat and blood. What has been ours still belongs to us, and we fight for it until the capitalists are swept away, for they robbed us of socialism! Which side you belong to is entirely your decision, but be aware who does not help us, only supports those who are now in power in Russia!!! The only ones who proved to overthrow the rulers in Russia were the communists, not the national bolsheviks.

It's a race against time:

If the Communists succeed in leading the world proletariat to the world socialist revolution, spearheading the US powerhouse of international finance capital, we will blow up this gnawed, bloated, war-weary and crisis-ridden USA imperialism with a single pinprick, effortlessly snatching together its looted prey in order to shut the mouth of the hungry world, to make it fit for action, to give it the power of world production and its fair distribution, to take the world market into its own hands, to return to the global wage slaves all that they have made for over 100 years working together for the imperialists, but above all to liberate them from the wage slavery of capitalism in order to create their own new socialist world order. We do the same with all the other imperialist "Great Powers" because a defeated "big brother" cannot and will no longer help them, they stand defenseless against the revolutionary masses who will sweep them away with the power they have taken from the Yankees and these are clearly the better weapons today. One by one, we wrest power from them, and all the peoples who are subjugated by the imperialists will help us with great joy, for the pent-up hatred against the foreign occupiers and their domestic lackeys is boundless. We have the best prerequisites for the majority of the world to support us in completing our socialist work worldwide, giving people bread, freedom and peace, overcoming the world crisis forever, and not just to the threat of today but with the elimination of world imperialism, the repetition of a new imperialist war will forever be impossible.

However, we will succeed in doing so only if we preempt those predators that are already clashing among themselves to change the balance of power in the world in their favor. US imperialism, with its back to the wall, even forces them to chase away their spoils and arm it militarily against him. Unlike an imperialist war, they do not emerge from the crisis. The imperialists are forced to chase each other's spoils by an imperialist robbery war. This time it is not about the salvation of this or that imperialist "big one", but about world imperialism as a whole. The world bourgeoisie has no other way to save itself than to establish world fascism internally, to prevent us Communists from taking the initiative and taking advantage of the hour for communism. It will first try to prevent the masses from reoccupying themselves with communism and therefore must physically destroy the communist leaders if they fail to liquidate them ideologically, pull them to their side and assimilate them in order to split and decompose. In short: to incapacitate them. The battle between imperialism and communism is decided by the masses, whoever wins them has power, whoever opposes them loses power.

Of course, the National Bolsheviks know that, too. They consider themselves the elect, the elite force that can save world imperialism, first of all, from the doom of his downfall, from the wastefulness of Western capitalism, and secondly, from the downfall of world socialism which the Communist International threatens to create. So the National Bolsheviks are offering a new home to world imperialism - the "Empire of Eurasia", centered on Russia - that's the price they charge for their mercenary services. Russian world domination - this has so far not been managed managed, only because there simply wasn't National Bolshevikim then!

More and more capitalists around the world will recognize, according to the National Bolsheviks, that their "revolutionary" movement may be useful not only to the Russian robbers but to all the robbers in the world - even to some Americans who have already registered their interest. At least in his fairy tale, Limonka tells of the "Siamese Twins," of course, in order to stir the publicity as proof of how serious they are already to be taken. At any rate, we Communists are not impressed and certainly aren't intimidated.

If the imperialist rivals of American finance capital try to pull their neck together out of the throes of the crisis by a war, if such trends as those of the National Bolsheviks precede us, if the world war between both imperialist camps is not prevented by us, then the victory of the world socialism becomes heavier and longer under the rule of the "Eurasian Empire". That is why we must prevent the emergence of this "Eurasian Empire" in time by confronting the dangerous East-West front of the imperialists and the danger of war by uniting the Bolsheviks of the West and East between the workers of the West and the West To bridge the workers of the East in order to fuse them into a front against world imperialism, we must include all the oppressed peoples of the world in this front, must we the counter-contradictions between the defense of the Western world domination of imperialism and the renewed hegemonic ambitions of Eastern imperialism East and West imperialism must weaken each other so much that we can destroy both of them one after the other, so that the socialist world revolution emerges victorious from this hegemonic world war as a "laughing third party" and conquers the world. It is clear that the Russian proletariat plays a significant role in this, arming itself against the influence of National Bolshevikism, not submitting to it, but rejecting it as a bourgeois ideology.

**The world socialist revolution cannot be bought with money, unlike the Soviet Union after Stalin's death. Without the creation of a counter-revolutionary movement, the world socialist revolution cannot be stopped, the rich know this as well as the NB "revolution managers". Why not learn from Hitler, who brought the socialist**

revolution to a halt with his "National Socialist Revolution" and has been great rewarded by the rich. So a "National Bolshevik revolution" can become an even bigger deal to stop the Bolshevik world revolution. In any case, the National Bolsheviks with their movement hope not only for Russian money, but also hope for the financial ruin of American and other financially powerful people all over the world, who have less and less confidence in their own "Great Powers" and are looking for new ways to invest their money more profitably, At least they are spreading their capital to different political currents, so that it is not completely lost when one or the other political movement fails. In any case, investing in parliamentary chatter is no longer worth a dime, and parts of American finance capital are wary of putting their entire card on Bush. There are financial circles around the world looking for those political currents that put an end to this parliamentary chatter and make short work of these political parasites and their ossified, profiteering bureaucracy. But they look very closely at which of these new "revolutionary" currents continue to make undisputed profits, which are "reliable" and "loyal" rather than trying to fool around the "business". Capital only strengthens the political forces that keep trouble out of its throat, political conditions under which profits can be smoothly made and the dizzyingly high political "ancillary costs" do not jeopardize business as in America (radical reduction of the political costs of expensive political systems through fascist "simplification" - do not discuss for a long time, do not dither, but decide faster and take action more effectively!!). The National Bolsheviks are much more modest and effective, acting instead of complaining, so why not invest in them? Are the conditions in Russia not excellent? "For money, they do everything they can to get out of their miserable situation. We will reward them abundantly when they enter our service," says International Capital.- "Give us money to conquer political power in Russia and we will clear the way for you" - the National Bolsheviks promise. "Then we will both have the advantage" agree international capital and the National Bolsheviks [original tone Limonka: *"In 1997, if I'm not mistaking, in the press-center of the Tretyakov Gallery was held a meeting with George Soros. The meeting of the capital's society and the "Institute of an Open Society", headed by this eccentric American philanthropist. (...) Our presence and appearance was beforehand discussed with the Russian Soros helpers and Soros himself was informed: two dangerous revolutionaries will come. He could have said: "Lord have mercy, no!" But he said - let them come.(...) Conquerors from Eastern Europe, they came in the 50s to the Yankees who already got lazy, however, they easily passed them by. (...) In his last book Soros - a philanthropist and financial man, and as people tell, a brave and aggressive speculator, who ruined Indonesia's currency, an entire country, suddenly comes forth as almost an enemy of capitalism, states doubts in capitalism. (...) In any case he declares himself enemy of the capitalism that formed in Russia. (...) the philanthropist spends a wild quantity of millions of dollars (...) in publishing of Russian textbooks that explain to the students how the word is made according to Soros. It is a person with a colossal megalomania, with the desire to impose himself on the world. And with huge money, which makes his desire realizable."* (Quoted from "Siamese Twins").

With "anti-capitalist" capitalists conquering the "Siamese Twins" together - that brings us to the fairy tale hour of Limonka:

**Limonka's  
Fairy Tale of the Siamese Twins**

Limonka preaches for a totally new Russia. The time of capitalism and socialism has in short, been declared "expired" by Limonka. The future of humanity lies in the hands of a national Bolshevik Greater Russia - a world of "fraternity, liberation from mechanical work, sexual well-being and the right to war!" - preaches Limonka as something "totally new".

What would Lenin say to the National Bolsheviks if he still alive?

**"If I say: a new Russia has to be built in such-and-such a way from the standpoint of, say, truth, justice, equalised labour, and so on, it will be a subjectivist approach that will land me in the sphere of chimeras. In practice, it is the class struggle, and not my very best wishes [or by those of Limonka - author's note], that will determine the building of a new Russia. My ideals of building a new Russia [as well as the "ideals" of the National Bolshevik's program - author's note] will not be chimerical only if they express the interests of an actually existing class, whose living conditions compel it to act in a particular sense. By thus adopting a stand for the objectivism of the class struggle, I do not in the least justify reality, but, on the contrary, indicate in this reality itself the deepest sources (though they are invisible at first sight) and the forces that can transform it.**

**But if I say: "nobody is building a new Russia—she is being built in the struggle of interests" [this is what the National Bolsheviks say - author's note], I at once throw a certain veil over the clear picture of the struggle of such-and-such classes, and make a concession to those who see only those actions of the ruling classes, i.e., particularly the bourgeoisie, that are on the surface. I slip involuntarily into justifying the bourgeoisie; instead of the objectivism of the class struggle, I adopt as a criterion the bourgeois trend that is most conspicuous, or that is successful for the time being." (Lenin: 'The Political Line' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 18; Moscow; 1978; p.330; English Edition).**

The misfortune of every nation - as well as of all humanity - has arisen today as it is divided into antagonistic classes, that exploit and oppress the other classes, and that a few nations in turn exploit and oppress all other nations. In order to liberate mankind from these evils, one must free them from their antagonistic class character, in order to free them from classes in the next step. But this is not possible without class struggle and revolution, for the one class, the world bourgeoisie, lives at the expense of others, aggravates the crisis and is therefore neither willing nor able to abolish class society, because with it its own class is on its way to condemnation, she does not want to give up voluntarily and cannot do so. The world bourgeoisie needs class society to survive. The world proletariat must eliminate them to survive. So there is a class that brings with it the objective and subjective conditions of liberating humanity from class society, including itself - that is the world proletariat. Without a world order of the proletariat there is no liberation of humanity from its division into antagonistic classes, there is no liberation of man from his compulsive class bondage, no classless society, no humanity without class character, no solution to the problems of humanity, but their destruction and annihilation, destruction and annihilation the world, and our livelihood. World capitalism destroys all our livelihoods (including those of the capitalists, by the way). That is why world capitalism must be destroyed to secure and improve our livelihoods and to build a higher culture, a human culture that benefits all people on this earth equally - the communist culture.

Communism today means to collectively solve the world problems of humanity, to liberate men and nature from the inhuman antagonistic world class society, to share joy and suffering in the struggle against the exploiting and oppressive classes and nations, for the

happiness of every exploited and oppressed people, and to connect the happiness of other exploited and oppressed peoples.

The happiness of the Russian people without the happiness of all other nations, without the common struggle for the happiness of all peoples, is a misfortune for the Russian people. The socialist Russian people were strong because they were supported by the oppressed and exploited peoples. Whoever places the happiness of one's own, individual, stronger, superior, richer or otherwise one's nation higher than the happiness of all other nations, because the others will fail them, will kill all other nations, as well as their own. Each privilege of one nation over another is a harm to all nations, even to the privileged nation. The principle that safeguards the future is today the principle of proletarian internationalism, with which socialist nations are created, that is, the abolition of all privileges - bourgeois nationalism is the principle of a declining social order that has produced the oppression and exploitation of nations, as well as the maintenance or recovery of privileges.

The liberation of all humanity guarantees the liberation of every people, and the liberation of every nation is an irreplaceable link in the liberation of all humanity, for the liberation of humanity progresses as the individual links unite with each other for their own liberation, not liberation against each other, at the expense of others, but liberation with each other, for each other - this is the only way out of today's crisis of all nations, that is the way out of the crisis of the Russian nation.

In this world the highest endeavor is to reconcile all human beings with each other as well as each one of nature and to achieve the necessary abolition of the existing exploitation and oppression of man and nature by man through international class struggle, by the victory of the socialist Revolution, the overthrow of the world bourgeoisie by the world proletariat, by the victory of world socialism over world capitalism, and by treading the path to communism.

These are the ideals from which we communists derive our revolutionary action. We are guided by Marxism-Leninism not because it is "conceived" but because it is scientifically in accordance with the objective laws of the development of the world. It is our power and strength that makes us a force that frightens the rulers of this world and that we are still the number one enemy in the world for them, for communism lives and is invincible. Our defeats only make our victory more perfect. The communist society is the only society with which humanity has a future.

So we Communists ask the National Bolsheviks what their ideals of a new Russia have to do with these Communist ideals of Lenin and Stalin, and why they rename the Communists Lenin and Stalin as nationalists? To be sure, Stalin and Lenin - as Marx and Engels did for a long time - (long, long before the National Bolsheviks) realized that the age of capitalism and socialism would one day have expired. The only difference is that they were not aware of National Bolshevism, but of world communism, which of course the National Bolsheviks deny.

Limonov - one of the leaders of the NBP (National Bolshevik Party in Russia), in his article "Socialism and Capitalism - Siamese Twins", sets bold, "revolutionary" slogans, some of which we cite here: "freedom of man from mechanical labor".

Stalin's answer:

**"It should therefore be said that nowhere are machines used so willingly as in the U.S.S.R., because they economize the labour of society and lighten the labour of the worker, and, as there is no unemployment in the U.S.S.R., the workers use machines in the national economy with the greatest eagerness."** (Stalin: 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. '; Moscow; 1952; p.49; English Edition).

And Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels have also said in the Communist Manifesto that:

**"In bourgeois society, living labour is but a means to increase accumulated labour. In Communist society, accumulated labour is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the labourer."** (Marx, Engels: 'Manifesto of the Communist Party'; Moscow; 1977; p.51; English Edition)"

We communists in principle do not despise work, but only wage labor, because it is based on capitalist slavery. Hard work is not the same as slaving away. It does not matter to me how mechanical, how difficult or how exhausting any work is for me, if I know that it serves my family and society and is useful to them, if it gives everyone as well as myself wealth and a quality life, then I am even willing and ready to work without money in order to serve the common good of all people on this earth. For me, if even the slightest handshake were to free me from doing mechanic work and if my job was to already be too "interesting" or perhaps "diverse", it would stink for me a lot, if I work instead for my family, instead of working for the well-being of the community, for bags of money to fill up a bank account that cannot get be filled, while my family, while the community is starving and tightening its belt, or if every handshake may only lead to me lying on the street unemployed on the very next day. If I'm forced to do my work, only to multiply the power of the rich and their wealth and thereby produce more poverty, then that is a damn grind, make me, make them all, ruin them all, and then I, along with everyone will get rid of this kind of work by uniting with everyone in the world and fight for our revolutionary liberation from wage slavery. So a mechanical job for the good of all is a thousand times better than the "greatest" work, if it serves the capitalist or the capitalist state, whether it is American, Russian, German, or Chinese. This is primarily a social and not a national question.

Above all, it is not the case, as the National Bolsheviks claim, that socialism is exhausted in the taking over of factories by the workers, but that socialist transformation creates the necessary conditions for the communist society, where the work does not remain as the mere means to an end, but even the first need for life has become and the principle "to each according to their ability, to each according to their needs" can be realized.

Limonka preaches "brotherhood among the people" under the current conditions in Russia, because capitalism and socialism are already "passé", "both" can no longer misuse people as a mere tool of labor productivity. National brotherhood as a panacea for the reconciliation between wage labor and capital - for the benefit of the "whole" people or for the benefit of a minority of the entire people?

### ***"The Right of War"***

Limonka demands: "Right for war." Did he ever ask the older Russian population what they think about a "right to war"? They will answer Limonov: "Right to war in defense of socialism - yes, but otherwise we are AGAINST the right to war." Did Limonov question the Russian youth, for example the Russian sons in the Chechen war, if they were "eager" to die for Putin or to die for the conquest of the Eurasian Empire, for Russian world domination? To make a claim for the right to any war, without asking the class question,

which class avails this right, and which class it harms, is the demand of nationalism, is the call for imperialist war of conquest.

If there is any right to war, then only of the oppressed and exploited classes have the right to a war against the wars of oppressive and exploitative classes, with the aim of eliminating the inevitability of all wars for all time. The only truly just war of the world is the class war of the world proletariat against the war of world imperialism, because it is the only war that can eliminate the inevitability of wars.

Right to imperialist robberies? Never have Lenin and Stalin made such a reactionary demand! How about peace, dear National Bolsheviks? What was your right to war between Russia and Afghanistan? Right to a social and national liberation war of the Afghan people against the occupiers of Russian social imperialism or right of the Russian social imperialists to war for the subjugation of the Afghan people? Or "both" - according to the motto, "may the stronger win" because the law is always on the side of the strongest? How generous, when a rich superpower wages war, and shares the right to this war with one of the world's poorest peoples! Who was stronger in Afghanistan, has been proven well. The Russian occupation troops had to pull their tail and take the Kabul puppet government of the new czars out of their hat. That was right - say the Bolsheviks, it was not in the least in the interest of the Russian people themselves, whose sons had to shed their blood for the colonial profits of the Russian social-imperialists! That was not right, say the National Bolsheviks, because that has hurt Russia in the war path to the conquest of the Eurasian empire!

If the war against Russia is just, we and the Russian Bolsheviks are at war against Russia! If the war against Russia is unfair, then we will wage war with Russia's Bolsheviks in defense of Russia, we will sacrifice our blood for Russia just as we communists of the whole world did in World War I!!!! We Communists do not let anyone force a war on us, including the National Bolsheviks (even if they could). If any imperialist nation seeks to impose a war on us, we will turn that imperialist nation into a socialist nation just as we will transform an imperialist world war imposed upon us into a socialist world republic. If world imperialism prevents us from leading the world socialist revolution to victory, which would forever prevent imperialist world wars, so if they try to forestall the world socialist revolution with an imperialist world war, we will turn the imperialist world war into a socialist world war and victory would cost even more sacrifice and destruction, but would also lead to the victory of the world socialist revolution - we will win either way, because world socialism is just, because it frees all humanity from war: the future of humanity is secured by peace, not by war. The best condition for world socialist revolution is peace, not war.

The requirement of the right to war for Russians, in the world where "neither capitalism nor socialism exists," is the demand of the right of a strong race of having their world order over weak races, namely to wage war against any race that is not Russian or is too weak to oppose russification. This is a racist world war, a racial war that extends the war of Hitlerite fascism to the extermination from one race, the Jewish race, to all other races in the world, a war that is led to the extermination of all races and gives the world to the Russians. Hitler's War for East Habitats is being transformed by the National Bolsheviks into a war for habitat not only to the west, but a habitat for Russians around the world. All peoples are robbed of their habitats in order to make room for the Russian race: "Russia is everything, everything else is nothing!" That is the national Bolshevik justification for their "right to war," for the right to their "Eurasian Empire." - and of all things "in the name" of Lenin and Stalin! Let us free the Russian people, liberate Lenin and Stalin and all the peoples of the world from the National Bolsheviks! If the place for nations becomes narrower in the world, then they will peacefully move together, but in a war of nations they

will destroy the weak, to make room for the stronger, or conversely, to unite weaker peoples in a peoples war to wipe out a stronger nation is pure social Darwinist, imperialist ideology of the struggle of all against all; just as the big capitalists take the right to eat the small capitalists, the "Great Powers" take the right to devour the little powers, the big peoples eat the little ones - all of this is social Darwinism, namely the right of the strong over weak. Social Darwinism is a "natural" elite for keeping the human race clean, a "natural" creation of more habitat through the martial elimination of the habitat of all others. "The class struggle is dead - long live the race fight!" Dear National Bolsheviks, shouting this slogan is no use to you! Do you believe that we Marxist-Leninists have forgotten that social Darwinism arose in response to the spread of Marxism and the labor movement in the second half of the 19th century, and that Lenin and Stalin victoriously fought Social Darwinism in the October Revolution and in the Great Patriotic War, did you National Bolsheviks forget about the fact that little Albania destroyed the "big" Hitlerite fascist power in their own country and built socialism above the rubble? A small country, a small nation, a small people, a small race can defeat EVERYONE if their fight is just. A great country, a great nation, a great people, a great race will be defeated if this struggle is unjust. This was proven by history and this will be proven in the future. Social Darwinism is the ideology of a sinking world order that is desperately resisting its downfall. Social Darwinism will perish like the world order that created this ideology! And National Bolshevism will perish because it is essentially Darwinian in its nature (Incidentally, it was Krupp who financed the Social Darwinist theory as well as the race theory that was derived by the Hitlerite Fascists. Perhaps the American finance capital of Soros also finances National Bolshevism?). As you can see, when the demagogic phrase of National Bolshevism is dissected, all of its primitiveness and contempt for human beings is revealed, and its racist-fascist grimace comes to the surface. Solely nationalists of the worst kind propagate the sole purpose of starting world war for the reestablishment of a Great Russian Empire, that is, to put the interests of a small minority of monopoly capitalists above the interests of hundreds of millions of people who will suffer in the war.

The victorious proletariat can not force any kind of happiness onto any foreign people without undermining its own victory.

Lenin taught, **"that justifying participation in the imperialist war and advancing the "against-defeat" slogan in this war means acting, not only as an anti-socialist, but also as an antinational politician. For the present-day imperialist war is a war between Great Powers (i.e., powers that oppress a number of other nations), conducted for the purpose of oppressing new nations. One cannot be "national" in an imperialist war otherwise than by being a socialist politician, i.e., by recognising the right of oppressed nations to liberation, to secession from the Great Powers that oppress them. In the era of imperialism, there can be no other salvation for most of the world's nations than through revolutionary action undertaken by the proletariat of the Great Powers, spreading beyond the boundaries of nationality, smashing those boundaries, and overthrowing the international bourgeoisie. Until the bourgeoisie is overthrown, there will remain nations known as "Great Powers", i.e., the oppression will remain of nine tenths of the nations of the whole world. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie will enormously accelerate the downfall of national partitions of every kind, this without decreasing but, on the contrary, increasing a millionfold the "differentiation" of humanity, in the meaning of the wealth and the variety in spiritual life, ideological trends, tendencies, and shades."** (Lenin: 'Main German Opportunist Work in the War' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 21; Moscow; 1974; p.274; English Edition).

That is the quintessence of our Marxist-Leninist attitude to the imperialist war - its transformation into the international civil war, into the international class war to the victory of the world socialist revolution. We will always defend this position against National Bolshevism. As we know, we Bolsheviks fight only for just wars and only against unjust wars, that is, for anti-imperialist peace with weapons in hand! We counter the right to war (nationalism!) With the right to peace (internationalism!). Only the war of internationalism will prevail over the war of nationalism. And only when nationalism is eliminated can there be a peace that is no longer the respite between wars, but is inevitable for all humanity.

The National Bolsheviks take the attitude "neither victory nor defeat" to the war between Israel and Palestine, neither for the Israelis nor for the Palestinians - each of them would have a right to war for his own interests. Anyone who represents this is in any case an enemy of internationalist proletarian politics; a supporter of the rulers, an opponent of the oppressed, is a chauvinist of the purest water. And the National Bolsheviks operate this policy in Russia, too:

**"The propagation in the working class of ideas which call for the preservation and enlargement, even at the price of war if necessary, of the dominant-nation advantages and privileges of the Great-Russian landowners and bourgeoisie."**

(Lenin: 'The State of Affairs in Russian Social-Democracy' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 21; Moscow; 1974; p.282; English Edition).

The National Bolsheviks are ready to sign everything, even "socialism" and "revolution," when their "right to war" is assured, when everyone unconditionally submits to this "right": "socialism", "revolution" - whatever you Leftists like - in peacetime, but in times of war = support of nationalism, Russian robbery, subjugation of foreign nations under the military boots of the Russian monopoly bourgeoisie. Once it is done, you can "talk" about the distribution of the loot afterwards! "Unity" with the left is beneficial to the Russian monopoly bourgeoisie if the left can be forced to submit to Russian chauvinism, for example, "in the struggle against American imperialism," etc., and as a result, it will hinder internationalist orientation and organization from the workers. It is for the Russian bourgeoisie to fight "for" the rights and privileges of its national capital over international capital and to mislead the Russian people by fighting in the imperialist struggle as a "right" to plunder others as a "national liberation war" from American supremacy. The National Bolsheviks, lying with phrases about saving Russia from extermination, lie about the attempts to "save" the privileges of the Russian superpower, and lie about the Russian proletariat's tasks of fighting against the international bourgeoisie - including its own Russian bourgeoisie -

And we Bolsheviks say this to you National Bolsheviks:

Either

You defend by the rifle or the pen, directly or indirectly, in whatever forms, the Russian Great Power - and in general its national privileges and positions of power and claims of your own Russian monopoly bourgeoisie, and that means for us that - you are their followers and lackeys;

or

You join us Bolsheviks in our internationalist armed revolutionary war against the Russian Great Power and its privileges, in our class war against any imperialist great power, and against any major power.

There is no middle ground! If you dare to resort to a "middle ground", then we say to you: A middle ground, a middle line in fact means only the disguised, veiled transition to the side of the Russian imperialists! Paying lip service to Lenin and Stalin is a hypocrisy meant only to deceive the Russian masses about their real intentions.

This is about the divorce between the "revolutionary" (= counter-revolutionary!) Russian chauvinists, the "revolution" only against all "strangers" (= non-Russian = pogroms against foreigners), against the "foreign rule of foreign finance capital", etc and the revolutionary proletarian internationalists who, with the liberation of monopoly capitalist Russia, are following the path of world socialist revolution today. This new divorce, in essence, is a divorce between the petty bourgeoisie of Russia and the Russian proletariat. It is necessary to understand the difference between Bolshevism and National Bolshevism as a different position between the different classes of contemporary Russia, on which their tactical and principled interests are based. The Russian working class would condemn itself to powerlessness if it allowed itself to waver as the Russian petty bourgeoisie vacillates.

**"The proletariat will debilitate itself if it permits its party to vacillate as the petty bourgeoisie does. The proletariat will accomplish its task only if it is able to march unfalteringly towards its great goal, pushing the petty bourgeoisie forward, letting the latter learn from its mistakes when it wavers to the right, and utilising all the petty bourgeoisie's forces to the utmost when life compels it to move to the left."**

(Lenin: 'Defeat of Russia and Revolutionary Crisis' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 21; Moscow; 1974; p.380; English Edition).

For us Bolsheviks, this is precisely what it means to enlighten not only the Russian proletariat about the petty-bourgeois, false slogan of the national Bolsheviks "neither right nor left," but also the wavering petty-bourgeoisie. To go together with the democratic petty bourgeoisie, yes, but not with the national Bolsheviks. They only want a victory over Putin for the purpose of freeing themselves from the influence of Western capital in order to gain a free hand, rob other countries, consolidate the rule of the great Russians over the other peoples of Russia again, and use the hegemony thus regained as a springboard for the expansion of their "Eurasian empire".

The National Bolsheviks know very well that a socialist revolution in Russia would also involve the peoples of Eurasia in the socialist revolution, that this would be a signal for the progress and spread of the world socialist revolution. Hence their fear that their dream of the Eurasian Empire would be over. But the international solidarity of the proletariat with the peoples of the Near and Middle East has already become a fact - and that is precisely why the National Bolsheviks struggle against international Marxism-Leninism, hiding behind Stalin and Lenin to deceive the masses! To influence the Russian worker, the bourgeois must disguise themselves as National Bolsheviks, otherwise influencing is impossible. Anything you want, but do not prevent us from calling the workers to actual cooperation for the conquest of the Eurasian Empire. This is their goal, everything else is only a decorative addition of words. That alone is what the monopoly bourgeoisie of Russia needs today. The clever bourgeois are indulgent to the internationalist and socialist phrase if only the participation of the defense of the fatherland is not out of question. If, behind the construction of a Eurasian Empire, behind phrases of socialism, etc., one defends the Russian war of robbery, is that not really an advantage for the imperialist Russian bourgeoisie? Is it not advantageous for the Lord to have a lackey who swears highly and holy to the people, who devotes his whole life to caring for the people and loving the Russian people? Unity with national Bolshevism, that is the unity of the Russian proletariat with its bourgeoisie, i.e. submission to it, is the splitting of the international

revolutionary working class.

## Sexual freedom

Limonka demands: "Sexual comfort" - what kind of political demand should this be? This is strongly reminiscent of the anti-authoritarian SexPol movement of 1968, which wanted to liberate society through a sexual revolution. With his "sexual comfort" Limonka wants to prevent the procreation of the two "Siamese Twins" capitalism and socialism? A total state for total sex for the total contraception of unwanted socialist pregnancies? - The total state protects you against the socialist HIV virus, so that the people can pursue "comfortable sex" without worries according to the motto of the Hitlerite fascists: "Make sex for children who are needed for the war to fight down bolshevism! ("Forbid the forbidden!").

Limonka and the NBP claim that: "Both systems are concerned with property and capital. Under capitalism property and capital belong, as it was already mentioned, to private individuals, under socialism, property and capital belong to the working people - hired workers, in other words the proletariat. Simple, isn't it? (...) Still in 1993, balloting in the Tver region for the 172nd electoral district, I answered the questions of the electorate: am I for private property or against it? I did not answer by a short "yes" or "no", but answered that I'm for the effective form of property. It is important that the plant, the factory make profits, so that the workers have a good pay and the government receives its taxes, and who the owner of the plant is, whether it is one man or a workers' collective or auctioneers is indifferent. Still today I stand on the same position."

The NBP therefore declared not to be a fighter for the elimination of, but for the maintenance of private property!

Limonka does not even care that the workers own nothing but their labor and that wage labor does not create property for the wage worker but helps the capitalist to power over social property. Due to mass unemployment, fewer and fewer wage earners have the chance to provide for the naked life of their families at all. The NBP's program does not say one word about the elimination of the world crisis and all its misery: "Russia above all, everything else is nothing!"

Socialism does not abolish the personal appropriation of the products of labor that are indispensable for the reproduction of immediate survival, but rather:

**"All that we want to do away with is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the labourer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only in so far as the interest of the ruling class requires it. (...) Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriation. (...) According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything, do not work. The whole of this objection is but another expression of the tautology: that there can no longer be any wage labour when there is no longer any capital." (Marx, Engels: 'Manifesto of the Communist Party'; Moscow, 1977; p.51, 54; English Edition).**

Whether the ownership of the factories serves to satisfy the needs of the masses or an individual and yields profits for himself, Limonka is "indifferent" - capital and labor are equally satisfied if everything remains "beautifully in national equilibrium. It conceals the

antagonistic contradiction between labor and capital, denies the class question (to save capitalist property and perpetuate wage slavery!) - national class peace to wage national wars, the socialist class struggle only disturbs it! This is both characteristic and self-explanatory of the entire bourgeois and reactionary political line of the National Bolsheviks:

"The confrontation of capitalism with socialism from the very beginning was a fiction, invented by professor Marx, on the base of the already present economic knowledge + a bucket of fantasy. In reality the practitioner, conquistador Marx needed a revolutionary class (or a chosen people, which is essentially the same thing). Since if you get yourself out of the desert, this is banal, and this action will not surprise anybody. But to lead an entire people from the desert - this is a feat. It is clear that the proletariat, the hired workers, when it only appeared was badly paid and lived terribly. But it was also clear that this was a temporary problem, since all problems of this kind (more salary, more hours, quantity of working hours) - can be solved and are solved in the practice of relations .(...) Today when both Zupanov and Soros talk with the same language about property, when some transnational corporation is owned by so much thousands auctioneers, that it can be considered a collective property, the limits between socialism and capitalism do not exist. It never existed at all. As there was no capitalism and now there is no socialism. The intelligent "Moor" only invented the terminology. And the fact that Lenin had won under the flag of Marxism, well, what can one say, throw up one's hands and say: a genial misfit who assembled a priceless human material under his command, he would have won under any flag. (...) These brain-burning computations of professor Marx were not needed to them, people of action. They needed an exciting, beautiful flag and a few slogans. What can be more exciting than a red flag? Why did communist and socialist parties degenerate? Because they function with the same categories as the liberals, call for the same goals. But if our ideological enemies preach the productivity of labor, then it is stupid to preach a still larger productivity of labor. Besides, knowing for certain that it works better for them, with mechanical labor and productivity. One needs to preach something different, totally-totally different. The fraternity of people, freedom of man from mechanical labor. Sexual comfort. Right for war."

Also: "There was never capitalism and there is no socialism." Therefore, the confrontation between capitalism and socialism is a "fantasy" of Marx. What an embellishment of imperialism, what mockery of Lenin and Stalin and the whole Soviet people, what mockery of Bolshevism. It is enough for Limonka to read the first sentence of the Communist Manifesto "A spectre is haunting Europe...etc" and already with his "mystificationism" he "refuted" Marxism, together with capitalism (which for Limonka is a fantasy of Marx) and socialism - it was all just a "fantasy" - and that's National Bolshevism! (as Limonka actually told in his fairy tale about the Siamese Twins). Marx and Engels said something completely different about the "spectre":

**"... all forms and products of consciousness cannot be dissolved by mental criticism, by resolution into "self-consciousness" or transformation into "apparitions", "spectres", "whimsies", etc., but only by the practical overthrow of the actual social relations which gave rise to this idealistic humbug..."** (Marx, Engels: 'The German Ideology' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 5; Moscow; 1976; p.54; English Edition).

