#### WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE! WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES, UNITE!

## GEGEN DIE STROMUNG



Organ for the building of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany

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May 8th 1995: 50th Anniversary of the military victory over Nazi Fascism

# The Potsdam Agreement: a sharp weapon for unmasking German imperialism, revanchism and militarism

Whoever has been attentively following the debates or phoney debates in Germany in the last few weeks knows that the two "opposing" camps are merely making a pretence of disagreement. Those who describe the 8th of May as the day of "Germany's subjugation" and boast that they have never "broken their oath to Adolf Hitler, are not so very far removed from the others who behave as if there had been a real "liberation" after May 8th and conclude that "today's Germany" has no resemblance whatsoever to Germany before the 8th of May. The Potsdam Agreement is a sharp weapon which refutes both of these apparently contradictory propaganda strands of German imperialism, militarism and revanchism today.

Although one must not overlook other essential aspects of the Potsdam Agreement, we must be aware that today the propaganda aiming at revising historical fact on the totally justified resettlement of so-called "Ethnic Germans" from Eastern Europe has become a focal point in the ideological offensive of German imperialism. This is something we must actively oppose particularly with the help of the Potsdam Agreement.

Reactionary ideologists of the Alfred Dregger sort concentrate on describing the resettlement of Nazi supporters from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary according to the decisions of Potsdamas "expulsion" and as "agrossinjustice". And what answer is being made to them? Yes, they say, it's true, this was an "injustice, but a consequence of the Second World War!"

Such a reply is not made just by chance. All the propagandists of German imperialism are united on one point: the slander that presents the

resettlements and the corresponding decisions made by the states of the anti-Hitler coalition as an "historical injustice".

Concerning the resettlement question the Potsdam Agreement said:

"XIII: Organised Transportation of the German Population.

The Conference reached the following agreement on the transfer of Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary:

The three governments have discussed the question from all points of view and recognise that the German population or a part thereof that have remained in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary must be transported back to Germany." ("The Potsdam (Berlin) Conference 1945", Berlin 1986, page 413)

## We must oppose revanchist plans against Poland and the "Oder-Neisse frontier"!

German imperialism is heir to the ancient and blood-stained tradition of Nazi fascism, reactionary Prussia and the Teutonic knights, all of whom in the process of reactionary wars grabbed Polish territories for themselves. Basically it is the same imperialism which in the course of its criminal Nazi fascist attack on Poland murdered 6 million people and dragged away almost 2 million more to work in its empire as slaves. These Nazi fascist atrocities could not have happened without the approval and support of the vast majority of the German population in Poland.

German imperialism has never given up its claims to revise borders, to "fetch back" the so-called "German territories" in the East which are part of the Polish state (including parts of so-called "East Prussia"). At no time has German imperialism recognised the Oder-Neisse frontier as the just and unchangeable Western frontier of Poland. This has remaine so even after the conclusion of the "frontier treaty" of 1990 with Poland, which the West/German imperialists agreed to out of pure imperialist calculation in order to stage their annexation of the G.D.R. and of West Berlin.

Instead a malicious campaign is underway against the justified and necessary resettlement of the German population from Poland. In the Constitution of German imperialism (the Basic Law) the revanchist Paragraph I 16 has been retained, according to which in the so-called "former German territories in the East" German nationality is the right of the so-called "Ethnic Germans" who live within the 1937 frontiers "as refugees or exiles of Ethnic German origin or as their spouses or descendants". Thus before or after the war these "Greater German" claims, against Polandin particular, continue in existence.

In order to counter this revanchist propaganda and policies of German imperialism it is essential to make clear that the measures taken at the Yalta Conference and by the Potsdam Agreement, specifically with regard to Poland, were totally justified.

The establishment of the Oder-Neisse-Line as the rightful Western frontier of Poland and the resettlement of the German population from the former territories of the "German Reich" were in keeping with the legitimate security interests of the Polish people and with the fact that the German population of these territories were largely Nazi-fascist in their political attitudes and had done nothing to oppose the Nazi crimes against Poland or indeed had actively supported them.

### We must oppose revanchist plans against the Czech Republic!

The so-called "Sudeten Question" is a key point in German imperialism's revanchist, rabble-rousing policies. The revanchist claim that the

German-speaking population of former Czechoslovakia were unjustly "expelled" and that it is now necessary for them to achieve their "right to their homeland".

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To refute this revanchist "expulsion" agitation we must emphasise and make known the historical facts.

The Munich Agreement of 1938 between Nazi-fascist Germany, Italy, France and Britain was from the start an invalid and illegitimate imperialist diktat, by which parts of Czechoslovakia were handed over to Nazi Germany in order to direct German imperialist ag-

gression towards the East, against the U.S.S.R., which at that time was a socialist country. Neither post-war West/German imperialism nor today's German imperialism have ever declared the Munich Agreement of 1938 to be from the outset totally invalid.

