



Ausschuss des  
Zentralkomitee für  
**Internationale  
Beziehungen**

– *Statement* –  
*Translation*

**No handshake with this or that class enemy will save us,  
only the dictatorship of the united proletariat  
will save humanity from misery**

*or: War on war! and why also the Donbass workers better rely on themselves and all experience of class struggles*

Eight years ago it happened, what many thought impossible after the temporary defeat of socialism: In the middle of Europe, in the proud Donets Basin, once a cradle of proletarian revolution and the industrial base of the Soviet Union, workers rose up, armed themselves, organized resistance to the coup in Kiev (financed and organized mainly from Germany and the USA), to their further expropriation and subjugation under the greed for profit of old imperialists and new oligarchs. Spontaneously, without leadership, but nevertheless shaped by the experience of generations of socialist construction and in the knowledge that the people had built up in 70 years what the oligarchs had robbed from them and ruined in a few years<sup>1</sup>. The proletariat had not forgotten the past, it remembered what was. And this spontaneous uprising will not be the last one to happen - especially among those peoples who had already glimpsed the new world - until the new world is born again.

Wherever revolution raises its head, wherever workers question the existing "order" and seek ways out of barbarism in practical struggle, we must generalize the experience and draw conclusions to help the world proletariat on the road to revolution and humanity on the road to liberation<sup>2</sup>. Let us try to draw some conclusions.

The development in the territory of the former USSR shows: To this day, the different peoples of the former Soviet Union are intimately connected to each other despite secession. They face the same economic and political challenges. Their main enemy is this marauding "new bourgeoisie", which after the counterrevolution nowhere has managed and cannot manage to become capitalist exploiters of wage labor and an independent capitalist class. Only the undisguised robbery of the people's property, natural resources and peoples lives and hopes keeps this "new bourgeoisie" alive - just as long as until one smashes the skull of the other. The cause of this civil war among the oligarchs and against the people lies in the crushing and fragmentation of the USSR and its economy. This dismemberment was made possible and caused by the coming to power of a "new bourgeoisie". It made the expropriation of the people's property by a gang of looters emerging from the CPSU possible in the first place. The counterrevolution not only

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<sup>1</sup> Thus, the revolt of large parts of the poorer population in the rest of Ukraine was initially characterized by a rejection of rampant corruption, the enrichment of a few at the expense of the people, and oligarchic despotism, and bore anti-capitalist features. Until it was taken over by oligarchic, fascist and foreign forces.

<sup>2</sup> Of course, we also have to check whether the mixed situation of the class struggle in this or that country, under these or those conditions, can produce new steps on this path, which, however, in any case has to lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat, if it wants to be successful, if it does not want to stop halfway, if it does not want to be beaten back again.

installed the "autocracy" of this clique of labor murderers on the already liberated sixth of the earth. It also helped the old imperialism to put the redivision of the world back on the agenda. This redivision started with the annexation of the German Democratic Republic by German imperialism, with the destruction of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. It opened the gates for imperialism to raid the people's property, raw materials, land and labor of the Soviet people and to devastate whole regions. On this occasion, imperialism also partially eliminated the competition of the oligarchy. Where this was not immediately successful, the oligarchy was turned into the "5<sup>th</sup> column" and degraded to mere beneficiaries of imperialist occupation as the "comprador bourgeoisie". No opportunity was missed to keep fomenting civil war through loans, export of capital and goods, arms, mercenaries, occupation and murder. No opportunity was missed to increase profits in the destruction and to further prepare the coming imperialist world war. (German imperialism is no exception; on the contrary, for years it was the spearhead of the economic and political subjugation of the former popular democratic and socialist countries of Europe. Until U.S. imperialism overtook). The current war in Ukraine did not begin in February 2022, nor in 2014. It began when the counterrevolution presented the former socialist and people's democratic countries as a fat prey, it began when thereupon the distribution struggle for this prey started, it began with an aggression against the former Soviet Union, which also started from Berlin, Brussels and Washington and aims at the economic and political subjugation. The cause of the current war lies in the counterrevolution and a decades-long war against the proletariat and socialism.