The people, the working class, should not think too politically - "a few slogans" - that is all mass action needs. The ideological influence of the bourgeoisie should not be undermined by Marxism-Leninism. Exploitation of the proletariat is seen by the National Bolsheviks as

"a temporary problem, since all problems of this kind (more salary, more hours, quantity of working hours) - can be solved and are solved in the practice of relations". They see exploitation only as a "temporary problem", which without class struggle - i.e. which would have been technically controlled, even already solved(!) - one would have to deal with, a plain lie and a mockery of the actual conditions under which the Russian working class is suffering today. The illusion of the harmony between Russian labor and Russian capital, of the wages of the workers and other problems of their working world, which are regarded as "solved", have nothing to do with Russian reality. All this shows that this is only a tactic of the National Bolsheviks, that these problems can be solved "without" ideology, that they can be solved without proletarian revolution and its leadership by the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The new formulation of de-ideologization serves the National Bolsheviks to adapt to the given conditions in Russia in order to take more effective action against socialism, revolution and Marxism-Leninism and to carry the bourgeois ideology all the more effectively "as anti-capitalist" and "anti-socialist" into the people. The defense of bourgeois ideology is merely veiled and disguised with the "denial of any ideology. But with the "denial of the capitalist and socialist ideology" also the old ballast of the ideological class struggle is to be eliminated by a neutralizing re-ideologization, because the bourgeois ideology is in crisis and will not be up to a renewed onslaught of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, which inevitably experiences its rebirth with the revival of the class struggle. This is why today it is so characteristic of the rulers that they create thousands of eclectically mixed ideological currents to confuse the situation, always in the hope that any of these currents will survive Marxism-Leninism and that the workers will not find Marxism-Leninism a needle in a haystack. To "underpin" the "bankruptcy" of socialist ideology, the National Bolsheviks use the betrayal of the revisionist Russian party and claim that socialist ideology has suffered a "fiasco" with its Marxist prediction of the future of capitalist countries, with the prediction of "eternal" socialism in Russia. The degeneration of socialism in the Soviet Union is described by them as the end of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the end of communist ideals. The National Bolsheviks do their utmost to present revisionist betrayal as a failure of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, as if communism were not capable of providing a positive alternative for solving the problems of Putinist Russia today. This is the platitudinous anti-communism of capitalism that the National Bolsheviks use here.

According to Limonka, the masses only need a "pretty flag" to follow National Bolshevism into the golden cage! National Bolshevik art must be useful, must appeal to people's instincts, drives and emotions in order to achieve its effect - biologistic instead of class art. The red flag is a symbol of revolutionary change, so it is snatched from the goal of Marxism and replaced by National Bolshevism to lure revolutionary instincts, sentiments toward the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, old socialist habits, socialist ethics and aesthetics out of the "dangerous concealment" of the Russian soul and use them for National Bolshevism. It doesn't matter whether socialism has worked for 20 - 30 - 40 or 50 years. It depends on its ingenious "invention", which no power in the world can reverse. Socialism, even when its power has been eliminated, remains forever of world-historical importance, ushered in a new epoch of humanity, lives on all over the world, continues its triumphal march. We have Marxism-Leninism, the plan to begin again at any time where our work has been interrupted - not only Russia's anti-revisionist socialism "in one country", but the whole world is now ripe for world socialism. So socialism is still alive in the minds of the people, of whom the revisionists could not turn all upside down. Socialist Russia has been taken from the socialist people, but the mortar for the reconstruction of socialist society still exists in the soul of the Russian people. One cannot extinguish socialism in people's minds like a lamp, but only convert it and misuse it. National Bolshevism is just such a misappropriation of Bolshevism in order to protect the Russian

people (with and without the use of force) from the return of Bolshevism. One cannot impose capitalist habits on a socialist people, only the way remains to wrap the new capitalist habits in a socialist shell. But since the habits emerge from the class struggle of the Russian proletariat, since Marxism-Leninism cannot be destroyed, the socialist shell will sooner or later be discarded, the proletariat recognizes why there can be no place for capitalism in Russia and will again strive for the socialism with which the Russian people were once so happy:

**"The reconquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the class struggle of the proletariat, which has suffered a defeat and thus temporarily lost its political power against the bourgeoisie, against revisionism. The Russian and Albanian proletariat have been defeated but not destroyed; they have not disappeared, they have not stopped continuing the class struggle and are breaking the resistance of the bourgeoisie against the reconquest of the dictatorship." (General Line of the Comintern/ML, Chapter Two).**

**"If we look today at the situation and the real downfall of the former Soviet Union and the situation of the former socialist Albania, we must answer the question of whether they have actually been lost forever to capitalism - as the capitalists claim? could they break the weakest link of the chain of imperialism only once in history? Or is another breakthrough coming?**

**From our proletarian class standpoint, from the point of view of proletarian internationalism, from our revolutionary heart and our inexorable love for the Soviet people and Albanian people, from our belief in the power of rebirth of socialism, this question can easily be answered with convincing, loud, deep "YES!" Yes, the Soviet Union and Albania will break this chain again and again until the victory over capitalism is secured forever! And from this conviction, as internationalists, we can also affirm this question from the point of view of world revolution. But that's the next question: yes, but how? It is not enough to be instinctively drawn to the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, to the Albanian Enver Hoxha, if we feel the source of the force in us that is constantly emanating from these countries, which flows through us, and feeds our revolutionary spirit incessantly. We must solve this task with cool reason, with the proper Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics, that is, quite systematically, with the help of dialectical and historical materialism:**

**A chain link that managed to break out of the imperialist chain does not return in the same state back into the imperialist chain in which it had broken out. After all, this chain link had experienced a victorious period of revolution, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in a process of historical transformation, dividing the world camp into two parts, and above all it became of fundamentally great importance for the world revolution, i.e. for the proletarian revolution in others countries and thus for the continuation of its own victorious period. What we mean by this is that the meaning of such a chain link - even if we lose it again to world imperialism and it is sort of reclassified into the imperialist chain - is never lost to the world revolution, but lives on forever in it. If we cling to and remain loyal to Marxism-Leninism, we can not conceive of the doctrine of breaking the imperialist chain at its weakest point under present conditions. Only in this way does Marxism-Leninism give us the courage, strength and confidence to victoriously continue and bring to an end this internationalist struggle for the demolition of the imperialist chain. World imperialism may pretend that there has never been a chain breach, and it will develop its own "theories" about it - especially its Neo-Revisionist camp - but**

that will not do it any good, because its chain will literally be torn apart in the place where the weakest link is - and this process is not completed, but it is legitimate, though at slower or faster rates, but there is basically nothing wrong with that at all. Wherever the weakest link is, it will be part of those chain links that have already broken out, regardless of whether or not they have transformed back into members of the imperialist chain. In each new chain link that has broken out, the spirit of the old chain links lives on - the former chain links continue, the day will come when they themselves have become the weakest link in the imperialist chain, and the second time the series are to break free. Comrades, this is not just a mere repetition of the first breakthrough, but this is done on a qualitatively higher level, which will have a special meaning for all other links that break the first time. The former chain links already have this meaning for every other chain link before they all break through the imperialist chain one after the other. All links in the chain, whether they are part of the imperialist chain or whether they have already broken loose or have broken loose, are always linked by the bond of the world revolution in the past, present and future. The volume of the world revolution brings the countries together more and more, because every rift will only lead to their further union and consolidation. This is what distinguishes the band of world socialism from the band of world imperialism, which weakens and weakens after each crack until it is torn forever.

The reconquest of socialism is not only a subordinate strategic task of the world revolution, it is the most important strategic task of the world revolution, because it links the future of socialism in all countries, and therefore the future of socialism in every single country! It depends on you, comrades! Only when socialism is completed in Russia and Albania will we be able to complete the world revolution, when we can finally prove to the world that we have not only created socialism for a certain time, but that we can secure it forever! This is not only of crucial historical importance, but it also depends on the victory or defeat of the world revolution before us. Therefore, we must be prepared for this important task, we must take a completely new revolutionary path, the way of the "higher type of revolution", the way of "higher type of socialism". For this reason, we must definitely continue to develop Marxism-Leninism for the coming revolution and the continuation of socialism, a theory that allows us an uninterrupted path to world socialism and thus prevents its socialist links from regressing into the imperialist chain. Having raised this task alone is the first crucial step in the solution. We all have to work energetically on this task until it can be theoretically and immediately solved in practice:

First, the reconquest of socialism would greatly support and accelerate the revolutions in other countries. In particular, this would be very important for the revolutions in those countries that are still hard hit by social-fascism and social-imperialism. So that would be the "direct", the "better" solution.

Second, any revolution, wherever it wins, would in any case help and encourage the Russian and Albanian proletariat to reclaim their socialism faster and more easily. That would be the "indirect, more protracted" solution for the Albanians and Russians.

Case 1 and Case 2 would be extremely important for the world revolution one way or another. The Russians and Albanians are victorious through the world revolution, or the world revolution is won by the Russians and Albanians. Either way, we will

**prove the ultimate victory of socialism in all countries.**

**What is the strength of a proletariat that does not resign itself to its overthrown power but wants to recapture its dictatorship?**

**First, in the strength of the international proletariat, in the consolidation of the international relations of the proletarians of all countries.**

**Second, the fact that for a long time after their overthrow the workers and working people and the "disposal" of the achievements of their socialism, which can not be abolished by the bourgeoisie in one fell swoop.**

**Third, the power of socialist habits, which have developed in decades of the existence of the Soviet Union and Albania, can not be replaced in one fell swoop by capitalist habits.**

**Fourth, in the ability to build a higher type of socialism.**

**The renewed victory of the Russian and Albanian proletariat is very close to our hearts, it is the heartfelt desire of the world proletariat to thank the Russian and Albanian people for their sacrifices in the sense of proletarian internationalism by solidary assistance and to reciprocate their once proven aid with international help. Former members of the socialist chain enjoy the constant special attention of proletarian internationalism and are always upheld and honored, never losing their groundbreaking importance for the world revolution, but increasing it.**

**There is nothing of more value to us, nothing more important in the world, than our loyalty to the Paris Commune, to the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, and to the socialist Albania of Comrade Enver Hoxha. This force, which we feel through the Soviet Union and through Albania, is invincible, today and in the "1000 years" of the darkest world reaction. These glowing bulwarks of socialism will forever show us the way out of the darkest tunnel. They are extremely precious to us right now, since all we have is all our hope. In this respect, we not only closely following the class struggle in Russia and Albania, but we also feel obliged as internationalists to give this class struggle every conceivable help and support. They have done something unheard of for proletarian internationalism, more than any other people in the world. Would it not be self-evident if the world proletariat and the peoples of the whole world were to provide these peoples with all the support and sympathy that they so desperately need to complete their revolutions, their socialism?**

**So we are not talking about a dare for the victorious revolutions in Russia and Albania, but for a compelling necessity, of a legality that will one day become a historical fact" (from: General line of the Comintern / ML, Chapter Two).**

**But what do the national Bolsheviks say?**

**You only have to serve up the right fairy tale to the masses, people of action don't need a Marxist-Leninist theory. We've read that somewhere before, haven't we? Right! - That is the ideology of pragmatism! We gladly enlighten the National Bolsheviks about it. They already know what is coming now: Pragmatism is the principle of expediency for imperialism, more precisely for American imperialism, of all things about the ideology of the "Satan" you demonize, they are the things of which you rely on! Not scientific**

knowledge, but pragmatic expediency is the basis for the political decisions of the national Bolsheviks for their internal and external decisions. Thus, the American imperialists have also justified their war in Iraq. They burst the balloon of "scientifically proven knowledge" about Hussein's alleged weapons of mass destruction just as quickly as they had inflated it. Usefulness? More blood = more oil for the Yankees! With its anti-theoretical orientation and its doctrine of expediency, pragmatism is thus a true reflection of the character of the monopoly capitalist class.

A philosophy that reflects the worldview and needs of the monopoly capitalist class must inevitably be based on the denial of the possibility of a scientific theory of historical development itself. But to deny the possibility of a social science, one must deny that there is any necessity in social development. So if Limonka claims that there is no capitalism, then the existence of socialism is not necessary either. Therefore the National Bolsheviks reject any notion that there is a structure of change, they reject the notion of the system, because if there is no system, there can be neither a capitalist nor a socialist system. The existence of such a structure, such a system, would mean that one can recognize it and fight for it. It would mean that the structure, the system of society could be reflected in scientific theory, which then serves as a guideline for social practice. Nationalism denies the inevitable overthrow of capitalism by the recapture of socialism, because if capitalism no longer exists, it cannot be overthrown, and certainly not for the second time. The will of the monopoly capitalist class to survive its scientifically proven and daily progressing decline in front of everyone's eyes is still the only thing left of its class rule. However, there is no longer sufficient basis for the successful implementation of this will in the course of the social development of mankind. In its doubt it therefore tries to hold on to every straw. Anyone who can no longer control the crisis that they created will go down with it.

And in Russia, according to Limonka, things developed in such a way that Lenin didn't necessarily need a red flag; he could just as easily have carried the masses along with some other flag. "But for them the red flag was the one that looked so beautifully exciting, and a few slogans were enough to solve the problems of the time with a few simple moves. People are satisfied if they are good with each other, have good sex, instead of always having to do bad sex! Everyone should live his life the way he wants to. That also goes without regulations. The leaders naturally take care that nobody destroys this beautiful new world. They provide for discipline and order. The new world is meant only for people who are enthusiastic about the modern lifestyle of the new Russia and learn Russian, if they could not do that before. Oh well, then there's also a little thing - but that's actually a natural matter, that you have to be prepared to die for it too, because the right to war is boring if there's no blood flowing. Russia is the beautiful new world, and anyone who is disturbed by it will be wiped out. And that is that! Any more questions?"

It takes either a large portion of callousness or stupidity to erase the entire truth of over 100 years of history with a few loose sayings. This is above all a contemptuous and therefore very dangerous attitude, because anyone who erases milestones in the history of mankind erases the people who continue these milestones, who revolutionarily eliminate the power relations that fight for the progress of society with their own sweat and blood. Bourgeois nationalism was initially the political superstructure for the capitalist base without which the political system of the bourgeois nation would not function. Now the national shirt becomes too tight for international capital. Capitalism has replaced feudalism, so it was revolutionary in the beginning. He became reactionary and was replaced by socialism. This process continues, it cannot be stopped, not because the socialists have greater stamina, but because their revolutionary activity corresponds to the laws of the replacement of capitalism by socialism, the replacement of bourgeois nations

by socialist nations, the course of the historical development of society, which continues independently without the will of the people. To shake up sayings out of one's sleeve that the confrontation of capitalism and socialism is a "fiction of Marxism" ARE sayings of a fiction because it does not correspond with reality, not to the objective conditions of society, but only to the subjective wishful thinking of the class leaving the historical tribune. If the world is not recognizable in its real existence and if superstition is substituted for knowledge and truth, then pragmatic positivism defends the invention of fantasies that serve to delay the downfall of capitalism. The National Bolsheviks rightly trim the history of the Soviet Union so that it is adapted to the ideas of the superiority of the Russian race and the Eurasian Empire, and they euphemistically assume "world leadership. The National Bolsheviks penetrate the great socialist historiography through the American mouse hole of pragmatism to create an ideological basis for their new, vast empire. The National Bolsheviks hate and fear nothing more than the political economy of Karl Marx, which scientifically proves that capitalism means nothing other than the inevitability of socialism.

The National Bolsheviks' assertion that there was neither capitalism nor socialism serves their purposes, so it is "true". There is "no" socialism, because there "never" was implemented, but socialism was only the "fictitious product" of the Marxist-Leninists. Consequently, the recapture of socialism is only the recapture of the "Marxist fiction", for the replacement of capitalism by socialism is "only in the minds" of the Marxist-Leninists. This is why Limonka also quickly explains that there was autocracy in Russia, but no capitalism at all - and what is not, cannot be eliminated, socialist thinking is a completely superfluous thinking, a fantasy - as the national Bolsheviks say. They simply turn the tables and claim:

"If you Marxist-Leninists accuse us of the pragmatic-positivist view of history in order to prove that we intended to build the new "great" Russian Empire with a crippled US imperialist ideology, then we hold this mirror up to yourselves and tell you: Marxist-Leninists cannot have knowledge of the Soviet past, but can only weave facts into Marxist plans that are only spun in your heads. So our National Bolshevik thinking is not pragmatic-positivist, but Marxist thinking is pragmatic-positivist. This would also prove that Marxism only helped the Western world to power. The Marxist-Leninists accuse us national Bolsheviks of striving for world domination, but that is just their fantasy. And it is thanks to us National Bolsheviks that we here in Russia have closed the Marxist fairy tale book. We will solve the problems of the new Russia only by finally freeing it from the slavery of the theory of its socialist past and future".

**"Thus, while utopia, doctrinaire Socialism, which subordinates the whole movement to one of its elements, which puts the cerebrations of the individual pedant in place of common, social production and, above all, wishes away the necessities of the revolutionary class struggles by petty tricks or great sentimental rhetoric—while this doctrinaire Socialism, which basically only idealises present-day society, makes a shadowless picture of it and seeks to oppose its ideal to its reality, while this Socialism is ceded by the proletariat to the petty bourgeoisie, while the internal struggle between the different socialist leaders reveals each so-called system to be the pretentious adherence to one transitional position on the path to social upheaval as opposed to another—the proletariat increasingly organises itself around revolutionary Socialism, around Communism (...) This Socialism is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the**

**abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionising of all the ideas that result from these social relations."** (Marx, Engels: 'The Class Struggles in France' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 10; Moscow; 1978; p.126-127; English Edition)

To dismiss this as "fiction" is to close their eyes to the daily intensifying of the class struggle in Russia, the blindness to everything in which the struggle of the Russian working class has currently expressed under the real, existing capitalist conditions in Russia, the separation of the workers movement from Marxism, the reconquest of socialism by the Russian proletariat, the denigration of Marxism-Leninism - all this is only for the prelude the National Bolsheviks to drown socialism in the ethnic Russian history, to justify the Russification of the world with the old Russian folk myths, just as Hitler justified the Germanization of the world with the myths of the "chosen" Germanic race as a bulwark against Bolshevism, against communist "imperialism" which "threatens" the German people. This fabrication of historical myths is the counterpart of the rejection of the historical theory of class society, the workers' movement, the class struggle between the oppressed and exploited classes on the one hand and the oppressive and exploitative classes on the other, and replaces them with the doctrine of the "national overcoming of new problems by the entire Russian people as they emerge". The class struggle does not solve - so they say - the problems of a nation, but makes the solution of the national problems of the Russian people "impossible". Therefore, the National Bolsheviks are against the class struggle, they fight it and thus serve the class that rules in Russia today. Thus the National Bolsheviks appear as enemies of those classes which liberate themselves from the class rule of the Russian monopoly bourgeoisie with the socialist revolution. The "total state" of the National Bolsheviks is in reality what Vyshinsky described in his "Soviet Contributions to State and Legal Theory:

**"Law is the totality (a) of the rules of conduct, expressing the will of the dominant class and established in legal order, and (b) of customs and rules of community life sanctioned by state authority their application being guaranteed by the compulsive force of the state in order to guard, secure, and develop social relationships and social orders advantageous and agreeable to the dominant class."** (Vyshinsky: 'The Law of the Soviet People; 1948; p.50).

**"Bourgeois theories of state and law irrespective of the subjective aspirations and wishes of those who created those theories serve the cause of exploitation. To expose their real nature is the first and most important problem of Soviet knowledge, dedicated, as it is, to the development of a theory of state and law."** (Vyshinsky: *ibid*; p.5).

The use of force by the legal system is attributed to the needs and welfare of the "new, total Russian state" of the national Bolsheviks, but not to the class needs of the Russian proletariat. The right of the National Bolsheviks is based on the injustice of class struggle. The benchmark of National Bolshevik law is not its class origin, but the effectiveness of its outcome: Its touchstone is not the class question of the state, but how well or how badly the future National Bolshevik government succeeds in asserting its will and shifting unpleasant burdens onto the shoulders of the masses - and that is only possible by concealing the class character of the state. The "total state" as it was written down in the National Bolsheviks' program is by its very nature nothing more than a veiled class state of Russian monopoly capitalism!

The National Bolsheviks call themselves National Bolsheviks only because they want to

falsify Bolshevism and abuse it for the purpose of anti-Bolshevism, just as the fascists did with "National Socialism". In this respect the concept of National Bolshevism is also an abuse, it serves the purpose of their new, fascist, total state. The concept of Bolshevism becomes useful for the National Bolshevik state if it succeeds in extinguishing its Marxist content and fills it instead with nationalism.

The socialist state has emerged from the capitalist state, just as in Russia, a new capitalist state has emerged from the socialist state, which is replaced by no other state than a new socialist state. How can one speak of Siamese Twins from a purely biological point of view? So, did the capitalist and socialist states come into the world at the same time, according to Limonka?

Where did this equalization of the National Bolsheviks come from?

Interestingly, a comparison between the narodniks of the late 19th century and the National Bolsheviks of the early 21st century can be made. The former advocated the theory that "Russia could avoid the phase of capitalism" and the latter the theory that "the Bolsheviks knocked down the autocracy but there was no capitalism". How long-lasting this nonsense is, even though we Marxists-Leninists have refuted it for the thousandth time in over 100 years. Well, these theories are petty bourgeois theories and they will hold themselves up just as long as the petty bourgeoisie still exists. Though it was written over 90 years ago - Lenin's article "Narodism and the Class of Wage Workers" still stands today:

**"That was the theory of utopian, petty-bourgeois socialism, i.e., the dream of petty-bourgeois intellectuals, who sought a way of escape from capitalism not in the wage-workers' class struggle against the bourgeoisie, but in appeals to the "entire nation", to "society", that is, to that very same bourgeoisie.**

**Prior to the rise of the working-class movement, such theories of "socialism" were prevalent in all countries and they merely reflected in fact the hopes of petty-bourgeois theoreticians that the class struggle could be avoided, dispensed with. In all countries, as in Russia, the class-conscious working-class movement had to wage a persistent struggle against these petty-bourgeois doctrines of "socialism" which were in keeping with the status and point of view of the petty proprietors.**

**The working-class movement cannot exist or develop successfully until this theory of the benevolent petty proprietors regarding the possibility of "avoiding" capitalism is refuted.**

**...With the development of capitalism the difference between the classes becomes more marked from day to day."** (Lenin: 'Narodism and the Class of Wage-Workers' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 20; Moscow; 1977; p.106-107; English Edition).

The propaganda of the National Bolsheviks thus in reality amounts to a revival of the Russian narodniks with the aim of demoralizing and disorganizing the movement of the Russian wage-worker class today.

No petty bourgeois class in the whole world has had such historical experiences as the Russian class, which is why it exerts a certain attraction beyond Russia's national borders. It has lived through the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the shortest possible time and has experienced both dictatorships equally. It longs for a mixture of pre-capitalist and post-socialist times to historically "overcome"

capitalism and socialism. Hence the rejection, the equalization of capitalism and socialism, hence the petty bourgeoisie, which as the only class could lead the way to a classless society, hence the conscious mission of the Russian National Bolsheviks. By harmonizing the interests of the opposing class, by class reconciliation the petty bourgeoisie would be spared, it would be spared by the elimination of the class struggle that Marxism constantly tries to "stir up". Pejoratively, Marxism is therefore seen as a reactionary adherence to utopian thought processes, and the relationship between Marxism and utopianism is turned upside down.

The National Bolsheviks strive for harmony between labor and capital and merely protest that the relationship between the capitalists of the U.S. and Russia is "unjust," from which they derive their right to war.

Stalin has clearly distinguished equalization from equality:

**"By equality Marxism means, not equalisation of personal requirements and everyday life, but the abolition of classes, i.e., a) the equal emancipation of all working people from exploitation after the capitalists have been overthrown and expropriated; b) the equal abolition for all of private property in the means of production after they have been converted into the property of the whole of society; c) the equal duty of all to work according to their ability, and the equal right of all working people to receive in return for this according to the work performed (socialist society); d) the equal duty of all to work according to their ability, and the equal right of all working people to receive in return for this according to their needs (communist society). Moreover, Marxism proceeds from the assumption that people's tastes and requirements are not, and cannot be, identical and equal in regard to quality or quantity, whether in the period of socialism or in the period of communism."** (Stalin: 'Report to the Seventeenth Party Congress' in: 'Works', Volume 13; Moscow; 1954; p.362; English Edition).

This equalization, from the Marxist-Leninist point of view, from the point of view of the working class, is of course reactionary, petty bourgeois nonsense, stems from a primitive sectarianism, and expresses only the fear of the petty bourgeoisie of being worn down one day between the two classes - the bourgeoisie (capitalism) and the working class (socialism). The petty bourgeois class thus sees both capitalism and socialism as a danger to its own existence, and therefore tries to place itself above capitalism and socialism, propagating its petty bourgeois revolutionary ideals as a model for a new world order. The petty bourgeoisie is older than the bourgeois and working classes and was already represented in the Middle Ages. It played a major role in its development into the bourgeoisie and in its liberation and salvation from the socialism of the working class:

**"In countries where modern civilisation has become fully developed, a new class of petty bourgeois has been formed, fluctuating between proletariat and bourgeoisie and ever renewing itself as a supplementary part of bourgeois society. The individual members of this class, however, are being constantly hurled down into the proletariat by the action of competition, and, as modern industry develops, they even see the moment approaching when they will completely disappear as an independent section of modern society, to be replaced, in manufactures, agriculture and commerce, by overlookers, bailiffs and shopmen. (...) In its positive aims, however, this form of [petty bourgeois] Socialism aspires either to restoring the old means of production and of exchange, and with them the old property relations, and the old society, or to cramping the modern means of production and of exchange,**

**within the framework of the old property relations that have been, and were bound to be, exploded by those means. In either case, it is both reactionary and Utopian.** (Marx, Engels: 'Manifest of the Communist Party'; Moscow; 1977; p.63-64; English Edition).

## Chapter II

### What is National Bolshevik property?

Let us come to the question of property, an equally stunning view of the National Bolsheviks: socialist and capitalist property = property of the "Siamese Twins".

Capitalism has created both the conditions for the multiplication of private property and, at the same time, the conditions for the abolition of private property. But it is unable to eliminate the private appropriation of foreign property from within itself, for the capitalist system is capitalist because it is built on the private appropriation of foreign means of production, which turn into shackles for them and condition their revolutionary upheaval. Only the socialized property, the socialist conditions of production, ensure that private property can be completely abolished in communism. The abolition of private property will take place through the violent revolution and not by peaceful means - says the Marxist-Leninists. Private property is eliminated by itself, without violent revolution, peacefully and evolutionarily - this is what the National Bolsheviks prophesize. For us Bolsheviks the elimination of private property is the main thing, for the National Bolsheviks it is not the main thing, so Limonka distracts from this main thing with ecological problems:

**"What should be discussed is not [!] the problem of property (to this mister in stripped pants or to these dozens of types in jeans does the business' actions belong) but the problem of getting rid the human kind from this filth, which the factories and the plants are.**

***"I am certain that the question of the form of property of businesses, factories and plants, means of production, not only ceased to be revolutionary (I already mentioned above that nobody will go today under the slogan "Factories to the people!") but also became a scholastic, meaningless question. (...)***

***When some transnational corporation is owned by so much thousands auctioneers, that it can be considered a collective property, the limits between socialism and capitalism do not exist. (...)***

***It is clear that the more you are enslaved by work, the more you're getting paid. (...)***

***All that man needs for happiness was given by nature from the start and money is an artificial invention. For instance, good sex doesn't depend in any way on money." (Limonka).***

So Limonka doesn't want to discuss property here, but is much more interested in the removal of dirt in the factory, because he once got his hands dirty there. It is out of the question for him that the ecological problem cannot be solved without socialist revolution, not without socialist property. For him, dirt is dirt and not a class question. Today the capitalist factories belong to thousands of shareholders, what distinguishes that from a thousand workers who own a socialist factory? Collective property of 1000 shareholders or that of 1000 factory workers - where is there supposed to be another difference, asks Limonka. 1000 = 1000; shareholders = workers! We would already be convinced by Limonka if he named a single Russian worker by name, who today has become his own shareholder with his factory work, let alone his own millionaire, and as such continues to work as a factory worker for life! **"And anyway, what is worth money, good sex is free. So why to slave away for capitalism? Why to slave away for socialism? Money is not everything. What man needs, nature provides in abundance. He only needs to take possession of it in order to be happy."**

So really, what is this philistine nonsense, how stupid does he actually think the Russian worker is that he believes these old capitalist fairy tales? We only hope that all those who have hoped until now that National Bolshevism has anything to do with Bolshevism are now convinced of the opposite. Those who still hope that they are - nothing can help them!

What Engels said over 100 years ago, we also say to the Russian workers today about the National Bolsheviks:

**"And to-day, the very people who, from the "impartiality" of their superior standpoint, preach to the workers a socialism soaring high above their class interests and class struggles-these people are either neophytes, who have still to learn a great deal, or they are the worst enemies of the workers-wolves in sheep's clothing."** (Engels: 'Conditions of the Working Class in England'; New York; 1887; p.22; English Edition).

Whoever denies the socialism of Lenin and Stalin cannot be a "newcomer" today - he is the wolf in sheep's clothing!

For Limonka, **"it's clear that the more the worker works, the more he gets paid."** Karl Marx says the exact opposite: **"...the more he works, the less wages he receives."** (Marx, Engels: 'Wage Labour and Capital; London; 1891; p.22; English Edition).

Who is right, Limonka or Karl Marx? Limonka owes us proof. The scientific proof of Karl Marx but we deliver here with pleasure:

**"And for this simple reason: the more he works, the more he competes against his fellow workmen, the more he compels them to compete against him, and to offer themselves on the same wretched conditions as he does; so that, in the last analysis, he competes against**

**himself as a member of the working class."** And at the same time, the capitalist war is doing its part: **"We have hastily sketched in broad outlines the industrial war of capitalists among themselves. This war has the peculiarity that the battles in it are won less by recruiting than by discharging the army of workers. The generals (the capitalists) vie with one another as to who can discharge the greatest number of industrial soldiers."** (ibid; p.22).

The nationalism of the National Bolsheviks leads both to the intensification of this war of the capitalists of Russia against the capitalists of all other nations and to the transformation of the globalized competition of the workers of Russia into a war of the workers of Russia against the workers of all other nations, which is precisely why the National Bolsheviks stand up against the interests of the world proletariat, destroying its revolutionary liberation from the international shackles of its competition on the international labor market. Imperialist wars lead the world proletariat not to liberation from the scourge of its competitive struggle, but straight to death. Therefore, the nationalist incitement of the workers to end the problem of their competition by slaughtering each other is essentially nothing more than fomenting the racial hatred and xenophobia of the fascists to justify their genocide.

The war that the National Bolsheviks are waging against Karl Marx - they have already lost it before because nothing else is happening in Russia today than what Karl Marx has described here:

**"In addition, the working class is also recruited from the higher strata of society; a mass of small business men and of people living upon the interest of their capitals is precipitated into the ranks of the working class, and they will have nothing else to do than to stretch out their arms alongside of the arms of the workers. Thus the forest of outstretched arms, begging for work, grows ever thicker, while the arms themselves grow every leaner."** (ibid; p.23). But Limonka doesn't want to see this Russian "forest" of all the proletarian arms! **"The more extensive, finally, the Lazarus layers of the working class, and the industrial reserve army, the greater is official pauperism. This is the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation."** (Marx, Engels: 'Capital', Volume 1; London; 1887; p.451; English Edition).

The rising world unemployment is the result of the competition of workers on the world labor market on one hand and the rationalisation of jobs by the international competition of capitalists on the other hand. International monopoly capitalism is ruining the world proletariat beyond all national borders. The absolute, general law of capitalist accumulation cannot be abolished with nationalism, for it is an international law that can only be abolished internationally, not by a bourgeois, national "revolution" of the National Bolsheviks, but only by an international proletarian revolution of the Bolsheviks.

What would Karl Marx say about Limonka babbles on about "capital" in socialism?

**"It is a bourgeois relation of production, a relation of production of bourgeois society."**

(Marx, Engels: "Wage Labour and Capital"; London; 1891; p.14; English Edition). How can it be a socialist production relationship at the same time? Capital is an exploitative relationship. In socialism, the means of production ceased to be an instrument of the exploitation of classes. This was only reversed and abolished with the restoration of capitalism by the Soviet revisionists.

In the history of humanity so far, ownership of property has moved from the old ruling minority of society into the hands of the new minority through the revolutionary upheaval of society, through the disempowerment of one class by another.

**"Every change in the social order, every fundamental change in the forms of property was the necessary result of the creation of new productive forces which could no longer be controlled by the old forms of property. Thus private property itself originated. Private property (in the present form) has not always existed. When toward the end of the middle ages a new mode of production was created in manufacture, a mode which did not permit of itself to be adapted to the existing forms of feudal property and guild monopolies, then this new form of production which had outgrown old forms of property, created for itself a new form: (modern) private property. For manufacture and for the first stage of development of big industry no other form of property was possible than private property and no other form of society than one based on private property. As long as production is not plentiful enough to supply not only all needs, but also to amass a surplus for the increase of social capital and for the further development of the productive forces, so long must there exist on the one hand a class controlling these productive forces and on the other a poor and exploited class. (...) But now, when firstly capitalist and productive forces are created as never before and when means are at hand to increase these productive forces within a short time indefinitely, and when, secondly, these productive forces are gathered into the hands of a few bourgeois while the big mass of the people are ever more driven into the class of the proletariat, while their position grows more miserable and unbearable, as wealth of the bourgeois constantly increases, and when, thirdly, these gigantic and easily increasing productive forces have outgrown private property and the bourgeoisie in such a degree that every moment they cause the most violent disturbances in the social order through this development of big industry the abolition of private property has become not only possible but absolutely necessary."** (Engels: "Principles of Communism"; Chicago; 1925; p.15-17; English Edition).

Capitalism has multiplied the riches of the world the most, but has concentrated them in the hands of a few and robbed the world producers of them. The world capitalist relations of production have long since ceased to correspond to the state of the world productive forces and have become irreconcilably opposed to them, which is eliminated by the revolution of the world socialist revolution by replacing capitalist ownership of the world means of production with world socialist

ownership. Socialism restores to the whole world the property it has created to meet its needs by reconciling international productive forces and international productive relations.

**"From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. (...) No social order is ever destroyed before all the productive forces for which it is sufficient have been developed, and new superior relations of production never replace older ones before the material conditions for their existence have matured within the framework of the old society. Mankind thus inevitably sets itself only such tasks as it is able to solve, since closer examination will always show that the problem itself arises only when the material conditions for its solution are already present or at least in the course of formation."** (Marx, Engels: 'A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy'; Moscow; 1979; p.2; English Edition).

