

PROGRAMMATIC DECLARATION



FREE GERMAN YOUTH

Adopted
at the extraordinary parliament
of the Free German Youth
June 2021

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Preamble

For all who more than only desire a better world

1. The Free German Youth is a revolutionary, socialist organization of working class youth. It is part of the revolutionary world movement of the proletariat. The FDJ makes its contribution in the struggle of the proletariat against exploitation and oppression of man by man. The FDJ fights for the goal of the proletariat of all countries to establish socialism and thus to continue the path to the liberation of all mankind.

The FDJ, as an organization in two countries, the annexed GDR and the FRG, leads the revolutionary struggle of the working class, working people and learning youth on these two fronts against German imperialism. It organizes this struggle in schools, factories, training

workshops, universities and colleges, as well as in the neighborhoods, in the leisure associations of the youth and in the organizations of the workers' movement, especially the trade unions.

The Free German Youth came into being in the struggle against Hitler's fascism, as a necessary unification of youth associations and groups that fought against the German war and fascism.

The FDJ stands up for the unification of revolutionary youth in one federation as the fastest way to create a revolutionary mass organization of working class and working people youth in the annexed GDR and FRG - the most effective contribution of working class and working people youth to the struggle for proletarian revolution.

2. Our struggle is not based on wishes and feelings, but on the knowledge of reality, on the criticism of the existing bourgeois society from the point of view and with the means of the science of the proletariat, of dialectical materialism - in order to open the way to the new era

from this criticism of the existing society.

Dialectical materialism, Marxism-Leninism, has developed from the class struggles of human history, has worked out the foundations for the possibility and the way of the victory of socialism, has led the proletariat to victories, has opened ways out of defeats for it.

To open up this knowledge of their class, their view on the world, their culture to the proletarian and working people children and youth through active participation in the class struggle is the education, the school of the revolutionary youth. The FDJ and its members are teachers and learners in this school.

3. The bourgeoisie has created all the conditions for its own downfall. It created the battlefield, the weapons and the army of the proletarian revolution. Its rule destroys the life of all oppressed classes and peoples. The class of the proletariat, the fighting peoples and their youth must take up arms only to overthrow the minority that stands in the way of their liberation. The FDJ is a section of the world revolution. It stands by the side of

the fighting workers and peoples to finally end the numbered days of the bourgeoisie.

**The most beautiful thing is to make
the revolution!**

I.

Socialism and dying capitalism

1. The world we live in is dominated by imperialism, capitalism in its highest and last stage. The monopolization of whole economic sectors has replaced the age of free competition. Huge monopolies and monopoly groups rule over production, trade, resources, labour-power, over the conditions and results of production processes worldwide. National competitors are reduced, international competition grows. The accumulated capital is overflowing and is looking for more and yet more profitable investment opportunities all over the planet. In the ruling class, a few capitalist monopolists are dominant. They form a financial oligarchy of a few financial conglomerates and billionaire families. They

possess the accumulated capital mountains of wealth, dominate all major raw material deposits, production sites, commercial intersections, stock exchanges and financial centers worldwide. They have the power in the state, secure domination over peoples, nations and whole groups of states. The world is divided among them. The competition drives the monopolies into a relentless fight against each other which inevitably leads to imperialist war and ultimately to world war. The exploitation, the misery, the oppression and bondage of the working class, of the peoples, especially of their youth, keeps increasing worldwide. The petty bourgeoisie, the middle class, the small producers are threatened every day in their existence by the superior competitors. Imperialism is dying capitalism. With sheer force the financial oligarchy, the useless, parasitic monopoly bourgeoisie, clings to its rule.

With the Socialist October Revolution, the proletariat broke its chains for the first time. And thus brought the struggle for the liberation of all mankind into a new stage, the stage of world revolution. With world war and

world revolution, imperialism plunged into a general crisis, not only economic, but a crisis that shook the whole capitalist society. For decades imperialism tried to smash the socialist camp. But a military smashing of socialism, a smashing from the outside, the bourgeoisie never accomplished. Only when bourgeois forces within the socialist states succeeded in organizing themselves, in gaining the upper hand in society, economy, state and party, only when there was such a New Bourgeoisie, born out of the conditions of socialism itself, only then did the bourgeoisie, the old one together with the new one, did the counterrevolution succeeded in doing internally what civil war, fascism, world war, coup and invasion could not succeed in doing from the outside: the temporary defeat of socialism. The supposed victors declared the history of mankind to be over. Old and New Bourgeoisie seemed to be again undisputed rulers of the world. They captured gigantic factories and industrial plants that far surpassed those of the old capitalism in concentration and scale, vast quantities of raw materials, millions of highly educated workers and huge markets.

