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## ABOUT THE SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE REVOLUTION IN TURKEY, AUSTRIA, WEST-GERMA- NY AND WEST-BERLIN

Joint Declaration of

- Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (CPT/ML)
- Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria (MLPA)
- Against the Tide (Gegen die Strömung - Organisation for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West-Germany)
- West-Berlin Communist (Organisation for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West-Berlin)

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### ABOUT THE SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE REVOLUTION IN TURKEY, AUSTRIA, WEST-GERMANY AND WEST-BERLIN

During the months of August, September and October, 1979, authorized representatives of the TKP-ML, MLPÖ, GDS and WBK met several times for comradely discussions and in order to discuss this joint communique.

In the course of these meetings, the "Joint Declarations" from Rote Fahne (Central organ of the MLPÖ), "West Berliner Kommunist" (Organ for the Building of the M-L Party in West Berlin), "Gegen die Strömung" (Organ for the Building of the M-L Party in West Germany) which have appeared up to now were also discussed. These include: "Criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping's Three Worlds Scheme", "Critique of the Revisionist Line of the 11th Party Congress of the Chinese C.P." as well as the "Joint Declaration of the Central Committees of TKP-ML and MLPÖ" from June, 1978. All four of these organizations named here have decided to distribute these documents among their forces and to discuss them thoroughly, in order to proceed with our joint discussion and study of the problems treated in them in a more profound manner.

The TKP-ML has stated that it is presently studying the analysis of the CPC's "Proposal on the General Line of the World Communist Movement" by the other three named organizations with great interest, and that it will also distribute these documents among their forces for discussion.

Each of the four organizations stated, that the viewpoints on the principles of the proletarian world revolution as they were presented in the "Joint Declaration", "Criticism of Teng's Three World's Scheme" as well as the positions on the international situation presented in the "Joint Declaration of the CCs of the TKP-ML and the MLPÖ" (from June, 1978) could be seen as a joint basis for further joint work, as each of the four organizations agree in all essential questions with the positions presented in these documents.

This applies particularly to the rejection of the "3 Worlds' Theory", including the rejection of the theory of the "superpowers" as well as the thesis of the "superpowers as the main enemy" in addition to other deviations from Marxism-Leninism which appeared in the wake of Krushchev revisionism and which were also addressed in these documents.

For this reason the four organizations have chosen not to address these questions once again in the context of this communique.

At the same time (in the course of these above-mentioned meetings), the four named organizations informed each other about the respective state of their discussions of the theory and practice of the C.P. of China before the death of Mao Tse-tung, the discussions of Mao Tse-tung's own theory and practice as well as the discussions of the present line of the PLA.

The TKP-ML views the defense of Mao Tse-tung as one of the greatest Marxist-Leninists as a central task today. The TKP-ML does not view the line of the PLA today as a Marxist-Leninist line. The TKP-ML will continue with an investigation and discussion of the line of the PLA, in order to uncover the roots of revisionism in this line.

The MLPÖ, GDS and WBK are of the opinion that the central task today is the defense of the theory of the great teachers of Marxism-Leninism: Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. On this basis one must analyze the entire works of Mao Tse-tung - as far as they are available - and uncover his genuine mistakes as well as defend his incontestable Marxist-Leninist works. In general, as well as relating to the PLA, the reaching of conclusions must be the product of the analysis. The analysis itself has to be linked up with a defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania; the public criticism of the recognized mistakes of the PLA should be an expression of solidarity with socialist Albania. Marxist-Leninists should not, in any way, approach the PLA using the same methods which the PLA is currently using in its evaluation of Mao Tse-tung.

The four named organizations think it is extremely important to carry on an open and public discussion of this complex of questions among each other and in the entire world Communist movement. All of the four organizations will intensify their efforts in this direction corresponding to their possibilities.

Because of the different positions existing among one another, the four named organizations have decided to deepen their discussions of these problems in their own ranks respectively.

In the following "Joint Statement" on the state and tasks of the four organizations in their respective areas it should be stressed that despite the necessary comradely ideological discussion (around these questions), the political line for the revolution in the respective areas of the four organizations must be propagated.

The four named organizations are of the opinion that in the face of the profound ideological crisis in the world Communist movement today, the central role of theory must be emphasized in the building of the party in every country (or area where the organizations carry on their work) as well as in the building of unity in the international Marxist-Leninist movement. At the same time, it is however true, that the forces for this theoretical work cannot be won, the party cannot be built and the revolution cannot be prepared if this theoretical work is not linked, step by step, and corresponding to the respective conditions, with the practice of party-building and with the work among the masses in the respective countries (or areas of work). In this context the fundamental laws and principles, which are generally valid,

must, above all, be respected, but the fundamental particularities of the respective country or area of work must also be considered.

The four organizations emphasize here that following the teachings of Leninism, the fundamental particularities and the principles of tactics in the different countries must not be secrets for the working class and the Communist parties of other countries, nor must they be something which is not "able to be examined", which must be "accepted", or to which one agrees out of "solidarity".

Rather it is the duty of every Marxist-Leninist party to become informed about the situation in the country or area of work of its fraternal parties or organizations, to attain clarity about this and to express its criticism. On the other hand, every Communist party or organization owes not only its own working class, but also the international proletariat, a presentation of its evaluation of the situation and of the consequential tasks, as well as of its theory and practice.

In this context, the four named organizations present jointly the following - after thorough discussion - on the situation and the tasks in their respective countries or areas of work:

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#### THE SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE REVOLUTION IN TURKEY

The situation in Turkey is characterized by a sharpening of the contradictions between the people of Turkey comprised of different nationalities on the one hand, and the ruling classes - servants of the imperialists - on the other hand, as well as by a sharpening of the contradictions among the ruling classes themselves.

The ruling classes in Turkey that is to say the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlords and their fascist system are in the midst of a deep economic and political crisis.

This crisis is a result of Turkey's dependence on imperialism. Turkey has heavy debts to the imperialist countries and monopolies and is not able to produce even the most essential goods if it does not receive credits, machines, and pre-manufactured parts for the final production, etc.

The imperialist powers are in the position today to dictate their wishes to Turkey. Turkey's dependence on imperialism is a total dependence. Turkey appears to be an independent state, while it is really completely dependent - economically, politically, culturally, militarily - in sum, in all realms. In this situation, the comprador and landlord classes attempt to force the burdens of the crisis on the working people.

The toiling people of Turkey, comprised of different nationalities, do not accept this situation however. The class struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor intensifies every day.

The struggle of the working class in Turkey is developing despite the fascist terror and despite the betrayal of the trade union bosses. In various strike activities the workers have been struggling for their just demands, and are not intimidated by the fascist terror of the ruling classes, exemplified in the illegalization of strikes, in lock-outs, etc.

The struggle of the poor peasants of Turkey for land and freedom is developing as well, even if slowly. Various actions in recent months including the occupation of land, particularly the occupations which took place in Dest/Tünceli are examples of this development.

Small businessmen, producers, civil servants and office workers with low incomes, intellectuals, students and pupils, in short, all levels of the working population and large sections of the youth are resisting this exploitation. The masses' resistance against this fascist dictatorship and their hatred for it are exhibited in the course of various, mostly spontaneous anti-fascist actions. The spontaneous call among the masses to armed struggle and self-protection is becoming louder and louder. Increasing numbers of toiling people are grasping the necessity of revolutionary violence and are arming themselves.

The struggle of the oppressed Kurdish nationalities, particularly that of the Kurdish nation against national oppression is growing stronger and is causing a growing fear among the ruling classes.

In attempt to thwart the peoples' struggle against the fascist system and the struggle against national oppression, the ruling classes are turning to increasingly drastic fascist measures of terror. Fascist terror against the people is constantly increasing. The ruling classes proceed two-fold in the area of fascist terror:

Above all, the "official" fascist terror exists, which is carried out by the fascist state apparatus, by the army, police, system of justice, etc. and which is protected by the laws of the ruling classes. The most obvious example for this terror is that martial law rules in nineteen of Turkey's provinces today.