The rise of the world proletariat, that is the abolition of bourgeois debt and bourgeois credit, the abolition of a world pumped by ruling financial capital from which it feeds itself and drives all peoples into bankruptcy. It is the abolition of world bourgeois production and world bourgeois order. It does not eliminate overproduction, but overproduction from its capitalist world crisis. The world proletariat will use its political world domination to gradually wrest all world capital from the world bourgeoisie in order to develop the productive forces at a level necessary to create the communist world society and to supply all people in abundance. World capitalism does not die from lack of production, but from overproduction that no one can afford anymore.

**"The proletarian revolution will therefore only gradually transform present society and will abolish private property only after it has created the necessary amount of means of production."** (Engels: 'Principles of Communism'; Chicago; 1925; p.17; English Edition).

So it is not only a matter of leading the world proletarian political machinery, but also of taking the entire world production into one's own hands, and here instead of true-sounding phrases, solid knowledge, up-rolled arms, and sweaty toil are required, dear National Bolsheviks, we communists make you poor!

As far as capital and property are concerned, **"The fact of the matter is that in our socialist conditions, economic development proceeds not by way of upheavals, but by way of gradual changes, the old not simply being abolished out of hand, but changing its nature in adaptation to the new, and retaining only its form; while the new 'does' not simply destroy the old, but infiltrates into it, changes its nature and its functions, without smashing its form; but utilizing it for the development of the new."** (Stalin: 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.; Moscow; 1952; p.59; English Edition).

Capitalism and socialism function on the basis of a completely opposite basic economic law:

**"...instead of maximum profits - maximum satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of society; instead of development of production with breaks in continuity from boom to crisis and from crisis to boom - unbroken expansion: of production; instead of periodic breaks .in technical development, accompanied by destruction of the productive forces of society - an unbroken process of perfecting production on the basis of higher techniques." (ibid; p.45-46).**

We are against revisionist property and are only for socialist property, the only condition for creating communist property, namely to liberate property from its class character, to liberate it from itself, because private property is a historical greatness, a phenomenon of class society, capitalist as well as socialist. It is only in classless, communist society that it is possible to eliminate class property at all. There everything belongs to everyone, everyone shares everything, everyone produces everything - for everyone, there everything belongs to every individual, there every individual shares everything, there every individual produces everything: everyone according to his abilities, everyone according to his needs. In the communist society neither the society nor the individual needs property to live, in the communist society, the property dies off because everything is available for each individual as well as for the community in abundance.

Friedrich Engels has given the following scientific answer to the question: What will be the consequences of the eventual elimination of private property?

**"The general association of all members of society for common and systematic exploitation of the productive forces; the extension of production to a degree that all needs are satisfied; the discontinuance of a condition in which the needs of one are satisfied at the expense of the other; the complete destruction of classes and class antagonisms; the many sided development of the abilities and talents of all members of society by the elimination of the hitherto dominating division of labor, by industrial education, by constant change of activity, by participation of all in the enjoyment of the good and necessary things of life produced by common effort; amalgamation of city and country; those are the main results of the abolition of private property." (Engels: 'Principles of Communism'; Chicago; 1925; p.23; English Edition).**

For us Marxist-Leninists, socialist property is the most effective anti-capitalist property, but it is still class property and thus one day an obstacle to the development of classless society. With socialism our goal is far from achieved, socialism is only the first stage of communism, never the final stage of our political struggle. We want to change property not only with the aim of liberating it from its class character, but to liberate it from itself - in other words, to abolish private property altogether.

Stalin was an opponent of the view **"that the conversion of the property 'of individuals or**

**groups of individuals into state property 'is the only, or at any rate the best form of nationalization. That is not true. The fact is that conversion into state property is not the only or even the best, form of nationalization, but the initial form of nationalization, as Engels quite rightly says in Anti-Duhring. Unquestionably, so long as the state exists, conversion into state property is the most natural initial law of nationalization. But', the state will not exist forever. With the extension of the sphere of operation of socialism in the majority of the countries of the world the state will die away, and, of course, the conversion of the property of individuals or groups of individuals into state property will consequently lose its meaning. The state will have died away, but society will remain. Hence, the heir of the public property will then be not the state, which will have died away, but society itself, in the shape of a central, directing economic body."** (Stalin: 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. '; Moscow; 1952; p.96; English Edition).

For us Marxist-Leninists, socialism in one country is not the final stage of socialism, but a stage to world socialism, world socialism is a stage to world communism! For us Marxist-Leninists, the bourgeois nation was a stage to the socialist nation. For us Marxist-Leninists, the socialist nation is a stage to the unification of all socialist nations, to the world nation, and finally we also recognize the historical end of the nation as such, because it can fulfill its function only in a class society. The classless society is a society in which the class society historically built on nations survives. This development is lawful and takes place independently of the will of human beings. It is not achieved by cosmopolitanism, but on the contrary by its elimination and destruction, because it does not serve progress but reaction, it is an ideology that serves imperialism and not communism, it violently forces nations to surrender to other nations, it prevents nation after nation from fulfilling its vital function in a peaceful community of all nations. Nations today can only fulfil their social function if they free themselves from capital. But that is only one side. The other side is that the entire economic, political and spiritual life is more or less rapidly internationalizing in all nations. The fate of each nation is inseparably connected with that of each other nation, this process cannot be reversed by nationalism. That is the crux of the matter. We are not generally against internationalization, we are not against international centralization and concentration per se, but against the concentration and centralization of foreign capital in the few hands of people who exploit and oppress the majority of the world's population in order to sacrifice them for profit. The question of internationalism is a class question, a question of life and death between the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat. Bourgeois and proletarian internationalism, capitalist and socialist internationalism are antagonistic opposites. We fight for the victory of the internationalization of labor over the internationalization of capital not with the instrument of nationalism, but with that of proletarian internationalism. In the present state, only the victorious socialist world revolution can change something, for which World Bolsheviks and not National Bolsheviks are accordingly needed, and why it is our task to develop revolutionary national forces into world revolutionary forces. That is why we support only those National Bolsheviks who want to cooperate with us in overcoming their deviations from Bolshevism and in their efforts to move closer to Bolshevism and to seek our help. This is something completely different from supporting

National Bolshevism. As Bolsheviks, we can and will only follow Bolshevism, not national Bolshevism.

Throughout history, there have never been twins of systems simultaneously - as the National Bolsheviks claim. Within a socio-economic formation, there have never been and cannot be two different modes of production in the form of Siamese Twins. Which mode of production wins, the capitalist or the socialist, that has not yet been finally decided in the whole transitional period of socialism, there is a bitter struggle between capitalism and socialism. To call the socialism of the Soviet Union and the capitalism of the West the fiction of "Siamese Twins", inspired by the Great Patriotic War, etc., as RUSSIAN National Bolsheviks of all things and of all people, which shows how little respect they have for their once socialist homeland, that their nationalism stops at the great socialist nation, that the proud Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat of Lenin and Stalin is dismissed as fiction, which we really have as internationalists, as Marxist-Leninists of the whole world defended with all progressive peoples and workers to the last drop of blood and for whom we are willing to die again and again for until their final victory! The red victory banner of the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin is immortal. We know that the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union was not fatefully predestined but could have been avoided if the CPSU (B) had remained faithful to Marxism-Leninism and not betrayed it. The evil of restoring capitalism threatens the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism in every country in which socialism is built, if only schematically and one-sidedly the quantitative increase of productive forces and production ("Khrushchev's goulash - "communism") is stimulated there and revisionism is tolerated to spread in the superstructure, especially in ideology, and in the grassroots. Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary practice teach us that proletarian socialism can be continuously built and successfully progressed to communism only if revolution and class struggle are unfolded uninterruptedly in all areas of social life, not only in the development of productive forces, but also the consolidation and perfection of the socialist relations of production and property on the correct, Marxist-Leninist revolutionary path, even if it includes the preservation and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and above all the adherence to the proletarian revolutionary line, the purity of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Otherwise, if the revisionist counterrevolution is allowed to spread, no level of development of the productive forces, however high, can protect socialism from the danger of the degeneration and restoration of capitalism.

We, the Marxist-Leninist world movement with Enver Hoxha at the head, defended the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin against the revisionists 50 years ago and showed the only right way, the way of the renewed socialist revolution, the way of the reconquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the reconstruction of socialism - at a time when the National Bolsheviks still knew nothing about themselves.

But what is Limonka's trick to claim that capital also exists in socialism? The trick is solely to attribute the failures of the revisionist Soviet Union, which were the failures of a bourgeois society, to the socialist system. The new bourgeoisie had liberated capital from its cage and had locked the

working class in it. Limonka speaks of Lenin's and Stalin's proletarian socialism, but Khrushchev's bourgeois revisionism means bourgeois socialism (the proletarian socialism restored to capitalism by the revisionists with the help of capitalism!) and passes it off as "socialism". The historical defeat of socialism is "justified" with it being that socialism is based on the principle of the lawfulness of the fate of each SYSTEM. The system as such is the culprit and therefore every system must be combated, no matter whether it is capitalist or socialist. In the program of the NBP, the National Bolsheviks appear as opponents of the system, but at the same time, they want to establish a total state! [***"Having come to power, NBP will make revolutionary on the scales of transformation in Russia, will construct the TOTAL STATE."*** - Program of the NBP].

Isn't a total state the **"basic evil of every total system"**, just as every state is a system of the ruling class? So there is quite obviously some window-dressing and not honest politics. The National Bolsheviks fight for the total state of a classless society? Either there is a state OR a classless society - there is neither a class society without the state, nor a state without class society, nor any state above the classes. Here, the National Bolsheviks are reaching into the old chest of the anti-Communist propaganda of the capitalists, which portrays the dictatorship of the proletariat as a dictatorial system above the people.

Historical experience shows that the deep roots of the revisionist counter-revolutionary and regressive process in the Soviet Union must be sought in the gradual bureaucratization of the socialist state apparatus, in its detachment from the popular masses, in the emergence of a privileged layer of bureaucrats, in the introduction of command methods, mistrust of the masses on which they did not rely on as well as in the dwindling and weakening of democracy for the "broad working masses", that the spread of bureaucratism precisely created a favorable ground for the usurpation of power by the Khrushchev renegade clique. The degeneration of socialist property relations in the Soviet Union was accompanied by the degeneration of distribution, exchange and leadership relations. This degeneration of elements of socialist production relations was a complex, complicated process with reciprocal connections and influences. The process of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union started with the change of the character of the party and the state, with the counterrevolutionary transformation in the field of political and ideological superstructure, with the betrayal of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and first of all the teachings about class struggle. If the Soviet revisionists at that time still spoke of the diminishing of the class struggle, the National Bolsheviks today openly deny the class struggle at all. The Soviet revisionists, after Stalin's death, transformed the dictatorship of the proletariat into a bourgeois dictatorship, into a brutal fascist dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie, and transformed the socialist state into a social-imperialist state. At the core of the process of destroying socialist productive relations was the degeneration of property relations, the transformation of socialist property into a new type of capitalist property. It is property on which the basis and superstructure of every society is built. State property in the revisionist Soviet Union was a special form of capitalist property with a high degree of concentration of production and capital. The revisionist bourgeoisie was the true owner of the state enterprises in which capitalist exploitation took place and whereupon they could

exercise and consolidate their political rule. As Karl Marx stressed, it is not a question of who is the nominal owner of the state enterprises, but of who makes a profit out of this property. Can a property be socialist if the members of the revisionist bourgeois class, the factory managers, etc., have the right to arbitrarily dismiss the workers, determine the level of the workers' wages, the amount of profit they themselves make, if they have the right to sell the means of production unhindered, operate the free play of prices and capitalist relations with the other monopolist factories, etc.? That property in the revisionist Soviet Union occurred in the form of state property not only ruled out the exploitation of workers by the revisionist bourgeoisie, it deepened that exploitation.

**"The present-day Soviet state, as a collective capitalist, administers the means of production in the name and interest of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. The socialist, common property was transformed into a new type of state capitalism..."** (Hoxha, 'Report to the Sixth Congress of the PPSH'; Tirana; p.229; Translated from Albanian).

For the workers, it is ultimately irrelevant whether the property is in the hands of individual capitalists or of unified capital in the form of state monopolies. In both cases there is exploitation, be it individual capitalist exploitation or collective capitalist exploitation. Private or collective exploitation - these are certainly "Siamese Twins". But to conceal revisionism and to make socialism the Siamese Twin of capitalism is the basis of the whole false political line of the National Bolsheviks. The character and content of property ultimately depend on the nature and character of the state, whether it is capitalist or socialist. Those who have the state machinery in their hands also have the main means of production, and they use the state machinery as a powerful weapon to preserve and consolidate their economic base and increase their capitalist riches and profits. It was already Karl Marx who taught us that as long as the rich classes remain in power, any nationalization does not mean the elimination of exploitation, but only the change of the form of exploitation. Formally and purely externally, state property in the revisionist Soviet Union was still disguised as "socialist" to throw sand in the eyes of the workers, but in reality, there was nothing socialist about it, neither in content nor form. The once socialist property had been taken over by the new Soviet bourgeoisie, which used this property as a means of enrichment and capitalist profit by appropriating the added value created by the working class and labouring masses. With the "apparatchiki," the new bourgeoisie in the revisionist Soviet Union created its social base to exercise total control over the workers and take power out of the hands of the workers, thus transforming the workers into a mere productive force that is needed for nothing more than to be mercilessly exploited.

The struggle between capital and labor is a class struggle to the death. The Siamese Twins are linked to each other in life and death, but capital and labor intensify their contradictions to such an extent that the workers free themselves from capital through socialist revolution. If capital is knocked out of socialism, it is of course condemned to death, therefore the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat is indispensable to prevent the restoration of capitalism. So capital is

not the basis of the socialist system, but on the contrary, the basis of the death of socialism. Why? Quite simply because **"The aim of socialist production is not profit, but man and his needs"**, that is, the satisfaction of his material and cultural requirements As is stated in Comrade Stalin's "Remarks," the aim of socialist production is **"the securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole society."** (Stalin: 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. '; Moscow; 1952; p.86; English Edition).

Karl Marx stated as follows what the capitalists use the capital for:

**"It is the constant aim of capitalist production to produce a maximum of surplus-value or surplus-product with the minimum capital outlay; and to the extent that this result is not achieved by overworking the workers, it is a tendency of capital to seek to produce a given product with the least possible expenditure — economy of power and expense... In this conception, the workers themselves appear as that which they are in capitalist production— mere means of production, not an end in themselves and not the aim of production."** (Marx, Engels: 'Theories of Surplus Value', Volume II; Moscow; 1968; p.547-548; English Edition).

Whoever abolishes Marxist political economy is not remotely able to organize the most elementary leadership of the economy scientifically in the interest of the people. The total state of the National Bolsheviks will therefore end in the total chaos of its economic adventure - that is, in capitalism:

**"Active social forces work exactly like natural forces: blindly, forcibly, destructively, so long as we do not understand, and reckon with, them. But when once we understand them, when once we grasp their action, their direction, their effects, it depends only upon ourselves to subject them more and more to our own will, and by means of them to reach our own ends. And this holds quite especially of the mighty productive forces of today. As long as we obstinately refuse to understand the nature and the character of these social means of action— and this understanding goes against the grain of the capitalist mode of production and its defenders— so long these forces are at work in spite of us, in opposition to us, so long they master us, as we have shown above in detail. But when once their nature is understood, they can, in the hands of the producers working together, be transformed from master demons into willing servants. The difference is as that between the destructive force of electricity in the lightning of the storm, and electricity under command in the telegraph and the voltaic arc; the difference between a conflagration, and fire working in the service of man. With this recognition, at last, of the real nature of the productive forces of today, the social anarchy of production gives place to a social regulation of production upon a definite plan, according to the needs of the community and of each individual. Then the capitalist mode of appropriation, in which the product enslaves first the producer and then the appropriator, is replaced by the mode of appropriation of the products that is based upon the nature of the modern means of production: upon the one hand, direct social appropriation, as means to the maintenance and extension of production—on the other,**

**direct individual appropriation, as means of subsistence and of enjoyment."** (Engels, 'Anti-Dühring' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 25; Moscow; 1987; p.266-267; English Edition).

So it is not enough to simply be against private property, to "get rid" of it for a certain time, for a certain (national) territory, but we Marxist-Leninists fight only for a very certain elimination of private property, namely the one that also abolishes the law of the inevitability of the re-education of private property from social property - the creation of the anti-revisionist world socialist property, which therefore in principle accepts no national barriers and cannot accept them either. Society needs world socialism in order to abolish class differences. Class differences, however, can only be abolished once all production and property relations that generate class differences have been abolished. Not already in the transition phase from capitalism to communism will society be freed from the birthmarks of capitalism, but FIRST in communism. Capitalism did not already die in socialism, but only in communism.

## **Overcoming national barriers**

### **- what capitalism has begun will be completed by socialism!**

National barriers will remain as long as the socialist nations have not removed the capitalist encirclement, i.e. if the danger of attacks from outside has not yet been overcome. The national barriers change according to the changes in the internal and external situation of the socialist nations. The national barriers die with the socialist nations after the capitalist encirclement is removed, when the socialist nations have triumphed on a world scale. National barriers fall, but national differences remain for a period, even in communist society.

**The overcoming of national barriers is only solved by overcoming class barriers. Without overcoming the class barriers, the national barriers cannot be overcome.**

Not only with the competition of the proletarians of all countries, but even more with the competition of the international unemployment army forces the overcoming of national barriers, huge international wage slaves and unemployment migrations occur from one place of the globe to its opposite place on the globe, thus not only within each nation. Even more huge flows of unemployed people flow from south to north and from east to west, mixing different nationalities at a pace that cannot be contained or stopped by any Chinese wall, by any "national protective wall", or even by internationally agreed "protective walls". The globalization of world capital globalizes above all wage slaves as well as the unemployed - sets in motion the largest "migration of peoples" in the history of mankind, unites with every day, with every second a new, globalized world proletariat that comes closer to its historical mission with every day, with every second. Monopoly capitalism began with globalization, world socialism will complete it with the victory of the world socialist revolution, and no National Bolshevik in the world can stop this course of history.

The path to socialism today is inevitably linked to the globalization of world capital. The socialist unity of the whole world is impossible without the complete destruction of the world domination of the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, there is no other way for socialism than to transform globalized capitalism into globalized socialism. The objective conditions are ripe for this. It is important to unite the proletarians of all countries to this common goal and to organize their international class struggle.

The world bourgeoisie is forced to overcome the national barriers as an obstacle to the highest profits in order to enrich itself at the expense of the competition of the workers and other labourers of all nations worldwide and thus deprives all nations of the basis of life, they exploit the riches of the nations ruthlessly, international capital submits to the productive forces of all nations, which leads to the oppressing nations exploiting the oppressed nations even more brutally, pushing them to the edge of their existence. We Bolsheviks, on the other hand, defend national and social interests, especially the classes oppressed and exploited by all imperialist nations. By unifying the class struggle of the oppressed and exploited classes in both the oppressing and the oppressed nations, we achieve the goal of eliminating not only exploitation in the oppressed nations but also exploitation in the oppressing nations themselves - that is the principle of proletarian internationalism to free the world from all exploitation and oppression.

Us communists are for the concentration and centralization of the international economic, political and cultural life, concentration and centralization of the productive forces and the relations of production in the hands of all exploited and oppressed of this earth for the good of the majority in ALL nations and us communists are against the plundering of the world by a small capitalist minority, but we are against the imperialist "great" powers divide the world among themselves and fight for war and fascism and destroy the world with it. The socialist world revolution is the only way out of the national and social world crisis.

"The period of the victory of socialism on a world scale differs from the period of the victory of socialism in one country primarily in the fact that it will abolish imperialism in all countries, will abolish both the striving to subjugate other nations and the fear inspired by the menace of national enslavement, will radically undermine national distrust and national enmity, will unite the nations into one world socialist economic system, and will thus create the real conditions necessary for the gradual merging of all nations into one.

Such is the fundamental difference between these two periods.

**"But it follows from this that to confuse these two different periods and to lump them together is to commit an unpardonable mistake."** (Stalin: The National Question and Leninism' in: 'Works', Volume 11; p.358-359; English Edition).

What capitalism began will be completed by socialism. What it could not complete in the first step,

it will complete in the second, third, fourth step, etc. until completion. The more stones capitalism throws in the way of socialism, the more perfect socialism will develop into: **"National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie (...) The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster."** (Marx, Engels: 'Manifesto of the Communist Party'; Moscow; 1977; p.56-57; English Edition). In view of this quotation it is all too understandable that the National Bolsheviks oppose Marxism. The problem of the National Bolsheviks is that they cannot eliminate international capital with national capital, they cannot free themselves from the servitude of American imperialism through capitalism. The national segregations and antagonisms of the peoples do not disappear by themselves, but only through the class struggle, only through the dictatorship of the proletariat. After all, nationalism does not want to erect the national barriers against capitalism but against socialism, because when one or the other capitalist "great" power goes down, it is not as dangerous as when capitalism goes down as a whole world system. So the nationalist blockades ultimately serve to avoid world capitalist decline and to resist the reconstruction of socialism. The poison of nationalism is to strengthen the national links of world imperialism to counter their tendency to break away from the imperialist chain.

International maximum profit tears down the national barriers in order to eat the national profit. Nationalism or nationalist unification into coalitions of "Great Powers" fighting with each other for international maximum profit, deepens only the general crisis of the capitalist world system, leads to the further disintegration of the existing world market, transforms competition into imperialist wars for the redistribution of the world market, weakens the capitalist system as a whole and makes it easier for the weakest link in the imperialist chain to break off from it, thus paving the way again for the inevitable world socialism.

The path of Russia's independent development can only be successful on a socialist basis. Confiscation of foreign capital for the reconstruction of socialism under the Russian dictatorship of the proletariat and not for the reorganization of Russia under the rule of a capitalist Eurasian Empire. The lawful inevitability of the development of international capital from national capital is irreversible. With national capitalism, one cannot beat international capitalism, because it has emerged from it and will continue to emerge from it every day and every hour. Since the oppressive and exploitative nations at the top of the world are only exchanged, neither the social nor the national world crisis can be overcome, but only further deepened. Therefore, the internationally developed productive forces do not need national capitalist chains, but international capitalist production relations. It goes without saying that only socialist, national chains can be applied to international capitalist production relations because international production relations cannot be eliminated with a single international "blow". This is a protracted process which can only be shortened by the fact that more and more socialist revolutions in the individual countries of the world are triumphing in order to forge one chain after the other in the capitalist, international production relations by building a second socialist world market, which cannot eliminate the capitalist world market overnight, but only gradually. The international ones cannot therefore be

transformed back into national capitalist production relations "for all eternity" but must be socialized internationally, that is, adapted to the development of the international productive forces. That is what we mean when we say: what the capitalists started, we socialists will bring to an end. With its globalization, capitalism has created the objective economic conditions for world socialism. It is now a matter of transforming the capitalist world economy into the socialist world economy by transforming the conditions of production in such a way that they coincide with the international productive forces, not nationalize, but internationalize - that is the goal of world socialism. The globalized exploiting system is eliminated by the socialization of the means of world production, the transformation of the private world property into the socialized world property of the international community with the help of the world political system of the dictatorship of the world proletariat. Why is it not possible without the world dictatorship of the proletariat to help the economic law of the unconditional conformity of world productive forces and world production relations to break through? Because this contradicts the interests of the ruling social forces in this world and they therefore resist. These social forces of today's capitalist "great" powers, led by the U.S., can only be crushed by the overwhelming majority of those forces that are only able to break their resistance - the world proletariat, especially in alliance with the poor peasants of the whole world, because the worker cannot carry out the world revolution victoriously, cannot revive world production, cannot give free rein to the economic law of unconditional agreement of world production relations with the character of world productive forces if the farmer does not supply him with bread. On an international economic basis, the entire international social superstructure develops, and international culture emerges from it.

Internationalism, the international culture that has long been systematically created by the proletariat of all countries, does not take up the national culture of any "Great Power" (be it American, Russian, Chinese, European, etc.) as a whole (= cosmopolitanism of the imperialists), but takes from each national culture exclusively its consistently democratic and socialist elements. We Bolsheviks are exclusively for this proletarian kind of international culture. Stalin said at the XVI Party Congress:

"What is national culture under the rule of the national bourgeoisie? It is culture that is bourgeois in content and national in form, having the object of doping the masses with the poison of nationalism and of strengthening the rule of the bourgeoisie.

What is national culture under the dictatorship of the proletariat? It is culture that is socialist in content and national in form, having the object of educating the masses in the spirit of socialism and internationalism.

How is it possible to confuse these two fundamentally different things without breaking with Marxism?

**"Is it not obvious that in combating the slogan of national culture under the bourgeois order, Lenin was striking at the bourgeois content of national culture and not at its national form?"** (Stalin: 'Political Report of C.C. to XVI Congress of C.P.S.U.(B.); Moscow; 1954; p.378-379; English Edition).

The international culture of the proletariat is therefore socialist in its content and national in its form, and only after a long process of historical development is it also international in its form. This is what the National Bolsheviks do not want to understand, why they want to turn back the wheel of history, why they liberate national culture in words, but actually destroy it with their bourgeois nationalism.

Stalin said further at the XVI Party Congress:

**"It may seem strange that we who stand for the future merging of national cultures into one common (both in form and content) culture, with one common language, should at the same time stand for the flowering of national cultures at the present moment, in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But there is nothing strange about it. The national cultures must be allowed to develop and unfold, to reveal all their potentialities, in order to create the conditions for merging them into one common culture with one common language in the period of the victory of socialism all over the world. The flowering of cultures that are national in form and socialist in content under the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country for the purpose of merging them into one common socialist (both in form and content) culture, with one common language, when the proletariat is victorious all over the world and when socialism becomes the way of life— it is just this that constitutes the dialectics of the Leninist presentation of the question of national culture."** (ibid; p.380).

In order to be able to extract democratic and socialist elements from national cultures at all today, we must protect them from the undemocratic and anti-socialist influence of cosmopolitanism and nationalism (in words national, in deeds anti-national), we must promote their democratic and socialist elements exclusively in each national culture, nurture them, nurture them, unfold them, or bring them back to life when they have been destroyed. This is a task which we are willing to share with the National Bolsheviks, if the Russian National Bolsheviks, for their part, are willing to "allow" the proletarians of all other countries to "take" a piece of their international culture from the democratic and socialist elements of Russian culture. We are ready and willing to unite with the National Bolsheviks of Russia, as well as with the National Bolsheviks of all other nations, to develop and promote together the international culture of proletarian socialism, based on the national cultures of the socialist countries. But we are neither ready nor willing to russify the international culture of the world proletariat. There is no truly international proletarian culture unless it is consistently based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism unless it grows in the spirit of consistent proletarian internationalism. The protection of the international culture of the world proletariat is at least as high for us as any socialist culture of any country, because only the protection of the international culture of the world proletariat guarantees the protection of every democratic and socialist element of every national culture, including the protection of the culture of every socialist nation. We can only preserve and protect the democratic and socialist elements of

the national cultures by creating world socialism. Cosmopolitanism, as well as nationalism, can therefore be defeated by nothing but Marxism-Leninism.

So we Bolsheviks have different ideas about the struggle against cosmopolitanism. The only victorious force in the struggle against cosmopolitanism was and is always only Bolshevism! It was and is the revisionists who tried to save cosmopolitanism under the guise of Bolshevism and continue to do so. We may be accused of mistakes and weaknesses in the struggle against revisionism, but Marxism cannot therefore be accused of playing the historical role of the "left" hand of cosmopolitanism. Our Marxist-Leninist struggle against cosmopolitanism was and is always connected with the struggle against revisionism - even in times when there was no National Bolshevism at all. Without defeating revisionism, Bolshevism cannot defeat cosmopolitanism either. We say it here quite openly: The program of the NBP - **"Russia above All!"** - serves the continuation of the old goal of the Russian social-imperialists: Russian socialism in words - Russian imperialism in deeds! We appeal in solidarity to the democratic and socialist elements in the National Bolshevik movement to fight this false course unconditionally, comprehensively and consistently. We disapprove of this undisguised chauvinism and cannot therefore ignore it with silence. It is an obstacle for us on the way to the socialist world revolution. One may disagree as to what the position of the proletariat is in the individual case of a national issue, but in principle we Marxist-Leninists do not let national slogans turn our heads, we go our internationalist way, we never forget our elementary duty to fight any open or hidden nationalist and chauvinist incitement against any nation and to stand for the recognition of full and unreserved equality, for the full right of self-determination of all nations without exception.

The irreconcilable contradiction between the process of the economic unification of the peoples and the imperialist methods of this unification led to the inability, the helplessness, the powerlessness of the bourgeoisie to find the right way of solving the national question. The bourgeois society is completely bankrupt internationally in the solution of the national question. The history of nationalism has proved that nationalism makes the solution of the national question impossible. Now that socialism has been swept off the face of the earth, as a result of which the solution to the national question has been thrown far back, nationalism is trying to impose itself on the masses again as an alternative, pretending to oppose the national oppression that has grown enormously as a result of globalization, and to make national resistance its flag. Since old nationalism has failed, it must appear in a new guise to deceive the masses: He does not want to be capitalist and not socialist, but simply national - just as the German Kaiser once called for war: "I don't know any more parties, I only know Germans! To want to solve the national question under the rule of the bourgeoisie is a reactionary slogan.

**Bolshevism was, is and remains the sharpest weapon of the world proletariat against fascism!**

**- To declare this weapon as a "fiction" is useful for fascism!**

**- National Bolshevism has declared Bolshevism a "fiction"!**

**- National Bolshevism benefits fascism!**

It has been proven for 60 years: Bolshevism is the victor - fascism is the defeated. We are not so tired of life that we communists voluntarily renounce this sharpest weapon. So why in the hell should we trade it for any other weapon, who wants to impose National Bolshevism on us Bolsheviks?

It would be ridiculous and self-deceptive to assume that the defeated would be satisfied with his defeat. The fascists could never do us this favor, even if they wanted to because the law still applies - as long as capitalism is not defeated - capitalism leads to fascism if socialism does not prevent this! Imperialism leads to war if socialism does not prevent it! Fascism to the inside and imperialist war to the outside belong together today in capitalism like the lid to the pot. Since the victory over Hitlerite fascism, the historical doctrine has been added: Revisionism transforms socialism back into capitalism, transforms socialism inwardly into social fascism and outwardly into social-imperialism. Here Limonka's comparison of the "Siamese Twins" would be quite correct, because revisionism in power means nothing other than capitalism in power. But if, as Limonka does, one equates socialism with revisionism, only then will it be possible for the bourgeoisie, through the National Bolsheviks, to spread an ideology of "anti-capitalism" that tries to take the wind out of the sails of the only anti-capitalist, the communist. That is why the ideology of standing "above right and left", of denying "right and left" is a bourgeois ideology. "Neither left nor right" - this is the anti-proletarian formula for the construction of fascism and for the replacement of parliamentarism, with which the bourgeoisie used the slogan "right=left" to protect itself from the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. None of this is possible without revisionism. Therefore: revisionism serves the bourgeoisie to whitewash the red color with brown color, because red color cannot be turned into brown color. Capitalism tries to incorporate everything that prolongs its lifespan. So today it no longer shrinks from pouring brown paint over red Lenin and red Stalin, because it is impossible to transform red Lenin and red Stalin into brown Lenin and brown Stalin. They always remain what they were - Marxists, Reds, Communists, Bolsheviks.

The repeated victory of Bolshevism over fascism is thus ensured by the fact that we hit revisionism so hard on the head that it can no longer rush to the aid of fascism as it did at the time of Hitler's fascism, when all international and then national communist organizations were disintegrated with the revisionist Popular Front politics - first those in the international framework and then those in the national framework. This finally thwarted the liberation from the inevitability of capitalism, from the inevitability of fascism, so the revival of capitalism, the revival of fascism could be restored, so the bourgeoisie could survive. When the revisionists had done their duty in power, they were again deprived of power by capitalism, but they were still used to prevent the rebirth of socialism. We must never forget these historical lessons of anti-revisionism, and therefore we must fight National

Bolshevism, which tries to bind the communists to revisionism. To equate communism with revisionism in order to fight communism better, this necessity exists in principle for the maintenance of the rule of the bourgeoisie, both for the maintenance of the form of rule of bourgeois democracy and for the transition and the maintenance of the bourgeois form of rule of fascism - and again for the retransformation of the fascist form of rule into the parliamentary form of rule, etc.