But instead of a new invigorating springtime, the death struggles of dying capitalism are becoming more and more violent. The supposed victors could tear the red flags from the factories, smash the empty shell that was left of the states of workers and peasants, but they cannot change the world back to what it was before socialism. The supposed victors can write history, color it, falsify it, but they cannot turn it back. The huge factories of socialist industry are not profitable for the capitalist mode of production. But the peoples know, under their rule they were valuable and productive. The vast quantities of labor cannot be brought into new capitalist production, the remaining sales markets shrink all the more the misery, the pauperism, spreads. But the peoples know: only then can they themselves determine the conditions and results of their work, only then can they be their own masters, when they hold the political power in their own hands. The robber gangs are left only with the robbery of natural resources, to plunder what the people's property has left behind, until the land is bled to the point of uninhabitability. Whole areas are de-

stroyed and devastated by this robbing bourgeoisie, they cannot build new "flourishing landscapes". The peoples who were able to shake off colonialism with the support of the Socialist States fall back under the complete domination by imperialism. But the old colonial system cannot be re-established, the conquests are stalled. Instead of sources of raw materials, labor and secure markets, everlasting battlefields develop and whole states become garbage dumps and economic deserts. Capitalism is not experiencing a new springtime. Quite the contrary, the temporary defeat of socialism did not lead imperialism out of the general crisis at all. Instead, it shows to all the world the total inability of this last one of those class societies, based on the exploitation of man by man, to renew itself or to revive itself. Infirmity, war, expulsion, hunger and misery have never been so severe in the history of humankind as today despite the most modern productive forces that could actually be at the disposal of humanity. This social order is neither able to feed the whole of humanity, nor to provide it with a sensible supply, infrastructure and development. The pro-

ductive forces applied capitalistically are destroying the living conditions of peoples, and the basis of life on the planet. Usury and speculation are increasingly becoming the last profitable use that monopolistic capital can find. The capitalists are less and less able to exploit the oppressed classes. They are increasingly less able to expand their production. The worldwide army of their "dispensables", their "futures", their "unusables" is getting ever larger. The destruction of the environment is getting worse. Ever greater crises occur. They are ever less able to overcome them again. Increasingly, they see the only possibility for maximum profit in war, in robbery, in the destruction of the wealth that the working class has created. They are less and less able to fight the competition with seemingly peaceful means, increasingly often military means are necessary for the enforcement of their interests. The last resort of the rulers out of the ever deepening general crisis of capitalism is the imperialist world war. For the sake of a short extension of their period of rule, they bring society from stagnation and decay to the brink of extinction.

2. The German bourgeoisie was still weak, fragmented and underdeveloped when its competitors had long since conquered the world. Its own bourgeois revolution left the power of the feudal aristocracy and the church largely untouched. The German bourgeoisie avoided forming an alliance with the developing working class and peasants against feudalism, preferring to seek an alliance with the old and outmoded, coming to terms with the squires and nobles, the stone-reactionary caste of militarism and provincialism. In this alliance German imperialism was born of the blood and iron of the Prussian war machine. Through conquest and subjugation, with the clamor of blood and soil bound to a crippled nation, instead of growing out of a popular revolution. This is how German imperialism came into being, as a too-late robber among robbers, particularly reactionary from the beginning, claiming its place through megalomania. No robbery was and is enough for it to challenge the other robbers. No atrocity, no crime is too terrible to restrain the greed of German imperialism for the wealth

of other peoples. It has brought terror, million-fold murder and barbarism upon the peoples. Twice it turned Europe into rubble and ashes.

With Hitler-fascism, the most disgusting and reactionary features of this beast were revealed: the industrial mass murder in the concentration camps, the penitentiary and military drill, servile subordination, master race ideology and the merciless subjugation and extermination of all so-called subhumans. The devastation left to the peoples of the world by this chapter of German history is immeasurable. It was the peoples who defeated German fascism. But not for good. Only in the East of Germany the anti-fascist forces under the leadership of the working class defeated German imperialism by putting the Potsdam Agreement into practice. The Adenauer reaction in the West, on the other hand, tore the German nation apart, used the separatist interests of the imperialist occupying powers to keep German imperialism alive so that the German monopoly lords themselves would again become strong enough to unleash Greater German madness against the world. In two German states the

world contradiction between socialism and imperialism, between peace and war, between liberation and subjugation clashed. Whoever opens the door to the aggressor reaps ruin. West Germany, the frontline state of war and revanchism against socialism, in which the builders and profiteers of Auschwitz continued to hold rank, posts and offices, annexed the GDR. Thus ended the postwar period in Europe. German imperialism smashed the state organs of the GDR and plundered all the people's property. Greater Germany was unleashed. The annexation of the GDR was followed by a grab for the countries of Eastern Europe and the domination of the EU. This required an apparatus of powers that guaranteed an absolute ability to wage war, both internally and externally. Homeland security under military command, central paramilitary federal and secret police apparatuses, a standing army for use at home and abroad, the dismantling of democratic rights, nationalistic "völkisch" state despotism, emergency governments and authorizations against parliaments created the state of emergency of the Republic. The decisive lever and the greatest support in

the hands of reaction to put an end to the democratic republic.