The development further shows that the return to capitalism could not bring "flourishing landscapes" to the good dozen "successor states" of the USSR, which once fulfilled the greatest achievements collectively; no building of an independent national economy in these territories, it shows that the majority of them are incapable of producing a capitalist central state. These successor states have been perishing for 30 years while their oligarchs were struggling for the bigger piece of the prey or completely subordinated themselves to imperialism. This collective of states was centralized during the Soviet times, the national economy, the raw material base, the production and distribution in the USSR were oriented to the needs of the 300 million Soviet citizens in all parts of the country with their different starting conditions. So much centralized that in the secessionist areas no independent economic development within the national framework is possible, much too centralized to give the "new bourgeoisie" the possibility of still becoming a national bourgeoisie in their own rights and being able to stand against imperialism. Similarly, today, after 70 years of common struggle, common life, common economy, the proletariat of the Soviet Union has no chance to escape barbarism without its class brothers from Lwiw to Vladivostok, it has no chance in a "separate state", without the common struggle as a class for a common future. To redeem humanity from misery is a task that only the dictatorship of the united proletariat can fulfil. *"From time to time the workers win, but only temporarily. The real result of their struggles is not immediate success, but the ever-widening unification of the workers. [...] But it requires mere union to centralize the many local struggles of the same character everywhere into a national, into a class struggle."*<sup>3</sup>

This is what our struggles must be directed to and measured by, their only goal being the preparation of the revolution until the liberation of all humanity - especially in the former USSR.

But there is no liberation without complete revolution, without the complete disempowerment of the exploiters, without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without the complete seizure of production by the immediate producers. The working class can accept a double power only for a short time, otherwise it cannot resist the onslaught of reaction. A regionally limited uprising of the proletariat can withstand reaction economically, as an economic area independent of capitalism for a short time at best. This is especially true on the territory of the former Soviet Union; here, the economic base, which stems from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, more or less precludes the construction of a self-sufficient socialist

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<sup>3</sup> Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels: Manifesto of the Communist Party

economy on a small scale<sup>4</sup>. The nationalization of industry is not possible here<sup>5</sup> in harmony with the bourgeois layer of oligarchs; it immediately requires the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the dictatorship of the proletariat, or even the establishment of people's power, does not become reality without the struggle against the entire clique of rulers, without the conquest of power in the whole country<sup>6</sup>. Where the proletariat rises - especially in the field of counterrevolution - all levers must be set in motion to win the entire people to its cause, to unite the class across "national" borders or at least to prevent the respective locally ruling oligarchic stratum from fighting against the liberating working class. We, communists in Germany, have done too little to impede German imperialism's renewed ride to the East and its enslavement of the workers of the former People's Democracies and the USSR. We did not send the German foreign minister packing when he made the coup in Kiev presentable and honorable in the first place. We did not prevent the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and all the other organizations of German capital from interfering in internal affairs. We were unable to get the German trade unions to take serious action when the workers' organizations in Ukraine were smashed and burned, or mobilize the workers against blackmail attempts by granting credits and send weapons from Germany. This would have made it easier for the workers in Ukraine and the entire Soviet Union to fight for their cause – which is ours as well.

Further it is to be stated: The events of the last years in the East of Ukraine show what enormous sacrifices humanity has to pay when the one force is missing or only in the process of being rebuilt, whose task would be to lead the class, to work out the revolutionary strategy and the tactical steps in the struggle and to give the right answers - the Communist Party. Those events also prove that a working class that has already made the revolution and built socialism, does not forget. Does not forget that the way out of barbarism is through overcoming lethargy towards unification of the fighting class. That the working class needs its own organs of power to approach power in the entire state.

In the Donbass, first measures in this direction were taken, and in the defensive struggle against autocratic tyranny with its borrowings from fascism, the search for a way out of the decades-long civil war of the oligarchy on the backs of the peoples, which went beyond a mere "No pasarán" was evident. The hastily appointed popular militias were sometimes a motley bunch, including also reactionary currents, but the partial arming of workers and people also was an act of seizure of power by the proletariat. The hastily formed "soviets" could in this form not yet be organs of power of the proletariat, not those soviets that once brought liberation from exploitation. But they could have become a germinal form of the new order, had the proletariat staffed them from its own ranks and made them organs of its own class interests, instead of the old organs of parliamentarism with a new label. And, above all, had the proletariat not been content to wage the struggle against the armed militias of the central Ukrainian oligarchs and instead had been able to wage the civil war at the same time against the disguised "bourgeoisie" of the new underclass of profiteers in its own ranks and the greedy finger-licking Russian oligarchy. That should have been the main goal. Instead, in the spatially limited area of the uprising, the local layer of the ruling class remained at the levers of power - only a few had to go, and others came in their place.

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<sup>4</sup> Because even the working class cannot accomplish what the material basis does not provide: The construction of an independent economy, of a largely self-sufficient industrial production in Section I with a national infrastructure to build socialism and to satisfy the needs of the people on a piece of earth that is still shaped by the central economy of the USSR across all republics and all time zones

<sup>5</sup> A different development towards revolution may still be possible in some countries in Asia, Africa or Latin America.