We Bolsheviks have defeated Hitler, but not capitalism worldwide, therefore the mission of Bolshevism has not yet been fulfilled, it must be continued until the victorious end, i.e. until the victory over world-wide capitalism - with the help of world socialist revolution. Therefore, our international weapon of Bolshevism must not be reduced to a national weapon, not to national Bolshevism, because this would mean leaving the international field of reserve and thus its regeneration to capitalism. National Bolshevism therefore serves capitalism, in particular, to keep capitalism's international back free in order to regain the necessary strength of the capitalist-revisionist encirclement in the event that the victory of socialism in a country is not prevented, and thus to maintain the strength that is necessary to repeatedly strengthen the back of the revisionist within socialism in a country in order to bring the restoration work of capitalism to a victorious conclusion once again. Capitalism already needs National Bolshevism today in order to prevent international Marxism from eliminating the inevitability of the restoration of capitalism not only on a national scale but in the future also on a world scale. Socialism can therefore neither conquer its rebirth on a national scale nor its power on a world scale and claim it without having defeated National Bolshevism. Therefore, National Bolshevism cannot be an alternative for the reconstruction of socialism in one country. National Bolshevism will try to prevent socialism in one country because it knows that world socialism cannot be built without socialism in one country. So if he wants to prevent world socialism, he must prevent the reconstruction of socialism in one country, and the greatest danger for the reconstruction of socialism worldwide is in Russia, which is why national Bolshevism also emanates from Russia in order to conquer the world from there. We must therefore unite above all with the Russian Bolsheviks, we must support them in their fight against National Bolshevism. If we want to stop national Bolshevism worldwide, we must start with Russia! The national Bolsheviks have made it their task to save the Russian "Great" to hide the prevention of the recapture of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the prevention of the socialist revolution of the proletariat behind the anti-imperialist world movement against US imperialism, behind the national liberation movement of the peoples against world imperialism. Since world Bolshevism is the only force that defeats world fascism and world imperialism, the counterrevolutionary forces of the whole world are forced to ideologically disarm Bolshevism and render the Bolsheviks harmless, put on a "Bolshevik" mask to deceive the masses. Following the example of Hitler, who tried to liberate socialism from Marxism with the term "National Socialism" (fascism is both anti-national and anti-socialist!), today certain currents of neo-fascists are trying to unite with the help of National Bolshevism in order to liberate Bolshevism from Marxism-Leninism. National Bolshevism is the basis for an "anti-fascist" - "anti-American" world fascism to save world capitalism. Essential characteristics of the German fascism and the social fascism of different

countries are merged in the Russian fascism to the ideological basis of a new world fascism. If the world fascism should not function on the basis of the US imperialism, it would have to be replaced by this. A fascist international is to be built with which the National Bolsheviks want to secure Russian leadership for themselves. What Hitler did with the Weimar Republic, the Russian National Bolsheviks want to do with the CIS.

We Bolsheviks must now prepare ourselves for the lawful rebirth of fascism, we must be vigilant, and above all, we must ensure that the poison of fascism is not administered to the masses again with "socialist sweetness". At that time the fascists tried to snatch the workers' movement from the communists with the help of the social fascists, and this has not changed until today. Fascism has been playing tricks on its rebirth since its defeat, the bourgeoisie will never renounce this instrument if its use becomes tactically contemporary again. The fight between fascism and anti-fascism has not yet been decided historically. In order to teach Bolshevism, the victor over Hitlerite fascism, a lesson to eliminate it and eliminate it forever, it challenges us to take vengeance and we must equip ourselves better than it does. Fascism cannot be overcome with outdated anti-fascist means. We need additional new means. Above all, however, we must beware of our own old mistakes and weaknesses, which today make it possible for fascists to compete against us again at all. This time we must not again give revisionism the opportunity to wrest our anti-fascist struggle for the victory of socialism and to lead it into bourgeois waters.

The struggle between Bolshevism and fascism will not end until socialism has won over capitalism worldwide. Fascism is nothing but the most brutal form of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. A struggle for the power between two classes to the death. Stalin's struggle against Hitler was therefore only a pre-fight in the decisive international battle between World Bolshevism and world fascism. National Bolshevism plays a significant role in the preparations for war. National Bolshevism knows that the final battle between capitalism and socialism will be inevitable. This time fascism tries to get used to the poison of Bolshevism and thus immunize its organism in order to prolong its survival, having it administered in good doses. The medicine is called National Bolshevism - an ideology that is intended to facilitate the rebirth of fascism, rejuvenate it and make it more resistant to the dreaded proletarian internationalist anti-fascism.

The wave of awareness of the defense of the national interests and the national culture of the peoples against the global imperialist swarm of locusts is reaching the broad masses, and it would be an irreparable mistake not to recognize in it a burning question of the revolutionary movement to be solved on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and the tactical fate of the united front policy against the progressive elements of the national forces of the movements. The progressive elements of the national forces stand on our side, must be won for our revolutionary cause, they are our friends, not our enemies, and must be immunized against fascist influence. But anyone who describes himself as a progressive element of the national movement does not have to be so in reality. In order to separate the wheat from the chaff, one must look around in the national

movement, examine and evaluate its various currents, approach this task exclusively and consistently with the method of dialectical and historical materialism. And one must also look around in the leftist movement, analyze both the cosmopolitan currents and the nationalist currents in it and approach this task just as consistently with the method of dialectical and historical materialism. The national movement cannot be equated with a fascist movement, just because it is national, just as the socialist movement cannot be equated with the cosmopolitan movement, just because it is internationalist. Capitalism means both national and international exploitation and oppression, just as socialism also means national and international liberation from exploitation and oppression. In the revolutionary movement there are forces hiding behind anti-fascism to prepare the way for fascism. In the revolutionary movement there are also forces hiding behind socialism to pave the way for fascism. So in the revolutionary movement there are forces that are socialist in words but fascist in deeds, that is social fascist forces. In the revolutionary movement there are beyond that forces, which are national and socialist in words, but fascist in deeds, because fascism is neither national nor socialist. Finally, there are forces in the revolutionary movement that are national and Bolshevik in words, but are indeed fascist, because Bolshevism is international. Again, there are forces in the revolutionary movement that are internationalist in words, but cosmopolitan in reality. Conversely, in the counterrevolutionary movement there are forces that are progressive, that create contradictions in the counterrevolutionary movement and that we must win as defectors into our revolutionary movement. As long as there are fascists on this earth, they have tried with more or less success to recruit forces from our revolutionary movement for their counterrevolutionary movement, not only from the Marxist-Leninist movement, but from the whole spectrum of the different "left" currents, where we call "left" currents the currents of the bourgeois camp. Even the right spectrum is anything but uniform. We Marxist-Leninists fight resolutely against nationalism in all its varieties, in whatever movement it tries to step up and gain a foothold, especially the refined, veiled nationalism dressed in socialist phrases in our own revolutionary, internationalist ranks.

Anyone who believes that the whole right-wing scene is "fascist" will only help the fascists with this blanket judgement, to take all right-wing tendencies for themselves all the more easily, and will deprive us communists of the successful task of breaking progressive elements out of the right-wing camp and make them useless as fascist reserves. Here we Marxist-Leninists still have a lot of work to do and above all to rely on the rich experience of the communist world movement, for example on the classics of Marxism-Leninism and on individual outstanding communist leaders like Ernst Thälmann of the KPD, who fought very successfully for the unity of the nationally and communist-minded workers against Hitler fascism. Forging the revolutionary united front of the world proletariat against world fascism in order to lead the socialist world revolution to victory is one of the key tasks of the whole Marxist-Leninist world movement. In order to establish fascism, the bourgeoisie must, first of all, do ideological preparatory work, it must spiritually attune the masses to it, it must first of all deal with the anti-fascist forces and organizations, penetrate them, disintegrate them or try to put them in front of their carts. It turns out that especially the petty bourgeois elements in the anti-fascist movement begin to sway - how could it be otherwise? But

this fluctuating petty-bourgeois attitude must not be transferred to the anti-fascist attitude of the proletarian movement. The proletarian antifascist movement must now absolutely examine its position, strengthen and strengthen it, prepare and mobilize its antifascist forces where fascism is on the advance. The rebirth of fascism means the intensification of the struggle for the rebirth of socialism.

"If it is impossible to deal with the revolt of the workers and the people with pseudo-democratic forms and the chattering methods of the parliaments, the bourgeois state intervenes with laws, force and the whip. This is happening at present in most countries, where the crisis has sharpened the contradictions between labor and capital, and where the indignation of the working people about the situation has intensified. In this situation, the danger of fascism becomes more and more threatening. It is well known that capital, when it comes to a dead end and is exposed to the heavy blows of the working class, is either forced to declare bankruptcy or to establish the fascist dictatorship and to steer toward war. "And Enver Hoxha complements them Statement with a Lenin quote from his works Bd. 24, page 201, German edition):

"For the great significance of any crisis is that it makes the hidden visible, that pushes aside the superficial, the superficial, the petty, clear away the political debris, reveals the true driving forces of the class struggle that is really going on."

**"If the working masses, we Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive peoples fail to understand that the fascist dictatorship comes as a result of the difficult situation which the power of the capital is experiencing and do not fight it, then,, sooner or later fascism will be established, because the crisis will continue, since capitalism will strive to protect its income at the expense of the working masses who will become more and more impoverished."** (Hoxha: 'The Marxist-Leninist World Movement and the World Crisis of Capitalism'; Tirana; 1979; English Editon).

**"Fascism is the last trump card of exploitative capital"** (Enver Hoxha, 'Social Politics', Vol. 3; Tirana; 1986; p.23; English Edition).

**"Fascism is the most brutal dictatorship of the bourgeoisie..."** (ibid).

**"As soon as the capitalists see that their cause is lost, they throw off the mask and establish a fascist dictatorship"** (Enver Hoxha, 'Speech at the 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA'; Tirana; 1974; Translated from German).

Fascism is both the further development of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the replacement of the decaying parliamentarism (whether as a coup or in a longer process). This development and replacement of one form of bourgeois rule by another is due not only to the weakness, but also to

the highest stage of the degeneration of the bourgeoisie, which eventually perishes in its own rule. Fascism is the cruelest exploitation and oppression in human history. Fascism is the most terrorist ruling system of rotting, parasitic and dying capitalism. Fascism is the last hopeless means, the most brutal form of class rule of the bourgeoisie, to escape the impending downfall of imperialism through economic, political and military terror to the extreme increase of exploitation and oppression. Fascism is the product of the sharpest crisis of world capitalism. The most inhuman form of exploitation of the capitalist wolf laws always has a class-like background in fascist society, with the monopoly bourgeoisie acting as the driving force of exploitation of the imperialist economic law according to maximum profit, while the classes exploited by it oppose it with revolutionary violence.

Fascism is particularly directed against the working class because it is the only revolutionary class that can overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie and eliminates the inevitability of imperialism forever. Fascism is the most brutal means of the rule of world capital to violently smash socialism. Fascism is the means of counter-revolution, made imperative by the highest escalation of the contradiction between capital and labor, to suppress or prevent the outbreak of the proletarian revolution, because where exploitation and oppression become unbearable, the organized revolutionary resistance legally increases to the same extent and strength as red terror, and the clash of the antagonistic driving forces of the class struggle between wage labor and capital accelerates and increases decisively. Fascism is the desperate attempt of the old world to prevent the new world with all its power and the most violent methods from replacing the old world because it refuses to voluntarily step off the stage of history. Fascism serves the preparation of imperialist wars. Fascist Pact = Anti-Comintern Pact.

Fascism is the expression and result of the urge to the blackest reactionary rule on the whole line, growing out of the essence of finance capital, no matter under which political system the internal contradictions of the monopoly are sharply sharpened. If monopoly capital becomes the shackle of the mode of production, then monopoly capital puts fascist shackles on the productive forces. When the hour of capitalist private property strikes, fascism strikes. Bloody rule plays a not insignificant role in extending and securing the economic power of the monopoly rulers, which has fallen into a deep crisis, but fascism does not form the basis of imperialism, but of monopolistic private property. Fascism must legitimately seize bourgeois state power in order to save the thoroughly rotten and internally devoured and crisis-shaken imperialist system from its gravediggers ("**expropriation of the expropriators**" [Marx]), which is in the hands of a few powerful finance capitalists and representatives of the monopoly bourgeoisie. They are forced, as monopoly capitalists, to disregard the law of the tendential fall of the profit rate, to follow the law of the accumulation of capital, and by increasingly aggressive and brutal plundering of the labouring masses, by warlike outward expansion, by expropriation of even larger, middle and smaller capitalists ("**one capitalist each beats many to death**", etc.) to strive for maximum profit and to secure maximum profits by brutally robbing the peoples of the whole world. To hunt for maximum profit, capitalism needs fascism in order to increase and accumulate wealth to the gigantic - to the

final point where capitalism destroys itself ("**It is the abolition of capital as private property within the framework of the capitalist mode of production itself.**" [Marx, Engels: 'Capital', Volume III in: 'Collected Works', Volume 37; Moscow; p.434; English Edition]). But the revolutionary proletariat will not be able to wait for this point until it has matured, because it also affects its own existence as a threatening destruction of the productive forces. It will be forced to seize power beforehand to free itself from the shackles of capitalist relations of production, which by means of fascist violence are tightening themselves ever more tightly - and this is precisely what the handful of financial magnates who absolutely want to keep the world in their possession are afraid of. They defend themselves against the threat of expropriation, even with the most brutal fascist terror. The international financial capital, the world monopolists, have long since tried to create their own extremely reactionary "new world order" through the ever deeper world economic crisis into which they have fallen, and dominate the world with an iron grip. It takes on more and more openly the features of a new world fascism, which emanates above all from US imperialism. Due to the unevenness of the erratic development of the capitalist countries, the other imperialists are forced to establish their own fascist regimes due to the intensified competition against the US imperialism and to grip intensified plundering and oppression. In order to satisfy their need for maximum profits at the expense of the other imperialists, they need fascism. They instigate imperialist wars in order to redivide the world among themselves and to establish their own new world domination by force - and to defend it from the others by force. The fascist states therefore direct their violence not only against the exploited and oppressed, but also against each other, because the capitalist countries themselves are subject to their own murderous laws. That is why it is imperialism which can never eliminate the inevitability of fascism and war itself, but which draws more and more peoples of the world into its struggle. Only the world proletariat can prevent this through the world revolution by eliminating world imperialism forever. "Never again fascism". "Capitalism leads to fascism". Capitalism must go away!

So who are the fascists?

*In words, after the bankruptcy of parliamentarianism, the fascists demagogically present themselves as "the great savior from need" and lure the masses with carrots to abuse them as a basis against the influence of communism, but in deeds fascism is the most reactionary, the most aggressive, the most totalitarian and educated machinery of the imperialist bourgeoisie in its most acute crisis situation, which serves it for the most ruthless exploitation, plundering, enslavement, expulsion, and genocide, for subjugation, exploitation, and conformity of all life on earth (including all spiritual life) to a single sense and purpose: - to increase profit through the monopoly of the capitalists and, conversely, fascism is accordingly the unconditional conquest and annihilation of all forces of the whole world, especially their communist, proletarian leadership, whose only purpose is to stand in the way of this rule of maximum profit, to resist it, to attack them, to overthrow them, to destroy them by breaking the shackles of the capitalist relations of production in order to liberate all productive forces (including the intellectual ones), whereby only one form of rule guarantees the avoidability of fascism forever: the dictatorship of the proletariat, which*

*eliminates all class rule, including its own.*

Today's right-wing advance must be seen in the context of the necessary transformation of parliamentarism into fascism to maintain the rule of the bourgeoisie in the deepest crisis of its power. Nationalism must be made suitable for the masses again in order to be able to start the coming imperialist war and end it victoriously. The anti-Americanism of the right is the starting point to incite national hatred. It is not only borrowed from the left movement, but the right also tries with it to instrumentalize the left by denying the antagonistic character of the difference between left and right in order not to eliminate world imperialism with the struggle against US imperialism, but to save it by strengthening a new imperialism to replace the run-down US imperialism, i.e. transforming the old existing imperialist system by creating a new imperialist system to be established between Gibraltar and Vladivostok. The whole purpose of bourgeois nationalism today is to fight against the one oppressive nation to work into the hands of another oppressive nation, to liberate nations from the hands of the other oppressive nation, to oppress the "liberated" nation, to push the nation back and forth like on a chessboard and sacrifice it for the sake of maximizing profit. The workers of the oppressed nations who fight their "own" nationalism must not forget the struggle against the nationalism of the oppressing nations. Likewise, the workers of the oppressive nations must not forget the struggle against the nationalism of the oppressed nations in the struggle against "their own" nationalism.

Liberation of all oppressed nations from all oppressive nations, the liberation of all nations from the yoke of international capitalism through the united struggle of the workers of all oppressed and oppressive nations, that is the purpose of proletarian internationalism. To preserve the international unity of the proletarian class struggle for world socialism, to resist all influences of nationalism and cosmopolitanism - this is our task as internationalists, as Bolsheviks.

The right denies the proletarian class character of anti-US imperialism, because the working class is a danger for it because it fights not only against its own imperialism but against any imperialism - by nature as international and not as national class. This international struggle of the proletariat should be adapted to the national struggle, should be conducted under nationalist slogans and not internationalist slogans. The internationalist slogans of the proletariat are to be adapted to the cosmopolitan slogans of world imperialism in order to denounce the proletariat from the nationalist point of view not as a victim but as a henchman of the international financial capital if it does not want to be distracted from its internationalism by national slogans. Nationalism amounts to a division of the international proletariat so that it can more easily be led to the slaughter. But with a world proletariat on the slaughterhouse, international financial capital always wins. Nationalism is only a means to an end. That is why the propagation of socialism is very important for combating the cancerous damage of nationalism. This is a problem for the nationalists, and so they search for allies in the socialists' camp, for traitors, they try to exploit the contradictions in the left camp for themselves, to disintegrate the left camp, to liquidate it. The fascists make use of the social fascists, whereby the social fascists themselves sense their chance to make social imperialism

socially acceptable again, to establish the rule of social imperialism over the whole world. Therefore it is no coincidence that they are decisively involved in initiating and facilitating the adaptation of the left to the right movement. Yes, without the social fascists it would be much more difficult, even almost impossible, for the fascists to penetrate into the left movement, which is why the social fascists are pacemakers of the influence of fascism in the proletarian movement. Revisionism leads to social fascism and then to open fascism. We Marxist Leninists must hammer these consequences into our heads when we fight neo-revisionism: a form of revisionism that today has slipped into the anti-revisionist, Marxist-Leninist garb to reconcile anti-revisionism with revisionism, to adapt Marxism-Leninism to revisionism, that is, to liquidate the revolutionary content of Marxism-Leninism while maintaining the anti-revisionist shell of Marxism-Leninism. In this most dangerous way neo-revisionism works into the hands of capitalism, reaction, war and fascism and their social supports, including the extreme right-wing movement!

It is no coincidence that some of the "left" capitulators and liquidators both in Germany and in Russia and elsewhere are

firstly, carried away by this nationalist wave and therefore drops their internationalist red party flag on the way to nationalism,

secondly, that another part of them have fundamentally abandoned the necessity of defending the national interests of the people because they were poisoned by the anti-national spirit of cosmopolitanism and no longer believed in the cause of the socialist nation in the face of the "overpowering" reactionary stream of globalization of international finance capital against a "vegging, socialist trickle", and

thirdly, that another - considerable part - of the "left" capitulators and liquidators come from the revisionist camp and pursue the goal of restoring their old revisionist power, their social-fascist rule.

All "left" capitulators and liquidators together have the goal to betray, sacrifice and destroy the social and national interests of the peoples.

The penetration of right thoughts into the left movement cannot be overlooked today. We Marxist-Leninists must therefore pay the necessary attention to this phenomenon in order to keep our ranks closed and to purge them of their right influence. We must face the current nationalist tendencies, but we must not let ourselves be overwhelmed by them, we must pursue our socialist course unswervingly with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, we must actively and resolutely oppose the nationalist tendencies with our socialist counteroffensive! Our communist task is not to separate the nations from each other, but to unite the workers of all nations. Nationalists cannot be "also socialists". Socialism cannot be adapted to nationalism, just as nationalism cannot adapt to socialism. There are no "also nationalists". Any reconciliation between nationalism and socialism serves the rulers and harms the oppressed. Some people think that national Bolshevism is a

national branch of Bolshevism, which, while erring, spreading not a few stupidities, sometimes even openly striking anti-Bolshevik tones, can at least be assigned to the Bolshevik camp. Hence a certain liberalism towards the National Bolsheviks. However, it is probably explained here clearly enough why the views of the national Bolsheviks are extremely wrong and harmful. In reality, national Bolshevism is a vanguard of the fascist bourgeoisie in the struggle against communism in general - not only in the struggle against the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the USSR proletariat. Who provides the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie with a "revolutionary" spiritual, ideological weapon against Bolshevism in the form of national Bolshevism? This weapon is supplied by the National Bolsheviks. This fact is no coincidence because the disintegration is most advanced in Russia, the establishment of fascism is most urgently necessary to maintain the rule of the Russian bourgeoisie, the transition from social fascism to open fascism is a logical consequence. We must not forget that Western parliamentarism was imported into Russia at a time when it had already rotted and proved to be an obstacle to the bourgeoisie. That is why the open fascism in Russia is all the more pronounced, it makes it easier for the world bourgeoisie to build world fascism. We must not forget that the national Bolsheviks do not only stand up against the Bolsheviks in their own country but try to gain an international foothold.

**"The task to which I have devoted my life (...) not the consolidation of some "national" state, but of a socialist state, and that means an international state; and everything that strengthens that state helps to strengthen the entire international working class."** (Stalin: 'Talk with the German Author Emil Ludwig' in: 'Works', Volume 13; Moscow; 1954; p.107; English Edition).

In contrast, this is the Program of the NBP about on their state:

**"THE STATE**

*4. Having come to power, NBP will make revolutionary on the scales*

*of transformation in Russia, will construct the TOTAL STATE, the*

*human rights will concede a place to the rights of a nation. Inside*

*the country the iron Russian order, climate of discipline, bellicose*

*and diligence will be established."*

Bolshevism and National Bolshevism are two very different worlds in the question of the state. That is why liberalism, even if it masks itself with Lenin and Stalin, is foolish against National Bolshevism that borders on a crime, a betrayal of the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin. That is why

we must take decisive action against all attempts to unite Bolshevism with National Bolshevism because this can only lead to a weakening of Bolshevism and a strengthening of nationalism. We must not offer the National Bolsheviks a tribune to spread their counter-revolutionary ideology if we do not want to be suicidal. It is not enough to criticize the National Bolsheviks from this or that point of view, we must always and consistently criticise them from the Marxist-Leninist point of view.

The only positive thing about the National Bolsheviks about this is that they help us Marxist-Leninists set in motion a long overdue political clarification process and to oppose the associated class solidarity and class unification of the proletariat against the world bourgeoisie and its attempts to use national and socialist demagogy to deter the masses from national and social liberation through socialist revolution:

First, that the true Bolsheviks break with the national liquidators, with the traitors on the international banner, and clean them out of their ranks whenever they appear in our ranks and however they camouflage themselves "Bolshevik".

Secondly, that through our pro-national attitude (which is not only compatible with our pro-international attitude, but indispensable for us!) to better recognize that we Marxist-Leninists are not hostile to them but comradely opposed to them, that while we fight for the revolutionary transformation of the bourgeois nation into the socialist nation, we still hold fast to the defense of the historical necessity of the nation as such and thus agree with them, both against the counterrevolutionary, reactionary, nationalist, and cosmopolitan forces in the right camp and against the counter-revolutionary, reformist and above all revisionist forces in the left camp. Neither revolution nor reform can save the bourgeois nation. It has survived itself, has destroyed itself. But the end of the bourgeois nation does not mean the end of the nation itself. It lives on when it is taken into the hands of the people when the workers take over the power of the nation. The bourgeois nation is dead - long live the socialist nation!

Are the National Bolsheviks opponents of any democracy, both bourgeois and proletarian democracy?

Here is the quote from the first and possibly decisive sentence of the NBP Program:

## **"ESSENCE OF NATIONAL-BOLSHEVISM**

### **1. Essence of National-bolshevism is the incinerating hatred to**

**antihuman SYSTEM of the trinity: liberalism / democracy /**

**capitalism. The man of uprising, national-bolshevik sees his mission**

**in destruction of SYSTEM up to the basis. On ideals spiritual**

**courage, social and national justice the traditionalistic,**

**hierarchical community will be constructed."**

The essence of National Bolshevism for the NBP is **"destructive hatred of the inhuman SYSTEM of the Trinity of liberalism, democracy and capitalism. The National Bolshevik wants to rise up against the system and plunge it to its foundations. The traditionalist, hierarchical community will be built on it with ideals, witty courage, social and national justice."**

(Incidentally, we may ask the question: How can National Bolshevism make two essential statements that are mutually exclusive: **"hatred of capitalism"** - the one statement; **"there has never been capitalism"** (Limonka) - the opposite statement. What now, dear National Bolsheviks? How do you want to get out of it? Hate something that exists or hate something that doesn't exist? So are you now fighting against capitalism or against the **"fiction" of capitalism**? Or against both/neither? - One can be curious to see with what **"ideals"** and what **"witty courage,"** with which the National Bolsheviks have got themselves into with their contradictions here, they intend to come out of their dilemma again. Will they be **"witty"** enough to summon up the "courage" and apologize self-critically to the masses for their "mishap" or will they not consider it necessary?)

So the essence of National Bolshevism is not Bolshevism's destructive hatred of the imperialist world system, of the ruling system of the world bourgeoisie, but of a system based on the **"Trinity of liberalism, democracy and capitalism"** (this is by no means the same, and we will have to start with this afterwards!).

What should take the place of this "Trinity", what should be opposed to it - the National Bolsheviks avoid this clear programmatic answer with nebulous terms, why? They want a traditionalist society - yes, on which traditionalism should this society be built? If it is the tradition of socialism that they want to restore, okay - we agree, but why don't the National Bolsheviks say that explicitly? After all, Bolshevism and socialism are synonymous in essence. Any differentiation from Bolshevism also means differentiation from socialism. There is no national socialism, consequently no National Bolshevism. Both are international in nature and only in form (for a historical stage still) they are necessarily national.

The program of the NBP is therefore not a socialist program, not the program of socialists. Even if - suppose this was the case - the National Bolsheviks were in favour of the re-establishment of Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union (they propagate the opposite!), two things must be distinguished in principle: The Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin was historically the first socialist

country, but thus the beginning of the socialist world, which does not end with the elimination of socialism in one country, but continues to its end - world socialism. Socialism in a country is not conceived as an ultimate goal, but as a necessary step on the way to world socialism, i.e. an internationalist goal. We are not in favour of Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union from the nationalist point of view, but from the internationalist point of view, i.e. from Lenin's and Stalin's point of view. From the nationalist point of view, any socialism in a country under the continuing world domination of imperialism is condemned to death, as history has shown. It is clear that we Bolsheviks reject such a National Bolshevism that has in mind a Eurasian nation that is NOT socialist and that is NOT understood as a stage for the socialist world nation, but as a national "final solution" - the end of all other nations - Russian cosmopolitanism of a Eurasian empire! National Bolshevism is nothing else than the national veiling of Russian imperialist cosmopolitanism!

And then the "Hierarchical Community" - what is that? The National Bolsheviks fight THE system par excellence ["Do what you want" - that will be your unique law" - program of the NBP]. with the hierarchy of the community. How can one be an opponent of any system and still want to build a hierarchical society?

What are the **"ideals"**? The ideals of Bolshevik communism are certainly not meant, otherwise they would be explicitly defined. So it is not the program of the Comintern of 1928 of which National Bolshevism refers to, nor is it the program of the CPSU [B] of comrades Lenin and Stalin - it is an anti-socialist program embellishing Russian imperialism.

But are we now coming to the serious question of democracy?

If the National Bolsheviks hate liberalism and capitalism - as we do - how can they hate the democracy that we Bolsheviks love? We Bolsheviks were and are the most consistent and revolutionary advocates of democracy, we hate any anti-democracy, especially how the revisionists hid their social-fascism underneath the cloak of democracy. As Bolsheviks, we are opposed to any fictitious democracy, reformism, revisionism, liberalism, etc., with which the rulers cheat the masses of their true democracy. Whether they hate bourgeois democracy or socialist democracy - only the blackest reactionaries, only fascists and social-fascists hate democracy. Democracy means "popular rule". The one who hates the people's rule also hates the people. Who hates peoples can also become a genocide - like the fascists! Over the inhuman and democracy-hostile fascism, we already presented our opinion. The point here is to uncover the political error of the National Bolsheviks in integrating democracy into the triad of liberalism and capitalism. How do the National Bolsheviks want to represent the national interests of the Russian people when they hate "popular rule"? A people in which the majority has no power cannot represent its national interests at all. Those who hate the power of the people also hate their national interests, and indeed we have already pointed out that any nationalism, including Russian nationalism, is in practice anti-national, that in fact, the national interests of a minority of the people rule over the national interests of the majority of the people. Nationalism is incompatible with Marxism-Leninism.

**Nationalism is incompatible with Bolshevism. National Bolshevism is neither compatible with Marxism-Leninism nor with Bolshevism - neither in the question of democracy nor in any other political question.**

**"The liberals differ from the conservatives (Black Hundreds) in that they represent the interests of the bourgeoisie, which needs progress and a fairly well organised legal system, the observance of legality, of the constitution, and a guarantee of some degree of political liberty.**

**But this progressive bourgeoisie dreads the democracy and the movement of the masses even more than it dreads reaction. Hence the liberals' perpetual tendency to make concessions to the old, to compromise with it, to defend many fundamental mainstays of the old order. And all this makes for the complete impotence of liberalism, for its timidity half-heartedness and eternal vacillations."**

**"...A democrat is not afraid of the movement of the masses but believes in it." (Lenin: 'Cadets and Democrats' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 18; Moscow; 1978; p.229-230; English Edition).**

Today liberalism is rotten to the last bone just like the bourgeoisie, it has become completely incapable of saving imperialism from its downfall, it is incapable of being an instrument of bourgeois rule, where the crisis is the deepest threat to profits, it must replace the bourgeoisie and replace it with its fascist rule. And there the spirits divide between right and left. Both directions want to bury the liberalist corpse. But some want to build fascism on it and others want socialism. Therefore these two forces cannot fight together, but the fight against liberalism turns into a class struggle between fascism and socialism. The right-wing currents differ only in the degree to which they conceal their fascist intentions as long as they are not in power.

And it is precisely the march of today's right-wing movement: The struggle against democracy is veiled in the struggle against liberalism and capitalism by distracting the workers with nationalist slogans. Those who fight against capitalism can only do so successfully if they fight most consistently for democracy. Anyone who fights against bourgeois democracy, against liberalism, against parlemantarism can only do so successfully in the struggle for proletarian democracy. Anything else is wrong because capitalism and liberalism belong to the bourgeois class that exploits and oppresses the people. Democracy, however, is not the representation of a ruling minority of the people, but of the ruling majority over the minority. To confuse this is a flagrant political mistake of the National Bolsheviks, which Lenin had already uncovered long before the October Revolution:

**"No democracy in the world can eliminate the class struggle and the omnipotence of**

**money. It is not this that makes democracy important and useful. The importance of democracy is that it makes the class struggle broad, open and conscious. And this is not a conjecture or a wish, but a fact.**

**"...a proletariat is powerless when alone but that millions of proletarians are all-powerful."**

(Lenin: 'The Successes of the American Workers' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 18; Moscow; 1978; p.335-336; English Edition).

Lenin makes it clear to us here that the anti-democratism of the National Bolsheviks reflects the fear of the masses of millions which drives them not to let the class struggle become a broad, open and conscious struggle in the first place, but to dismiss it as the "phantom" of the Marxist-Leninists.

Why the hatred, the disdain for democracy among the National Bolsheviks? As a petty bourgeois current, National Bolshevism has class difficulties with both bourgeois and proletarian democracy; the petty bourgeoisie hates both forms of democratism; petty bourgeois democratism is not only under buttered. Petty-bourgeois democratism, vacillating between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, is historically outdated, just as the petty bourgeois class will lawfully perish, so petty bourgeois democratism will also perish.

**"The proletariat cannot be victorious except through democracy, i.e., by giving full effect to democracy and by linking with each step of its struggle democratic demands formulated in the most resolute terms. It is absurd to contrapose the socialist revolution and the revolutionary struggle against capitalism to a single problem of democracy, in this case, the national question. We must combine the revolutionary struggle against capitalism with a revolutionary programme and tactics on all democratic demands: a republic, a militia, the popular election of officials, equal rights for women, the self-determination of nations, etc. (...) The social revolution is not a single battle, but a period covering a series of battles over all sorts of problems of economic and democratic reform, which are consummated only by the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. It is for the sake of this final aim that we must formulate every one of our democratic demands in a consistently revolutionary way. It is quite conceivable that the workers of some particular country will overthrow the bourgeoisie before even a single fundamental democratic reform has been fully achieved. It is, however, quite inconceivable that the proletariat, as a historical class, will be able to defeat the bourgeoisie, unless it is prepared for that by being educated in the spirit of the most consistent and resolutely revolutionary democracy." (Lenin: 'Proletariat and Right to Self-Determination' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 21; Moscow; 1974; p.408-409; English Edition).**

**"It would be a radical mistake to think that the struggle for democracy was capable of diverting the proletariat from the socialist revolution or of hiding, overshadowing it, etc. On the contrary, in the same way as there can be no victorious socialism that does not practise full democracy, so the proletariat cannot prepare for its victory over the bourgeoisie without an all-round, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy." (Lenin: The Socialist**

Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 22; Moscow; 1974; p.144; English Edition).

Lenin teaches us what the national program of workers democracy should look like:

**"The national programme of working-class democracy is: absolutely no privilege for any one nation or any one language [not even for Russia - author's note]; the solution of the problem of the political self-determination of nations, that is, their separation as states by completely free, democratic methods; the promulgation of a law for the whole state by virtue of which any measure (Zemstvo, urban or communal, etc., etc.) introducing any privilege of any kind for one of the nations and militating against the equality of nations or the rights of a national minority [even if they are Russia! - author's note], shall be declared illegal and ineffective, and any citizen of the state shall have the right to demand that such a measure be annulled as unconstitutional, and that those who attempt to put it into effect be punished."** (Lenin: 'Liberals and Democrats on the Language Question' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 19; Moscow; 1977; p.356; English Edition).

**"The imperialism of our days has led to a situation in which the Great-Power oppression of nations has become general. The view that a struggle must be conducted against the social-chauvinism of the dominant nations, who are now engaged in an imperialist war to enhance the oppression of nations, and are oppressing most of the world's nations and most of the earth's population—this view must be decisive, cardinal and basic in the national programme of Social-Democracy."** (Lenin: 'The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right to Self-Determination' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 21; Moscow; 1974; p.410-411; English Edition). In the National Bolshevik Program, there is not a single word of it!