In order to carry out a new predatory war, the most reactionary and aggressive monopoly leaders have prepared with this reactionary state reconstruction the transition to the open rule of force by fascism, the most extreme means of the monopolistic rulers to maintain their domination. They need fascism to unleash terror upon the working class and the people, persecution and the harshest oppression. Twice already German imperialism has unleashed a world war in order to step out of its position of having-come-too-late and to subjugate its rivals. It needs more urgently than ever a solid warmachine, to be capable to wage war both inwardly and outwardly again. The great crashes of the never-ending crises drive ruined and desperate masses from the petty bourgeoisie to revolt. They stand between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between revolution and counter-revolution, tend to cling desperately to the existing order because of their economic position in production, and yet will see no way out without a fighting proletariat-

at. In the chaos of crises and governmental affairs in this period of the collapse of bourgeois society, the monopoly bourgeoisie's call for order becomes ever louder. But history does not repeat itself, fascism moves with the times. With the reactionary state apparatus the German philistines and fire raisers are organized, who in their master race ideology are ready to rob for the German monopolists three times as much as those very monopolists have taken from them. They are once again ready to march all the way to Moscow or perhaps in the other direction - no matter whether under the pretext of nation and race or in the name of freedom and lead culture. The fascist gathering movement feeds itself from the reactionary dregs, which the counterrevolution had flushed upwards in the GDR, but which the Treuhand had left empty-handed, the northern German big farmer, the failed petty bourgeois, the frightened German philistine and the new Prussian official. Between the camps of the AfD, CSU and the most reactionary parts of the CDU, the battle for supremacy in this fascist gathering movement is currently raging. But all are closely interlocked

with police, military and secret services. All want to emerge from the struggle for supremacy as a force of order for the monopoly bourgeoisie, ready to pursue its goals by any criminal means.

For 40 years, German imperialism directed great efforts to crush the GDR and the socialist camp. It was able to annex the GDR. German imperialism was able to seize the means of production, markets, industries and raw materials of most of the former socialist and people's democratic countries as loot of the counterrevolution. But the victory did not revive capitalism. The old capitalism does not work in the countries that had already overcome it once. People's property cannot be run as private property. The robbers and looters could smash and destroy it, but they do not create an upturn, they only created wasteland and destruction. They exhausted themselves. The EU, erected mainly as a bridgehead of German dreams of world power, created for the economic and political subjugation of the peoples of Europe in order to use them for the war plans of German imperialism. It is a temporary forming of alliances for the co-

ming war, a means that is already crumbling and disintegrating.

German imperialism is one of the biggest robbers and enemies of the peoples. The German financial oligarchy profits mainly from the exploitation of the peoples, their labor, their raw materials, their riches. It depends more than any other Imperialist on exports into the whole world. It exploits more workers in Southern and Eastern Europe, in Africa, South America and Asia than in this country. The factories of the German monopoly bourgeoisie, their transport and supply chains span the globe. They feed their way through the very livelihood of the peoples, leaving behind mountains of garbage, poisoning and contaminating whole regions. Millions in the big cities are crammed into slums, favelas and townships. Under the poorest conditions they toil, sweat, bleed and die not least for the wealth of German financial magnates. In a world divided into oppressed and oppressing nations, German imperialism is among the leaders of the oppressors. It subjugates states, peoples and nations through loans and national debt, through

military and trade dictates. The destruction brought about by its production, its export of capital, its world trade and its wars, drives millions into flight, into poverty, misery and barbarism.

The strongholds of German imperialism, its alliances, its sources of raw materials and markets, its plans for world power are in danger. The annexation of the GDR was a Pyrrhic victory against the imperialist rivals. A flash in the pan, which as quickly and hotly as it ignited sank down again to a miserable glow. Having gambled since the second imperialist world war only on the quickest possible profit, on the immediate robbery, takes revenge. Technology is outdated, infrastructure is ramshackle, what had flown into the cash registers from the exploitation of the peoples and the robbery of the socialist countries has been eaten away and burned up already. Speculation and usury outweigh economic, industrial and military power. German imperialism is falling behind. Its imperialist rivals are pressing ahead. But the more hopeless the competition seems, the more bitterly and aggressively German megalomania grows.

Prussian militarism, the police state, submissiveness to the authorities, Greater German racism and ethnic chauvinism are deeply rooted in the minds and experiences of the German people. Only when the working class and working people of the FRG and the annexed GDR stop letting themselves be used for the hideous crimes of German imperialism, when they take up the fight against their greatest enemy, when they prepare an answer to the annexation of the GDR with the right of self-determination to the point of secession, can they overthrow the power of the monopoly rulers. The main enemy of the German people is in Germany: German imperialism. Worldwide, there is already a struggle against its domination. The struggle against the German monopolies, their government, their apparatus of power and administration, their militarism has long since become a necessity for the exploited here as well as in all countries oppressed by German imperialism.