<sup>6</sup> Of course, the uprising does not begin simultaneously in the entire country, but the Paris Commune of 1871 failed mainly because it limited the uprising to a small corner of the earth and merely drove the bourgeoisie from there. The October Socialist Revolution drew the lesson from this and set out to liberate not Petrograd and Moscow, but the entire prison of peoples of tsarism from the entire exploiting class. Similar political revolutionary bodies in Germany or Hungary after World War I did not claim to establish workers power in one city or one region. The Chinese People's Revolution created liberated areas, established people's power there, but with the aim of liberating the entire country. This is how - according to the current knowledge of our movement - the new world is born and not otherwise.

Despite many Soviet people remembering that there is no way out of exploitation except the seizure of the means of production by the people themselves: Even the discussion that rightly began in Donetsk and Lugansk about the nationalization of the oligarchs' looted property<sup>7</sup> was primarily an expression of the economic struggle against individual robbers, not against robbery per se. It did not help and end in controlling all production and subduing the oligarchs by the workers, but only to redistribution in the camp of the oligarchy. And it quickly became apparent that the "Donetsk and Lugansk People's Republics" were precisely not people's republics and could not be on this path, that the people were not in charge, that it was again only about the interests of a small layer of uprivers on this side and on the other side of the border with Russia and not about the interests of people.

While union halls and party offices were burning in Ukraine, shells were flying at kindergartens and residential neighborhoods, and the model democracies of the West were demanding the territorial integrity of feigned democratic Ukraine, the Lugansk and Donetsk regions were declaring themselves sovereign states, invoking the right of self-determination, no longer wanting to be part of a country oppressed by imperialism, bled dry by oligarchs and terrorized by their fascist gangs<sup>8</sup>. Among the people there was a legitimate desire for a decent life and they estimated that this was not possible within the current borders of Ukraine. In the proletariat, however, the understanding that a decent life is not possible at all without a struggle against capitalism has not yet taken hold, nor that a development towards liberation within the narrow limits of the Donbass. Thus, what was necessary was lost: the uprising was not extended to the whole of Ukraine, the struggle against the country's overall oligarchy was not waged (the conditions were not unfavorable in view of a temporarily paralyzed apparatus of power); links with the workers in Russia, among other places, were not established and the struggle was not centralized and coordinated so that, among other things, the Russian oligarchy would be neutralized at least to some extent. The principle of the "right to separation" of each people, which we communists always uphold, is difficult to apply to the "autonomy movement" in a region of today's Ukraine. Not only because the separation of the workers and the people from the already separate state of Ukraine does not enable liberation from the Ukrainian counterrevolution, if this separation is accompanied by subjugation to another counterrevolution, the Russian counterrevolution. It is not the way to abolish the separate states under the counterrevolution and come closer to unification in the form of a renewed Soviet Union<sup>9</sup>. It rather shows the still given weakness of the workers and wider popular strata on one third of the "state territory" of Ukraine to defeat the Ukrainian reaction and the mercenaries of imperialism, including those of the USA and all NATO powers, together with all workers of Ukraine. This would afterwards make it possible to help that the workers in Russia also defeat their own aggressors more easily - on the revolutionary way of liberation from counterrevolution in all former republics of socialism on the territory of the USSR.

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<sup>7</sup> While in the rest of Ukraine the biggest privatization program, the biggest sell-off of the remaining "people's property" after the open counterrevolution had just been launched.

<sup>8</sup> And here it was not Brexit-stricken Scottish industrialists, crisis-stricken Catalan petty bourgeoisie, or nationalism-stricken Kosovars who cried out for independence. And it was not only the disadvantaged middle capitalists in the Donbass or Russian oligarchs clamoring for more, but also the working population hoping for independent development and a small, more conscious part that wanted an anti-capitalist development

<sup>9</sup> The right to secession, which follows indispensably from the right to self-determination, if one does not want to recognize it only formally, is a democratic right, not an absolute right, which the communists always have to examine concretely, like every democratic right: *"In contrast to the petty-bourgeois democrats, Marx saw in all democratic demands, without exception, not something absolute, but a historical expression of the struggle of the masses against feudalism, led by the bourgeoisie. ... In practice, the proletariat can preserve its independence only if it subordinates the struggle for all democratic demands, not excluding the republic, to the revolutionary struggle for the defeat of the bourgeoisie. ... The individual demands of democracy, among them the right of self-determination, are nothing absolute, but a small part of the general-democratic (now: general-socialist) world movement. It is possible that in individual concrete cases the part contradicts the whole, then one must reject the part."* (Lenin, The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Self-Determination of Nations - Theses, January-February 1916)