**"...a socialist of an oppressor nation who does not conduct both peacetime and wartime propaganda in favour of freedom of secession for oppressed nations, is no socialist and no internationalist, but a chauvinist! The socialist of an oppressor nation who fails to conduct such propaganda in defiance of government bans, i.e., in the free, i.e., in the illegal press, is a hypocritical advocate of equal rights for nations!"** (ibid; p.412).

This National Program of workers democracy is the exact opposite to the National Program of the Russian National Bolsheviks. So let's tell them in certain terms: Either you take the stand of Lenin's workers democracy, then you rightly carry his image in your emblem, or you remain on the previous stand of your National Bolshevik Program, then you will have to strike Lenin out, because whoever works against Lenin's Program - whoever or however - does not deserve it and is not entitled to carry Lenin's revolutionary banner. It is clear that we Marxist-Leninists must never subordinate ourselves to or be leashed by the National Bolshevik movement, for we are the Bolshevik vanguard party of the proletariat, the Lenin-type party, and never roll in our Marxist-Leninist, communist banner for the National Bolsheviks' sake, either voluntarily or by means of

violence.

Our anti-parliamentarist struggle is part of the struggle of the working class to achieve its dictatorship - exclusively on the basis of proletarian democracy, council democracy, etc. - and is therefore a part of the struggle of the working class to achieve its dictatorship.

If the bourgeoisie sets a demagogic sign of equality between "left-wing extremism and right-wing extremism", demonizes extremism as a threat to parliamentary "democracy", then we must not draw the tactically wrong conclusion from it that all "extremists" must act in a common front against this accusation. This is a trap. After all, we do not make a common cause with the anarchists, who want to overthrow the bourgeois state like us Marxist-Leninists. What matters, after all, is why? We want the socialist state, the anarchists don't want a state at all. The National Bolsheviks want a state, but not a socialist state. So if one fights against parliamentary hypocrisy, against the deception of bourgeois "democracy", against the parasitic, rotten, run-down parliamentarism of the bourgeoisie, that alone is not enough, but one must answer the question of what should take the place of it. Us communists want to realize the socialist democracy in a revolutionary way - the National Bolsheviks (at least the majority of them) do not fight for a socialist state of Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha. They do not use the terminology of Marxism-Leninism. We must enlighten the masses - and especially the extra-parliamentary opposing youth - that fascism is the continuation of the political rule of capital with even more brutal means than with bourgeois parliamentarism, that in times of crisis and weakness the bourgeoisie necessarily can no longer get along with the tool of parliamentarism, that it is forced to resort to means of fascism in order to maintain its power, that it needs fascism itself and also makes use of "right-wing extremism". "Left-right"-demagogy of the bourgeoisie can therefore never mean for us communists: Left-right alliance - neither by a National Bolshevik collection movement nor by any extra-parliamentary or other movements. Bolsheviks and fascists were, are and always will be mortal enemies. They represent the positions of antagonistic classes and are therefore irreconcilable with each other. The left movement fights with ALL means for the elimination of the right movement. Conversely, the right-wing movement fights for the elimination of the left-wing movement with ALL means - even with the means of a right/"left" united collection movement. Of course, we also try on our part to win a nationally minded worker for the anti-fascist, proletarian united front. But we leftists must never fight alongside the right, because we leftists represent the revolutionary working class and the people, we fight for socialism, while the rightists serve the bourgeoisie and the maintenance of capitalism, even if they demagogically call themselves national socialists, National Bolsheviks, national revolutionaries, and camouflage themselves with "left" phrases! We know from historical experience that this only serves to conquer power. If the power of fascism is conquered, then the fascists remove their "left" camouflage again.

Against whom Against whom must we fight against the adaptation of communism to fascism? We must wage this struggle where it arises, at the extreme edge of the left wing of the right and at the extreme edge of the right wing of the left (for example Strasser and Röhm on the right, Niekisch on

the left). Which wing is more dangerous? It depends on the given conditions. The extreme left edge of the right tries to lure the extreme right edge of the left with phrases, to defend the national interests of the people, appeals to patriotism etc. while right opportunism tries to gain a foothold in the extreme right wing of the left in order to extend the bourgeois influence to the center. The forces of reconciliation from left and right are the most dangerous forces with which the bourgeoisie tries to chain or liquidate the left. In any case, the current of reconciliation that has been neglected or even stopped is always the most dangerous, because the demarcation line is always the most dangerous at its outer edge in order to bring anti-proletarian ideas into our ranks. That is why any reconciliation with the right, any consideration for them, any liberal attitude towards them, any trivialization of them, any pact with them is a serious crime against the working class and communism. Must this crime also be fought as a crime? Must we fight against the adaptation of communism to fascism? We must wage this struggle where it arises, at the extreme edge of the left wing of the right and at the extreme edge of the right wing of the left (for example Strasser and Röhm on the right, Niekisch on the left). Which wing is more dangerous? It depends on the given conditions. The extreme left edge of the right tries to lure the extreme right edge of the left with phrases, to defend the national interests of the people, appeals to patriotism etc. while right opportunism tries to gain a foothold in the extreme right wing of the left in order to extend the bourgeois influence to the center. The forces of reconciliation from left and right are the most dangerous forces with which the bourgeoisie tries to chain or liquidate the left. In any case, the current of reconciliation that has been neglected or even stopped is always the most dangerous, because the demarcation line is always the most dangerous at its outer edge in order to bring anti-proletarian ideas into our ranks. That is why any reconciliation with the right, any consideration for them, any liberal attitude towards them, any trivialization of them, any pact with them is a serious crime against the working class and communism. Must this crime also be fought as a crime?

The same thing also applies to **social-fascism**.

To be left means to eliminate capitalism and to create socialism - not only nationally, but above all internationally. The NBP explicitly NOT calls itself a left party, so it is for the maintenance of capitalism, whether it calls itself anti-capitalist or not, because only a left party can be anti-capitalist. Who only wants to replace the old form of bourgeois rule with a new one is not an anti-capitalist, but defends capitalism against socialism. A non-left party committed to "revolution" is revolutionary in words, but always counterrevolutionary in deeds. A naturally socialist class - the proletariat - does not exist for the National Bolsheviks. The ideology of being "**neither right nor left**" is a dead ideology. (also see: pages 559-560 of Volume 18 of Lenin's Collected Works).

Bolshevism is on the left, a universal, international tactic of the world proletariat - today as 100 years ago a highly topical one - to establish the socialist world order. But the dialectic of history is such that the theoretical victory of Bolshevism forces its enemies to disguise themselves as Bolsheviks. Rotting nationalism is trying to revive itself through opportunism in Russia by putting on the cloak of National Bolshevism. The Soviet peoples have achieved a great historical victory

through Bolshevism. In world history, Bolshevism's triumphal march will continue, not stopping at the borders of the former Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin. The re-conquest of Bolshevik power, its final victory in Russia, is inevitable if it does not give National Bolshevism a chance to exert its bourgeois influence on the masses.

There can be nothing between capitalism and socialism - either capitalism or socialism? We must ask this question of every national Bolshevik. If he is in action for socialism, if socialism is not an empty phrase for him, he will fight with us against capitalism. If it is not willing to fight for socialism, it will support capitalism - whether it wants to or not - and its "anti-capitalism" will be exposed and fought by us. If national Bolshevism tries to soften and eliminate the fronts between left and right, then we have to tighten these fronts in return, we communists have to differentiate ourselves from national Bolshevism all the more clearly, clearly and consistently. **"The distinction between the Rights and the nationalists cannot be of any serious importance."** (Lenin: 'Political Parties in Russia' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 18; Moscow; 1978; p.49; English Edition). An alliance with the right always means an alliance with the bourgeoisie. Reconciliation of the left and right means class reconciliation does not mean eliminating the power of the ruling class, but maintaining it.

The powerlessness of parliamentarism results from the rotting process of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian democracy is not created by an alliance of the right with the left, but the democratic struggle serves us as the realization of our communist goals and the defeat of the goals of the bourgeoisie.

The anti-parliamentarist, anti-liberalist struggle serves the liberation of democracy for the working class, for the people, and not for a bourgeois minority that owns capital. The reason that there is no democracy for the majority of the people is capitalism, which can only be eliminated through socialist revolution. Only through the revolutionary elimination of capitalism, only through socialism can democracy be achieved for the majority of the people. In the anti-parliamentarist, anti-liberalist movement, we have to strike the fingers at those conservative and reactionary forces, every revisionist force, but also the dogmatic, sectarian forces, which are preparing the way for open fascism. Us leftists have never been silent about the anti-democratism of the right and we will never be silent. We Marxist-Leninists want to fight with the anti-parliamentarist, anti-liberalist struggle for true democracy of the people, because only on a democratic basis can one fight reaction and fascism, only on a democratic basis can socialism be realised. It is therefore just as clear that we can only separate from the shell of the National Bolshevik movement the really left, honestly democratic, anti-fascist forces by exploiting the contradictions within the National Bolshevik movement. This is a systematic, patient, protracted work that we cannot avoid as long as progressive elements, especially from the workers' youth, flow into this national Bolshevik movement. We Marxist-Leninists speak the language of traditional Leninist and Stalinist Bolshevism, the international language of the revolutionary tactics of the world proletariat, we speak of world revolution and the unification of the proletarians of all countries to class struggle against world capitalism, and from these Marxist-Leninist positions we will especially call upon the

proletarian forces within the National Bolshevik movement to carry out with us an independent proletarian united front politics in order to recapture the dictatorship of the proletariat (but by no means to help the revisionists back to power!).

**Marx and Engels exchanged for Che Guevara, Fidel Castro and Mao Zedong  
- a truly bad barter**

- but useful as a calling card for National Bolshevik anti-Marxism to open the door to the right in the left camp. "The Jew Marx was a helper of Jewish world domination" does not fit into the NBP emblem, but was the emblem of the German fascists, in which the swastika was simply replaced by the hammer and sickle - so to speak the symbol of the "Bolshevized" Russian fascism, which openly adorns itself with elements of Hitlerite fascism, not only with "artistic" but also with militaristic elements of Hitlerite fascism, which is anything but overlooked on the homepage of the NBP. The German National Bolshevik Niekisch was an anti-fascist and was tortured in the Gestapo, but this does not prevent the NBP from praising and adopting elements of the fascist ideas of the "Nazis".

In Limonka's thesis of **"Socialism and Capitalism as Siamese Twins"**, Marxism is openly rejected if one tries to "prove" that Lenin wrongly relied on Marxism.

Lenin and Stalin were Marxists, but are revered by National Bolsheviks! Why do you show Lenin and Stalin in your anti-Marxist banner? Those who sweep Marx and Engels under the table and separate Lenin and Stalin from Marx and Engels not only betray Marx and Engels but also Lenin and Stalin! Lenin and Stalin are two immortal classics of the invincible Marxism. Anyone who tries to eliminate Marxism with Lenin and Stalin, of all people, chooses the worst possible role models for this task:

**"Marxism is the scientific expression of the fundamental interests of the working class. To destroy Marxism, the working class must be destroyed. But it is impossible to destroy the working class."** (Stalin: 'Report to the Seventeenth Party Congress' in: 'Works', Volume 13; Moscow; 1954; p.386; English Edition).

**"But if we are going to speak of our liking for a particular nation, or rather, for the majority of its citizens, then of course we must not fail to mention our liking for the Germans. (...) If only for the reason that it gave the world such men as Marx and Engels. It suffices to state the fact as such."** (Stalin: 'Talk with the German Author Emil Ludwig' in: 'Works', Volume 13; Moscow; 1954; p.117-118; English Edition).

**Stalin sympathized with the Germans because they produced Marx and Engels. The National Bolsheviks sympathize with the Germans because they produced Niekisch. Stalin**

**was for Marx and Engels - the NBP is against Marx and Engels.**

**The separation of Marxism from Marxist Stalin is what best characterizes the hostility of the National Bolsheviks to Marxist Stalin, who hides him behind their façade.** The method of depriving Bolshevism of its internationalist content and turning its national form into content is the same method we know from the revisionists. At first, the revisionists dared to betray Stalin's attitude to the national question only behind his back. When the revisionists were in power, they would condemn Stalin quite boldly and openly. If the revisionists lost their power, they sought to regain Stalin's power. Together with them or against them, the National Bolsheviks are also trying to seize Stalin's banner in order to gain power. The National Bolsheviks do not show themselves capable of putting something of their own on their feet. They make use of eclecticism and slip into other people's clothes in order to become known as quickly as possible and thus reach their destination more comfortably. But since they have put on all kinds of strange clothes together, they appear like a little comic figure underneath. National Bolshevism is a caricature of Bolshevism. The National Bolsheviks are the vulgarizers of Bolshevism - dangerous because they attack the immune system of Bolshevism to liquidate its organism.

Only in the emblem of the NBP (the National Bolshevik Party of Russia) are the heads of Lenin and Stalin depicted quite obviously, strikingly and demonstratively. To depict Mao, Fidel Castro and Che Guevara alongside it alone is a provocation against Bolshevism, for these revolutionaries were never Bolsheviks at any time in their lives; on the contrary, Mao, Fidel Castro, and Che Guevara have fought their whole lives against Leninist and Stalinist Bolshevism. - To equate Lenin, the Creator, and Stalin the Master of Bolshevism with their enemies and to make them the ideological basis of National Bolshevism is a provocation against Bolshevism, a declaration of war against Marxism-Leninism. National Bolshevism is also based on revisionism and defends the social-fascism of Mao and Castro.

**Today the Bolshevik tactic can be victoriously built on nothing else but the basis of the teachings of the classics Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Enver Hoxha.** Only on this ideological basis can the world proletariat, the proletarians of the former Soviet peoples fulfill the historical mission, otherwise Bolshevism cannot be applied. That is why we Marxist-Leninists must fight anyone who tries to destroy this inseparable unity. Therefore the general line of the Communist International / Marxist Leninists considers the line of the National Bolshevism as an anti-Bolshevik line, it is our duty as Marxist Leninists to unmask the National Bolsheviks as enemies of Bolshevism.

Whoever replaces Marx and Engels with the anti-Marxist Mao Zedong is active as a dangerous agent of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the workers' movement.

**“The ideas of Mao Zedong developed in the present period of the decay of imperialism, the final stage of capitalism, hence, at a time when proletarian revolutions are on the order of**

**the day and when the example and the great lessons of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the teachings of Marx and Lenin are an unerring guide for us. The theory of Mao Zedong «Mao Zedong Thought», which emerged in these new conditions, was bound to cloak itself with the most revolutionary and most scientific theory of the time — Marxism-Leninism, but in essence it remained an anti-Marxist theory, because it is opposed to proletarian revolutions and goes to the aid of imperialism in decay.”** (Hoxha: ‘Reflections on China, Volume II; Tirana; 1979; p.795; English Edition).

The National Bolsheviks defend the myth of Mao. We Bolsheviks discard this myth because it was never Marxist-Leninist. Mao was no better than Khrushchev and Brezhnev. In essence, they were all revisionists who differed only nationally. In China the westerly wind was already blowing under Mao, even though it changed the wind directions on various occasions in order to disperse the visibility of this westerly wind and hide the fact that Mao was basically only driven by the westerly wind. Mao described himself as an internationalist, but in reality he was a nationalist wearing an internationalist cloak to hide his superpower aspirations underneath. China's line was to the right, even if it sometimes hid behind left-wing radicalism. China blackmailed other countries, waged war, like a thief shouting "Stop the thief! Mao fought not for the power of socialism, but for the power of capitalism. Mao helped world capitalism to divide and weaken the world communist movement, prolonged the survival of US imperialism instead of shortening it. Mao ignored the class struggle, ignoring the hegemony not only of his own Chinese but of the entire world proletariat. Mao was against the proletarian world revolution, was against the national liberation movement of oppressed peoples and nations. Mao ruled through the military, led China on the social-imperialist, social-fascist path, oppressed Marxist-Leninists at home and had them persecuted and evicted.

Despite the Chinese degeneration process, we Bolsheviks do not give up our hope that the Chinese proletariat will win in its proletarian revolution just as the Russian proletariat will win in its proletarian revolution - despite Mao Zedong Thought. The world revolution will triumph over Mao Zedong Thought and all of their current followers, whether they are called National Bolsheviks or not.

If the National Bolsheviks were to distance themselves from the revisionist betrayal of the Bolshevism of Lenin and Stalin, if they were to continue on the path of the October Revolution, the path of proletarian socialism in the country of the Soviet peoples, if they were actually to follow the Bolshevik course of Lenin and Stalin, then we Marxist-Leninists would be in agreement with them on this point, but then they would also be Bolsheviks and would have no reason to be the National Bolsheviks.

The problem with the National Bolsheviks for us is precisely that they are trying to separate the heads of Lenin and Stalin from their Marxist trunk and replace it with an anti-Marxist one. The problem is all the greater as the national Bolsheviks rely on the anti-Marxist Leninist, revisionist line of Che, Fidel, and Mao. Che, Fidel, and Mao were not Marxist-Leninists, only Lenin and Stalin

were. Only traitors to Marxism-Leninism put Lenin and Stalin in line with Che, Fidel and Mao. And their elimination of Marx and Engels proves how clumsy and audacious the National Bolsheviks are. The revisionists would never dared to do this if they could not go as far, at least not as openly as the National Bolsheviks. This also distinguishes the National Bolsheviks from the old Soviet revisionists, who still had to camouflage themselves with Marxism-Leninism, which the National Bolsheviks no longer seems to need today. Lenin and Stalin were Russians so they should also "serve" Russian nationalism and not Marxist internationalism.

Consequently, they would also have to add Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Yeltsin, Gorbachev and other revisionist traitors in Russia, but they do not dare to do that, because they attack Putin, who had emerged from the power of the revisionists. So the fight against Putin can only be conducted honestly and consistently in a revolutionary way if the national Bolsheviks rely on Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Enver Hoxha and not on Mao, Che and Fidel, otherwise they fight for capitalism under the mask "Lenin and Stalin" - and that is counter-revolutionary!

Those who let themselves be led by the heads of Che, Fidel, and Mao on the one hand and Lenin and Stalin on the other hand, let themselves be led by the reconciliation of Bolshevism with anti-Bolshevism. But a unity of Bolshevism and anti-Bolshevism will not and cannot exist for us Bolsheviks, which is why we strictly distance ourselves from the National Bolshevik parties, which are guided by the ideas of Dugin and Limonka. So it would be quite appropriate to put the term Bolshevism in quotation marks - that is, National "Bolshevism", because it is anti-Bolshevism, just as Euro"communism" = anti-communism, as Comrade Enver Hoxha used this term for the revisionists in Western Europe at the time.

In order to use Bolshevism as a sheepskin, as a Trojan horse, the National Bolsheviks use both the ideas of the Maoists and the ideas of the national liberation movement. On the whole, it is the anti-American movement that certain fascists use to build their own power. But the emblems the ideology of German fascism also shines through. This time, the slogan of the fascists of Russia is: to turn the peoples of Europe and Asia against the American world capital in a Third World War in order to gain Russian world domination. The National Bolshevik sheep's clothing is necessary for the establishment of the open fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over Eurasia until the masses are sufficiently deceived and no longer able to prevent the seizure of power of the fascists with their anti-fascist resistance. Only if the fascists succeed in deceiving the anti-imperialist mass movement, they have a chance to mobilize the masses against Marxism-Leninism, to "liberate" the workers' movement from the Marxists-Leninists, or to prevent their penetration into the workers' movement by all means and to the last consequence (!), as the last way to save the Russian imperialism from its downfall, from the reconquest of the socialism of Lenin and Stalin. With demagogic tricks of national and social liberation of the people, the German fascists had already managed to put both the national and the socialist forces (National Socialism) in front of the fascist carts of imperialism. In their quest for world domination, the German fascists sacrificed their own people on the slaughterhouse for the profit of the capitalists, and of course, Bolsheviks were

sacrificed too, regardless of whether they were German or Russian. All fascists, including the Russian ones, make use of this demagoguery. It costs the right nothing to thresh left phrases as long as the left remains tame and does not stop the right in its advance. The right sees their chance. With the bankruptcy, with the collapse of parliamentarism comes their "hour". The left is divided and weakened. The revisionists have cleared the way for them, taken away their respect for Bolshevism, so that they even dare to use national Bolshevism as a camouflage, without harvesting headwinds from the Bolsheviks. We will clean up these times. No one will dress in the robes of Lenin and Stalin with impunity to weaken the left. The Soviet peoples not only chased the fascists out of their homeland, but 60 years ago they hoisted the red flag over fascism. Socialism triumphs over fascism, the left triumphs over the right - this is the lesson of the history of Bolshevism, this is the historical mission we leftists have to complete - and so we will separate the wheat from the chaff on the battlefield with the National Bolsheviks, we will not allow the right to dazzle the masses demagogically, because to claim to be "neither left nor right" is a lazy phrase of the National Bolsheviks, it blunts the antifascist struggle of the masses with the goal of socialism, by "reconciliation" between right and left, whereby the right of course only mean those "leftists" who are already standing with one leg in the right camp anyway.

The National Bolsheviks want an anti-democratic state. They want a Russia whose "patriotic-national" policy is aimed at defending the "patriotic economy" of a strong Russian state capitalism with fire and sword against competition from abroad in order to conquer new markets themselves. Lenin already exposed the slogan of the national liberals: **"as regards "military might", there should be neither Right nor Left."** (Lenin: 'The National Liberals' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 18; Moscow; 1978; p.442; English Edition). The open, progressive appearance of the National Bolsheviks proves that today the class contradictions in Russia are significantly mature, that the Russian big bourgeoisie is forming inwards against a new October Revolution and outwards for a great war of robbery. For the Bolsheviks of Russia, for the Bolsheviks of the whole world, this can mean nothing but forming the working class and peasants for socialist revolution. The fundamental task of the Russian Bolsheviks at the present time is to provide all-round support for the open revolutionary struggle of the masses, its organization, expansion, deepening and strengthening - the creation of the Bolshevik vanguard party. Whoever fails to carry out this task cannot be a Bolshevik. Bolshevik vocabulary is avoided. There is not a single quotation in agitation and propaganda, nor an evaluation and application of the ideas of Lenin and Stalin, the two most outstanding teachers of Bolshevism. It is clear that such a national Bolshevik collective movement, which is neither fish nor meat, cannot last long and will disintegrate. National Bolshevism is committed to everything and nothing, is not tied to a fixed direction and certainly not to a consistent Bolshevik direction. The reformist transformation of Russia differs from the non-reformist transformation in that power remains with the first in the hands of the existing ruling class, while with the second it passes from the hands of the old to the hands of a new class. In Russia, the power of the bourgeoisie can only return to the hands of the working class. The National Bolsheviks deny the class basis of the historical upheaval in present-day Russia. This is the main mistake of the National Bolsheviks from the point of view of theory. Anyone who, in the experience

of both Europe and Asia, speaks of non-class-bound politics and non-class-bound but National "Bolshevism" has no clue about what Bolshevism is or is a political demagogue and deceiver.

Capitalism can bring neither complete national liberation nor complete national equality and self-determination, but only world socialism can guarantee this.

## **Are the National Bolsheviks for or against the socialist nation?**

So there are definitely National Bolsheviks who see through the bourgeois staged shadow fights "between left and right", which distracts from the actual class struggle between left and right in order to deceive the masses. In the sandpit of world capitalism, the "right and left" are allowed to play in the "class struggle," because it is under the supervision of the world bourgeoisie and is harmless. But the real class struggle is not a game, but a deadly serious fight, a fight for life and death. Therefore the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against the bourgeois fiction of the "class struggle" is also an indispensable component of the struggle against the "anti-capitalist" masquerade of bourgeois ideology. With this masquerade, with this sham fight, however, only the true fight between right and left is to be prevented, paralyzed and prevented, because only if the fight between left and right is fought, if the ruling social form is eliminated, if there are neither exploitative and oppressive, nor exploited and oppressed classes, if the peoples and nations live together peacefully and in common prosperity, if every people and every culture flourishes, if there are no more privileged and discredited nations and peoples, if one day the classless society, the communist society, is built up, only then mankind will have freed itself from any system, whether from the open capitalist or revisionist "socialist" system, which served only to cover up the truth or to deny that people were exploited and oppressed by people. Only - the point is - a society without left and right cannot yet exist in a class society! The peoples are still divided into classes, there is in every people an exploitative and oppressive minority over an exploited and oppressed majority, there are peoples who oppress other peoples. And so also the nations are not free of classes, they do not stand above the classes, just as the peoples do not stand above the classes. Class society must not be denied, it exists. If one does not recognize this, one cannot eliminate it either, one cannot eliminate oppressive nations, one cannot eliminate oppressed nations. One cannot save the nations, the peoples, as such, without freeing them from the scourge of their class character. The development of nations and peoples is only possible on the path of socialist nations, the socialist peoples as a necessary historical step on the path of liberation of all nations and peoples from class struggle. In the classless society, however, the function of nations becomes superfluous, they become an obstacle to the development of mankind, they have survived historically. Only, one cannot make the second before the first step. The class struggle must first of all be fought out in order to create the conditions for its elimination. The class struggle can only be eliminated by the

class struggle. Only when the world proletariat has defeated and eliminated the world bourgeoisie through the class struggle is the way clear to a classless society. There is no struggle between right and left in classless society, say Bolsheviks. There is no struggle left against right in class society - that's what the national Bolsheviks say. There is a class struggle - left against right - in class society, let's say Bolsheviks, because without the victory of the left over the right there can be no more dictatorship of the proletariat.

If National Bolsheviks were to fight for the socialist revolution in their country, if they wanted to fight for the national and social liberation of their people, there would be nothing against it, on the contrary. The masses of each nation will go their own way to socialism, to national and social liberation - these are findings of Marxism, to which we adhere in principle and concretely because the present confirms them. Another Marxist insight is that individual nations cannot represent interests that are detached from or detrimental to the interests of all nations without harming themselves. But the totality of the interests of all nations cannot be realized by the world bourgeoisie, but only by the world proletariat. The prerequisite is therefore to overthrow the world domination of the bourgeoisie and to conquer the political power of the world proletariat, which is not possible without overcoming national (bourgeois) barriers. The overall interests of all nations today more than ever are tied to the social upheavals in all nations. The need to erect national barriers of socialist nations against imperialist nations is a different matter!

We Bolsheviks believe only from the outset that the masses of ALL nations will go their own way to socialist revolution, national and social liberation, and that the more they support each other and show solidarity with each other in doing so, the faster they all go their own way and reach their goal the easier, if they see their own socialist revolution as part of the whole world socialist revolution, if they understand their national and social liberation as a common task and subordinate it to the overall interests of the national and social liberation of all nations, regardless of the diversity of all nations, regardless of the different path of their individual liberation, regardless of the most diverse national forms of socialism.

The National Bolsheviks must not therefore separate the national framework for liberation from capitalism from its internationalist, social character, that is, from the elimination of wage slavery. One must not juxtapose revolutionary form and revolutionary content but must establish their unity. A revolution is pure demagogy and phrase threshing and doomed to failure if its form is made its content, i.e. not actually revolutionizing the content, but allowing it to exist and only formally changing it, i.e. sticking a different label on it, but leaving the conditions as they are. **"We are national and neither right nor left!"** This is precisely the national revolutionary phrase proclaimed in the program of the Russian NBP (National Bolshevik Party).

You can liberate a nation from either capitalism or socialism, but you cannot liberate it from both at the same time. But the Russian NBP demands to shed one's own blood and the blood of others for Russia in order to establish the Great Russian Empire from Gibraltar to Vladivostok:

***"Russia is everything - everything else is nothing".***

This is the spirit of the old Russian "Great power" chauvinism, which Lenin and Stalin fought bitterly against. It is unacceptable for us Marxist-Leninists to want to revive it with the very teachings of Lenin and Stalin because Lenin and Stalin fought all their lives against every "Great Power" chauvinism, especially and especially successfully against their "own", the Russian one. The Russian "Great Power" chauvinism is not only directed against the Russian people, not only against the Russian nation but against all nations and peoples and against all nationalities, which are numerous represented in Russia. Russification is reactionary - the tsar and the new Kremlin tsars, the Russian social-imperialists, have proved this. He who puts his own nation above all other nations cannot be national or revolutionary, and certainly not Bolshevik, because Bolshevism stands for the abolition of the oppression and exploitation of nations by nations, for the abolition of all privileges of every nation. To fight the "great" power chauvinism of others in order to cultivate one's own "Great Power" chauvinism - what is Bolshevik about it? How will the National Bolsheviks defend themselves against the oppression and exploitation of the Russian nation by world capitalism with U.S. imperialism at the forefront, fight it when they fundamentally reject the abolition of all national privileges, when they do not fight their own Russian bourgeois nationalism, not only in general, not against this or that nationalist movement, but concretely against every movement of nationalism, whether openly or veiled in socialist phrases?

In the development of human history from bondage to freedom, one cannot take the first step before the second, but we all - regardless of our will - go through historical epochs. To accelerate them through our revolutionary struggle - we can and must, if we are true revolutionaries - but we can neither turn back nor skip the wheel of history. The path to the liberation of peoples, the path to the liberation of humanity leads through the path of socialism.

**"But while, and insofar as, different nations constitute a single state, Marxists will never, under any circumstances, advocate either the federal principle or decentralisation. The great centralised state is a tremendous historical step forward from medieval disunity to the future socialist unity of the whole world, and only via such a state (inseparably connected with capitalism), can there be any road to socialism."** (Lenin: 'Critical Remarks on the National Question' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 20; Moscow; 1977; p.45-46; English Edition).

We Bolsheviks want a world made up of Bolshevik nations. But do the National Bolsheviks want a Bolshevik world? Do they even want Bolshevik nations? Do they want a Bolshevik Russian nation at all - modeled on Lenin and Stalin, for instance?? Of course they don't want that. If so, what attitude would the National Bolsheviks take towards all other Bolshevik nations if they were created? At least the national Bolsheviks do not propagate the Bolshevik nation either in their program or in their daily struggle. On the contrary, they reject the Bolshevik system, use only "Bolshevik" methods, just as they use anti-Bolshevik methods. They do not want to solve the national question through Marxism. But that could not be done with Lenin and Stalin, because they relied exclusively on Marxism to solve the national question. They have cut through all attempts at

reconciliation with other ideologies with their sharp Marxist-Leninist sword in order to actually solve the national problem... and they solved it as far as they could at that time - with the creation of the Soviet Union!

The socialist nation, however, cannot solve the national question once and for all. Only with the victory of socialism on a world scale, only when there are socialist nations everywhere in the world, can they solve the national question together, although even then not all national differences can be completely eliminated, because they remain as long as the nations remain:

**"As for the more remote prospects for national cultures and national languages, I have always adhered and continue to adhere to the Leninist view that in the period of the victory of socialism on a world scale, when socialism has been consolidated and become the way of life, the national languages are inevitably bound to merge into one common language, which, of course, will be neither Great-Russian nor German, but something new."** (Stalin: 'Reply to the Discussion on the Political Report of the Central Committee to the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) in: 'Works', Volume 13; Moscow; 1954; p.5; English Edition).

A nation always forms only one framework for the system of a community of people, and thus establishes a dividing wall between all other nations. Even the greatest nation is not above the system that of which the nations form together. So even the greatest nation is always only a part of this system. If one eliminates the system of nations, then one also eliminates the nation itself.

Since the revolutionary conditions and circumstances are not the same in every country, liberation is therefore different in every country, and the revolution of one nation differs from that of another nation in its national form but not in its international content. But the decisive content is the solution of the contradiction between capital and labor, which today prevails in principle in all nations. It is the fundamental contradiction of world capitalism that can only be solved by the socialist world revolution. The capitalist world crisis has become the actual cause for the fate of nations. The national crises today are caused by the escalation of the world crisis. The fate of the nation thus stands and falls with the international class front between capital and labor. Capital and labor once created the bourgeois nations and capital and labor destroyed them again. When the National Bolsheviks now say: **"Workers, withdraw from the class struggle, make peace with capital and give the nation a chance of survival, because it brings you safety, security, identity etc., and preserves you from negative foreign influences"**, then we Bolsheviks ask: How can the worker in a nation become happy as a wage slave of capital in his own country? What use is national protection for the worker from the grip of foreign capital if capital eats him up in his own country? Without social liberation, it is not possible for the proletariat to liberate itself nationally.

**"In the same way as mankind can arrive at the abolition of classes only through a transition period of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, it can arrive at the inevitable integration of nations only through a transition period of the complete emancipation of all oppressed**

**nations, i.e., their freedom to secede."** (Lenin: 'The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 22; Moscow; 1974; p.147; English Edition).

**"It is impossible to abolish national (or any other political) oppression under capitalism, since this requires the abolition of classes, i.e., the introduction of socialism. But while being based on economics, socialism cannot be reduced to economics alone. A foundation—socialist production—is essential for the abolition of national oppression, but this foundation must also carry a democratically organised state, a democratic army, etc. By transforming capitalism into socialism the proletariat creates the possibility of abolishing national oppression; the possibility becomes reality “only”—“only”!—with the establishment of full democracy in all spheres, including the delineation of state frontiers in accordance with the “sympathies” of the population, including complete freedom to secede. And this, in turn, will serve as a basis for developing the practical elimination of even the slightest national friction and the least national mistrust, for an accelerated drawing together and fusion of nations that will be completed when the state withers away. This is the Marxist theory..."** (Lenin: 'The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 22; Moscow; 1974; p.325; English Edition).

## Chapter III

### Are the National Bolsheviks nationalists or internationalists?

**"The principle of nationality is historically inevitable in bourgeois society and, taking this society into due account, the Marxist fully recognises the historical legitimacy of national movements. But to prevent this recognition from becoming an apologia of nationalism, it must be strictly limited to what is progressive in such movements, in order that this recognition may not lead to bourgeois ideology obscuring proletarian consciousness."**

(Lenin: 'Critical Remarks on the National Question' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 20; Moscow; 1977; p.34; English Edition). National Bolshevism precisely leads to this clouding of proletarian class consciousness by bourgeois ideology, obscures and inhibits the internationalist class struggle of the proletariat - as Lenin has formulated it here.