3. The dying capitalism has prepared socialism. Capitalism has created wealth on an unprecedented scale, has

concentrated the means of production, has developed the productive forces further in a scale that the history of mankind has seen before. The research, science and technology with which the entire production, the entire life could be transformed, renewed and facilitated, are available but are not applied. Imperialism, the last and highest stage of capitalism, is no longer able to apply them progressively. Instead they gather dust in vaults and rot on sidetracks. As long as the means of production remain the private property of a few billionaires, they will be used to bring about war, destruction, disintegration and chaos. It was the dying capitalism that brought about the epoch of world revolution - beginning with the Paris Commune of 1871, in the Great Red October, in the crushing of fascism in Europe and Asia, in the wars of liberation of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Their victories fueled the struggles in all countries. In hundreds of class struggles, uprisings, revolutions, as in the November Revolution in Germany, the workers and peoples rattled their chains. The proletariat learns from its victories and even more from its

defeats. One city became whole states, states became a third of the world. New experiences, new tactics and new strategies expand the arsenal of the proletariat with every victory and every defeat. It is the only class that, through its position in production, possesses the means and opportunities to build socialism and liberate humanity. In the hands of the workers and peoples, the productive forces of humanity can flourish and unfold. Under the rule of the workers and peoples, the saved time through the development of the productive forces can benefit humanity. Under the rule of the workers and peoples, the productive forces can be used according to plan and reason for the advancement of humanity and the preservation of its natural basis of life. Socialism lays the foundation for the communist society in which exploitation and oppression is abolished throughout the world. Socialism has disappeared from the face of the earth again, we are told. But the rulers are not so sure. They fear the downfall of their system. Unrestrained orgies of victory give way to endless “Katzenjammer” [cat’s winge]. The temporary defeat of socialism cannot

change the laws of history. Supposedly dead, it nevertheless determines the thinking and actions of the classes, whether they like it or not. With the October Revolution, socialism was in the world and it entailed a series of revolutions and liberation struggles around the world. The imperialist world system was dealt a blow, the aftershocks of which we still feel today. Everyone - whether they want to see it or not - knows that capitalism can be defeated. The proletarians of all countries have proven it and they will do it again.

II.

The working-class and working- people youth and the proletarian revolution

1. The working class and working people youth is particularly pushed into dependence, oppression and exploitation by the capitalist class order. Their struggle for liberation, like that of the oppressed peoples and nations and all the oppressed, cannot be separated from the struggle of the proletariat to liberate all mankind from capitalist class rule. Pupils and learning youth are faced with the decision to go with the sinking capitalism or to fight against it, either to be satisfied with ignorance, stupidity and barbarism or to work together with us, the revolutionary youth, alongside the working class to overthrow capitalism, to unite with us for revolution and socialism as the revolutionary youth.

2. The school, the vocational training, the colleges and universities are institutions of the respective ruling class. Under capitalism, their task is to spread bourgeois ideology and culture, to fight for the minds of the working class youth, the working people and learning youth. They educate to nationalism, to obedience to police and authorities, to reverence for militarism, to petty-bourgeois self-indulgence, isolation and cultural neglect, and above all to being blind and stupid consumers of whatever garbage the bourgeoisie pours into this world. They give us just as much knowledge as is necessary for our exploitation, and even this knowledge, is also still dependent on the purse of the parents. A mass of de-qualified and unskilled manual workers, mere appendages of the machine, face a few highly qualified ones. The working youth toils through one industrial shack after another with the compulsions of Hartz, temporary work, outsourcing and fixed-term contracts. The ruin of the petty bourgeoisie threatens to throw the working people youth of trade, administration and small-scale producti-

on out onto the streets every day. More and more they share with the working youth the fate of the abolition of free wage labor, of uselessness, of expendability. Especially in the territory of the annexed GDR, misery, unemployment and day labor run rampant, together with the dismantling of cultural and educational institutions and large parts of public life. This drives the working class and working people youth from the East more and more into the arms of the militarists or into flight to the West.

3. Our resistance begins in these places of forced collectivization by the bourgeois society itself. From the direct struggle against exploitation and oppression, the revolutionary youth develops the struggle for knowledge, against professional idiocy and stupidity, the struggle to become masters of the productive forces instead of remaining appendages of the machines. To the struggle against fascism, militarism and obedience to the authorities. The working class, working people and learning youth have no interest in their wars, no interest in being

harnessed as policemen, soldiers or law enforcers for the oppression of their own class. The struggle for knowledge is the struggle to smash the bourgeois school. Knowledge is power when it eliminates the circumstances that subjugate knowledge. This struggle can only be victorious through the overthrow of the bourgeois state and the construction of socialism. It is in the experience of these struggles that we begin to live truly, to act collectively, to tear down the limited boundaries of the philistine world and to strengthen the organization of the revolutionary youth. The dirt of the old world, in which we wade up to our knees, which sticks to our hands and in our heads, cannot stop us from destroying this old world and its dirt. The bourgeoisie finds it useful when we are stupid and ignorant, and seemingly makes life comfortable for us, but that cannot stop us from fighting for all of humanity's knowledge of the world. That the old world has no use, no work, and no benefit for so many of us cannot stop us from creating a world where we are needed because it benefits us and not the billionaires. The garbage, the junk, the destructi-

on with which the bourgeoisie covers the planet and its peoples, only shows us how necessary it is to build a new world. Show us that we, the working class, working people and learning youth, are the future if we take it into our own hands.

4. Our struggle in the FRG and the annexed GDR for the proletarian revolution is a struggle alongside the workers and peoples of all nations. It is a struggle of class against class, proletariat against bourgeoisie. It must be led by the revolutionary, communist party of the working class. The Free German Youth seeks the unity of struggle, the alliance in a common front with all revolutionary forces.