Martial law means the official abolition of a series of democratic rights, which, even though very limited, were won through long and bloody struggle, and were made into law. Today in those provinces of Turkey ruled by martial law - in which over one-half of the total population, nearly the entire working class, and nearly the entire Kurdish nation live - all democratic mass organizations are illegal, as well as all democratic newspapers, periodicals, books, all demonstrations, and gatherings.

Today thousands of Democrats, revolutionaries, and Communists are locked in the fascists' dungeons. The number of revolutionary anti-fascists, and Communists openly murdered on the street has already exceeded a thousand. The so-called "martial law courts" continuously hand down stiff prison terms for revolutionaries. In these dungeons all types of torture take place under police guidance as before.

The second aspect of fascist terror is the "unofficial" terror, carried out by armed "civilian" fascist bands. In the execution of

this type of terror, the so-called "Commandos" or "Grey Wolves" of the extreme pan-Turkish fascist MHP (Party of the National Movement) stand out.

These "civilian" fascist bands attack entire city neighborhoods, coffeehouses, buses carrying workers to and from work, libraries, clubhouse, and carry out bloody massacres as well. They also attack individual Democrats and revolutionaries and carry out the calculated murder of those leading persons of various revolutionary organizations familiar to them.

They murder their own former members, if they should decide that they no longer want to participate. They often even murder their own people, well-known figures such as professors or writers of the ruling classes, in order to provoke, and to whip up the people against one another.

These "civilian" fascist bands have several goals in the execution of this terror. Most important is their goal of laming the toiling people through this terror and preventing them from organizing themselves and carrying on their struggle.

Through the targeted murder of leading persons from various revolutionary organizations, they attempt to wipe out these organizations.

The civilian fascist bands receive support - open or disguised - from all sections of the ruling classes for these actions, which support all state institutions. In the course of such actions, they work very closely with state organizations such as MIT (the Turkish secret police) and contra-guerilla police forces.

The various actions of the MHP-fascists compose, however, at the same time, a part of the struggle going on among the various cliques of the comprador and landlord classes for state power. Through their actions, they attempt to present themselves to all sections of the ruling classes and their imperialist masters as the correct alternative for the creation of a "cemetery-like peace" at home.

The struggle among the various fascist cliques for state power presents all of them with the possibility of portraying their particular struggle as the struggle against one fascist clique for "democracy". Particularly the Ecevit government which was in power for two years deceived the toiling people with the demagoguery of a struggle to maintain a "free democracy".

Many working people saw in Ecevit a "hope" of emerging from the misery they knew. In this betrayal of the masses of people, revisionists and opportunists of all types lent Ecevit and his Republican Peoples' Party (CHP) a helping hand. The modern revisionists of the social-fascist lackey party (TKP) ("Communist" Party of Turkey) and other modern revisionist parties which compete with the T"K"P for the favor of the Russian social-imperialists praised Ecevit as a "patriot" and "anti-fascist". They called this chauvinist, this so-called "conqueror of Cyprus" an "anti-imperialist", and praised the invasion of Cyprus by the fascist Turkish army as an "anti-fascist act".

The counter-revolutionary organization TIKP (Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey (formerly Aydinlik) which propagates the "Three Worlds' Theory" openly supported the Ecevit government and defamed all leftist, revolutionary opposition to this government as the work of the KGB.

Various petty-bourgeois and left-putschist organizations such as the THKP/C (Peoples' Liberation Party/Front of Turkey) assessed the Ecevit government as a representative of the "reformist" bourgeoisie and propagated it as the lesser evil.

Various opportunist groups, which call themselves Marxist-Leninist: Devrimci Halkin Birligi (Peoples' Revolutionary Unity), Devrimci Halkin Yolu (Peoples' Revolutionary Way), and Halkin Kurtulusu (Peoples' Liberation) all shared the viewpoint that the Ecevit government was "in no way fascist".



May 1 1977: Revolutionaries in Istanbul fight against the fascist state apparatus

The TKP-ML was the only organization which declared from the beginning that Ecevit's Republican Peoples' Party (CHP) is a party of the comprador bourgeoisie and landlords just like the other parties represented today in Parliament; and that the CHP like the other ruling class parties, is a fascist party and that it, too, would practise fascism if it comes to power.

Almost two years of the Ecevit governments' practice have completely confirmed the correctness of the TKP-ML's evaluation. Ecevit, the political representation of the pro-Western European sections of the comprador and landlord classes, in his two years in the government, has done exactly the opposite of that which he promised to do in the elections of 1977.

Inflation, rising prices, hunger, misery, and fascist terror have exposed Ecevit's real face, so that many working people have seen that Ecevit is no "hope" at all.

The disappointment and dissatisfaction of the working population was expressed in the elections of October 14, 1979, in that Ecevit's

Republican Peoples' Party drastically lost and the pro-American Justice Party (AP) strengthened its position through its demagoguery against the CHP.

The elections demonstrated that the ruling classes in Turkey succeeded in drawing large sections of the working people into the "democracy farce" which is nothing more than the crude mask of fascism; and that the ruling class parties were able to sell their own struggle for dominance of the state as a struggle for "democracy".

The elections also showed that a significant section of working people have lost their trust in the system of the compradors and landlords, and that this trust is constantly dwindling.

Increasing numbers of workers, peasants, small producers, civil servants and office workers see that there is only one way out: that of the peoples' democratic revolution.

Increasing numbers of working people see that retreat cannot be a solution against fascist terror. Increasing numbers of working people grasp the necessity of the organized armed struggle for revolution. Increasing numbers of working people see that the only correct road for the revolution in Turkey is the one of peoples' war, which the TKP-ML propagates and for which it is preparing.

The task of the peoples' democratic revolution in Turkey is to liquidate feudalism and comprador capitalism at home and to drive imperialism out of Turkey.

In order to carry out the fulfillment of these tasks - which are bound to one another - the peoples' democratic revolution will take the path of peoples' war. The TKP-ML is faced then with the following crucial tasks:

- In the rural areas, feudalism, the backbone of imperialism in these areas, will be broken through the agrarian revolution under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat, relying on the armed poor peasants.

- In the rural areas, where the agrarian revolution is carried out, liberated areas and bases will be created. In the liberated areas, peoples' power will be created under the leadership of the proletariat and its party. The liberated areas will be expanded through protracted war so that the lackeys of imperialism are finally encircled in a few cities.

- Through the struggle of the masses in the cities and through the encirclement of the cities by the liberation armies, the cities will also be liberated, and the entire fascist state apparatus will be smashed.

- After the liberation of the entire country, the peoples' democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat will be established across the entire land. Under the conditions of the dictatorship of workers and peasants, the revolution will be continued further and the path will be paved to socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction.

In order to carry out these crucial tasks, the TKP-ML is working - parallel to its work to build the party - to build the armed organization of the toiling masses, the Worker-Peasant

Liberation Army of Turkey (TIKKO). The influence of the TKP-ML, the armed organization TIKKO and the Party youth organization TMLGB (Marxist-Leninist Youth Union of Turkey) among the revolutionaries and the toiling masses is growing.

The ruling classes in Turkey have recently begun a hysterical campaign against the "split attempts of the Kurdish separatists". This campaign against the "split" has the functions of winning the support of the most backward masses - with the help of Turkish nationalism - for the national oppression of the non-Turkish nationalities, as well as the function of isolating the revolutionaries and Communists who are struggling against national oppression and for the nations' right to self-determination.

This hysteria about the "split" has the function of covering up the monstrous national oppression of the non-Turkish nationalities, especially that of the Kurdish nation. It also has the function of justifying the intensification of fascism in Turkey.