- The vast majority of the German-speaking population in Czechoslovakia played the part in Nazi-fascist policies of a "Fifth Column" for German aggression. By their active involvement or at the least by their silent approval, they made themselves guilty or shared the guilt for the crimes of the Nazi occupation against the Czech people and in particular for the genocide practised against the Jewish and Cinti and Roma peoples in the so-called "Protectorate of Bohemia and Morayia".
- The decision therefore of the Potsdam Agreement to transfer the German population or parts thereof to Germany was both just and necessary in order not to permit so-called "Ethnic Germans" once again to become a "Fifth Column" for aggression originating from Germany. Besides which as a consequence of their pro-Nazi attitudes or even active support for Nazi crimes for the Czech population it was no longer possible to live together with these population groups.

Former West/German or today's German imperialism has never been able to come to terms with the outcome of the Second World War and in this direction too they are pursuing a policy of revanchist revision of history. Today the revanchist "Exile Groups" are receiving massive support from the German imperialist state and efforts to "resolve" the so-called "Sudeten Question" are being given strong backing. Already branches of industry are in the hands of German capital and not just in areas adjacent to the frontier with Germany. German imperialism is exercising increasing pressure on the Czech government and on the pretext of the so-called "Sudeten Question" are refusing compensation to Czech victims of Nazi fascism.

#### The Potsdam Agreement and the Struggle for the Proletarian Revolution

The terms of past treaties, the Potsdam Agreement or drafts for a peace treaty, can of course today as a wohle no longer be seen as a basis for political solutions to problems that have arisen as a result of the Second World War. They are however essential weapons in the struggle for historical truth and many specific points in these documents powerfully underline the extent of the tasks facing us today on many fronts in our struggle against German imperialism, militarism and revanchism (recognition of the Oder-Neisse frontier line,

recognition of the independence of Austria, acknowledgment of compensation and reparations, recognition of the just measures taken for the resettlement of those sections of the German population of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union who were infected by Nazi-

fascist ideology etc. as just measures).

The crucial thing is: every single point of the Potsdam Agreement, especially the decisions on the resettlement must be understood in their ideological an political dimension and defended against the slander campaign of German imperialism. That's a the fundamental principle which necessarily derives from German history. Debates about "socialism or comunism" turn out to be absurd and reactionary, if even the simplest and most esssential

democratic principles, as laid down in the Potsdam Agreement", are not taken into consideration, are not accepted or even attacked.

Recognition of the principles of the Potsdam Agreement as a powerful weapon in the struggle against the "German Ideology" today, although important, is however only a first step.

The important thing is that for example on a day like May lst, the day of struggle for the international working class, we should embark upon discussion of the basic questions of socialist democracy, the dictatorhsip of the proletariat, the principles of socialism and communism and the questions of building the Communist Party.

This is particularly necessary with regard to groups who do "anti-fascist work at the local level", who claim to be "for communism", but when it comes to the crunch say they have too much to do to find time for basic discussions (the real reason no doubt being in fact that really tough and thorough political and ideological discussion is foreign to them; indeed they are fearful of such discussion).

To propagate basic communist principles and put them forward for discussion is however also necessary with regard to those groups, which in fact do, on some points, fight against German imperialism, but who somewhat absurdly describe themselves as "anti-German". These groups spread the idea that anyway we can't do much against the mass propaganda of German imperialism. They fail to see that like typical German intellectuals they are simply throwing in the towel and capitulating!

To tear out and destroy the "roots of Nazism", as the surviving prisoners of the Buchenwald concentration camp expressed it in their oath this requires a lot more than reformist work on a local basis. It requires powerful, basic, revolutionary communist activity.

What is really required is that the majority of the working class and their allies smash the reactionary state apparatus of German imperialism - and who can seriously affirm, if he or she is really a revolutionary, that this will happen "peacefully", without a civil war? What is required is to break up the command heights of the economy by means of expropriation and transform these into the socialist property of the working class; it is a question of prolonged and

> ever more sharply directed class struggle, aimed at reshaping the whole capitalist economy into a socialist economy without private ownership of the means of production. What is required above all is to build on the ruins of the bourgeois state a new state as described by Marx and realised in the socialist Soviet Union in the days of Lenin and Stalin: the dictatorship of the proletariat which holds down the overthrown exploiters and all reactionaries and makes genuine socialist democracy a reality.



To think seriously about revolution and to want genuinely to destroy the roots of Nazism - this means inevitably sooner or later to come up against the question of the communist party; this means sooner or later to debate seriously the basic line put forward by "Gegen die Strömung".

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