5. The bourgeoisie fears nothing more than the threat to its rule, its property order, than the end of its rule by the proletarian revolution. Its state apparatus is its instrument to secure its rule with its administrative apparatus, its ministries, its officials, prisons and armed organs. The more obvious the rebellion of the productive forces

against the mode of production becomes, with which the entire bourgeois society disintegrates and degenerates, the more the bourgeoisie arms itself with machine guns and drones, with cruise missiles and tanks, with ever more police and secret services. And with its army for the defense of its order, for the subjugation and occupation of other peoples. He who has the young people has the army. Through the homeland security units, with paramilitary labor services and universal conscription always at hand, the bourgeoisie forces the working class and working people youth by the tens of thousands into service for its warlike purposes. The task of the revolutionary youth, as soon as the right conditions and power relations are given, is not to refuse military service, but to learn the military craft in order to be able to turn the weapons against their own masters and to organize revolutionary disintegration in this army and its forefield. For the approach to the revolution the working class needs its organs of power, armed councils, which establish a revolutionary workers' government, carry out the first immediate measures for the people, keep the coun-

terrevolution in check and go the next steps of the proletarian revolution for the smashing of the old state apparatus and the expropriation of the expropriators.





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We, German boys and girls, have joined together in the "Free German Youth" in order to support our German comrades

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from abroad in their difficult struggle against the most anti-youth of all systems. Our common task is to contribute with all our strength to forge the necessary unity of the German opposition abroad, so that it becomes a real help for those who are fighting today at the risk of their lives for the unity of the German people and its youth, against Hitler, for a free and happy socialist Germany.

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Declaration of Will of Young German Anti-Fascists, published in the "Pariser Tageblatt" on 16 June 1936

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Police barricade at Herrnburg



The FDJ answers the Bonn police:

**But the new must defeat the old,
Different are always the waves in the Rhine.**

**And we will win a Germany
And it will be new and different.
(Herrnburg Report, Bertolt Brecht)**



And they constructed. Dams, steel mills, pipelines, power plants, power lines, agricultural land, industrial factories, educational and cultural sites. Out of nothing they launched a new teachers movement, an anti-fascist People's Police, a democratic administration. The GDR rose from the ruins of the World War, to no small extent through the voluntary hands of working-class and working-people youth, through the hands of FDJ brigades and activists.



**FDJ shooting exercises with Chinese and Korean students
1952 Georgenthal Thuringia**



**Youth Brigade Nikolai Mamai - Electrochemical Combine Bitterfeld
(Walter Dötsch)**

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Für den Aufbau des BDJ



Essen, 1982

Socialism has disappeared from the face of the earth again, we are told. But the rulers are not so sure. They fear the downfall of their system. Unrestrained orgies of victory give way to endless “Katzenjammer” [cat’s winge]. The temporary defeat of socialism cannot change the laws of history.



Berlin 3. Oktober 2020

III.I

Socialism - the way to the liberation of mankind

1. The revolution of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party will overthrow the rule of imperialism and establish socialism, the road to the liberation of all mankind.

The state of the capitalists, the bureaucracy, the police, the army, parliamentarism and the judiciary, the whole dictatorship of the bourgeoisie will be smashed. It will be replaced by the rule of revolutionary workers councils, such as those that emerged from the Commune of Paris and the Soviets of Red October. Their delegates can be voted out of office at any time, are accountable, and simultaneously decide and execute. They receive no privileges for their activity. The revolutionary workers'

councils are all-encompassing organs of power at all levels of the new state. The majority rules over the minority, through the independent activity of the masses. Thus, from the very beginning, this state begins to lose more and more its function as an apparatus of oppression, and thus its own necessity. This dictatorship of the proletariat, this dictatorship of the formerly exploited over the old and new exploiters, unites all economic and political means of power under the control of the working class and the working people from within the factories and residential quarters. Every cook can learn to govern the state - because it is the state of the workers and peasants. Every cook can govern the state, but she must do it! Every guidance, every government, every leadership is under the control of the working class and the working people. The working class and the working people are in possession of the means of production, the weapons, the organizations and the science. With that they can exercise this control - but they have to do it as well!

All banks and all financial institutions will be immedia-

tely expropriated without compensation and centralized into a national bank. The ownership of the bourgeoisie over the industrial monopoly corporations, the trade monopolies, the landed property and housing monopolies, will be terminated immediately and without compensation. This creates the preconditions for the transition of the entire economic life into the hands of the people. The robbery of other countries' raw materials, the oppression and exploitation of workers and peasants worldwide, the debt slavery and adhesion contracts against the peoples will be ended immediately.