It is a speciality of the imperialists and their accomplices to sharpen the contradictions which exist already among the people - such as religious or national contradictions - in order to divide the masses and turn them against one another.

The TKP-ML has been a consistent enemy of national oppression. It opposes all types of national oppression and consistently fights for the Kurdish nations' right to self-determination and for equality for all nationalities. It opposes all types of privilege for any particular nationality.

The TKP-ML thinks that the demagoguery of the Turkish ruling classes against the "split" serves only the preservation of the fascist Turkish state.

The TKP-ML's position is that the struggle against national oppression in Turkey is one part of the struggle for a peoples' democratic revolution and is subordinate to the peoples' democratic revolution. The TKP-ML's position is that the toiling masses of Turkey, regardless of the nationality or religion to which they belong, have common interests and common enemies.

The victory of the peoples' democratic revolution in Turkey will only then be possible when the toiling people of different nationalities join together and under the leadership of the vanguard party of the proletariat, the TKP-ML, struggle against the common enemy: imperialism, comprador capitalism and feudalism, and smash the fascist state apparatus.

Those who propagate the founding of Marxist-Leninist parties on the basis of nationality, and those who want to divide the proletariat in Turkey according to the different nationalities, are not Marxist-Leninists; rather they are bourgeois nationalists. The TKP-ML opposes all forms of bourgeois nationalism and fights for the organization of all Marxist-Leninists in Turkey in one single organization. The TKP-ML fights according to the model of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin for the joining of the proletariat and toilers of all nationalities in one Marxist-Leninist party. The revolution in Turkey can be victorious only in this way, and only in this way can national oppression really be defeated at its roots.

Turkey is an important country for all imperialists and social-imperialists. Following the events in Iran, Turkey became much more important. The interests of all of the imperialists in Turkey increased significantly after the partial defeat of U.S. imperialism in Iran through the struggle of the masses of people.

In the wake of the "shock" in Iran where it became clear how a system which had appeared so stable, had actually decayed, the western imperialists, who have the say at the present time in Turkey, have reacted much more energetically to developments which they consider unacceptable. The western imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, are trying to recover their temporary losses in Iran through their increasing activity in Turkey and Egypt.

German imperialism is also expanding its position in Turkey. German imperialism is presently Turkey's largest "creditor" and "business partner". Its share in the exploitation of Turkey is the largest among the imperialist powers. A "division of labor" exists among the western imperialist powers in the question of "immediate help" for the reorganization of the Turkish economy; the basis of this "division of labor" was created at the summit conference in Guadeloupe in 1979 which was attended by Carter, Schmidt, Giscard d'Estaing and Callaghan. In this so-called "reorganization activity", W. German imperialism has assumed the role of representing the western imperialist powers within this "division of labor".



West German and Turkish police-chiefs at shooting practice in the SKA. (FBI)

Next to the Zionist state of Israel, Turkey has taken on the most important role in the NATO Middle-East strategy. The establishment of martial law and its expansion to the entire East Anatolian area where the Kurdish nation lives, must be viewed in this context. The stability of the regime in Turkey is of critical importance for the western imperialists, in respect to their general interests in the Middle East as well as in the entire world.

The events in Iran have unmistakably demonstrated that proletarian leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party is an absolute prerequisite for the victory of the revolution. The events in Iran showed that in the age of imperialism, all victories of the peoples' movement disappear when the proletarian leadership is not present.

The events in Iran made clear that the subjective factor is of life and death importance for the victory of the revolution. They demonstrated once again that it is a crucial task for the Marxist-Leninists to bring the subjective factor to the level of the objective existing possibilities, in order to make these possibilities reality.

In Turkey the objective factors of revolution are much further developed than the levels of consciousness and organization of the working class and toiling masses. It is the TKP-ML's task to do everything to utilize all possibilities to bring 'ne consciousness and level of organization of the masses to a level which corresponds to that of existing possibilities.

In order to fulfill this task, the TKP-ML will proceed in all areas with the building of the party and will struggle against the influence of every type of opportunism. The arming of the members, sympathizers and above all, the party cadres with the theory of Marxism-Leninism will constitute the guarantee for the victory of the revolution in Turkey.

Conscious of the truth that the revolution in Turkey is an inseparable part of the proletarian world revolution, the TKP-ML will train its members and sympathizers, the proletariat and the toiling masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The TKP-ML views as its task the full support of the struggle of the working class of the imperialist countries, which exploit and oppress Turkey, as well as the awakening and strengthening of comradely feelings among the people of Turkey for this struggle with the goal of uniting in struggle against the common enemy.

Likewise the TKP-ML considers the support and propagation of the struggles of the peoples of the semi-feudal/semi-colonial countries, as well as the establishment of unity between its struggle and these struggles to be one of its tasks.

The TKP-ML fights for the realization of the task formulated by Stalin, the training of the toiling masses of the oppressed nation in struggle against "national barriers", narrowness and seclusion propagated by certain pseudo-Marxists who "do not want to look beyond their own national tower and do not want to grasp the connection between the liberation movement in their own country and the proletarian movement of the dominating countries."

"Without such a struggle it is inconceivable that the proletariat of the oppressed nations can maintain an independent policy and its class solidarity with the proletariat of the ruling countries in the fight for the overthrow of the common enemy, in the fight for the overthrow of imperialism."  
(Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", 1924, Peking, second printing 1977, p.82)

As a result of Turkey's dependence on imperialism and its consequent backwardness, over a million workers from Turkey are forced to sell their labor as "guest workers" in the imperialist countries.

Therefore the TKP-ML is presented with the task of working among this not insignificant section of the proletariat of Turkey.

In this work, the TKP-ML proceeds from the fact that these workers from Turkey are a section of the international working class as well as a section of the working class of Turkey. The overwhelming majority of these workers are only temporarily in the imperialist countries in which they are extremely exploited, discriminated and oppressed.

In this respect, the TKP-ML organizes the workers from Turkey in the imperialist countries above all to support the peoples' democratic revolution in Turkey, while it, at the same time, in the class struggle of the native workers and workers of other countries living in imperialist countries, supports an united front of struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The TKP-ML supports the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations which are working in the imperialist countries and works on a comradely basis with them according to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

At the same time, the TKP-ML struggles against the European chauvinist political line of opportunist organizations which regard the workers from Turkey as a section of the respective working class, and which therefore, want to incorporate the workers from Turkey in their organizations and which view compulsory citizenship as a political pre-requisite for the equality of the foreign workers in the imperialist countries.

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#### THE SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE REVOLUTION IN AUSTRIA

Austria is a highly-industrialized, capitalist country. Although it is not a big imperialist power, it belongs to the *imperialist* countries - according to the state of development of its productive forces as well as as on the basis of its historical development, tradition and role.

In Austria, a dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie with parliamentary trimmings rules, which is headed up by finance capital. Corresponding to these conditions, the main political task of Austria's revolutionary forces and their immediate strategic goal is that of carrying out the *proletarian revolution* and the direct establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Despite Austria's clear position and role within the world imperialist system, there are several important *particular* characteristics of the economic and political structure of the country which can be traced back to the historical development of and the concrete conditions in Austria. These particularities have to be recognized and correctly assessed in order to wage the class struggle successfully, in order to utilize all possibilities to attain the goal of proletarian revolution and to successfully carry it out.

Austria is one of the *smaller* imperialist powers and has a relatively low rank in the hierarchy of the imperialist countries. This rank does not only mean that the possibilities of the Austrian imperialist bourgeoisie are limited, rather this also presents the Austrian bourgeoisie with particularly effective possibilities, as well as determines the particular form of its imperialist politics.





VIENNA: The old slogans from the Paris Commune come alive again: "Workers Step Forward! Death to the Murderers!"