One must not confuse national movement with nationalist movement or lump both concepts together to draw the left to the right. Nationalism is anti-national. It is a bourgeois ideology that is directed against the indispensable national interests of the majority of each people because

nationalism is only the ideology of the ruling minority of the people, a class ideology of the bourgeoisie that rules, oppresses and exploits the majority of the people.

**"To throw off the feudal yoke, all national oppression, and all privileges enjoyed by any particular nation or language, is the imperative duty of the proletariat as a democratic force, and is certainly in the interests of the proletarian class struggle, which is obscured and retarded by bickering on the national question. But to go beyond these strictly limited and definite historical limits in helping bourgeois nationalism means betraying the proletariat and siding with the bourgeoisie." (ibid; p.35).**

Even today there is a border here which is very finely drawn and which the National Bolsheviks completely disregard, ignore and thus make themselves the pacemaker of bourgeois nationalism in Russia:

**"The development of nationality in general is the principle of bourgeois nationalism; hence the exclusiveness of bourgeois nationalism, hence the endless national bickering. The proletariat, however, far from undertaking to uphold the national development of every nation, on the contrary, warns the masses against such illusions, stands for the fullest freedom of capitalist intercourse and welcomes every kind of assimilation of nations, except that which is founded on force or privilege.**

**(...) The proletariat cannot support any consecration of nationalism; on the contrary, it supports everything that helps to obliterate national distinctions and remove national barriers; it supports everything that makes the ties between nationalities closer and closer, or tends to merge nations. To act differently means siding with reactionary nationalist philistinism." (ibid; p.35-36).** And on the reactionary side of the nationalist bourgeoisie, the National Bolsheviks have just fought for it by rejecting Lenin's Marxism.

**Just as the nationalist deviation is generally an adaptation from the internationalist policy of the working class to the nationalist policy of the bourgeoisie, in Russian today, National Bolshevism is an adaptation of Bolshevism to Great Russian nationalism.**

While the nationalist deviation during the dictatorship of the proletariat served to restore capitalism, today it serves restored capitalism to prevent the recapture of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia. Any deviation from Marxism-Leninism to nationalism, whether it is Greater Russian or Ukrainian or any other nationalism, any reconciliation with it, means a renunciation of Lenin's internationalism. Whoever weakens internationalism with nationalism, whoever gives up the internationalism of comrade Lenin and Stalin, we will make a fire under his ass, our blow is directed against him! Nationalism means a Russian prison of peoples - under internationalism - which made the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin so big and strong, the peoples had blossomed.

The Bolshevik principle for the solution of the national question is the international union of the workers for an international front against international capital. What is decisive for the liberation of nations from the gag of world capitalism is not the national segregation, the creation of friction among nations, the war of nations against nations, etc. - that is the exact opposite of the truth. At the head of all nations is the worker who unites the nations in the struggle for their liberation - against the common enemy - world imperialism:

**"In the interests of developing the proletarian revolution and encircling imperialism, the Bolsheviks proposed the policy of supporting the liberation movement of the oppressed nations and colonies on the basis of the self-determination of nations, and developed the scheme of a united front between the proletarian revolution in the advanced countries and the revolutionary-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and oppressed countries."** (Stalin: 'Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism' in: 'Works', Volume 13; Moscow; 1954; p.93-94; English Edition).

We are sticking to this Bolshevik policy. This internationalist line is what we are taking for granted. In the program of the NBP this Bolshevik essence is sought in vain!

**"Those who seek to serve the proletariat must unite the workers of all nations, and unswervingly fight bourgeois nationalism, domestic and foreign. The place of those who advocate the slogan of national culture is among the nationalist petty bourgeois, not among the Marxists."** (Lenin: 'Critical Remarks on the National Question' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 20; p.25; English Edition). The National Bolsheviks are defenders of Russian national culture, but Bolsheviks aren't.

**"Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism— these are the two irreconcilably hostile slogans that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the capitalist world, and express the two policies (nay, the two world outlooks) in the national question."** (ibid; 26). The National Bolsheviks appear as bourgeois nationalists, we World Bolsheviks of Lenin and Stalin are proletarian internationalists.

**"Developing capitalism knows two historical tendencies in the national question. The first is the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression, and the creation of national states. The second is the development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the break-down of national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc.**

**Both tendencies are a universal law of capitalism. The former predominates in the beginning of its development, the latter characterises a mature capitalism that is moving towards its transformation into socialist society. The Marxists' national programme takes**

**both tendencies into account, and advocates, firstly, the equality of nations and languages and the impermissibility of all privileges in this respect (and also the right of nations to self-determination, with which we shall deal separately later); secondly, the principle of internationalism and uncompromising struggle against contamination of the proletariat with bourgeois nationalism, even of the most refined kind." (ibid; p.27). T**

he struggle against national Bolshevism is such a struggle against the contamination of bourgeois nationalism in the Russian proletariat.

Lenin underlined the **"world-historical tendency to break down national barriers, obliterate national distinctions, and to assimilate nation —a tendency which manifests itself more and more powerfully with every passing decade, and is one of the greatest driving forces transforming capitalism into socialism.**

**(...) No one unobsessed by nationalist prejudices can fail to perceive that this process of assimilation of nations by capitalism means the greatest historical progress, the breakdown of hidebound national conservatism in the various backwoods, especially in backward countries like Russia." (ibid; p.28, 30).**

But a Russified Eurasian Empire leads to everything but the socialism that Lenin speaks of.

What is decisive is the social position, the wage slavery of the workers of all nations, which enables them to act together and not their national peculiarities and characteristics which distinguish them from each other. Capital, in its multiplication, does not choose the national peculiarity but independently settles where the profit is greatest. For the imperialists, the value of a nation is measured by how high its highest profitability is. When capital strikes internationally, nations must unite and strike back, that is, internationally, with the united workers at the top. Unlike the hegemony of the proletariat, the nations cannot be saved, that is, they cannot be transformed into bastions of socialism, into bastions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie created bourgeois nations to build capitalism. The bourgeoisie destroys the bourgeois nations, not for fun but because of the world crisis into which it has maneuvered itself and all of us and leaves it nothing but to sell its national silverware.

In accordance with the petty-bourgeois character of anarchism, the social class antagonism is being reinterpreted by the National Bolsheviks into an antagonism between nations and peoples. The relationship between social and national questions is turned upside down. This reinterprets the social question from a class question into a national question. Instead of the working class as the most revolutionary force of Russian society, an undifferentiated classless mass is pushed. The class opposition between socialism and capitalism is replaced by the opposition between peoples, races, and nations.

The nationally and internationally minded workers recognize better and better that they find themselves in a community of destiny in the struggle against social-fascism and fascism, in the struggle against imperialist and social-imperialist ideology, in the struggle against the betrayal of the national question, against the betrayal of the national interests of the peoples, that they feel they belong together, that they have to and will unite. More and more nationally minded workers realize that today only a socialist nation led by the workers can defend and revive national interests, while the nation - whether bourgeois or socialist - is legitimately betrayed and destroyed by the ruling world bourgeoisie. The workers, no matter what nation they belong to on this earth, now see ever more clearly that both the imperialists and the social-imperialists are clinging to the nations, that they are forcing the nations to kneel before international financial capital, that they are selling off the nations on the world market, that they instrumentalize the World Association of Nations for their worldwide imperialist and social-imperialist exploitation and oppression, that they do not shy away from inciting each other to imperialist wars of robbery and to have each other slaughtered, in short: that they sacrifice the nations for the maximum profit. The nationally minded workers learn from the real events in the world that the globalization of international financial capital has made the defense of the national interests of each people a problem of all peoples, which can only be solved internationally and requires the development of an internationalist proletarian consciousness. This confirms that Marxism with its old slogan - proletarians of all countries unite - is still highly topical, that all proletarians, whether national or international, unite to a world proletarian force to beat world imperialism and thus create the social conditions to solve the national problems of every people! Only in a socialist world community can the nations flourish again, because bourgeois nationalism serves the capital, which wants to multiply internationally and does not take into consideration the vital national structures and destroy them.

The cosmopolitan wave of the post-war period is now followed by a wave of nationalism, which threatens to grip the working masses all the more deeply the more they are pushed into misery by the "American World Order". Now it is up to us communists to protect the masses not only from the cosmopolitan but also from the nationalist "plague" because only Marxism-Leninism is capable of opposing nationalism and cosmopolitanism with the weapon of internationalism, the weapon of unity and indivisibility of the international class struggle. The stronger this national wave rolls, the louder the voice of unity and solidarity of the workers of all nations and nationalities must be raised against the nationalist movement today, the more precisely we must remember the teachings of Comrade Stalin on Marxism and the national question:

**“The fate of a national movement, which is essentially a bourgeois movement, is naturally bound up with the fate of the bourgeoisie. The final disappearance of a national movement is possible only with the downfall of the bourgeoisie. Only under the reign of socialism can peace be fully established. But even within the framework of capitalism it is possible to reduce the national struggle to a minimum, to undermine it at the root, to render it as harmless as possible to the proletariat.”** (Stalin: ‘Marxism and the National Question’ in: ‘Works’, Volume 2; Moscow; 1953; p.322-323; English Edition).

The Bolsheviks must work unanimously and untiringly to dissolve the National Bolshevik fog, wherever it may come from.

When the National Bolsheviks speak of "overcoming national barriers", of the "Eurasian Empire", they mean of course only the international spread of National Bolshevism. The National Bolsheviks are not against "internationalism", they are only for the international spread of National Bolshevism and for international agreements of the National Bolsheviks. They are for the internationalization of National Bolshevism, for international chauvinism, because otherwise, they cannot build the Eurasian Empire. It is precisely this international chauvinism that causes indignation and resistance from the Comintern/ML. So we are dealing with two different international DIRECTIONS. Both Bolshevism and National Bolshevism are international, with one direction trying to save the world bourgeoisie from world revolution, while the other is trying to bring about the overthrow of the world bourgeoisie by the world proletariat. So while the Bolsheviks are indeed internationalists in action, the National Bolsheviks are trying to shine in the light of internationalism to hide their chauvinism behind it. The National Bolsheviks consider it "internationalist" to grant the workers of those countries plundered and subjugated by Russia, which in turn exercises its right to robbery wars, the right to a defensive war.

Nations are NOT racial and ethnological tribal communities, but

**“A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.”** (Stalin: 'Marxism and the National Question' in: 'Works', Volume 2; Moscow; 1953; p.303; English Edition).

This definition of Stalin's "nation" is often used, but Stalin was not finished with it. It's a mistake to separate the first part of the definition from the second part when you sweep the second part under the carpet. Stalin said something very important in the next sentence:

**“It goes without saying that a nation, like every historical phenomenon, is subject to the law of change, has its history, its beginning and end.”** (ibid).

The fact that even the socialist nation, especially the Soviet nation, has its historical end, that it does not exist forever, that it cannot lawfully exist forever, distinguishes us Marxist-Leninists from all other political currents. You can only really solve the national question if you think it through to the end and put it into practice through to the end: perfecting the nation through its socialist content, merging the socialist nations, dying of the nations in a communist society.

**“From what has been said it will be clear that the national struggle under the conditions of**

**rising capitalism is a struggle of the bourgeois classes among themselves. Sometimes the bourgeoisie succeeds in drawing the proletariat into the national movement, and then the national struggle externally assumes a “nation-wide” character. But this is so only externally. In its essence it is always a bourgeois struggle, one that is to the advantage and profit mainly of the bourgeoisie.”** (ibid; p.319).

Comrade Stalin explicitly teaches us this about the national struggle under the conditions of aspiring capitalism. To transfer this teaching mechanistically to the national struggle under the conditions of dying, parasitic capitalism, to the present phase of the globalism of world capitalism and to equate it with it, is not in Stalin's sense, is revisionist and not Marxist-Leninist. The national struggle, like the nation itself, is a historical concept and must therefore be considered differently under different historical conditions. So what does the national struggle look like under the conditions of dying capitalism?

The bourgeois nation is still historically grown, but no longer as stable of a community of people as it was in the past, so that today we must even - and quite rightly - assume a global appearance of the national crisis of bourgeois society, even an existential destruction of the national interests of the oppressed and exploited peoples by the cosmopolitanism of the "Great Powers".

Thus the language of the center of today's capitalist world domination is English, whereby the meaning of the national languages of the world are pushed further and further back. Who has the material power over the nations, also has the spiritual power over the nations, also the power over the languages, cultures etc.. The national territory, the wealth of national resources etc. is undermined by thousands of international threads and ropes and sucked out by the exploitation and oppression of the multinationally operating world bourgeoisie, which finally leaves the bourgeois nations only as a shell after they have sucked out their lifeblood. The foundations of national economic life are ruined by the globalization of capital. National culture falls victim to international financial capital and is destroyed by its cosmopolitanism. National psychic beings are being wiped out by the international pursuit of profit. In short: everything that makes up the nation, the foundations of national communities of people, finds its end faster and faster today through the multinational and international rule of capital. The bourgeois nations are decomposed and rotten, are on the verge of collapsing (not the form of the nation itself, mind you, which will continue to exist for a long time, but only the bourgeois content!) and are condemned to death, whereby the process of decay is more advanced for some than for others. This process has accelerated particularly since the socialist nations were transformed back into bourgeois nations with the help of the revisionists. The bourgeois fatherlands will exist as long as the world socialist revolution does not destroy them. **“In reality, only the destruction of the bourgeois fatherlands can give the workers of all countries a “bond with the land”, freedom of their own language, bread, and the benefits of civilisation.”** (Lenin: ‘The Russian Brand of Südekam’ in: ‘Collected Works’, Volume 21; Moscow; 1974; p.123; English Edition). Lenin speaks clearly and unequivocally of **“the epoch of the final stage in the development of capitalism, an epoch in which bourgeois**

**states, with their national boundaries, have outlived themselves”**. (ibid; p.126). Only world socialism can save the nations from world imperialism and let them flourish again, because their fusion is not connected with world imperialism, but only possible with their socialist flourishing under the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus only on a voluntary, self-determined and independent basis - without pressure and coercion of any capitalist power above them. The nations can only merge when there are no more people on earth who exploit and oppress others.

So it is the globalization of capital itself that tears down all national barriers as a powerful, ripping stream and creates equally powerful whirlpools on its banks. The liberal nationalism that was washed away by the stream of globalization either sank or was washed ashore. Resilient, right-wing fundamentalist forces, which were able to save themselves from the whirlpool of the proximity of the shore to the land, are again feeling the ground under their feet and are holding on to nationalism all the more stubbornly there, the more brutally they have been subjected to decades of cosmopolitan oppression. Now it will not be long before reactionary nationalism becomes "socially acceptable" again, i.e. usable for the rule of fascism, to let the coal be taken out of the fire of the world crisis, to let it fall like a hot potato again afterward.

The world bourgeoisie is using every means at its disposal to save her neck from the noose. It is currently transforming its parliamtarian skin into a fascist tank to protect itself from the world revolution, from the uprising of the revolutionary world masses. The revival of nationalism is part of this shield against the international workers' movement. To get the social movement under the influence of the national movement, to keep it away from internationalism is one of the tasks that the world bourgeoisie has to solve today. But the more it tries, the more mass movements it leads to the world socialist revolution, the more gravediggers it creates with it. In order to survive, world capitalism has to further increase its profit and this is not possible without exploitation and oppression of the masses, which is why the national and social demagogy of the world bourgeoisie sooner or later bursts like a soap bubble at the realities it has created itself. So the world bourgeoisie is digging its own grave with national "communism", with National "Bolshevism", with national "socialism", because they are all weapons that they use against proletarian internationalism. Those who attack the international proletariat and its liberation struggle also attack the social and national liberation struggle of every proletarian from every nation, every country, because the world proletarian army is composed of nothing but its national divisions.

The previous course of globalization, of the ruthless tearing down of national barriers, quickly helped him to enormous profits and accumulation of wealth, but brought about a new world crisis (or deepened the old one), with which it becomes more and more difficult to further increase profits. With nationalism, hatred among nations is being spurred up again to justify a new imperialist world war as a last resort out of the crisis. It is no coincidence that this war must be provided with an "anti-imperialist" label to mobilize all forces against the globalization terror of American imperialism, the ruler of the world, in order to erect an even more gigantic globalization terror in its place. This also includes tearing their anti-imperialist instrument from the hands of the

left. So the reason why the National Bolsheviks are forming is not to eliminate American imperialism in order to free humanity from imperialism at all but to create a new imperialism in its place - for example, the Eurasian empire of the Russian imperialists (from Gibraltar to Vladivostok!). As Marxism-Leninism teaches, one must not trust the anti-imperialist phrases of the competing imperialists, one must not place oneself under this or that of their patrons or under an alliance of their patrons who, with their revolutionary phrases, pretend to be "opponents of globalization" as "revolutionary force" against the international financial capital in order to deceive the masses. We must distinguish the true anti-imperialist forces from the false "anti-imperialist forces", we must not only use anti-imperialism as a concrete weapon against this or that particular imperialism (e.g. American imperialism, Eurasian imperialism, etc...), but also as a principal weapon, which means nothing else than to eliminate ALL imperialism, imperialism at all, and exactly this is possible only under the flag of world socialism, under the flag of Marxism-Leninism, under the flag of Marxism-Leninism, under the flag of world socialism. This means: Only an anti-imperialist united front, which was established under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, can defeat imperialism not only concretely, but also in principle. Only the socialist world revolution, only Marxism-Leninism is able to smash the power of the international financial capital. Therefore we must convince all honest forces of the most diverse movement of Marxism-Leninism, we must measure all political currents, especially on the national front, according to their attitude to Marxism-Leninism, to us communists, we must patiently enlighten all national forces from the deep gap between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism in the national question, we must always distance ourselves from revisionism, which always tries to blur the line of demarcation in order to bring bourgeois influence into the proletarian revolutionary movement, both among the national and international workers. The line of the revisionists is to act as the "unifier" of the left and right movements in order to undermine the unity of the proletariat in its struggle for international socialism and national liberation, thus doing capitalism a disservice.

### **Cosmopolitanism and nationalism are two sides of the same coin.**

You can't stand on one side to fight the other - you have to fight both together because they come from one class, the class of the bourgeoisie. So one cannot successfully fight the Eurasian cosmopolitanism if one does not at the same time fight the Russian "great" power chauvinism, the "great" Russian nationalism. And they are directed especially against another class - the proletariat, the Russian proletariat as well as against the proletarians of Eurasia. The proletariat should choose the "alternative" between cosmopolitan exploitation or national exploitation - in which the proletariat is always exploited both by foreign capital and by domestic capital - and the proletariat decides neither for one nor for the other, but against exploitation in general, wherever it comes from. The proletarian doesn't care whether the extra work squeezed out of him eventually disappears as profit in the left or right pocket of the capitalists, in the domestic or foreign pocket, in the nationalist or cosmopolitan pocket, etc. - the difference is not worth a new imperialist war. Only socialism has value for the proletariat because there can be no more profit in domestic and foreign pockets when there are no more capitalists in the world. Not cosmopolitanism, not nationalism - but

only socialism serves the own interest of the working class, serves the majority of the people and not the minority, whether it is the national or the international minority.

So that the social and national liberation movements of the oppressed and the oppressive nations do not unite to overthrow world capitalism, the world bourgeoisie pursues the strategy of directing these two movements against each other - also with the help of bourgeois nationalism.

**National Bolshevism serves to divide both liberation movements.**

One can try to cross the historical roots of Marxism and the historical roots of anti-Marxism with heredity in order to one day cultivate such anti-Marxist plants that look like beautiful Marxist plants and whose fruits taste like delicious, sugar-sweet "Marxist" fruits but contain nothing but bourgeois poison. National Bolshevism is one of the cultivars of such deadly fruits. National Bolshevism can thrive well on Russian soil today because all the conditions are in place for it.

With German Marxism, German opportunism also came to Russia. Lenin's answer was: Bolshevism and thus the victory of socialism in the first country of the world! In Germany, Lenin's Bolshevism was at that time transformed into "National Bolshevism" - the German November Revolution suffered a defeat, the October Revolution could harvest its first and only socialist fruit only after more than 25 years in the struggle against the occupation of the German fascists in Albania. While today the ideology of National Bolshevism has been re-imported into Russia from the Germany of the beginning of the 20th century in order to victoriously fight the revival of Marxism through the revival of the Russian Great Power Chauvinism - against which Lenin and Stalin had fought victoriously, we defend from Germany the struggle of the Russian Bolsheviks in the interest of the victorious Russian October Revolution, in the interest of the continuation of the failed German November Revolution, in the interest of the socialist world revolution! Closing ranks of the Russian and German Bolsheviks - this is the signal for the closing ranks of all Bolsheviks, for the international struggle against National Bolshevism, wherever it tries to appear all over the world!

The renaissance of Bolshevism in one country inevitably produces the renaissance of National Bolshevism to render the Bolshevik lever and basis of recaptured socialism useless for world revolution. Bolshevism is simultaneously beginning to form against international forms of anti-Bolshevism in its final battle in the struggle for the final victory over world-scale capitalism.

As long as Bolshevism was in power, National Bolshevism had no chance to assert itself there. It only got this chance through the historical betrayal of the revisionists. This is why degenerated revisionism and newly emerging National Bolshevism are in direct relation to each other. If today's National Bolshevism has basically emerged from rotten revisionism, it could only skin itself with the help of rotten revisionism and develop as an independent current:

**“...social-nationalism has developed from opportunism, and it was the latter that gave it strength.”** (Lenin: 'Under a False Flag' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 21; Moscow; 1974; p.154;

English Edition).

**“An adherent of internationalism who is not at the same time a most consistent and determined adversary of opportunism is a phantom, nothing more.”** (ibid; 156).

Therefore, National Bolshevism cannot be eliminated without completely tearing out its revisionist roots. National Bolshevism is thus nothing more than a stillborn child of the dying Russian monopoly bourgeoisie. The Russian proletariat will sweep it away with the socialist revolution along with the Russian monopoly bourgeoisie, which tries to nail him up to artificially prolong their existence.

The fascists suffered a severe defeat when their open anti-Bolshevism was overrun by Bolshevik tanks 60 years ago. So it is historically not surprising that world fascism has learned its lessons and this time, and among other things, puts on a "Bolshevik" cloak to soften the enemy's front and attack from within more successfully than they did then. Today the revisionists are the pioneers of fascism. Only this will not change the defeat of world fascism any more than it did the defeat of Hitlerite fascism - despite the dissolution of the Comintern. World Bolshevism will triumph over world fascism, whether its old center will be smashed to pieces in America or whether only its newly established center will perhaps be destroyed in Eurasia.

Bolshevism is in any case stronger than any copy, with National Bolshevism being the most miserable one so far. Capitalism has triumphed over the individual socialist country, but this victory was only the precursor to the victory of socialism on a world scale. Proletarian socialism was defeated with the help of revisionism and turned back to capitalism. Only through Marxism-Leninism, through the discovery of the laws of the development of revisionism, did the world proletariat recognize that the proletarian socialism of a country can finally win only on a world scale, that the only social force to end world capitalism is the united world proletariat. Not a single victory of political freedom over the capitalist class was won without their desperate resistance. No socialist country developed without a struggle to the death between the various classes of socialist society on the one hand and the struggle against imperialist encirclement on the other. The world-historical lesson from this class struggle of a single socialist country is the world socialist revolution, the strength of which is unstoppably growing.

## **Are the National Bolsheviks proponents or opponents of "Great" Russian nationalism?**

Let's read what Lenin wrote back in 1914:

**“Secondly, if history were to decide in favour of Great Russian dominant-nation capitalism, it**

**follows hence that the socialist role of the Great-Russian proletariat, as the principal driving force of the communist revolution engendered by capitalism, will be all the greater. The proletarian revolution calls for a prolonged education of the workers in the spirit of the fullest national equality and brotherhood. Consequently, the interests of the Great-Russian proletariat require that the masses be systematically educated to champion—most resolutely, consistently, boldly and in a revolutionary manner—complete equality and the right to self-determination for all the nations oppressed by the Great Russians.”** (Lenin: ‘On the National Pride of the Great Russians’ in: ‘Collected Works’, Volume 21; Moscow; 1974; p.105-106; English Edition).

This is the socialist attitude of the Bolsheviks, in contrast to the nationalist attitude of the National Bolsheviks, who betray the proletarian fraternization of all peoples of Russia, betray the cause of international socialism.

**“We demand freedom of self-determination, i.e., independence, i.e., freedom of secession for the oppressed nations, not because we have dreamt of splitting up the country economically, or of the ideal of small states, but, on the contrary, because we want large states and the closer unity and even fusion of nations, only on a truly democratic, truly internationalist basis, which is inconceivable without the freedom to secede.”** (Lenin: ‘The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right to Self-Determination’ in: ‘Collected Works’, Volume 21; Moscow; 1974; p.414; English Edition).

Like any nationalism, "Great" Russian nationalism goes through different phases. Until 1905 there were mainly the national reactionaries. After the 1905 Revolution, the national liberals arose in Russia, against whom the Bolsheviks vigorously opposed. Lenin and Stalin defended Bolshevism against the Mensheviks and Trotskyists, who underestimated the national and colonial question. Today we must defend Bolshevism against the National Bolsheviks who overestimate the national and colonial question.

After the October Revolution, the representatives of "Great" Russian nationalism could no longer openly appear, the key to the correct solution of the national question had been found by the Soviet order - the organization of fixed nationality states on the basis of national equality and voluntarism. With the victory of Lenin's nationality policy, socialism put a strong halt to "Great" Russian nationalism, as well as to local nationalism, but could not completely eliminate both.

This victory over "Great" Russian nationalism could be explained by the fact that the exploiting classes, which were once the main organizers of the discord between nations, no longer existed, that the working class was in power as a representative of proletarian internationalism, that the economic and cultural life of the peoples of the USSR could flourish (in form national, in content socialist!). The dictatorship of the proletariat forced its representatives to disguise themselves as "Bolsheviks", as "internationalists" and to invade the CPSU (B) in order to liberate "great" Russian

nationalism from the hands of the Bolsheviks, the most consistent enemies of "great" Russian nationalism. This was the message of the Resolution on the Report of the Central Committee to the XVI Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) in July 1930:

**"The main danger in the present stage is great power deviation, which seeks to revise the basis of Lenin's national policy and, under the flag of internationalism, obscures the efforts of the dying classes of the former ruling Greater Russian nation to regain their lost privileges. At the same time, the deviation from local nationalism, which loosens the unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union and works into the hands of intervention, is becoming more active. The party must intensify the struggle against both deviations in the national question and against the conciliatory attitude towards them, and at the same time it must focus more attention on the practical implementation of Lenin's national policy, on overcoming the elements of national inequality and on a far-reaching development of the national cultures of the peoples of the Soviet Union."**

At the XVI Party Congress Stalin said in the political report of the Central Committee about the deviations in the national question:

**"The essence of the deviation towards Great-Russian chauvinism lies in the striving to ignore national differences in language, culture and way of life; in the striving to prepare for the liquidation of the national republics and regions; in the striving to undermine the principle of national equality and to discredit the Party's policy of nationalising the administrative apparatus, the press, the schools and other state and public organisations.**

**In this connection, the deviators of this type proceed from the view that since, with the victory of socialism, the nations must merge into one and their national languages must be transformed into a single common language, the time has come to abolish national differences and to abandon the policy of promoting the development of the national cultures of the formerly oppressed peoples.**

**In this connection, they refer to Lenin, misquoting him and sometimes deliberately distorting and slandering him.**

**Lenin said that under socialism the interests of the nationalities will merge into a single whole—does it not follow from this that it is time to put an end to the national republics and regions in the interests of . . . internationalism?**

**Lenin said in 1913, in his controversy with the Bundists, that the slogan of national culture is a bourgeois slogan—does it not follow from this that it is time to put an end to the national cultures of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. in the interests of . . . internationalism?**

Lenin said that national oppression and national barriers are destroyed under socialism— does it not follow from this that it is time to put a stop to the policy of taking into account the specific national features of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and to go over to the policy of assimilation in the interests of . . . internationalism?

And so on and so forth.

There can be no doubt that this deviation on the national question, disguised, moreover, by a mask of internationalism and by the name of Lenin, is the most subtle and therefore the most dangerous species of Great-Russian nationalism.” (Stalin: ‘Political Report of the Central Committee to the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.)’ in: ‘Collected Works’, Volume 12; Moscow, 1953; p.373-374; English Edition).

Just as the Great Russian classes regained their privileges with the restoration of capitalism, today they want to defend their privileges against the current power relations of international financial capital.

And Stalin said further at the XVI party convention:

“I still oppose this [Kautsky’s national-chauvinist theory - author’s note] theory, as can be seen from my report at this Sixteenth Congress. I oppose it because the theory of the merging of all the nations of, say, the U.S.S.R. into one common Great-Russian nation with one common Great-Russian language is a national-chauvinist, anti-Leninist theory, which contradicts the basic thesis of Leninism that national differences cannot disappear in the near future, that they are bound to remain for a long time even after the victory of the proletarian revolution on a world scale.” (Stalin: ‘Reply to the Discussion on the Political Report of the Central Committee to the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.)’ in: ‘Works’, Volume 13; Moscow, 1954; p.4-5; English Edition).

And the NBP Program says:

***"Global purpose of National-bolshevism is the creation of Empire from Vladivostok up to Gibraltar on the basis of Russian civilization. The purpose will be achieved in four stages: a) Transformation of Russian Federation into the national state Russia by Russian Revolution, b) Joining of the territories of former republics of the Soviet Union, inhabit by Russians c) Rallying around of Russians Eurasian nations of the former USSR. d) Creation of huge continental Empire.***

***Having come to power, NBP will make revolutionary on the scales of transformation in***

***Russia, will construct the TOTAL STATE, the human rights will concede a place to the rights of a nation. Inside the country the iron Russian order, climate of discipline, bellicose and diligence will be established.***

***THE ONE WHO CONSIDERS RUSSIAN LANGUAGE AND RUSSIAN CULTURE – HIS OWN, HISTORY of RUSSIA – HIS OWN HISTORY, WHO HAS SPILLED AND IS READY TO SPILL THE OWN AND ANOTHER'S BLOOD IN A NAME OF RUSSIA AND ONLY FOR IT, ANY OTHER NATIVE LAND AND NATION DOES NOT THINK, IS RUSSIAN."***

Stalin says:

**“Is it not clear that the theory of the dying away of national languages and their merging into one common language within the framework of a single state in the period of sweeping socialist construction, in the period of socialism in one country, is an incorrect, anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist theory?”** (ibid; p.7).

And Lenin says:

**“What does a compulsory official language mean? In practice, it means that the language of the Great Russians, who are a minority of the population of Russia, is imposed upon all the rest of the population of Russia.**

**...We do not think that the great and mighty Russian language needs anyone having to study it by sheer compulsion. We are convinced that the development of capitalism in Russia, and the whole course of social life in general, are tending to bring all nations closer together. Hundreds of thousands of people are moving from one end of Russia to another; the different national populations are intermingling; exclusiveness and national conservatism must disappear. People whose conditions of life and work make it necessary for them to know the Russian language will learn it without being forced to do so. But coercion (the cudgel) will have only one result: it will hinder the great and mighty Russian language from spreading to other national groups, and, most important of all, it will sharpen antagonism, cause friction in a million new forms, increase resentment, mutual misunderstanding, and so on.**

**Who wants that sort of thing? Not the Russian people, not the Russian democrats. They do not recognise national oppression in any form, even in “the interests of Russian culture and statehood”.”** (Lenin: ‘Is Compulsory Official Language Needed?’ in: ‘Collected Works’, Volume 20; Moscow; 1977; p.71-73; English Edition).

After Stalin's death, the Soviet revisionists appeared as Russian social-imperialists. If one looks

carefully at the many articles and writings of the Khrushchevites, one can see what they had in mind with the term "unified Soviet people" - identification of the Soviet people with the Russian people, fusion into a Russian nation in which the Russians and their culture hold the baton of conductors over the Soviet people in their hands. (Look at the NBP Program, where one egg resembles another). Violent Russification of the non-Russian republics - the new Kremlin Tsars at that time still dressed this in Marxist phrases, as a solution of the national question on "Marxist-Leninist" basis, while today this is represented quite cheekily and openly by the right-wing movement in Russia. What comrade Enver Hoxha generally noticed about the imperialist bourgeoisie also applied especially to the Soviet social-imperialists:

**“The imperialist bourgeoisie has constantly endeavored to denigrate or to make disappear the cultural traditions of the smaller peoples, the national spirit of their art and culture. This is one of the ways in which their cultural aggression can be translated into the subjugation of peoples. The reactionary bourgeois notion about the "internationalization" of culture and the arts, the view that the phase of 'national schools' has been overcome in the meantime, wants nothing more than to eliminate the cultures of other peoples.”** (Hoxha: ‘Den ideologischen Kampf gegen die für den Sozialismus fremden Erscheinungen und die liberalen Haltungen zu ihnen vertiefen’ in: ‘Albanien Heute’, 4/1974; Tirana; 1974’ p.41; Translated from German).

The nations of the former Soviet Union do not merge, some becoming stronger and some weaker and weaker. Rather, the fusion and eventual dissolution of the nations is taking place in a process of constant strengthening and all-round development. This Marxist-Leninist thesis, however, was fought by the Khrushchev revisionists as well as by the "Great" Russian nationalists of today. As long as the exploiting class rules, there can be no talk of national blossoming, neither of the blossoming of the Russian nation nor of all other nations of the former Soviet Union. Only through a renewed October Revolution will it be possible to eliminate the rule of exploiting classes and free all the exploited and oppressed from the Russian prison of nations. But this is not possible without the Bolshevik Party. The experiences of Soviet revisionism show that exploiting classes can never solve the national question of oppressed nations, neither in Russia nor anywhere else in the world.