2. All productive forces, all production facilities and labour-power will be organized to develop a planned production, exclusively for the needs and the future of the working class and the toiling population. All the wealth produced by the working class and all the working people will be used to build and defend this new society, to develop the productive forces and socialist industry. The sciences and productive forces will be freed from

the centuries-old shackles of private ownership of the means of production. Their application serves to use new, hitherto unimaginable techniques for the benefit of mankind, taking advantage of the laws of nature. The associated interventions in nature must preserve the basis of human life instead of destroying it. This is the material basis for the new world, which deprives the remnants of exploitation, of servitude of their foundation, for the new era that puts an end to the old thinking, the bourgeois squareness, which, in spite of everything, does not simply disappear in socialism and must never be underestimated again. This is the material basis for the improvements of life and culture of the whole people, for the comprehensive social education of children, knowledge and health of the people. We will put our strength, all our means and possibilities into the service of the struggles of the workers of all countries and the struggles of the oppressed peoples as much as for our own liberation. The protection of this social wealth from private appropriation, from robbery and sabotage is the task of all workers and working people, is the daily

struggle for awareness, is the daily struggle against the old exploiters and the emergence of new ones, is the daily struggle to protect and increase social property because it is our own. Distribution is organized in the new society through institutions such as consumer cooperatives under the leadership of the central state trade department. The small producers and small traders will be freed from the monopolies' pressure. They must be persuaded and integrated into the overall social production and distribution.

3. The conditions are created to abolish the exploitation of man by man and thus also of the working class and working people youth. As much as possible, the people's revenue will be used to organize life, art and culture, to carry out the education and training of the working class and working people youth. Socialism also trains people who can design machines, trains people who can assemble machines. But at the same time socialism is the first class society in history which lays the foundation to overcome the separation of manual and mental labor -

that the worker becomes a scientist and the scientist becomes part of the world of labor. The factory becomes university, the university becomes part of a factory.

The construction of the new society needs the knowledge of the material conditions. It needs the new human who overcomes bourgeois individualism and egoism, who sees the real prosperity of society in the all-round development of each individual and understands this as his own fortune. The revolutionary youth must fight for this knowledge and make this new thinking and acting the thinking and acting of the working class and working people youth. Polytechnic education means not to be limited to one field, to one profession, to one specification, but to master the struggle for all-round development, all-round education and training - scientific, technical, economic, political. It is a task of the revolutionary youth to dig up the treasure of all the knowledge of human history and, with its help, to advance and co-lead the building of the new society.

The proletarian revolution sets itself the task of completely eliminating the remains of the old world, the classes

and their foundation of existence, and to realize the completely new world of communism on such a foundation. The contradiction between manual and mental labor, between town and country, between developed and underdeveloped countries, will be eliminated. Production will be automated extensively, all sciences and technology will be used. And thus the objective and subjective conditions will be created to bring mankind to the maxim: *From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.*

4. Socialism is a class society. The class of capitalists, remnants of feudal rulers, and other exploiting classes are pushed out of the centers of power in state, society and economy by the workers and other working people. All these, however, want their lost paradise back, and still have countless links to the sites of their former splendor and domination. And they have still left the traces of their old order in socialism itself. Socialism is pervaded with birthmarks of the old world, with remnants of the bourgeois mode of production, bourgeois

ways of life, bourgeois habits. These remnants exist in various forms, such as the persistence of small-scale production, the petty-bourgeois consciousness of many working people, wage-worker consciousness in the working class, the various forms of property with the resulting exchange of commodities, or bureaucratic thinking and action in party and state organs. These remnants of the old world generate new bourgeois consciousness every day. This is the ground on which new groups and social strata can mature, which have the interest to transform the rule of the people back into a rule over the people. This is the reason why the class struggle in socialism has not ended. It is becoming fiercer in new forms. It poses the question: Who - Whom? Can the working people maintain, strengthen and expand their power? Or can the old exploiting classes, in alliance with New Bourgeois elements in socialism recover their power? This battle is being fought every day. This struggle is raging in the masses of working people and workers as well as in the ranks of their organizations, the party and the state. It is the struggle about the cons-

ciousness of the masses. It is raging in production, in culture, in politics. It is a daily struggle. Every ox and every donkey can stop the progress of socialism, if the revolution lets them. The struggle on the way to the classless communist social order is a constant struggle against one's own opportunism and against the birthmarks of the old world. A fight to tear the new world out of the old one.

III.II

Our temporary defeat of socialism

1. The history of the Free German Youth is both victory and defeat of socialism, victory and defeat of the German working class youth movement, in exile, in the struggle for liberation from fascism, in two German states, and ultimately as an organization in two countries in the new Greater Germany created by an annexation. The history of the Free German Youth is both the struggle to build socialism and the creeping capitulation to the class struggle and the abandonment of socialism. Beginning 1936 in France, then in Czechoslovakia, in Great Britain and elsewhere, following the call of the KJVD (Communist Youth Association of Germany) among others, the FDJ was founded as an association of

the youth against fascism and war. These young communists, social democrats, socialists and anti-fascists, representatives of the Christian and the organized hiking and scouting youth groups had learned from the most severe defeat of the working class and of all German anti-fascists not to have prevented the rise to power of Hitler's fascism. But the consequences of this failure of the German working class, not to have overthrown fascism themselves, were suffered by the peoples of the world. The victory of the Allies, first of all the Red Army of the Soviet people, set the task to build a Germany without warmongers, monopolies and fascists. It opened the chance to finally defeat German imperialism. This task had to be accomplished - also by the FDJ: With a working class of which many had been marching to the gates of Moscow themselves, with a youth whose heads until recently were still full of "nation and race above all".