Armed uprising of the Austrian workers against Fascism in February, 1934

One-fourth to one-third of Austria's industry is *directly* in the hands of *foreign* imperialists (this is a high percentage for an imperialist country) and other significant sections of industry are under their control. In several particularly important branches of industry the share of foreign capital is practically dominant. The share of foreign capital investment in the electric industry is higher than 50% and according to official figures, is over one-third in the machine construction branch and textile industry (and this does not consider that an undeterminable section of the Austrian capitalists do not actually own capital, but are used as "owners of capital" by the real owners, the foreign imperialists).

Among the foreign imperialists who control or own large sections of Austrian industry as well as non-industrial sections of the Austrian economy, for example trade, the *West German* bourgeoisie stands in the foreground. American imperialism is in second place with a share of less than one-half of that of the West German bourgeoisie. The generally uninterrupted penetration of the Austrian economy by the West German imperialists (in the face of the slowly declining participation on the part of the U.S.) is accompanied by a likewise continuously increasing domination of Austria's foreign trade by W. Germany (W. German share of the entire Austrian exports has reached about 30%, and has already exceeded 43% of the entire Austrian imports). This situation is also expressed in the extremely strong and direct *political* influence of W. German imperialism in Austria. The "connection functions perfectly", proclaimed a leading paper of W. German capital, satisfied on the occasion of the W. German President's visit to Austria in February, 1939.

All of this means that the Austrian working class and the entire Austrian working population will be confronted not only with their direct main enemy, the imperialist Austrian bourgeoisie, but also with further important enemies, and particularly important among them is W. German imperialism.

In comparison with most of the other imperialist countries, the level of concentration of the industrial proletariat in Austria is *not* very high and has demonstrated for a longer period of time the tendency to stagnate. From a total number of approximately 2.7 million wage workers, only about 270,000, that is 10% work in large industrial factories with more than 500 employees. The relatively large share of small and middle industry as well as of the non-industrial sector of the economy in general - which is made clear in the fact that approximately 8% of Austria's gross national product comes from the tourist trade (this figure is significantly higher than similar figures from other typical European tourist countries; 3/4 of the overnight visits of foreigners are paid to W. Germany) - point to a difficult period regarding the consciousness and the organizational capability of the Austrian proletariat and offers favorable conditions for the development of opportunist and revisionist tendencies of all types.

Following the annexation of Austria by Hitler's Germany in 1938, a decisive section of the Austrian heavy and basic industry - which had already been under the control of German imperialism to a large extent - became "German property" and after the end of the war was treated as such by the Allies in their settlement discussions. In order to save this industry "from usurpation by the Soviet occupation forces", as it was later openly stated, the Austrian bourgeois-

sie made use of several comprehensive *nationalization* measures in 1946. Contradictory to the propaganda connected to this maneuver (which the Austrian revisionists also partially accepted), this does not mean that the toiling Austrian people have any type of control over these factories or that they are less exploited or have more rights working in them than in private capitalist factories. It is much more the case that the Austrian state runs these firms in the interests of and according to the needs of general capital, and that they guarantee that the existence of these factories strengthen the arch-reactionary state-capitalist aspects of the Austrian ruling system.

Although Austrian *agriculture* contributes only a bit more to the gross national product than the tourist trade, there are 350,000 farms in Austria of which 60% belong to small farmers (to some extent semi-proletariat) and 30% belong to middle farmers. The existence of 300 large landowners (owners of more than 100 hectares of land) results from the fact that the bourgeois democratic revolution was never carried through to its complete end. (Of these 300 large landowners over 500 are owners of more than 1000 hectares of land each). All of this illustrates the Leninist thesis on the necessity of the worker-peasant alliance and emphasizes that even in Austrian villages, great revolutionary potential exists, and that the Austrian proletariat as the leading and most massive force in the socialist revolution, cannot be victorious if it does not win the masses of small farmers and semi-proletariat, its decisive allies.

In Austria *national* questions play, in several respects, an important role.

A firm and deep-rooted *chauvinism* exists in Austria which is demonstrated in the brutal politics of assimilation, particularly with respect to the Slovenian and Croatian national minorities and in an aggressive chauvinist arrogance towards all oppressed peoples, particularly towards those peoples and nations which were nationally oppressed and exploited in the old Habsburg Austro-Hungarian peoples' prison, and those who are today in Austria as foreign workers from less developed countries.

This chauvinism is connected in many cases to a strong tendency of the *German* nation, which more or less openly denies the national independence of the Austrian people, and considers them to be "part of the German nation", thereby acting today as the direct tool and political-ideological forerunner of W. German imperialism, just as it did in the past.

If the Austrian working people do not want to forever be the pawns and victims of the imperialists' interests, Austria's progressive and revolutionary forces must fulfill their important task of recognizing and defeating this deep-rooted chauvinism as well as W. German nationalism, which are closely connected and which mutually influence one another.

In 1955 when the agreement of state was signed and the occupational force withdrew, Austria declared its "long-lasting *neutrality*" which has, of course, never prevented the Austrian ruling class and its governments from carrying out an imperialist and pro-imperialist foreign policy of a particularly reactionary brand. On the other hand, the Austrian bourgeoisie uses Austria's formal "neutral" status and its geographic location to make Austria a center of imperialist world politics; the Austrian bourgeoisie enthusiastically

volunteers to be a *broker*, negotiator and representative, particularly for the western big imperialist powers. The attempts to make Austria the dealing grounds for the big powers, the preferred meeting place for both open and secret meetings, and to place the largest possible sections of the UNO apparatus and its subsidiary organizations in Austria can also be viewed along these lines.

Although the ruling classes, supported by the revisionists of all types, attempt to paint these efforts in a positive light for the Austrian working population, by claiming that their success would bring Austria "well-being and security", these political undertakings are directly opposed to the interests of all peoples fighting imperialism and at the same time, directed against the Austrian working people as well. In connection to these strivings, the state's repressive instruments are expanded and armed; special armed formations are built and civil-war-like training exercises are carried out to meet the "security requirements" of the visiting foreign dictators; in addition to this, entire hordes of members of foreign secret services, police forces, body guards and "gorillas" are constantly streaming into Austria. At the same time increasing pressure is put on the workers not to disturb the "peace" and "security" requirements of the various Carters, Breshnevs and Schmidts, etc., or that of the UNO-officials, through strikes, demonstrations, etc. On the other hand "neutral" Austria has already sent Austrian soldiers into so-called international "crisis areas", such as to the Middle East, and there they are used as the armed expanded long arm of imperialism. The Austrian national army is being enlarged to be used for civil war at home and as an imperialist tool abroad.

Because of the low level of proletarian class struggle, the Roman pope recently called Austria an "island of the blessed". The Austrian ruling class and their Social-Democratic executives do everything not only to spread this lie internationally, but also and in particular, to convince the Austrian working people of this. But the facts tell a completely different story.

Despite a relatively high *average* standard of living (which also includes the multi-millionaires) when compared with the lesser industrial countries, several hundred thousand people live on the edge of poverty or even below the poverty limit in Austria. Among all of the European capitalist countries, Austria has the highest suicide rate.

Regarding the much-quoted "peace and order", even the officially manipulated statistics speak a clear language: More than 1500 judges and district attorneys, who are supported by more than 7000 justice-related civil servants deal with over four million cases per year and carry on approximately one-half million criminal proceedings per year while 10,000 people are constantly imprisoned in the 48 jails and prisons in Austria, not to mention the many thousand free on "probation" and those who are constantly under police observation.