In the revisionist Soviet Union, the internationalization of social life was expressed in many ways. First and foremost, it manifested itself in the subjugation of non-Russian nations, in their national oppression, which in turn provoked national contradictions resulting in today's national liberation wars, the proletarians of all former Soviet peoples unite to free themselves from the Russian prison of nations. Russian nationalism is alien to the proletarian ideology of the proletarians of the former Soviet republics. He sows discord in their ranks. The common interests of all proletarians of the former Soviet republics are higher than those of the Russian proletariat. These common interests of all proletarians neither exclude nor deny national differences and peculiarities, i.e. they reject not only "great" Russian nationalism but also national nihilism, which denies national characteristics and ignores national differences. National nihilism is not only water on the mills of "Great" Russian

nationalism but on the mills of nationalism of every other former Soviet nation. The Soviet social-imperialists violated and shattered the trust of the former Soviet peoples to the deepest core, shattered the trust in socialism, the struggle between revisionism and Marxism-Leninism in Russia must be brought to an end in order to regain the trust in socialism. It is clear that any nationalism hinders the path to socialism in Russia, that we socialists must fight against "big" machismo and chauvinism with all available means. And it is equally clear to oppose the tendency of the revival of nationalist currents, which has become a fact due to national oppression and chauvinism in Russia. We Bolsheviks are against any discrimination against Russians in the former Soviet republics, just as we are against discrimination against all other national minorities in the former Soviet republics.

**“Speculating on the past and using theses that were once right cannot convince anyone today when the Soviet revisionists betrayed Marxism-Leninism and turned the Soviet Union into an imperialist state. The criterion for proletarian internationalism today is also the attitude towards the Soviet Union, but in a different, opposite sense than at the time of Lenin and Stalin, when the Soviet Union was the center and basis of world revolution. Revolutionary and internationalist today is the one who fights the Soviet revisionists, exposes their betrayal and resolutely rejects their anti-Marxist and imperialist policies and line.”** (Hoxha: ‘Bericht auf dem VI. Parteitag der Partei der Arbeit Albaniens’; Tirana; 1971; p.24; Translated from German).

The traitors of the Russian nation are not only those who betrayed them to foreign capital, to American cosmopolitanism. The Russian nation was undermined by the revisionists and also by forces of the revival of the open "Great" Russian nationalism, but was also exposed to the undermining influence of the bourgeois nationalism of the former republics. There are different nationalist tendencies to save the "Great" Russian nationalism directly or indirectly, openly or covertly, and we include the nationalism of the Russian petty bourgeoisie, we include the National Bolsheviks. So today "Great" Russian nationalism is trying to save itself with the help of National Bolshevism, among other things - with Lenin's and Stalin's banner. That has not yet happened, and it is high time Lenin and Stalin were protected from "Great" Russian nationalism and defended as pioneers against "Great" Russian nationalism, in which we let Lenin and Stalin lead us against renewed "Great" Russian nationalism to defend the majority in the Russian nation. It is no coincidence that the Comintern/ML is setting a good example here, flying the flag and opening fire. So no one can accuse the Comintern/ML of not taking the front against the burgeoning nationalism in Russia.

The National Bolsheviks not only refuse to fight against the "great" Russian nationalism, which is still omnipotent today, but they propagate it openly and demonstratively as a bulwark against globalized capitalism and against globalized socialism. In reality, however, the revolution of the oppressed and exploited is to be reamed between the internationally ruling and nationally ruling classes. The dual strategy of world imperialism's struggle for survival aims to catch and paralyze

the revolutionary anti-globalization movement by supporting nationalist movements. Every struggle that we communists wage against world imperialism must therefore also be waged against its nationalist "counter" aspirations in order to counteract any division of the international workers' movement.

The world proletariat is thus attacked by the world bourgeoisie from two sides:

The world proletariat, with its socialist world revolution, would fall victim to the cosmopolitanism of international finance capital, would only further accelerate the world capitalist destruction of nations with its own globalization efforts, and would thus dig the grave not only of itself but of all the peoples of the world. The proletarians of all countries should therefore not unite internationally, should refrain from rising to world revolution, but should, in the opinion of the National Bolsheviks, subordinate themselves to their "national liberation movement of Russia to overcome the rule of foreign capital".

The National Bolsheviks know no difference between the big oppressor nations and the small oppressed nations. Every nation "should be happy according to its own recipe". "Eat a bird or die!" The National Bolsheviks demoralize the workers through their nationalist slogans because the workers achieve their liberation, not through national but socialist revolution.

Russian imperialism pursues two tactics that divide the ruling class into two camps that compete with each other when it comes to the path to world power, but support each other when it comes to jointly opposing the recapture of the dictatorship of the proletariat when it comes to socialist revolution. These contradictions in the camp of the Russian imperialists, on the one hand, to reach its world power through the softening tactic of "peaceful coexistence" and on the other hand, to force through an open imperialist world war, that is to say to break the dominance of the US imperialism by force, these contradictions can be exploited but that is all. One cannot in any case fight one another by supporting the other. The more dangerous variant of both is the one we stop fighting consistently enough. The freedom of the peoples will in any case fall by the wayside if the peoples renounce the revolution against any imperialist power and limit themselves to eliminating the domination of this or that imperialist power. Liberation from US imperialism does not mean liberation from world imperialism unless one also liberates oneself from Eurasian imperialism. One cannot fight world imperialism by supporting one imperialism against the other, by placing oneself under the umbrella of another imperialist power, but only the world socialist revolution can eliminate world imperialism.

When the National Bolsheviks separate the question of national liberation from social liberation, they turn into henchmen of capital, whether they admit it or not. The nations of Eurasia can only liberate themselves from America if they socialize not only foreign capital but also domestic capital, if in the socialist revolution they liberate themselves not only from foreign exploiters but also from domestic exploiters, if they overthrow the entire bourgeoisie in their own country and smash their

oppressive state. It is about the class struggle, about the joint revolutionary liberation of the workers and peasants of Eurasia both from an imperialist West with or without the leadership of the USA, and from an imperialist East, whether under Russian leadership or any other. Only the fully accomplished economic and political liberation of the workers and peasants of all Eurasian peoples can rule out the possibility of any new kind of national and international oppression under the pretext of struggle against Western capital. Only the restoration of the complete freedom and independence of the former Soviet peoples can show the best way out of the present crisis of Russia and the world and bring about the real solution of the national question through the recognition of complete equality and the unconditional right to political self-determination for all nationalities without exception. We Bolsheviks expose the deception of those parties which, with the slogan to eliminate this or that national oppression, only want to have a change of scenery, that is, their own national oppression and not foreign ones. We Bolsheviks want to free the nations not only from their "imperialist foreign influence", but from any capitalist influence, whether from outside or inside, whether state capitalism or other forms of capitalist influence. National oppression can only be eliminated by removing the social roots of this oppression. We want an Eurasia in which nations liberate themselves from all capitalism, we want an Eurasia of socialist nations, we want a socialist Eurasia. We are not available for any other alliance. We fight the slogan of many Russian National Bolsheviks to build a Greater Russian, new imperialist empire over Eurasia and thus over the whole world, just as we had fought the former social-imperialism of the revisionist Kremlin Tsars in power, which the Russian superpower wanted to make themselves No. 1 in the world. We know that these dreams are not over. We know that the demands of the National Bolsheviks do not differ in essence from them, but are aimed at saving and reviving world imperialism by liberating it from American decay, that Russian imperialism can purge world imperialism of American bacillus, American parasitism, that Russia can reform world imperialism. We know that there are connections within Russia as well as abroad that are working with great intensity to make Russia together the No. 1 in the world. Us Bolsheviks think that the time for this has passed historically. What we need today is a socialist world state, governed by the proletarians of all countries, the international democracy of the world proletariat, which is only possible through the socialist world revolution, through which the historical chapter of world imperialism is closed forever, Our struggle is essentially an internationalist struggle and not a national struggle, just as Bolshevism is essentially international and not national (it is national only in its form), and so we fight first of all for the whole socialist world and if socialist Eurasia can contribute to it, so much the better. There has been no reason for us Bolsheviks to subordinate our internationalist struggle to the nationalist struggle for more than a hundred years, and there will be no such reason for the future.

The struggle for the liberation of peoples from US imperialism must not be misused to strengthen other imperialists or to build a new imperialism behind the mask of anti-imperialism. These are only ineffectual and meaningless duels which only distract the world proletariat from its independent struggle for socialism and is supposed to prevent the emergence of a socialist world order.

We Bolsheviks do not defend one imperialism against the other, do not fight for the hegemony of a new superpower, but the only hegemony we fight for is the world hegemony of the proletariat - while the National Bolsheviks fight for the hegemony of Russian imperialism.

## Conclusions

Communism will triumph over capitalism, its twins, cosmopolitanism and nationalism if the world proletariat succeeds in its social and international liberation through the socialist world revolution!

The only liberation tactic for the proletarians of all countries is and remains the **victorious Bolshevism of Lenin, Stalin, and Enver Hoxha, who relied on the internationalist teachings of Marx and Engels and further developed them.**

We communists fight for the victory of proletarian internationalism, because this doctrine of Marxism-Leninism is based on the international character of the proletarian class, on the international community of nations and on the unified interests of humanity as a whole, in order to eliminate the exploitation of human beings by human beings forever. The path to the liberation of humanity from exploitation and oppression can only be continued victoriously on the path of the liberation of the proletarians of all countries! The way of the liberation of the proletarians of all countries can only be continued victoriously if they unite with all other oppressed classes all over the world and lead them to the socialist world revolution. Only the world proletariat defends the true freedom of the nations and the unity of the workers of all nations. No privileges whatsoever for any nation, for any language! Not the slightest injustice against smaller and weaker nations, not the slightest injustice against national minorities - these are the international principles of our proletarian democracy. For different nations to live freely and peacefully side by side, or (if it is more advantageous for them) to separate and form different states, world socialism is needed today, international workers' democracy is needed. The rulers at home and abroad want to divide the workers of the different nations at all costs, in order to exploit the workers of all nations harmoniously. Therefore the workers of all nations fight for their complete unity and cannot be separated by nationalism or by cosmopolitanism and national nihilism. We do not let ourselves be frightened by global exploitation and leave it to the bourgeoisie of all nations to enjoy the hypocritical right-wing phrases about "protecting national interests against the power of foreign capital. We workers of all nations defend unanimously, harmoniously, in common organizations, the full freedom and equal rights of all workers - the pledge of international labor culture. We workers of all nations oppose the old world, the world of national oppression, national hatred and national segregation with a new world, a world of unity of the labourers of all nations, in which there is no

place for any privilege nor for the slightest oppression of man by man, no matter where on earth, no matter in which nation, no matter between which nations. We workers create our own world, as the classics Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha taught us - world communism.

**Socialism in words - capitalism in deeds,**

**- that is revisionism in the question of the social liberation struggle of the proletariat.**

**Internationalism in words - nationalism in deeds,**

**- that is revisionism in the question of the national liberation struggle of the proletariat.**

**The national question can only be solved by the social question. The national question is subordinated to the social question. The national liberation struggle serves the socialist world revolution, but must not be overestimated or underestimated - it depends entirely on the different national and social conditions of every country in the world.**

**The social and national question can only be solved revolutionarily and in common union, can only be solved by Marxism-Leninism, can only be solved by the hegemony of the proletariat as the only revolutionary class.**

**The national question is subordinated to the international question.**

**World capitalism can only be eliminated through world socialism.**

**Proletarians of all countries unite for national and social liberation!**

**The socialist revolution, the national and social liberation of the proletariat, the recapture of socialism will be prevented, will fail or its gains will be lost again if revisionism is not defeated all-round and profoundly, if the national and social forces of each country do not unite under the leadership of the revolutionary world proletariat against revisionism.**

**Nationalism and cosmopolitanism (national nihilism) are bourgeois twins in the struggle against the national and social interests of the majority in all nations and serve only the profit striving of the capitalist-revisionist world. To dress these twins in a "Marxist-Leninist" garment is today the task of the revisionists, the main agents of world imperialism in the revolutionary camp. With revisionism to undermine the socialist nation from within and isolate it from outside by imperialist encirclement, world capitalism put the socialist nations**

**under pressure and thus prepared their destruction.**

**Revisionism is both the social and the national pioneer of the fascist rule of imperialism, is its social and national support within the revolutionary workers' world movement, is the pioneer of the disintegration and decline of the nation!**

To what extent the actions, the practice of the actors in the class struggle agree with these principles or deviate from them, the true revolutionaries, the true Bolsheviks recognize those enemies who disguise themselves as "revolutionaries", as "Bolsheviks", etc., in order to successfully fulfill their counterrevolutionary task as Trojan Horse within the revolutionary movement.

This is a very complicated and difficult task which can only be verified in practice. Therefore, one must beware both of isolating sectarianism and of opportunist, spontaneous adaptation, one must adopt a Marxist-Leninist standpoint both concretely and in principle, one must not deviate from it in order to get into bourgeois waters, one must in every question, again and again, work it out in a Marxist-Leninist way what benefits the working class and what harms it.

\* \* \*

### ***Documents from the NBP's homepage:***

For those who are interested, we have collected a few striking political statements from the NBP that confirm the correctness of our criticism of Russian National Bolshevism:

A pan-Aryan empire as the "liberator" of the world from the stranglehold of American gangsters finds supporters even in the USA.

Answer of the NBP to the question about their attitude to Zionism quoted here - (without comment!): ***"We consider the situation on Middle East to be fight for "lebensraum" - the "living space" in which every side of enemies has its own "right" so its not so easy to accuse one or other side..."*** 07:57, 29.09.2004 (NBP Homepage-Guestbook)

Our comment on this:

Hilter's imperialist habitat ideology is openly transferred to the Middle East - this is what the National Bolshevists propagates openly and uninhibitedly - in principle no different from the US imperialists. The National Bolsheviks does not distinguish between oppressed and oppressive nations, thereby revealing themselves openly and plumply as great-power chauvinists of their own Russian monopoly bourgeoisie. Behind this imperialist "neutrality" lies the maintenance of the imperialist status quo: those who are stronger are allowed to nail the colonies of the other great powers. So if the national Bolshevists do not take the side of the Palestinian people, they not only justify the murder of the Palestinian people, they support not only the Zionists, but also the "living space" policy of the US imperialists, whose chain dog is the Israeli monopoly bourgeoisie in the Middle East - it is a beautiful "anti-US imperialism"! Who does not see here the imperialist ideology of the "Eurasian living space" of the Russian monopoly bourgeoisie, which represented the National Bolsheviks here, must be blind, does not recognize that the Russian imperialists here quite openly foment the conflicts in the Middle East, in order to draw advantages from it for the desires of its own supremacy - a line of the Russian social-imperialists, which was at first hidden and then continued with open, brutal means like at that time against the Afghan people. The core of the current political situation in the Middle East is solely whether to take advantage of the revolutionary situation that already exists there through international support and development of the revolutionary movement. The answer is yes or no. On this question the social-chauvinists today separate from the revolutionary internationalists - regardless of the revolutionary, international phrases threshed by the National Bolsheviks. Everything in words, nothing in deeds. Oaths and assertions that they are "internationalists" and revolutionaries, but in reality, they support the social-chauvinists and opportunists all over the world in their struggle against international Marxism, in their struggle against the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples.

**Actually National Bolshevism born in Germany or at least there was born this term. It was first used by Ernst Niekisch in the beginnings of previous century..... He is a great theoretician of National Bolshevism I advise you to read him in German... We don't like embodiment of NS ideas and their narrowmindedness...but we are pretty fond for NS military and cultural aesthetics....by the way Niekisch was eventually close to the NS...but nevertheless Hitler put him to jail**

10:14, 25.09.2004

What is your position on the pan-slavism ideology, the slavish brotherhood, the slavish question etc... ?

***nbpinfo: Well we support that kind of ideology, we have common roots, common history but nevertheless we aren't radical Slavophiles who deny absolutely technology and prefer to live in huts in woods .... We think there is some things that maybe borrowed from West - such as hightech, but not to create all kind of stupid snickers, vulgar cosmetics, pop-corn and so on but to develop laser weapon, spaceships and so on....***

02:43, 13.09.2004

I would like to know what is your attitude towards the Army:

***When we will come to power we will introduce spirit of militarism to the whole society...***

07:57, 11.09.2004

here a critical contribution of a Chinese comrade to the NBP:

“You cannot combine nationalism with communism - communism is an internationalist ideology in nature and incorporating nationalism into it would destroy the basis of proletarian class unity. Patriotism however could be incorporated into a communist ideology, but I believe the NBP's major mistake here is in their nationalist flaw, in saying "I am better because I am Russian" you doom yourself to a fate of stagnation instead of progress. Saying "I love Russia" is no problem - saying "I am better because I am Russian" IS a problem.

The NBP could not possibly be anti-capitalist while advocating fascism, which is itself a unification of fascist and capitalist power - Mussolini himself once said, " Fascism is a direct unification of state and corporate power." The idea of corporatism has been the one part of fascist ideology that has succeeded in the 20th century, it is the basis of the **entire global political system at the moment**. Fascism itself advocates capitalism - communism does NOT.

You cannot claim to oppose the current system while advocating extreme authoritarian capitalist ideology (fascism) and at the same time praising an anti-capitalist ideology.

We add to this critical contribution the correct definition of fascism of the IV. (!! ) World Congress of December 1922 which can be read here:

**“International Fascism (...) is the political offensive of the bourgeoisie against the working class (...) finds its expression in International Fascism. In view of the fact that the general impoverishment .affects also the middle class, including the State officials, the ruling classes can no longer depend on the bureaucracy as an absolutely reliable tool. This causes the bourgeoisie everywhere to create special white guards, directed against all the revolutionary aims of the proletariat, to crush in most brutal fashion every attempt of the workers to improve their position.**

**The salient features of the Italian Fascism— that “ classical ” Fascism which has now taken possession of that country for some time—consists of the fact that the Fascists, not content with establishing their own counter-revolutionary militant organisations armed to**

the teeth, seek also to gain ground by social demagoguery, among the masses of the peasantry, among the lower bourgeoisie and even among certain elements of the working class, in order to make use of the general disappointment with so-called democracy.

The menace of Fascism lurks to-day in many countries—in Czecho-Slovakia, in Hungary, in nearly all the Balkan countries, in Poland, in Germany (Bavaria), in Austria and America, and even in countries like Norway.” (‘Resolutions and Theses of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International’; London; 1922; p.27-28).

*nbpinfo: “Well do you know that ultra-democratic Germany has in its anthem words "Uber alles" and so on which mean Germany is above all....And no German is ashamed of it... The same as we say "Russia is all the rest is nothing...." it is not means we are negating all others nations but that we really love our Motherland..... If you really want to get sense of National-Bolshevism visit Russia meet nazbols....then I'm sure you will change your attitude towards our Party!*

19:16, 29.12.2004

*We don't have any golden calves The all Perfect Communism and the All Bad Fascism, we are beyond left and right, now we are trying to create a Completely new Ideology....but as you know that all material things in this world are build of atoms so also we have to build our Ideology from the existing ones.... From Mussolini we took devotion to our country, militaristic aesthetics but NO racial issues.... from Communism - social justice, from Democracy - desire for Freedom. So now we have a New Ideology which took the best sides of all political and moral doctrines and is being constantly developed and purified by our comrades!”*

21:44, 26.12.2004

*"- Dugin is our ideologist, the party treasure, in a certain sense. That is, he plays the role of the high priest."*

*the book "Another Russia". The Manifesto*

*1. The National-bolshevik wants to become the Creator of the New World. That's in principle. Not to restore any boring historical justices, not to give people back something stolen but to create a new world and to put his great party - the NBP - in the center of this new world.*

*Our goal is in the following: literally to suck up all alive strength from the organism of the growing decrepit and dying old Russian-soviet nation and include it into the New Russian Nation.*

***Now two main slogans are inscribed on the NBP flags: Nation and Freedom. "***

***The National-bolshevik must not be afraid of the advice of Nietzsche: "Push a falling man!"***

***10. The Party greeting "Yes, Death!" is a cheerful expression of love to Life.***

\* \* \*

## **Under what conditions and on what principles does the Comintern/ML strive for the international class front with nationally minded workers?**

We comrades of the Comintern/ML refuse to conceal our views and intentions on the national question and towards the national workers. We quite openly declare that the socialist revolution can only win if we march towards the socialist revolution with them and not against them, because the national workers are part of the world revolutionary working class, so they belong exactly to the same class as we do, and thus we are part of their comrades, just as they are part of us comrades, or: "from one and the same flesh and blood of the working class" - as Ernst Thälmann put it more aptly. So we have to orient ourselves to it, we have to orient ourselves accordingly, we have to determine the route of our march together with them in a principled way:

The nationally minded workers support all sides and with all their strength on all fronts as they support our communist struggle all sides and with all their strength on all fronts.

- thus by no means is limited to the struggle to solve the national question, to the struggle to defend the national interests of the working class and the people, etc.,

neither to ignore them nor to exclude them,

but involve them in much more, show them understanding and solidarity and learn from them,

to reach out our hand to them for the conquest of workers' power,

We are to cultivate brotherhood in arms according to the example of Richard Scheringer,

and fears of contact on both sides and finally overcome them.

**under strict compliance with the following conditions!**

1. Not to give in to the general political shift to the right by the constraints of the political and economic crisis of capitalism! No cutbacks from the internationalist, anti-imperialist and anti-fascist line of the Comintern/ML: death to fascism in the whole world and on a national scale, elimination of the rule of imperialism in the world and on a national scale, freedom to all revolutionary peoples and every people without exception! Proletarian, anti-fascist united front in the world and on a national scale! For the proletarian, anti-imperialist front around the world and in the national scale, etc.

2. An absolutely strong fight against any attempts for the reconciliation of the "left" wing of the fascists, from whichever ranks they are steered! The lack of vigilance would be a blatant big mistake, which would have absolutely fatal consequences, which could never be made good again! There should be no chance for the fascists to instrumentalize the communists for themselves even remotely in any way for anything.

National Bolshevism has absolutely nothing in common with World Bolshevism of Marxism-Leninism but is hostile to it. National Bolshevism is a tactic of imperialism, while Bolshevism, as a tactic of the world proletariat, is a tactic of communism. Bolshevism cannot win unless it defeats national Bolshevism.

3. Always draw a clear demarcation line between the national workers and the fascist brood, especially among the masses. Study Stalin's contributions to this here:

◦ **WHAT ARE THE "NATIONAL-SOCIALISTS"?**

In our country the German invaders, i.e., the Hitlerites, are usually called fascists. The Hitlerites, it appears, consider this wrong and obstinately persist in calling themselves "National-Socialists." Hence, the Germans are trying to assure us that the Hitler party, the party of German invaders, which is plundering Europe and has engineered this dastardly attack on our socialist country, is a socialist party. Is this possible? What can there be in common between socialism and the bestial Hitlerite invaders who are plundering and oppressing the nations of Europe?

Can the Hitlerites be regarded as nationalists? No, they cannot. Actually, the Hitlerites are now not nationalists but imperialists. As long as the Hitlerites were engaged in assembling the German lands and reuniting the Rhine district, Austria, etc., there might have been some ground for calling them nationalists. But after they seized foreign territories and enslaved European nations -- the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Norwegians, Danes, Netherlanders, Belgians, the French, Serbs, Greeks, Ukrainians, Belorussians, the inhabitants of the Baltic countries etc. -- and began to reach out for world domination, the Hitlerite party ceased to be a nationalist party for from that moment it became an imperialist, predatory, oppressor party.

The Hitlerite party is a party of imperialists, and of the most rapacious and predatory imperialists in the world at that.

Can the Hitlerites be regarded as socialists ? No, they cannot. Actually the Hitlerites are the sworn enemies of socialism, arrant reactionaries and Black-Hundredes who have robbed the working class and the peoples of Europe of the most elementary democratic liberties. In order to cover up their reactionary, Black-Hundred nature, the Hitlerites denounce the internal regime of England and America as a plutocratic regime. But in England and the United States there are elementary democratic liberties, there are trade unions of workers and salaried employees, there are workers' parties, there are parliaments; whereas in Germany, under the Hitler regime, all these institutions have been destroyed. One need but compare these two sets of facts to perceive the reactionary nature of the Hitler regime and the utter hypocrisy of the German fascist buncombe about a plutocratic regime in England and in America. In point of fact the Hitler regime is a copy of the reactionary regime which existed in Russia under tsarism. As we know, the Hitlerites suppress the rights of the workers, the rights of the intellectuals and the rights of nations as readily as the tsarist regime suppressed them; they organize mediaeval pogroms against the Jews as readily as the tsarist regime did.

The Hitlerite party is a party of enemies of democratic liberties, a Party of medieval reaction and Black-Hundred pogroms.

And if these brazen imperialists and arrant reactionaries still continue to don the toga of "nationalists" and "socialists," they do so for the purpose of deceiving the people, of hoodwinking the credulous and of using the flag of "nationalism" and "socialism" to cover up their predatory imperialist nature.

Crows decked in peacocks' feathers. . . . But no matter how much crows may deck themselves in peacocks' feathers they will not cease to be crows.

"We must resort to all means," says Hitler, "to bring about the conquest of the world by the Germans. If our hearts are set on establishing our great German Reich we must above all things force out and exterminate the Slavonic nations -- the Russians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians. There is no reason why this should not be done."

"Man," says Hitler, "is a born sinner; he can be ruled only by force. In dealing with him all means are permissible. When policy requires it we should lie, betray and even kill."

"Kill everyone who is opposed to us," says Goring. "Kill, kill! Not you will answer for this, but I! Hence, kill!"

"I emancipate man," says Hitler, "from the humiliating chimera which is called conscience. Conscience, like education, cripples men. My advantage is that I am not deterred by any considerations, theoretical or moral."

In an order of the day dated September 25, issued by the German command to the 489th Infantry Regiment, found on a dead German non-commissioned officer, it is stated:

"I order fire to be opened upon every Russian as soon as he appears within a distance of 600 metres. The Russians must know that they are faced by a resolute foe from whom they cannot expect any mercy."

In one of the appeals of the German command to the soldiers, found on the dead body of Lieutenant Gustav Ziegel, a native of Frankfort-on-Main, we read:

"You have no heart or nerves; they are not needed in war. Eradicate every trace of pity and sympathy from your heart -- kill every Russian, every Soviet person. Do not hesitate, whether you have an old man or a woman, a girl or boy before you, kill! Thereby you will save your own life, ensure the future of your family and win eternal glory."

There you have the program and instructions of the leaders of the Hitlerite party and of the Hitlerite

command, the program and instructions of men who have lost all semblance of humanity and have sunk to the level of wild beasts

(excerpt of Stalin's speech: „24TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION - 6<sup>th</sup> of November 1941“)

4. To not give in to the counter-pressure of the opportunist and so-called "leftists". We do not let ourselves to be made the black sheep of the left world movement, but to become the counteroffensive when we are attacked by the "disguised" rights because of the internationalist attitude of the Comintern/ML towards the national question. Here we must be particularly vigilant towards sectarianism, revisionism, but above all neo-revisionism.

With the slogan: "For a socialist, but not a revisionist world" we also speak from the heart of the national revolutionary workers, who have preferred to leave their enthusiasm for socialism in the background so long as not to be sympathizers for revisionism in power. The national workers agree in principle with us to fight the revisionist influence in the workers movement and in the people, so we forge with them an anti-revisionist united front. We are depriving ourselves of our own possibilities of development if we assume in a stereotyped way that the national workers are only to be won for the assertion of the national interests of the working class - we want to win them above all for the socialist revolution, for the liberation of the working class from wage-slavery, war, and fascism! Whereby we want to explain to them: Social-fascism and fascism are two sides of the same coin, just like capitalist and revisionist wage-slavery, just like imperialist and social-imperialist wars, etc... In the struggle against both sides of all these capitalist medals we stand with our national workers in a firm revolutionary proletarian united front!

We in the Comintern/ML will probably be the only ones in the world to shake hands with the national workers in the unified class front of the proletariat, which is why it is all the more important for us to win these indispensable, valuable national forces of the working class for the creation of a truly proletarian socialist world and not to lose them to the counter-revolution, which makes no difference between national and international revolutionary workers and kills them both because they are both revolutionary, anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist workers! We must not allow the fascists to lie to and deceive our national class brothers again and to put them in front of their carts, the working class must not let itself be divided. It is the task of the Comintern/ML to unite the revolutionary workers' world movement against both cosmopolitanism and nationalism; it is the task of the vanguard of the world proletariat to close the revolutionary ranks against National Bolshevism; it is the task of the vanguard of the world proletariat to unite and unite the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world in the struggle against National Bolshevism on Marxist-Leninist foundations. The path to socialist world revolution leads through the path of fighting National Bolshevik, social-chauvinist and nationalist influence on the world proletariat.

**International does not mean anti-national, it does not exclude the nation;**

**National and communist are not opposites, but nationalism and communism  
(internationalism) are!**

**It will not be easy to reach the followers of the National Bolsheviks. A decisive source of the fascist upswing is the national demagogy of the NBP, which takes advantage of the masses' bitterness about the double slavery of Russian capitalists and foreign financial capital (...) and thereby presents itself as saviors and pioneers of the national liberation of Russia (...) Us communists are not ashamed of a national liberation policy. This is the legacy of pacifist tendencies in the history of the workers' world movement in the national question.**

**We must show the Russian masses that the National Bolsheviks are also beyond the barricades of the question of the liberation struggle and are mortal enemies of this struggle.**

**There is no `National Bolshevism`. There is only one International Bolshevism.**

**"In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality." (Marx, Engels: 'Manifesto of the Communist Party'; Moscow; 1977; p.49; English Edition).**

**"No national liberation - without social liberation!" (Thälmann: 'The Results of the 12th ECCI Plenum and our Tasks'; Translated from German).**

**We have to hammer the masses into it in the strongest possible way so that we cannot fight side by side with the National Bolsheviks.**

**\* \* \***

**Appeal**

**to the National Workers All Over the World**

**for the Common Struggle for the Socialist World Revolution**

**February 1, 2005**

The Comintern/ML hereby promises you that it will do everything in its power to achieve the following goals:

We fight and die for the revolutionary united front of the national and international workers for the benefit of the socialist interests of the entire working class in the world, for the welfare of all socialist fatherlands in the common struggle against all internal and external enemies of the peoples. In short:

We firmly shake hands with you for an unbreakable and faithful brotherhood of arms in the spirit of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha!

We international revolutionary workers therefore solemnly declare:

We workers, whether national or international, never allow ourselves to be incited against each other by anyone, whether it is by our common enemies from the "left" or from the right spectrum, whereby you keep the right-wing pack off our backs just as we defend you against the "left-wing" pack who speak wrongly in the name of the working class. Only we workers can and want to speak in our own name. There is only one world proletariat, the proletarians of all countries whose flesh and blood we share and we do not let ourselves be divided for the profit of the rich. We workers do not free ourselves from our oppressors only to then oppress ourselves - for the joy of the other classes. The rifle which the rulers put in our hands to watch the spectacle of our mutual slaughter with amusement, we will seize together and turn together against them. The rulers know from the experience of centuries of division of the exploited and oppressed that they do not have to fear a divided people, a divided working class, and the capitalists know that from the division and redistribution of the world that was forced upon us by them that they do not have to fear an internationally divided working class. And we workers have learned from our own painful experiences that only the united international working class with its healthy revolutionary patriotic and internationalist elements at the top can lead the world out of the crisis, misery, oppression, and slavery into freedom of the working class can bring down the oppressive and exploitative state of the ruling class only through its national and international united rifles. The toil of the workers can only be the toil of all workers, for the national workers as well as the international workers united front throughout the world. There is no workers' power in the world based either on the oppression of the national workers or the oppression of the international workers, but only in a joint victory and jointly asserted freedom from imperialism will the oppressed, crisis-ridden world flourish or we will eventually go with this world into the common downfall.

**It's 5 minutes until 12!!**

The truth that there is only one working class in the world cannot be shaken any more than the truth that there can only be one socialism, only one revolutionary party of the working class, which

unites the vanguard of all revolutionary national and international elements and represents the national and international socialist interests of the entire working class. This does not mean that this party is created by the tug-of-war of competing parties; on the contrary, it can only mean that all revolutionary workers in the struggle for the liberation of the working class from capitalism take sides with one another, join their ranks closer and closer until they have created a single vanguard organization that is supported and carried by the whole revolutionary working class and leads it into struggle. The world socialist revolution will win if it emerges from the class struggle of all workers and not just a part of it. It will fail and inevitably lead to defeat for all workers and will give victory to counter-revolution if it is not the common work of all national and international workers throughout the world.

The worker will form their own opinion about all different ideas and give preference only to the best. What is best for the working class can only be found out by the working class itself and for the world proletariat, the best is just good enough. We trust in the judgment of the world proletariat, it is the only decision which ideas guide it and which do not. Of course we fight for the world proletariat to choose the Marxist-Leninist path because we are convinced that only a Marxist-Leninist, i.e. an internationalist party can express and realize the revolutionary interests of the working class, including all its national interests. We are also convinced that national interests can only be realized and above all guaranteed through social, internationalist liberation without underestimating the indispensable struggle for national interests as an important lever of socialist revolution in each individual country. Nevertheless, we have repeatedly stressed that the national struggle must be subordinated to the social struggle for the liberation of the working class if it is to win. From our own painful experiences, we Marxist-Leninists have had to learn that Bolshevism can only be secured nationally if it contributes to the victory of world Bolshevism. Therefore, the Comintern /ML is an internationalist Bolshevik party and not a national Bolshevik party, it is led by proletarian internationalism and not by nationalism and imperialism. National Bolshevism is through and through an imperialist tactic - only Bolshevism as developed, applied and victoriously confirmed by the history of the Soviet Union and Albania by Lenin and Stalin was, is and remains the only victorious tactic of the struggle of the socialist world proletariat, is a communist tactic. Every nationally minded worker must therefore deal with this crucial difference and clearly choose either one or the other: National Bolshevism or Communist Bolshevism? There is no in-between thing and it cannot exist for the Communist Party! For the Comintern /ML there is no national socialism and it cannot exist, because socialism is international, can only exist permanently in the national framework through the victory of the proletarian world revolution, through the realization of world socialism.