The GDR would never have existed if a united Germany had emerged on the basis of the Potsdam Agreement. However, the unity of the Allied victorious powers in

the fight against Nazi Germany came to an end on the day of Germany's surrender. When the Victorious Powers of the three Western occupation zones, fearing the spread of revolution in Europe, established the Western German Separate State the GDR had to come into being. With the foundation of the GDR, the German working class, the German people, were given the opportunity to build their own new social order in one part of Germany - at the same time, the obligation was imposed to thus prevent such a crime, such a war, from ever starting again from German soil.

The GDR was not the result of its own revolution, with its own lessons, its own sacrifices, its own victories. But the workers, the working people and their youth - with their liberation - immediately began the revolutionary transformation of the old world. They created in the GDR a Germany in which the war criminals and thus the entire monopoly bourgeoisie was expropriated. A Germany in which the land of the aristocrats and squires was expropriated. They pushed the fascists out of their public positions, out of the schools, out of the entire

state apparatus. They judged all the criminals, the murderers, hangmen and henchmen of Hitler, they got hold of. And they constructed. Dams, steel mills, pipelines, power plants, power lines, agricultural land, industrial factories, educational and cultural sites. They paid reparations for the destruction and annihilation caused by German barbarism in the world, which were actually imposed on the whole of Germany. Out of nothing they launched a new teachers movement, an anti-fascist People's Police, a democratic administration. The GDR rose from the ruins of the World War, to no small extent through the voluntary hands of working class and working people youth, through the hands of FDJ brigades and activists. They fought and built and learned for themselves, not for the bourgeoisie, not for the warmongers and fascists. They created a universal, polytechnic education system, the most scientifically and pedagogically advanced education system Germany has ever seen in its history. In doing so, they laid one of the foundation stones for creating a new man. They created a new basis of existence, they created a new culture, a

new art, a new Germany of workers and working people.

In the FRG, the FDJ fought against the old Nazis and war criminals in public positions. It mobilized thousands of young working class and working people youth to Germanywide gatherings, of youth from East and West, to the World Festival of Youth and Students of the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Berlin, to demonstrations and actions against revanchism, rearmament, the open war and annexation plans of West German imperialism. The FDJ paid for its struggle with hundreds of years in prison - and was eventually forbidden. After the German imperialism had come up again, the FDJ in East and West knew - a unity of the divided Germany can only be possible as a socialist Germany. As an uncompromising class struggle against the ruling class.

But the further the construction of the GDR progressed, the louder the voices became that shouted: Let's leave it at that for now, let's enjoy what we have achieved. The class struggle always poses the question "Who - Whom?"

And be it only in the head of every worker. The worker as a part of the class, which tries to finally leave behind being a worker and to become the master of society, of work, of science, who tries to storm into the new time. Or the worker who settles for his being a worker, if it is properly regulated - and the existence of the worker was properly regulated in the GDR. The existential insecurity from capitalism had ceased to exist.

The class struggle was raging - but some preferred not to see it. Then there were theorists, cadres, secretaries, chairmen and factory directors in the party, science and society who declared that the class struggle had already been decided and proclaimed the "state of the whole people" instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But every declaration of the end of the class struggle must find its tame listeners. And this was noticeable everywhere. The fight for the unity of Germany was deleted from the program, even the FDJ was satisfied with "our GDR". The workers and working people fought to build an industry, as the basis of socialism, with brigades and activist movements, with tenacious struggle for the

norms, to leave behind the wage worker and the old consciousness, and then surrendered to a competition with the West, for better consumption. They began to work for export so that import was on the table. And soon the old world, the old being and consciousness started dictating again. The capitalist world market imposed conditions. The GDR made itself partially dependent on West German monopolies and loans. The screaming grouches were left in peace, who wanted to work less and less and eat more and more. Birthmarks of the old world, they began to inflame, to fester, to spread. Rents, energy, food and other basic consumer goods prices were pushed below their value, for fear of demanding sacrifices for socialism, for fear of the class struggle at home. Because comfort was preferred to the class struggle in one's own country, because the class struggle - also in the FDJ - was more and more replaced by avoiding contradiction and struggle.

The class struggle against the ban on the FDJ, the uncompromising struggle against the bourgeoisie, was finally waged by ever fewer in the West. One preferred to

set oneself up as an opposition in this "world of blocs" than to care about the world revolution. But there were those who continued the struggle, who did not give up the FDJ. The youth who, under the leadership of the SDS, made the conditions in the FRG dance in 1968 and changed them radically. Those who did not counteract the unification of the revolutionary youth with numerous new foundations. Those who opposed the wind of class collaboration that had long since blown in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and people's democracies in Europe.