The Austrian police and gendarme-apparatus includes 27,000 officials, is one of the relatively strongest police forces in Europe and encompasses more than at the time of Dollfuss/Schuschnigg Fascism. In view of this, the fact that the Austrian national army has not yet been enlarged to the extent that other European military machines have, takes on a less important meaning, mostly



because the national armed forces are being systematically and rapidly enlarged and modernized. The whole type of training taking place in the armed forces, the arch-reactionary tradition of the Habsburg Army and the Hitler Army which is stubbornly maintained, the composition of the officer corps and generals - all of this shows the deeply counter-revolutionary, anti-working class character of these forces. Just as they shot into the homes of the Austrian anti-fascist working-class fighters in 1934, these forces are primarily an instrument for the violent repression of the masses. It is an unconditional task of the revolution to completely smash these armed forces as well as all other armed formations and organs of power of the existing state - in order to clear the way for the building of a new, socialist society.

Ever since the sealing of the state agreement, Austria has become one of the most important centers of East-West trade. Nearly 500 firms from western imperialist countries, including 100 W.German firms have their offices in Vienna for managing trade with the East, not to mention the Austrian firms which further represent several hundred western imperialist firms, particularly in the Comecon market. Around 50 trade offices from the revisionist countries are also in Vienna.

Except Finland, Austria, of all the capitalist countries, has the largest quota of trade with the revisionist countries. In this, it is noteworthy that the revisionist "KPÖ" (Communist Party of Austria) directly owns or is co-owner of a significant part of the inland eastern trading companies, to the extent that it possesses key positions in this sector and rakes enormous profits from this. It is largely interest in maintaining and expanding this profitable capitalist economic empire which kept the KPÖ leadership - after several instances of wavering between "Euro-Communism" and Krushchev revisionism - completely loyal to the Krushchev-Breshnev clique. The revisionist KPÖ is an unmistakable agent of Russian social-imperialism and it carries on at the same time many functions as an agent of the Austrian imperialist bourgeoisie and fits very well into its game.

Many of these and other particularities render special *parasitic* characteristics to the prevailing capitalist system in Austria and contribute to the increased strengthening of this parasitism. The high rate of exploitation of the working class at home, which is based on high productivity, as well as the considerable number of foreign workers employed in Austria (mostly from Yugoslavia and Turkey); the direct exploitation of the working class and the working people of other countries through typical *export of capital* (generally to Turkey, Greece, South Africa and also to Latin America); and finally the participation in the entire world system of exploitation, gives the Austrian bourgeoisie the chance to use part of its profit and super-profits to buy off the relatively small section of the working class in order to cultivate and maintain a strong *worker aristocracy* as the backbone of the ruling "Socialist Party", which with 720,000 organized members, in a country of 7 million residents is the relatively strongest Social Democratic Party in the world. The super-profits make it possible to create a favorable atmosphere for the success of the Austrian bourgeoisie's demagogic propaganda that workers and bosses have common interests and that they therefore are joined in a type of "social partnership", that the most favorable conditions for the further growth of well-being and the maintenance of "social peace"

are to be found in the complete rejection of proletarian class struggle, of strikes, etc. - all in order to keep "peace and order". These efforts go beyond the worker-aristocracy and the already corrupted sections of the urban petty-bourgeoisie. The relatively long-lasting situation of a "boom" - which was caused by a series of factors - contributes only temporarily to the effectiveness of this demagogy.

Of course, things cannot *in the long run* remain as they are. The general laws of capitalism are applicable to the Austrian capitalist social order as they are for capitalist systems everywhere and otherwise in the world imperialist system. In Austria, the capitalist social order is also ripe for its overthrow; the *objective* conditions for a proletarian revolution exist. It is, however, decisive here, to bring the *subjective* factor to the level of the possibilities and necessities created by the objective conditions.

The MLPÖ, which was formed in the course of hard struggle against modern revisionism, is faced with the task of firmly defending the cause of Communism in the present situation of apparent "class peace" and of corruption; with the task of recognizing and propagating the laws of imperialism which do not stop at the doors to Austria, of making people aware of the inevitable sharpening up of the class struggle in Austria, of organizing with a long-term perspective in mind, side by side with the international proletariat and particularly with those peoples who are exploited by the Austrian imperialist bourgeoisie. Further, the MLPÖ is confronted with the tasks of propagating and preparing the way for the smashing of the entire imperialist state apparatus from top to bottom, for the replacement of this system with the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the expropriation of monopoly and finance capital, and then the capital of the entire bourgeoisie, for the establishment of socialist relations of production; further these goals must constantly be kept in mind and viewed as primary in all daily struggles.

The first condition for this path consists of the *formation* of and firm *establishment* of the proletarian Party, the MLPÖ. Without the Marxist-Leninist party the proletariat, as the leading force in the revolution, cannot become organized, politicized, or class-conscious, cannot carry out the fulfillment of the crucial task of winning the allies of the proletariat - above all the toiling peoples in the countryside.

Although the MLPÖ has already waged a decade of struggle, it is still in the phase of party building. The solution of the problems of the first phase: the establishment and strengthening of the MLPÖ remains, today as before, a main task.

The MLPÖ will strengthen its efforts according to its situation and possibilities "to create in the working class a consciousness of its situation and tasks", as the Hainfeld Program, the birth certificate of the modern Austrian working-class movement, over 90 years ago demanded, to bring political class consciousness into the working class. The MLPÖ will hold the banner of proletarian internationalism high and will wage a political struggle to prepare and carry out the proletarian revolution, as well as to decisively and thoroughly defeat all forms of revisionism in our own ranks as well as outside of the Party.



# WEST GERMAN IMPERIALISM IS A BIG IMPERIALIST POWER

West German imperialism, the heir of Hitler - fascism, has once again become a big imperialist power.

To clarify that W. Germany is an imperialist-oppressor state, that W. Germany today is not a second-rate imperialist power, but, according to the laws of imperialists, has already become an imperialist big power is a dividing line between Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries on the one hand, and revisionists and opportunists on the other hand.

In its second attempt to re-divide the world in its favor, W. German imperialism suffered a great defeat. After the second world war, W. German imperialism was beaten but not defeated.

W. German imperialism was beaten. W. Germany was put on a "firm ration" as Stalin described it, above all by American imperialism and was under the "American yoke". Already in the 1950's, Stalin struggled against the revisionist line which said that the U.S. imperialists would be the masters forever, and emphasized in opposition to this that W. Germany - as a still highly industrialized country, even if it did not have the same possibilities a big imperialist power had after World War II - would sooner or later, based on the law of uneven development of capitalism, shake off the American yoke and would go its own independent way.

But in the 1950's, the revisionist leadership of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) claimed that W. German imperialism could never again "experience an independent development". The documents of Stalins' struggle against these and similar revisionist viewpoints in the leadership of several Communist parties, contained in his writing "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR" (1952), are a great help in the struggle against all current revisionist lines about W. German imperialism. Stalin wrote regarding the possibility of an inter-imperialist war:

"After the First World War it was similarly believed

that Germany had been definitely put out of action, just as certain comrades now believe that Japan and Germany have been definitely put out of action... In spite of this, Germany rose to her feet again as a great power within the space of some fifteen or twenty years after her defeat... What guarantee is there, then, that Germany and Japan will not rise to their feet again, will not attempt to break out of American bondage and live their own independent lives? I think there is no such guarantee."

(Stalin, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.", 1952, Peking, second printing 1976, p.35/36)

It quickly became very clear that Stalin was right and the revisionists were not. In the 1950's the building of a strike-ready army began. In the 1960's capital began to be exported from W. Germany in larger volume and this managed to indebt other countries to W. Germany. From the mid-1960's to the early 1970's W. German imperialism became once again a big imperialist power with all the corresponding characteristics, which Lenin analyzed sixty years ago.

The entire current development shows that all attempts to underestimate W. German imperialism are incorrect. The attempts to reduce the currently active big imperialist powers to merely *two*, namely American imperialism and Russian social-imperialism through the "theory of the superpowers" must be decisively rejected by all Marxist-Leninists, but especially from the W. German Marxist-Leninists.