What will become of the bourgeois nations betrayed and sold out by the bourgeoisie?

The bourgeois nations are just a little more inevitably doomed, poisoned, decomposed, destroyed, and overrun by international capital every day - this is what their own law, the law of globalized striving for profit, forces them to do. Nations can only be defended under the leadership of the

workers - not by the capitalists, not as bourgeois nations, but as nations in which the workers are in power, that is, only as socialist nations. We fight together against the lying and hypocritical bourgeois nationalism that is directed against us workers. We fight for only one nation - the socialist nation under the leadership of the workers.

The socialist nation, and telling you this is immensely important to us, will only have a chance not to transform itself back into a bourgeois nation if it does not slacken its consistent and unswerving struggle with the workers of all other nations to fight together for the transformation of all capitalist nations into socialist nations, for the working class of each country is a division of a proletarian world army marching in step not only for the individual interests of the workers in a single country but above all for the overall interests of all workers throughout the world. This is the pledge for the guaranteed existence of every single socialist nation and of all peoples. That is why we Marxist-Leninists do not restrict ourselves only to the struggle goal of liberating the working class of one country but fight beyond that and above all for the international liberation of the world proletariat, because the working class of a nation cannot really be free as long as somewhere in the world there is one last worker who has to perform services for the capitalists, as long as somewhere in the world capitalism as well as national and social oppression prevail. We workers throughout the world are wage-slaves of the world imperialists and of the imperialist domination of every country and are therefore obliged to take our interests independently and jointly into our own hands. We workers will never perish if we hold together. The bourgeoisie will perish.

Proletarians of all countries, unite! This has been the battle cry of us Communists for over 150 years.

The truth is that we national and international workers are of the same flesh and blood united together not only in a single country but also all national and international workers all over the world. Therefore our liberation can only be the common work of all workers all over the world.

We communists are of the opinion and firm conviction that the national workers will understand this better and better on the basis of their own experiences in the global competition of the workers among each other, which is becoming clearer and clearer from the globalization of world imperialism and which is dragging us all into ruin if we do not eliminate our mutual competition. We now form a united world front of all workers against the world front of imperialism to sweep it away from the globe. The key to national liberation lies in the common struggle of all workers all over the world to overthrow not only the imperialists in one country or another but to overthrow all world imperialism together. Today more than ever, the welfare of each individual people is inseparably linked with the welfare of peoples all over the world, for we live in the era of imperialist globalization, which brutally overthrows all national barriers only for the sake of the crude mammon and to the detriment of all of us. Therefore the workers of the whole world have nothing to lose but their world imperialist chains, but to win a world, the world of the socialist fatherlands.

Us communists are not prophets and do not want to be prophets either, but we have serious ideas about the distant future of mankind:

One day there will only be socialist fatherlands. And all socialist fatherlands of the whole world will eventually (in the distant, very distant future!!) grow together, fraternize economically, politically, culturally, etc., merge without coercion and without violence. In the 19th century, they were important for capitalism, for liberation from feudalism, today they are an obstacle for world imperialism, which therefore destroys them. For the workers today the nations are important for socialism to liberate us from capitalism and prevent the restoration of capitalism, but when this work is done by the socialist nations, when their historical purpose is fulfilled, they lose their meaning, they also become a stumbling block for communism. This does not mean that through communism the national achievements and values, progressive national ideas and cultural heritage of the peoples are forgotten and disappear, that one national culture is set aside or even pushed back and destroyed by another national culture, that a foreign culture is imposed on the nations, that they are alienated from their own culture or even pushed against the wall etc., no, it's quite the opposite, the most progressive elements in all cultures all together form the basis for the further development of humanity as a whole. In the same way that only the diversity of all parts, the unfolding parts, can result in a great whole, all cultures experience a new bloom, they unfold, enrich each other and thereby reach a higher stage of their development, and it is precisely for this reason that we protect, defend, nurture and preserve all that the nations have in beautiful and useful things, In the case of the world's most progressive things, they together form the great precious world cultural heritage that we all share together, voluntarily and willingly, not to divide it among ourselves and give it up piece by piece and lose our identity in it, but to allow all the people of the world to share in the created values of all nations for the benefit and joy of all.

On Mother Earth, this later gives rise to world communism - freedom, equality, and prosperity for all human beings on earth, a community in which man has emancipated himself from his inhumanity through all human beings, and in which, for the first time in human history, he can only be human, freed from all class barriers, freed from all national barriers, freed from all racial barriers, freed from all economic, political and ideological barriers, freed from all barriers, that is, from all barriers that have made his existence so inhuman so far.

**A world for the workers!**

**A world for the peoples!**

**For a socialist, anti-revisionist world!**

**Long live World Bolshevism!**

\* \* \*

In 2003, the Comintern/ML celebrated the 100th anniversary of Bolshevism and published a ["Manifesto of the Party of World Bolshevism"](#) (in German), in which we defend the tactics of Bolshevism as international tactics of the proletarian world revolution and still regard them as tactics of our general line of world communism. In this article, the "orthodox" Bolshevik position of us communists is presented in detail and fundamentally so that we can spare ourselves repetitions in this article. However, we do not want to refrain from at least reiterating here the definition of Bolshevism and our most central Bolshevik slogans in order to juxtapose them with the slogans of "National Bolshevism":

## **What is world Bolshevism?**

World Bolshevism is the global, Marxist-Leninist theory and tactic of the world proletariat, its Bolshevik world party and its affiliated Bolshevik parties of all countries, for the complete and final, revolutionary destruction of the entire global capitalist system, for the abolition of the world order of imperialism, for the realization of world socialism through the establishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat and finally for the attainment of the ultimate goal - the classless society of all mankind, world communism.

World Bolshevism is the lawful inevitability of the victory of Bolshevism on an international scale according to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Enver Hoxha, even after the world bourgeoisie could temporarily succeed with the help of revisionism in defeating Bolshevism in the Soviet Union and in Albania.

**The victory of World Bolshevism - that means the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a world scale.**

**The victory of World Bolshevism** - this means the victory of the world proletariat over the world bourgeoisie through the world proletarian revolution that emerges in the international class struggle and is led by the Comintern/ML and its sections.

**The victory of World Bolshevism** - this means the expropriation of all banks throughout the world, multinationals, world monopolies, capitalist private property - especially the world's natural and cultural treasures, the world's major international real estate, production sites and means of

production, etc. - means the end of the proletarian world revolution. - and finally, the abolition of the world order of capitalism through the establishment of a new world order - the economic world system of socialism.

**The victory of World Bolshevism** - that means the end of Wall Street and international stock market speculation, the final destruction of capitalist exploitation and oppression, the liberation of peoples from the slavery of world imperialism, the abolition of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the end of the division of the world into ruling and subordinated countries and nations, superpowers, competing blocs of power, etc. - this means for the first time in human history - freedom for all people - for every person.

**The victory of World Bolshevism** - that means the abolition of the inevitability of imperialist wars and the inevitability of the restoration of fascism all over the world - through the transition of the anti-global fascism struggle and the anti-war struggle against world imperialism into the struggle for the proletarian world revolution and the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat.

**The victory of World Bolshevism** - that means the basis for the secure future of the laboring masses all over the world, who no longer have to work in the capitalist front but create their own world for themselves without exploitation and oppression.

**The victory of World Bolshevism** - that means the world domination of the workers', peasants' and soldiers' councils of all countries and means the government of the international Soviet republic.

**The victory of world Bolshevism** - that means to save the revolutionary way of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin from the renewed slide into opportunism and to continue consistently on the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Enver Hoxha through the Comintern/ML, the successor organization of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin.

The victory of Bolshevism on a world scale has not yet been proven. But what has already been proven is the victory of Bolshevism outside its native country. Without defending Bolshevism in Russia AND Albania, without relying on it and being guided by it, the victory of Bolshevism on a world scale is impossible.

**The victory of world Bolshevism** - that means the realization of the [1928 Comintern Program](#) (in German) and the [Manifesto of the World Bolshevik Party](#) (in German).

**The victory of world Bolshevism** - that means the adherence to the [General Line of the Comintern/ML](#) (please refer to the German version as the English edition has yet to be fully translated) and the strategy and tactics of the proletarian, socialist world revolution as outlined

therein. (quoted from: Manifesto of the Party of World Bolshevism).

With just a mouse click, anyone who wants to learn what Bolshevism actually means, what Bolshevism is, and what Bolshevism wants can delve further into Bolshevism.

This is the only way to understand why we Bolsheviks have to distinguish ourselves from the "National Bolsheviks", why we have to understand "National Bolshevism" not as a special current of Bolshevism, but as an anti-Bolshevik current, which thus uses only Bolshevism and the names of Lenin and Stalin to better camouflage its anti-Bolshevik nature, i.e. to deceive the Bolsheviks and dazzle the masses.

In our **"Manifesto of the World Bolshevik Party"**, we had already taken a clear stand against "National Bolshevism":

Stalin, whose name the "National Bolsheviks" adorn themselves with, taught us **"that the Russian revolution is not a private cause of the Russians; that, on the contrary, it is the cause of the working class of the whole world, the cause of the world proletarian revolution."** (Stalin: 'Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism' in: 'Works', Volume 13; Moscow; 1954; p.96; English Edition).

And:

**"There can be nothing more disgusting, for even the professional slanderers in the Second International are beginning to understand that the consistent and thoroughly revolutionary internationalism of the Bolsheviks is a model of proletarian internationalism for the workers of all countries."** (ibid).

Stalin therefore regarded Bolshevism not only as something Russian or national but also as an international phenomenon. National Bolshevism, on the other hand, is a bourgeois, nationalist phenomenon and is therefore diametrically opposed to proletarian internationalism, to socialist world Bolshevism. The Bolsheviks founded and maintained the proletarian program in the national question (the right of self-determination of nations, unity of all organizations of the proletariat of all peoples of Russia; including the right to separate from Russia); They fought on two fronts, against the opportunist attitude of the "federation" (petty-bourgeois readings of cultural autonomy according to national principle, fragmentation of the proletariat into national groups) and against the Polish social-democrats (denial of the right of nations to self-determination, de facto support for Greater Russian chauvinism).

If we want to recapture Bolshevism, then we have to bring this national struggle, which the Bolsheviks then led on two fronts in Russia, to an end today on two WORLD fronts (against the

open and disguised petty-bourgeois opportunism, against nationalism, and against the open and disguised "Great Power" chauvinism [whereby Russian chauvinism is no less disgusting than European chauvinism!].

Without solving the international question, one cannot solve a single national question in the world today, with the joint and united struggle for national issues being an important contribution to the resolution of the international question and it can be definitively resolved, The national question can only be guaranteed as part of the resolution of the international question, which is the national question. We must never allow the Bolsheviks to be diverted from the socialist revolution by overvaluing the national question. For the Bolsheviks in the fight for socialism, for the National "Bolsheviks", the national struggle is the first priority:

**“It is ridiculous even to compare the struggle of the proletariat for socialism, a world phenomenon, with the struggle of one of the oppressed nations of Eastern Europe against the reactionary bourgeoisie that oppresses it...”** (Lenin: ‘Vekhi Contributors and Nationalism’ in: ‘Collected Works’, Volume 19; Moscow; 1977; p.73; English Edition).

But the international question can only be solved by the world socialist revolution, which in turn is based on the revolutionary, national liberation struggle against world imperialism.

As long as the bourgeoisie and its agents are in our ranks and "in the name of Bolshevism" try to attack us Bolsheviks, we will expose their tricks and beat them until we finally defeat them. We brand the slander of Bolshevism instead of making it the subject of discussion. Nobody can blame us when others betray Bolshevism. So we fight against anyone who tries to question Bolshevism or even tries to disfigure it.

## **The Objectives of World Bolshevism**

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle. The epoch of imperialism

is the epoch of dying capitalism - first in one country and then in the whole world, this epoch is the highest development of class struggles in human history. Both the imperialist wars and the realization of socialism in the Soviet Union and Albania accelerated and shortened the course of world history, replacing the capitalist world order with the socialist world order.

Today we have reached a point where the question of the world revolution has become a matter of practical solution, where the whole world faces the decisive battle: socialism or barbarism. In the history of the class struggle between the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat, the proletarians succeeded first in erecting the dictatorship of the proletariat in a single country through the victory of the October Revolution in Russia and the victory of the anti-fascist revolution in Albania. Thus, the legitimate demise of the world bourgeoisie was ushered in history, but not yet sealed in the first step worldwide. So the world proletarian revolution could not yet be brought to a victorious conclusion because the world bourgeoisie temporarily succeeded in defeating socialism in a single country and in regaining the power it had wrested from there and restoring capitalism. A single socialist country could still be trodden, but the proletarian world revolution will never be crushed by the world bourgeoisie. The laws of social development can neither be transformed nor canceled. The laws of political economy, whether in capitalism or socialism, are objective laws that reflect the lawfulness of processes of economic life that are independent of our will. With the help of Marxism-Leninism, the world proletariat is in a position to foresee the course of events in the economic life of peoples, that is, the possibility of taking the direction of the world economy into its own hands and actually starting it up. The development of socialism is thus a truth based on objective laws of social development. Socialism will one day conquer the world and no one will ever change that, in spite of present and past defeats and setbacks. We can not predict at what precise time, but we know with certainty that the world proletariat will transform world socialism into a historical fact, as well as the already proven fact of the creation of socialism in a single country by the proletariat in the Soviet Union and in Albania.

The difference between the world proletariat, on the one hand and the other classes in the world that have ever undergone major changes in the relations of production, on the other hand is that the class interests of the world proletariat merge with the interests of the overwhelming majority of the world population, for the proletarian world revolution does not mean the abolition of one or another form of exploitation in one or the other country, but the abolition of all exploitation in all countries of the world, while the revolutions of the other classes merely abolished this or that form in this or that country, and in doing so relies on the limited, narrow class interests that are in conflict with the interests of the majority of society.

In the future, world socialism will create a completely new class structure whose character has nothing in common with today's structure of classes in the capitalist world. All over the world, completely new classes will emerge, emerging in a revolutionary way from the overcoming of the old capitalist world through the consistent continuation of the class struggle under the conditions of world socialism.

The temporary victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat had also temporarily given birth to a completely new class structure in the history of humanity, the class structure of the socialist society of a single country. All the exploiting classes could actually be liquidated in the socialism of a single country. What remained were the working class, the peasants, and the intelligentsia. In the capitalist economic system, the means and instruments of production are still possessed by the capitalist class that exploited the proletariat. However, in the socialist Soviet Union and Socialist Albania, the capitalist class was known to have been liquidated, and the tools and means of production were in the hands of the workers, excluding any possibility of exploiting the working class. It was there that they realized what Karl Marx had once taught: To liberate themselves, the proletariat must crush the class of capitalists, take away from the capitalists the means of production and instruments, and destroy those relations of production which produce the proletariat. The proletariat of the Soviet Union and Albania became a completely new class, a socialist working class that destroyed the capitalist economic system, anchored socialist ownership of means and instruments of production, and guided socialist society on the path of communism.

The class of peasants, too, was transformed by socialism into a new quality. In the capitalist society, peasants constitute a class of small producers, belonging to the petty-bourgeoisie, which tends to sink into the proletariat because the livelihoods of the petty-bourgeoisie are progressively deprived by capitalism. Farmers are exploited with impunity by landowners, by agricultural capitalists, and increasingly by multinational monopolies of world agriculture. In the socialist society, the peasantry is freed from this exploitation. The economy of the peasantry was no longer based on private property, but on collective property, which developed on the basis of collective labor.

Socialism also produced a new laboring intelligentsia that had never been found anywhere on earth. In capitalism, and even in the pre-capitalist era, the intelligentsia served the rich and emerged predominantly from the classes of the rich. In the socialist society, where the exploiting classes no longer existed, the intelligentsia could no longer serve them. They served in the socialism of the working class, the people, and emerged predominantly from the new socialist classes.

In the new socialist class structure the capitalist lines of demarcation between the working class and the peasantry, as well as those between these classes and the intelligentsia, and the old capitalist class exclusivity disappeared. Characteristics of the socialist class structure were from the fact that, firstly, the distance between these social groups was decreasing and, secondly, that both the economic contradictions and the political contradictions between these social groups fell and became more and more blurred. Thus, the socialist class structure had remnants of the old class structure as well as features of the coming classless society and can justifiably be described as a class structure that represents the transition from the old class society to a new classless society - first on a national scale, then on an international scale.

The recent defeat of socialism shattered this new socialist class structure, but it left deep marks in capitalism so that today one can no longer simply speak of restored capitalism and its classical class structure in the traditional sense. In spite of all this, socialism has left its mark on the post-socialist development of capitalism. While capitalism has not changed in essence, the same laws of capitalism prevail, the old exploited and oppressed classes on the one hand, and the exploiting and oppressive classes on the other hand, but these classes have undergone development. Today, antagonistic class contradictions have intensified so much that exploitation and oppression worldwide will be taken to the extreme as never before in human history. To the same extent as the world bourgeoisie has developed, as the international monopoly and financial capital has developed, a great world proletariat has developed to the same extent. As the world bourgeoisie breaks down national barriers to increase its profits on a multinational scale, the proletarians of all countries are becoming ever closer and closer united to a closed world proletariat. The globalization of the world proletariat springs from the globalization of the world bourgeoisie. The national segregation and opposition of the peoples disappear more and more through the conditions created by the bourgeoisie. The rule of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and Albania has elevated the international class struggle to a higher level and has given great impetus to the development of the world proletarian revolution. The revolutionary world proletariat for the first time took the path of centrally organized internationalism. The united front of the world proletariat and the working class in the Soviet Union and Albania have created the first conditions for the international liberation of the proletariat and thus for the liberation of all peoples. With the opposition of the classes within the nation(s), the hostile position of nations falls against each other. The world proletariat has not only expanded enormously in numbers and spread across all countries of the world, but also increasingly united by the concentration and centralization of international finance capital. The Comintern has proved that with the growth and unification of the world proletarian class, the world proletarian class spirit, proletarian internationalism, was able to develop further. The consciousness of the world proletariat is systematically developed by the world Bolshevik Party and its sections into communist consciousness through the worldwide appropriation of Marxism-Leninism. Through the organized connection of the science of the world proletariat with the actual world workers movement, with the application of the ideas of proletarian internationalism in the internationally centralized class struggles, the world proletariat, with the leading role of the Bolshevik world party, creates the necessary subjective conditions for victory in the world proletarian revolution to liberate one country after another from capitalism. In the wake of the flare-up of international class struggles among the proletarians of all countries, capitalism can nowhere shake off as it did before, its paint is gone, for the once-existing socialism in the Soviet Union and Albania has in fact shortened and accelerated its mortality not only in the former Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, and in the Albania of Enver Hoxha themselves, but also on a world scale. Overall, world capitalism is in its deepest chronic world crisis, from which it can no longer free itself as easily as before. It is therefore a world crisis that announces not only the temporary end of capitalism in this or that country, but its final worldwide demise.

The classes of bourgeois society are therefore not abolished, but they have polarized enormously between world bourgeoisie and world proletariat. The globalization and polarization of classes in bourgeois society, these are the main features of class development in today's international bourgeois society. The world bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long process of dying, a series of worldwide crisis stages in production and traffic. Every stage of the economic crisis is accompanied by corresponding political world crises. The crisis of world imperialism is the crisis of the world bourgeoisie and its rule. In the two imperialist world wars, the imperialist world powers were fighting for power, now world imperialism itself is fighting for its survival and is bringing the whole world to its downfall. The bourgeoisie can less and less exist to the extent that it is less and less able to revolutionize the means of production and instruments of production, the relations of production, that is to say, all global social relations. This perpetual upheaval in production, the uninterrupted upheaval of all social conditions, the eternal insecurity and movement, distinguished the bourgeois era above all others. These features are increasingly turning the world bourgeoisie into a foundation for the downfall of their own epoch. The imperialists themselves, with their ever new annexations, will involve more and more peoples in the struggle against imperialism and thus broaden the basis of the world revolution.

The general crisis of the world capitalist system began in the period of the First World War, especially because the Soviet Union had fallen away from the capitalist system. That was the first epoch of the general crisis. In the period of the Second World War, the second stage of the general crisis developed, especially as Albania fell away and in other countries, the capitalist system was shaken. Only with the restoration of capitalism could world imperialism recover relatively, and then slipped into its deepest crisis. The first crisis in the period of the Second World War, the second crisis in the period of the Second World War, and the third, that is, the present period, must not be regarded as separate, independent crises, but as development stages of the general crisis of the capitalist world system. The general crisis of world capitalism was and is neither a political nor an economic crisis. It is a general, that is, the all-round crisis of the world capitalist system that covers both economics and politics. The fact that the decomposing power of socialism can no longer work at present does not, of course, erase or diminish the deepening of the all-around crisis of the world capitalist system. It works autonomously until it brings to the surface the revolutionary forces that will put an end to the crisis and thus to the world capitalist system itself, more completely and thoroughly than ever before.

The world bourgeoisie has cosmopolitanized the production and consumption of all countries through its exploitation of the world market, but has not only deprived capitalism of individual countries but is dragging its own ground under its feet with a gigantic global overproduction crisis. If it compelled all nations to accept the mode of production of the international monopoly capital, if they did not want to perish, it now compels itself to destroy this mode of production piece by piece according to the law of maximum profit.

In trade crises, a large part of it is not only the products produced but the already created

productive forces regularly destroyed and the crises breaks out in a worldwide social epidemic - the epidemic of overproduction. The world bourgeoisie can no longer overcome the world crisis. On the one hand, it destroys a mass of productive forces, on the other hand, it destroys the peoples for the purpose of conquering new markets or for the more thorough exploitation of old markets. As a result, she is not only preparing for ever more powerful crises but finally her own demise. The more the world bourgeoisie directs their weapons against the exploited and oppressed, the more it directs them against themselves.

The cyclical nature of capitalist development - growth and decline in production - will no longer be able to proceed once the world market has split and the spheres have narrowed, leaving the remaining major imperialist countries to exploit world resources. Production in these countries could only exist on a narrower basis, as the volume of production declined in these countries. The end of world capitalist production and appropriation is only a matter of time.

In place of the old local and national self-sufficiency and seclusion of universal intercourse, an international dependence of nations on each other now comes a self-sufficiency and seclusion of world imperialism towards the whole of humanity. World products will one day become the common property of all peoples of the world. From the proletarian gravediggers of capitalism in one country or the other becomes the international gravedigger of world capitalism. The world proletariat will not stand idly by until world imperialism ruins everything - and itself. The working class will come before this development and not perish with the world bourgeoisie but will rise to overthrow the world bourgeoisie. The world proletariat must therefore not miss a single favorable condition for the proletarian seizure of power in order to prevent the complete ruin of the world. The exploited and oppressed of today will be the rulers of tomorrow. The proletariat must therefore seize the initiative and, with its seizure of power, develop the world economy in accordance with plan and proportion instead of the law of international monopoly capital, in place of the law of ruinous competition and the anarchy of world production. It is only by strictly restricting the international spheres of influence of the law of value and its role as regulator of world production that the inevitability of the world-wide recurring capitalist overproduction crises can be overcome. The value system can be the regulator of production only in the presence of world capitalism, in the presence of private ownership of the world means of production, in the presence of competition, an anarchy of production and overproduction crises. The sphere of influence of the law of value is limited in the socialist world economy by the existence of worldwide ownership of the means of production, by the operation of the law of the planned development of the world economy. Value, like the law of value, is a historical category connected with the existence of commodity production. If the production of goods disappears, the value with its forms and the law of value disappear. Marxism-Leninism is based on the thesis that the transition from socialism to communism and the communist principle of distributing products according to needs excludes any exchange of goods, and consequently the transformation of product into a commodity and, at the same time, its transformation into value.

In the second phase of the communist society, the labor expended in the manufacture of the products will not be measured by detours, not by value and its forms, as was the case in commodity production, but directly and directly, by the amount of time, by the number of hours the manufacture of the products has taken. As far as the distribution of labor is concerned, the distribution of labor between international branches of production will not be regulated by the law of value, which will then no longer be in force, but by the growing demand of the world community for produce. This will be a world where production will be regulated by the needs of the entire world population, and where capturing the needs of the world's population will be of paramount importance to international planning bodies. Then the time of maximum profit, on which the whole economic law of capitalism revolves, will forever be a thing of the past. Marx said:

**"It is the constant aim of capitalist production to produce a maximum of surplus-value or surplus-product with the minimum capital outlay; and to the extent that this result is not achieved by overworking the workers, it is a tendency of capital to seek to produce a given product with the least possible expenditure— economy of power and expense. It is therefore the economic tendency of capital which teaches humanity to husband its strength and to achieve its productive aim with the least possible expenditure of means.**

**In this conception, the workers themselves appear as that which they are in capitalist production—mere means of production, not an end in themselves and not the aim of production."** (Marx, Engels: 'Theories of Surplus-Value', Part II; Moscow; 1968; p.547-548; English Edition).

As far as consumption is concerned, capitalism needs it only to the extent that it serves the purpose of creating profit. If one disregards this, then the question of the consumption of the world population for capitalism loses all meaning. Men with their needs disappear from the world of capitalism.

The purpose of world socialist production is not profit, but all the people of the world with their needs, that is, the satisfaction of their material and cultural needs. Engels formulated, after capitalism, **"the social anarchy of production gives place to a social regulation of production upon a definite plan, according to the needs of the community and of each individual. Then the capitalist mode of appropriation, in which the product enslaves first the producer and then the appropriator, is replaced by the mode of appropriation of the products that is based upon the nature of the modern means of production: upon the one hand, direct social appropriation, as means to the maintenance and extension of production—on the other, direct individual appropriation, as means of subsistence and of enjoyment."** (Engels: 'Anti-Dühring' in: 'Collected Works', Volume 25; Moscow; 1987; p.267; English Edition).

Then it is no longer about securing a maximum capitalist profit by exploiting, ruining, and

destroying the majority of the world population, by subjugating and systematically plundering the peoples of all countries, especially the colonial and neo-colonial countries, and by imperialist wars and militarization of the world economy for maximum profits.

Instead of securing maximum profits - ensuring the maximum satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of world society; instead of a crisis-driven decline in production with interruptions to the upswing - uninterrupted growth of production; instead of destruction of the world productive forces by imperialist wars and overproduction crises accompanied by periodic interruptions in the development of technology - continuous perfection of production on the basis of higher technology. The law of the planned development of the world economy can only be fully effective if it is based on the basic economic law of socialism, which operates both in a single country and on a world scale:

The purpose of socialist production is to ensure maximum satisfaction of the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the socialist world society; the means of attaining this purpose is the uninterrupted growth and uninterrupted perfection of socialist production on the basis of a supreme technique. That is the basic economic law of socialism.

As far as reproduction is concerned, Karl Marx assumed that his theory of reproduction could also be valid for socialist production. It must be noted that Karl Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Program" in the analysis of the economics of socialism and the transitional period to communism is based on the most important propositions of his theory of reproduction, which he considered obligatory for communist society. This also applies to Engels in his work "Anti-Dühring".

For the transition to world communism, at least three basic prerequisites must be met:

**1. Firstly**, it is necessary to ensure a steady growth of total world production with the preferential growth of production of means of production. A preferred growth of the production of means of production is necessary not only because it must supply the enterprises of the individual country as well as the enterprises in all other countries with equipment, but also because otherwise no extended international reproduction can take place.

**2. Secondly**, it is necessary, through gradual transitions, which must be advantageous for the single kolkhoz in one country, for the kolkhozes of all countries and, consequently, for the entire world population, to raise collective farm ownership to the level of general world ownership and commodity circulation, as well by means of gradual transitions, to replace by a system of product exchange among all countries, so that a central world authority or any other socio-economic world headquarters can gather and distribute all the products of world production in the interest of the world population.

**3. Thirdly**, it is necessary to achieve such a high level of cultural growth in the world socialist

society, which secures the universal development of all its physical and spiritual potential to all members of this world community, so that the members of the world socialist community can receive education sufficient for them to become active participants in the new societal world development and to enable them to choose freely in their field of activity and not to be tied to a specific field of activity throughout their lifetime, thanks to the existing division of labor between the various countries. For this, the individual socialist countries must have enough freedom and free time to further develop their cultural growth. These are the main conditions for the preparation of the transition to world communism. Only after fulfillment of all these conditions in their entirety is it to be hoped that the work in the eyes of all members of world socialism becomes a burden "the first need of life" (Karl Marx), that "work from a burden becomes a pleasure" (Friedrich Engels ), that the social property of all members of the socialist world community will be regarded as the unshakable and inviolable basis of existence of all humanity. Only after fulfilling all these preconditions in their entirety will one be able to pass from the socialist formula "each according to his abilities, each according to his merit" to the communist formula "each according to his abilities, to each one according to his needs". This will be the fundamental transition from an economics of world socialism to another, higher economics, to the economics of world communism.

As for the planning of the world economy on the basis of a unified political economy of world socialism, it can only achieve positive results if two conditions are met:

- a) if it correctly reflects the requirements of the law of the planned development of the world economy,
- b) if in everything it complies with the demands of the economic law of socialism.

While the political economy examines the laws of development of the relations of production in the world, the socialist world economic policy draws practical conclusions from them, concretizes them and builds their daily work on them. The subjects of the political economy are the relations of production, the economic conditions of the people in all countries of the world. These include: a) the forms of ownership of the means of production; b) the position of the various social groups in production and their interrelations, or, as Marx says, the way in which they 'exchange their activity'; c) the forms of distribution of the product, which depend entirely on them. All this together forms the object of the political world economy. Just as world capitalism can only have one basic economic law, so world socialism can only have one basic economic law.

What applies to the correspondence between the productive forces and the relations of production in the economy of the individual socialist country is even more pronounced for the socialist world economy. If in the socialism of a single country there were a retardation of the productive relations behind the growth of the productive forces and the productive forces are, as we all know, the most agile and revolutionary forces of production-these also precede the social relations of production. Only after some time the production relations are formed around the world in such a way that

corresponds to the character of the productive forces, we arrive at the perfect agreement of the relations of production and the character of the productive forces. The role of the new relations of production in the economy of world socialism is not the role of a stumbling block, which must be overcome by increasing the productive forces. On the contrary, the new relations of production in the world are precisely the most important and decisive power, which is in the main determinant of the further and, moreover, powerful development of the productive forces, and without which the productive forces would be condemned to vegetate, as is presently the case in the capitalist countries. Case is. The productive forces of the world can develop only when the world proletarian revolution has triumphed when it has been possible to replace the old, capitalist relations of production with new socialist relations of production. Without this upheaval in the relations of production, in the economic conditions of the world, the world-productive forces in world socialism would vegetate as well as in world capitalism. Of course, the new relations of production can not and will not remain forever new. They begin to age, gradually come into contradiction with the further development of the productive forces, they begin to lose the role of the main driving force of the productive forces and turn into their drag. Then, in place of such old production relations, new relations of production emerge, the role of which is to be the main driving force of the further development of the productive forces. This peculiarity of the development of the relations of production from the role of a stumbling block of the productive forces to the role of their main motive force and the role of the main motive power to the role of a stumbling block of the productive forces is one of the main elements of the Marxist, materialist dialectic. The property question is the fundamental question of the revolutionary world movement of the proletariat.

In socialism, the solution of the contradictions between relations of production and productive forces does not usually lead to antagonistic contradictions and class conflicts, because there are possibilities of reconciling the remaining relations of production with the character of the productive forces. In socialism, there are no more exploiter classes, but only remnants that try to organize the resistance. Therefore, the task is to lift these contradictions, for example, through the collective ownership of public property and public property in turn to world-owned property and through the - also gradually increasing - an introduction of product exchange, which must take the place of commodity circulation worldwide. The danger of the restoration of capitalism naturally remains as long as there are classes, so the class struggle will remain a necessary instrument for avoiding or overcoming conflicts between remaining production relations behind the character of the productive forces. The exploitation of economic laws in a class society always and everywhere has class-like backgrounds, even in the socialist world economy, in which the dictatorship of the world proletariat prevails. As the standard-bearer of economic laws in the interest of the world community, the world proletariat appears as the most progressive class, while the decaying classes, especially the world bourgeoisie, oppose it. The class struggle under the conditions of world socialism cannot be compared with the extent to which class struggle in a single socialist country. In spite of the heightened violence of the international class struggle, the world bourgeoisie finds in its course fewer and fewer opportunities and areas of regeneration, from where it can turn back the wheel of history - just when the world proletariat is determined and

vigilant, its power will never again be in its hands.

If in the course of the development of class differences on a world scale disappear and all production is concentrated in the hands of the associated individuals, public power loses its political character. Political violence in the true sense is the organized power of one class to oppress another. If the world proletariat in the fight against the world bourgeoisie necessarily unites itself to the international class, makes itself the ruling class on the whole earth by the world revolution and violently abolishes the old production relations of world capitalism as a ruling class, it lifts with these relations of production the conditions of existence of the class antagonism. the classes in general, and with it their own rule as a class. The place of the old bourgeois world with its classes and class antagonisms is replaced by a world association in which the free development of every inhabitant of the earth is the condition for the free development of all inhabitants of the earth. [2005]

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