Also in the GDR there was a settling in. It was part of the socialist camp. And in the process lost the most important thing: the struggle for its own way, its own line, in its own country. The majority of the SED and the FDJ voluntarily submitted to the world power interests of the New Bourgeoisie that came to power in the Soviet Union. This New Bourgeoisie saw in the GDR only a pawn in the game of the superpowers. The workers, the working people, the working youth, they had their party, their organizations and the democratic-parliamentary

system from the phase of anti-fascist upheaval. But what they did not have was the direct, all-encompassing, state organ of power - the workers' councils, the dictatorship of the proletariat embedded in the masses. Ever more, increasingly often, the compromise was sought, the mistake was concealed, the dispute was forbidden, coercive measures and command attitudes were practiced instead of fighting the public battle for the right way. The cook, maybe she should better cook again, the worker again leave his hands off politics. Whoever neglects the struggle for the new era opens space and room for those who want to subjugate and enslave the workers and peoples again. But if the worker loses control in this question, all his other levers of control lose their effect. The struggle for the unity of Germany became the nation worship of reactionaries: great imperators, iron chancellors, anti-Semitic preachers. From these conditions as such the counterrevolution and its mobs were bred. Socialism was degraded to bourgeois humanism, to social welfare. Disarmed, the people of the GDR allowed themselves to be overrun and annexed by German im-

perialism without any significant resistance.

But the sovereign, revolutionary path of the GDR would have been possible, despite the high external influences and despite a West German working class that did not stop German imperialism's grab for the East, that had once again forgotten its most important battle cry, "The main enemy is at home!". The class struggle in the West, the struggle against the West German annexationists, the struggle against the West German monopolies, against the renewed change of the postwar order in favor of German imperialism - it was far too small and weak to stop German imperialism from within the West. The annexation of the GDR, the temporary defeat of socialism, has its main cause not in the strength of imperialism. The working class, its allies and its leadership have permitted it. Our weakness offered the opportunity and they took it. But there was always those who fought and continue to fight for the GDR, for socialism, for the revolution.

The GDR was until today the greatest achievement of the German workers' movement, it was the better Ger-

many, before which "the peoples do not tremble like in the face of a robber". By its very existence peace was secured, German imperialism was kept at bay. The GDR made its contribution to the liberation of the peoples of Vietnam, Cuba and Chile. But at the same time it remained in the viewpoint of its own country, in the national narrow-mindedness, instead of measuring every action, every step by the preparation and acceleration of the proletarian world revolution. The Free German Youth was a decisive part of this achievement and contributed decisively to its loss.

2. History shows us that the path of proletarian revolution is not straight. On one third of the earth, the working class was in power. Not anymore. All over the world, the working class has won huge victories and suffered great defeats. The experiences that have been made, the mistakes from which we must learn, show the way for the next stages of the proletarian revolution.

IV.

No organization, no victory!

1. The workers and peoples cannot win a struggle if they do not fight together across all national borders. No matter how many lies, rabble-rousing and racism the bourgeoisie throws at us, we know that our closest friends and comrades are the working class and working people youth on all continents and in all countries. We are the youth of high treason! Our struggle against our main enemy, German imperialism, is a common struggle with the working class and working people youth of all countries. Their struggle against their main enemy is also our struggle. To facilitate their struggle and pave the way for the revolutions of other peoples by smashing German imperialism and ending its exploitation through-

hout the world is the revolutionary duty of the German working class and working people youth. Since 1949, the FDJ has been a member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The flag of the World Youth calls for liberation from colonialism and national oppression, for the overthrow of imperialism throughout the world. The FDJ stands up against any attempt to draw the World Federation of Democratic Youth to the side of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and counterrevolution. Only the armed revolution of the working class and the liberation war of the peoples can overthrow imperialism.

2. The Free German Youth came into being in the struggle against German fascism, as a necessary revolutionary unification of youth associations that fought against German war and fascism. The Free German Youth sets itself the task of uniting the revolutionary youth in one association. Although and because today it is one of many organizations of the youth in the FRG and the annexed GDR. Unification of the revolutionary youth is the struggle to end the division among the revolutionary

youth, to push back the bourgeois and reformist views and to overcome the disorganization of the masses. It is a struggle against indifference, against self-occupation, against theorizing or merciless pragmatism. Against throwing overboard any principle in favor of a nice consensus and the peace of the left family, which is the opposite of unification. Of great importance today is the struggle against isolation in bourgeois society, the struggle against the smashing of collective everyday life, for a collective life of the working class and working people youth. The unification of the revolutionary youth is the best way to approach the socialist revolution in order to triumph over fascism and imperialist war. So the question arises for every revolutionary youth group and organization and for all revolutionary youth who more than only desire a better world: What organization is necessary for the approach and the actual realization of the proletarian revolution?

3. The unification of the revolutionary youth in an association is not simply the wild mixing of groups, currents

and organizational principles for the sake of a maximum "majority". The unification of the revolutionary youth requires the agreement on a programmatic basis, the organizational principle of democratic centralism, one headquarter, one strategy. The most efficient conditions to work and act, with the highest possible impact, based on a unified organizational principle, will create the most effective revolutionary youth organization, which will thus be able to become a mass organization of working class and working people youth. The Free German Youth proposes this program and this organization as the basis for the unification of the revolutionary youth in the FRG and the annexed GDR. We want to create for the working class and working people youth in the FRG and the annexed GDR the type of youth association that is the most expedient school of the revolution.

For the unification of the revolutionary youth!

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