The W. German imperialists increasingly compete with the other big imperialist powers, that is, with American imperialism, Russian social-imperialism, with English, French and Japanese imperialism, etc. as the earth has been divided for the last eighty years. A renewed redivision cannot take place peacefully, according to the relations of power; rather, it would lead, sooner or later, to a massive military conflict among the big imperialist powers. Therefore, the W. German Marxist-Leninists decisively reject the "theory of the superpowers" and expose W. German imperialism as a dangerous, independent and war-mongering force which is preparing for an imperialist war, which today undertakes imperialist operations such as in Somalia, which incites local war, openly threatens the oil-producing countries with war, and which will take part in or incite an imperialist world war. For W. German imperialism, like all big imperialist powers, is striving for world dominance.

## W. German Imperialism Means Militarism

W. German imperialism previously and W. German imperialism today was and is made from the same material, has the same essence; it is characterized by its use of MILITARISM in order to pursue its imperialist goals, an essential characteristic of all big imperialist powers, but which takes on a particular form in this case because of the history of German imperialism and its forerunners, the reactionary Prussian system.

W. German imperialism, as the heir of Hitler -fascism, has succeeded after losing two gigantic world war, within a short period of time, in building up a powerful imperialist army, the second most powerful army in NATO with 700,000 soldiers, not including the reserves.

The militarization includes not only the 37 billion German marks (DM) of the "official" military budget, rather it penetrates all realms of life from construction to the planning of scientific research, from childrens' education to television programs.

The building up of their own armaments industry was particularly important for the W. German militarists; with the help of this industry, W. German imperialism was able to independently arm itself with the most modern of weapons - from Leopard tanks and grenade guns to radar systems and atomic weapons. Names such as Krupp, Krauss-Maffei, Siemens, Messerschmidt, IG Farben (Farbwerke Höchst, Bayer Leverkusen, BASF), etc., which are connected to the horrendous crimes during the years of Hitler -fascist system, and with whom the peoples of the world have not yet settled their debt, represent W. German imperialism today and are the secure guarantee that the W. German militarists are provided with the weapons and arms they need to pursue their aggressive goals.

W. German imperialism is preparing today to wage local and/or world-wide imperialist wars of conquest *without* and even *against* U.S. imperialism. It has launched ideological preparations as well, to get itself and the toiling masses ready for this by unleashing a wave of Great-German arrogance and chauvinism on a broad scale.

#### W. German Imperialism Means Revanchism (Revengeism)

W. German imperialism is also characterized by the particularity of revanchism, a special aggression which shapes the W. German imperialist plans for domination of the world, and which, in contrast to all other big imperialist powers, has arisen in the historical context of defeat in two world wars. W. German imperialism has suffered great economic hardship through these military defeats; it not only lost its spheres of influence on an international scale for a time, but the "Great German Reich" was also decimated after the second world war. All of this leads to an increasingly powerful concentration of all forces on the economic, political, military and ideological revenge, in order to win back lost terrain and to conquer new lands.

W. German revanchism is not only demonstrated in the attempt to restore its "Great German Reich" by the economic infiltration of Czechoslovakia, E. Germany, Poland and Austria, or by the military preparations to annex these countries. This would be an incorrect and simplified viewpoint, this drive to revenge is equally expressed in the attempts to win back its old spheres of influence in Asia, Africa, Latin America, in W. Europe and in all areas, where W. German imperialism, at one time either economically or militarily was subjugated, lost or where it strives to reconquer.

At the same time however, W. German imperialism is not currently limiting its activity to areas which were at one time under some form of its control, but carries on economic and military expansion and aggression through the export of capital, delivery of weapons and the creation of military bases in *all* parts of the world.

The ideology of the drive to revenge appears in different forms. But it is constantly characterized by the appeal of the W. German imperialists to a "restoration of the damaged German honor" by an emphasis on its strength and "superiority", as well as on its "pro-

pective" function in respect to other peoples, thereby linking up with the gangster moral of Hitler -fascist system in its attempts to make the situation of the working people of W. Germany "more acceptable and pleasant" at the expense of other peoples.

#### W. German Imperialism is an International Imperialist Bloodsucker

The situation of W. German imperialism today, its economic power to exploit the peoples of the world can be more closely described on the basis of several noteworthy facts which are propagated by the imperialist bourgeoisie itself.

The direct private capital investment and the capital export by W. German imperialism made up 62 billion DM in the period from 1952-1979. (In the last ten years capital export has increased over four times).

W. German imperialism, which appears as the great believer in the people, succeeded through credits, etc. in enclosing other countries in debt totalling 112 billion DM already by mid-1979.

These few figures show approximately what types of enormous super-profits the W. German imperialists rake from their exploitation of the working class at home and of peoples of other countries.

These super-profits make it possible for the W. German imperialists to directly or indirectly *bribe* and influence considerable sections of the working class and the urban petty bourgeoisie, to consolidate a worker aristocracy and to create an economic basis for the propagation of the ideology of class collaboration and class peace between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat - on the backs of other peoples.



W. German imperialism is preparing imperialist war operations

The W. German monopoly bourgeoisie is, to a large extent, parasitic, and is expanding the state, civil servant network, and bureaucratic apparatus for defense, control and division of these profits and super-profits.

It is the absolute duty of the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries in W. Germany to explain the entire imperialist activity of the W. German bourgeoisie as well as its essence to the working class at home - as the leading force among the oppressed toiling masses. Further it is their duty to propagate - in opposition to all forms of great power chauvinism - the idea of alliance with the working classes of all countries and with the oppressed peoples of the world, especially with those peoples who are exploited and oppressed by W. German imperialism.

#### W. German Imperialism Plunders Turkey

One of the countries which is increasingly becoming the object of rivalry between W. German imperialism and American imperialism and in which West German imperialism already has massive influence and is constantly increasing this influence is semi-feudal/semi-colonial Turkey. Among the countless crimes of W. German imperialism, the crimes of exploitation and oppression of the peoples of different nationalities in Turkey are some of the worst:

- Turkey's debt to W. German imperialism is its largest; in 1978 these debts exceeded two billion dollars.
- W. German capital export climbed in 1978 to 12% of the foreign capital invested in Turkey.
- The delivery of weapons to Turkey - a source of conflict with the U.S. imperialists - has already reached 4 billion DM including the concurrent aid for the development of the Turkish armaments industry.
- W. German imperialism brings, like a slave dealer, over 600,000 workers from Turkey (whereby another 100,000 workers from Turkey live illegally in W. Germany) to W. Germany. They are exploited there in the mines, auto industry, in the metal processing industry, particularly in the large factories under the worst conditions. These workers and their families experience daily the brutality and arrogance of W. German imperialism which keeps them in a particularly bad situation, deprived of their rights, which discriminates against them and unleashes increasingly chauvinist campaigns against them.
- The W. German imperialists are strengthening their cooperation with the Turkish state apparatus also on the level of the secret police network. The Ministers of Interior of both countries meet and discuss the further exploitation of the working class and the BKA and GSG-9 specialists, who follow in the footsteps of the Gestapo, train the fascist MIT (Turkish secret police). (BKA=Bundeskriminalamt: similar to the FBI; GSG-9: special SWAT police team)

These imperialist activities have a *second* side however: They make it easier for the Communists to create a fighting alliance between the working classes of both countries. The Marxist-Leninists of W. Germany stand firmly side by side with the workers from Turkey in W. Germany and with the peoples of Turkey in general against the chauvinist and racist propaganda. They attack the imperialist activity of their "own" bourgeoisie and struggle against its big power chauvinism and fight with all their strength for the firm unity of the working class and toiling masses of both countries, in order to win victories along the path to revolution in the course of joint struggle.