Only a small, more conscious part did not want a "separate state," a demarcated territory and the further dismemberment of the destroyed Soviet Union, but wanted the economic, political, social and territorial conditions back which the workers themselves had abandoned: a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. They knew that a small autonomous republic would not give them any economic advantage. The voices that sought the way out in an "alliance" with the Russian oligarchs prevailed. And also those who hoped for salvation from "big brother" in the face of daily shelling from Ukrainian and Western weapons. Instead of fighting the entire oligarchy, the proclamation of new bourgeois states, a "Union of People's Democracies" in "Novorossiia" under the protection of the Russian oligarchy prevailed. Such an undertaking is impossible because the formation of nation-states is impossible at the end of capitalism, in its imperialist stage, because the economic base on the territory of the USSR makes nation-states impossible, because - limited to the choice between bombs from Kiev and subordination to Moscow - they were doomed from the beginning. Impossible also because this is not conducive to the advance of the revolution.

A working class in struggle will always make mistakes - even more so without scientific leadership. One mistake, in a civil war fought with heavy weapons and real front lines, can be to place false hopes in false friends. This only points out once again the need for a party that makes it difficult for the class enemy and war aggressor to deceive the proletariat and the peoples about its anti-people intentions. The incorporation of the Donets Basin into the Russian Federation and its subjugation to the Russian oligarchy began with the day of the proclamation of "independent states". It then started with all kinds of bribes, with bilateral agreements, the issuance of Russian passports, the alignment of the administration and the judiciary, the installation of Russian officials in Donetsk. It is nearing its end today (while other territories are already preparing to join the Russian Federation). The workers of the Donbass have gained nothing by this, they are merely exchanging the yoke of exploitation by Ukrainian oligarchs for the yoke of exploitation by Russian oligarchs. Neither their social situation, nor the organization of the class, nor the initial conditions for a renewed revolutionary uprising have improved. The effort to free themselves from the rule of the few over the vast majority suffered a defeat because the workers did not form their organs of power, could not connect with their class brothers across the (territorial) border. The attempt to get back to the future by means of a declaration of autonomy failed. The old nationalism prevailed over "Proletarians of all countries, unite!". And after eight years of "People's Republic" and the invasion of Russian troops (and largely destroyed production facilities in the conquered territories), we are even further away from the fraternization of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the re-establishment of a union of states without exploitation and national oppression

What do we learn from this? For it is not only in the Donbass that the masses of the dispossessed are currently rebelling against the intolerable conditions into which imperialism and, not least, the bourgeois parties coming out of the Communist Parties, this corpse of revisionism, have plunged this world. Hunger revolts all over the globe and mass protests against the effects of the world economic crisis and inflation have become the daily routine of a moribund social order. The working class is not yet consciously going into battle, but the class struggles are gaining sharpness. And it is precisely the workers coming out of socialism who, still more intuitive than organized, are again increasingly orienting themselves toward the nationalization of key industries, forming their own struggle committees, raising the question of power in the state.

The peoples will free themselves from the yoke of imperialism - no question about that. The question rather is how quickly and how many sacrifices they are willing to pay along the way. What matters is to learn the lessons of our defeats in the interest of the world proletariat, to be prepared for the next onslaught, to minimize the victims and to put an end to the destruction by finally giving the death blow to capitalism, which has long been languishing. What matters for the moment is to state at least: Even in

2022, we cannot save ourselves in the arms of one or another oligarch or the fallacy of "independent states." There is still nothing left but to trust in one's own strength and to transform the war of the oligarchs into a civil war against the foundations of exploitation. But there is no liberation from exploitation without the whole revolution, without the dictatorship of the proletariat. And the road to this leads through the reconstruction of a Marxist-Leninist party of struggle and must be directed against any compromise with the ruling class, against any nationalism and fully towards the unification of the proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples. In this sense we have to lead the struggle in the communist world movement and to carry out agitation and propaganda in front of and inside the factories, in the streets and squares. To this end we must build up the attitude in the proletariat that the never-ending world economic crisis, mass dismissals and mass impoverishment and the permanent war against the proletariat are not an expression of the strength of the imperialist world system, but its death bell. That for its overthrow not much more is needed than the organizational union of a working class that becomes aware of its power again, takes the lead in the struggle against misery and barbarism and leads it in such a way that in everything there is the struggle for the whole - against government, capital and the cursed war of this last exploiting society that prepares the third world war. In this way and in this way only the new world is born! This way is taken when the proletarian revolution with the annihilation of all class enemies leads the peoples to victory over exploitation, to socialism - on the whole territory of the victorious October Revolution and worldwide.

For this we stand and have been rebuilding the KPD for over 54 years now, so that the German working-class movement turns against its main enemy, German imperialism, this chronic aggressor of another world war, and thus becomes part of the revolution of the world proletariat and takes a due place in it.

Workers` League for the reconstruction of the KPD  
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