#### W. German Imperialism Intensifies Its Attempts to Annex Austria

W. German imperialism carries on imperialist activities not only in semi-feudal/semi-colonial countries, but also, as the example of Austria shows, in highly industrialized countries. Austria was brutally attacked and militarily occupied in 1938 by Hitler. Today W. German imperialism carries out the politics of "economic annexation":

- The W. German export of capital to Austria comprised 1.85 billion DM between 1952 and 1978.
- 43% of all Austrian imports came from W. Germany.
- Austria is indebted to W. Germany in the amount of 7.5 billion DM.
- 77% of the tourists who poured into Austria come from W. Germany. Every year there are more W. German visitors to Austria than there are Austrian citizens.

W. German imperialism has bound the Austrian economy so tightly to its own development that the economic trends in Austria correspond to those of W. Germany, even its detailed aspects.

W. German imperialism treats Austria today as part of its own territory. In the course of large search actions, border police vehicles crossed the Austrian borders; the official W. German repressive state instruments work more or less openly in Austria. The Austrian secret police learns its trade from the W. German police. W. German imperialism carries on a revival in all variations of the fascist Hitlerite ideology regarding the alleged "wish of the Austrian people for re-integration", which enormously and uninhibitedly distorts the violent military annexation of Austria and conceals the heroic anti-fascist resistance of the Viennese workers in 1934 against the rising fascist danger.

The Marxist-Leninists of W. Germany fully support the struggle of the working class and working masses in Austria against all enemies of their revolution including W. German imperialism. The Marxist-Leninists in W. Germany expose with all their means the W. German imperialist campaign of incorporation in regard to Austria and propagate solidarity with the struggle of the working class and toiling masses of Austria.

W. German Imperialism in W. Berlin

W. German imperialist policy regarding W. Berlin is an expression of its wild ambitions of revenge. West Berlin, which has a special status resulting from the defeat of W. German imperialism in the second world war, and which is located in the middle of E. German territory, is treated by W. German imperialism like an eleventh state and is practically economically and politically incorporated. The Marxist-Leninists of W. Germany recognize none of the W. German imperialists' claims on W. Berlin, struggle against and expose the W. German imperialist policy towards West Berlin as a significant proof of the intentions of the W. German imperialists to incorporate E. Germany.

Death to West German Imperialism!

The current situation within W. Germany is characterized by an all-around militarization and fascisization of life, which is connected to sharpened exploitation of the working people. Militarization and fascisization serve not only to prepare to defeat the revolution but also to prepare for imperialist wars - in contrast to opportunists' viewpoints.

The masses of people in West Germany have been systematically forced to grow accustomed to big blown-up campaign against so-called "terrorists" including control-searches and identity checks, and other search actions similar to those under conditions of war.

The expansion of the state repressive apparatus, above all of the special units trained to be used against revolutionaries, the secret police and the military such as the BKA and the GSG-9 forces, the creation of a voluminous computer control system are the main symptoms today of fascisization, while at the same time and parallel to this, the activities of fascist bandits (including the "Grey Wolves" from Turkey) increase, and are encouraged as well as even controlled by the state apparatus.

A particular symptom of the current situation is that the W. German imperialists have undertaken a broad campaign against the organization of Iranian students (CISNU) following the illegalization of the organizations of the Palestinian workers and students (GUPS und GUPA); and they started the biggest campaign yet in January 1979 against the organizations of workers and students from Turkey, ATIF and ATÖF, in the course of which they have disseminated their particular hatred for the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (TKP-ML).

The sharpened exploitation of the W. German working class has led to a sharpened economic struggle by the workers in W. Germany. The W. German imperialists especially fear the determined struggle and the great solidarity of the workers from Turkey who stood in the forefront in recent years in a series of economic strikes side by side with the W. German workers.

Politically, the W. German imperialists are attempting to prevent the working class and the masses of people in W. Germany from fulfilling their fundamental political tasks by their blown-up demonstrative show-battles.

In the coming period, it will be our task to make clear that the Social-Democrat Schmidt clique as well as the Christian-Democrat Strauß clique, which both want to head up the government in the future years are merely two sections of the same imperialist monopoly bourgeoisie, two horses from the same stall, who both deceive their respective sections of the masses of people while they carry on fascisization and preparations for war, and while both are willing tools of West German imperialism, militarism, and revanchism. One noteworthy, although certainly not decisive detail here is that both Strauß and Schmidt were officers in the fascist German armed forces and acquired their training and precision there for the dirty work they carry out presently and which they will carry out in the future.

In the struggle against W. German imperialism, all opportunist attempts must be defeated to construct different fractions of the W. German monopoly bourgeoisie, of which one faction is allegedly better, more peaceful or more democratic than the other.

Whether Strauß or Schmidt or both together: struggle must be waged in any case against the intensification of war preparations, and the sharpening fascisization, the intensification of the exploitation of the workers in W. Germany as well as of the peoples of other countries.

The aim of the economic, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist daily struggle against W. German imperialism must be oriented towards the next level of goals - that of the socialist revolution in W. Germany and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In these struggles, the Marxist-Leninists have to increasingly take up the building and formation of their party and struggle for leadership.

Within the working class a sharp class struggle must be waged against bourgeois ideology which is disseminated through an immense propaganda apparatus. The ideas of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the construction of socialism following the smashing of the W. German imperialist state apparatus through the struggle of the armed masses of people under the leadership of the working class and its party, the complete expropriation of firstly monopoly capital, and then the capital of the entire bourgeoisie, must be propagated and increasingly connected to the experiences of the working class and the masses of people, making these ideas a part of their consciousness.

The main question of every revolution is the question of state power. Based on this and in struggle against all of the W. German imperialists' claims on E. Germany and W. Berlin, the Marxist-Leninists in W. Germany will organize themselves in their party with the goal of smashing the W. German imperialist state apparatus.

They will struggle especially against every form of nationalism, every type of formulation of a German revolution encompassing both Germanies, and/or the formulation of such a "whole German" party.

They will struggle above all in the spirit of proletarian internationalism for the support of the peoples oppressed by W.

German imperialism according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. This is the prerequisite for the building of an international united front of the working class of the capitalist countries with the oppressed peoples for "a people which oppresses other peoples" cannot be free itself.

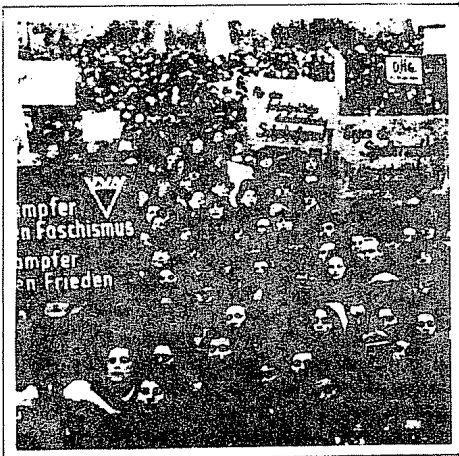
The revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists in W. Germany today are struggling for the unconditional liquidation of W. German capital abroad as well as for the unconditional liquidation of all military bases of W. German imperialism abroad.

In the current situation in W. Germany the main task is and remains the creation of a Marxist-Leninist party. The Marxist-Leninists today are still in the first phase - as defined by Lenin and Stalin - of party building in which the main form of work is carrying on propaganda work, in order to actually build the Communist party. All other tasks are subordinate to this task, for only a genuine Communist party, which constantly keeps the goal of the overthrow of W. German imperialism in mind in the course of its struggle against world imperialism, and which steadily defends proletarian internationalism and applies it can lead the working class and the remaining working masses to victory.

In the struggle to build the Marxist-Leninist party of W. Germany, the struggle against the ideology of Khrushchevite revisionism and all variations of revisionism must be sharpened in view of the current situation, and the under-estimation of modern revisionism must be opposed.

The KPD/ML (Communist Party of Germany, Marxist-Leninist) has caused particular damage to the struggle to build the Marxist-Leninist party in W. Germany in the fact that it is a caricature of a Marxist-Leninist party, representing a revisionist line and practice, which discredits the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

In the struggle against revisionism of all types, the Marxist-Leninists of W. Germany will found a genuine Marxist-Leninist party.



Massive demonstrations in 1948 in the western section of Berlin against the revival and re-strengthening of W. German imperialism

## THE SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE REVOLUTION IN WEST BERLIN

The current situation in W. Berlin and the subsequent tasks of the proletarian revolution compose a complicated problem. This is connected to the development of the Germany-question and as part of it, the question of West Berlin.

The successful solution of this question in terms of the proletarian revolution can only be achieved when the particular principles formulated by Lenin and Stalin on the question of the state as well as on the relationship between the proletarian revolution and the national question are constantly held up and taken as a starting point and are consequently applied to all questions regarding the proletarian revolution. These teachings and principles of Marxism-Leninism are the key in the development of a principled ideological and political line for the proletarian revolution in W. Berlin and in the development of the line for the building of the Marxist-Leninist party in W. Berlin.

The "West Berliner Kommunist" (Communist of W. Berlin) views it as a central and crucial task, - in the international Marxist-Leninist movement as well as in W. Berlin to make the central questions of the struggle for the proletarian revolution in W. Berlin part of the consciousness of the most advanced workers and revolutionaries, and thereby to struggle for clarity in the fact that the problems of the proletarian revolution in W. Berlin can only be solved through a Marxist-Leninist party, and that the building of this party must be dictated by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and W. Berlin's particular situation. A further task is making these questions into important issues of the day.

Today the situation is such that W. German imperialism, which has become a big imperialist power again, has practically incorporated W. Berlin and increasingly executes its power in all respects. Now, as previously, the American, English and French imperialists possess a significant power, above all through their military presence. For the proletarian revolution in Berlin, this is of fundamental importance, as the W. German imperialists control strong police units in W. Berlin, although they do not control the Army. It is controlled by the three western big powers, American, French and English imperialists. The revolution in W. Berlin is directed against all of these enemies.

W. Berlin is located like an island in the middle of E. Germany and in view of today's conditions - as opposed to previous conditions - reunification cannot be a goal. For in the face of the betrayal of the modern SED revisionists (E. German ruling party), E. Germany has become a capitalist, revisionist country, whereas it was formerly on the road to socialism. W. Berlin is surrounded by E. Germany, in which a new bourgeoisie executes its power. The capitalist-revisionist E. Germany



currently belongs to the counter-revolutionary RGW and the Warsaw Pact, both dominated by the Russian social-imperialists. Based on these developments, and on the situation in revisionist E. Germany today, the proletariat of W. Berlin has an even more difficult path ahead.

Therefore, the question of the rebuilding of the Marxist-Leninist party is directly bound up with the situation in W. Berlin.

The Marxist-Leninist party is above all an instrument of the proletarian revolution, for the attainment of and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In view of the tasks of the proletarian revolution in W. Berlin, and the smashing of the state apparatus, which is characterized by a series of particularities, it becomes even clearer why the proletariat of W. Berlin needs its Marxist-Leninist party, and why it cannot be led to proletarian revolution by the Marxist-Leninist party of W. Germany, nor by the Marxist-Leninist party of E. Germany. The state apparatus in W. Berlin cannot defeat the state apparatus in W. Germany or in E. Germany.

On the basis of W. Berlin's particular situation, the perspective of the proletarian revolution - despite the independent task of smashing the bourgeois state apparatus in W. Berlin, and above all, its armed units (the W. German imperialists' police force, and the armies of the American, French and English imperialists) - is bound up with the dictatorship of the proletariat in E. Germany, which will certainly be re-established by the revolutionary proletariat of E. Germany.

A decisive task of the Marxist-Leninists in W. Berlin is that of making the proletariat conscious of its long-term interests, so that it recognizes that it must smash W. Berlin's bourgeois state apparatus on its own and that it will be able to eventually establish the dictatorship of the proletariat for a certain period of time. The fundamental problem of the revolution in W. Berlin is however, that W. Berlin would not be able to build a solid economy rooted in its own economic base. Therefore, the victory of the proletariat in E. Germany and the unification with a socialist E. Germany plays an important role for the revolution in W. Berlin.

It is precisely these tasks and perspectives of the proletarian revolution in W. Berlin which must be brought into the spontaneous working class movement. The daily struggles of the proletariat in W. Berlin are actually developing based on W. German imperialism's near-incorporation of W. Berlin, based on W. German imperialism's exploitation and oppression of the W. Berlin proletariat. These struggles are closely connected to the struggles of the proletariat and other working people in W. Germany with whom proletarian solidarity must be manifested. And on the basis of these facts, the prevailing orientation of the proletariat of W. Berlin tends spontaneously and one-sidedly towards a connection to the working class movement in W. Germany. This one-sided orientation and direction does not correspond to the long-term interests of the proletariat of W. Berlin, which demand a close alliance with the E. German proletariat in the struggle for the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The proletariat of W. Berlin can only arm itself with this awareness of the decisive demands of a victorious struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat if it is consistently trained in the irreconcilable struggle against W. German imperialism, militarism and revanchism, against its ideology and its policies of increasingly building W. Berlin up to be an aggressive outpost 'towards the East' against its attempts to win the masses of people over to its revenge-oriented politics. Only the Marxist-Leninist party can train the proletariat in these things, and this training must be connected to the struggle against all types of chauvinist propaganda against all oppressed peoples.

This struggle can, however, only be successful if it is bound up with the struggle against modern revisionists and opportunists of all types, who in general, sabotage the struggle for proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The modern revisionists in West Berlin, the SEW, openly documented, in their praise of the Four Powers agreement, not only that they accept the near-incorporation of W. Berlin by W. German imperialism, but also they sabotage every struggle against the enemies of the proletariat of W. Berlin in general. In their recognition of W. Berlin's constitution, they openly denied the struggle for proletarian revolution.

The 'anti-revisionist' pseudo-Marxists such as KBW, KPD(RF), KABD and KPD-ML are all, more or less, directly in the rearguard of W. German imperialism, in that - although they designate themselves as "Marxist-Leninist", they include W. Berlin in their organizational area and have their "sections" and "local groups" there. This is an expression of their revisionist line which views only a few connections with the daily struggle in W. Germany as significant, but which sabotages the struggle for the proletarian revolution in W. Berlin as well as the perspective for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This sabotage in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat presents itself in several of these organizations in the concept of "one party for all of Germany", a concept which stems from bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism - be they declared followers of the "Theory of the Three Worlds" such as the KPD(RF) or be they its apparent opponents, such as the KPD-ML. They regard the question of unity of the German nation as the decisive criterion, and not the smashing of the state apparatus in determining the key question in the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Only at a much later date, that is, following the victory of the proletarian revolution in W. Germany, in West Berlin, and in E. Germany, is a reunification possible, is the building of a socialist Germany, on the road to Communism, possible.

In raising the national question to a primary question over the question of revolution, the tasks and the perspectives of the proletarian revolution in W. Berlin are not only sabotaged. At the same time and to the same extent, the decisive questions of the respective existing state power in W. Germany and E. Germany are ignored. The W. German proletariat can smash the W. German imperialist state apparatus only under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party, just as the E. German proletariat can smash the state apparatus of the new bourgeoisie only under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party.

The concept "one nation - one party" means betrayal of the interests of the proletarian revolution in W. Berlin, W. Germany and E. Germany.

All of the organizations - with their revisionist viewpoints - are actually tailing behind the modern revisionists; they must be viewed as a serious obstruction and struggle must be waged against them in the course of building the Marxist-Leninist party.



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