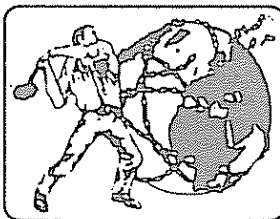


WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!  
WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES, UNITE!

# GEGEN DIE STROMUNG



Organ for the building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany

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In the face of the acceleration of the deportations and the germanisation politics of German imperialism we have, primarily, to propagate proletarian internationalism and Communism!

## On the Co-operation of the Revolutionary Forces of Different Nationalities in Germany

During the last months, the new government of the social democrats and the Greens (SPD-Grüne) has accelerated the politics of the sealing off of the country and of deportation. The minister of the interior Schily outstripped his predecessor Kanther. He trumpeted that the "German boat is full," that immigration has to be reduced "to zero," and he accelerated and accelerates the closing-off- and deportation laws as well as the deportation measures of his predecessors. In this, the Nazi-supported reactionary signature collection by the CDU/CSU against the SPD/Green government's project of 'double citizenship' was a welcome event for the government enabling it to divert from its own actual reactionary politics in the spirit of German nationalism. The effort of the SPD and the Greens to split the people declared as 'foreigners' into 'desirables' and 'undesirables' have not been without effect. This is reason enough not to get stuck in a discussion of juridical details, and instead of this to develop a principled Communist point of view concerning the revolutionary perspective and the revolutionary co-operation of the workers of different nationalities in Germany. This is possible only on the basis of the recognition of the also existing progressive aspects of the modern migration of nations, possible only in the struggle against all varieties of the chauvinist incorporation politics carried out by various pseudorevolutionary organisations towards the workers from other countries.

### Reasons for the existence of a Communist Party in every area of work on the basis of proletarian internationalism

It would be a mistake to get enmeshed in the pseudo-political details spread by the various political departments of German imperialism and its propagandists. On the contrary, it is necessary to begin our treatment of questions concerning "double citizenship," Germany as an immigration country or other, similar matters not in detail, but from the perspective of the struggle against capitalism, the struggle for its overthrow by the proletarian revolution.

In an imperialist country, in an imperialist big power such as Germany, the division of the world into *oppressing countries and oppressed countries*, which already existed before the advent of imperialism, is the basic starting point for reflecting on - as well as clarifying and propagating - the fact that the Communist point of view is the point of view of the oppressed toiling masses of all countries, especially the point of view of the workers of all countries. The struggle against capitalism, the struggle for the overthrow of imperialism immediately implies the slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!" as well as the slogan "Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!" In general, the world-wide system of capitalism and imperialism must be overthrown and destroyed by the victory of the proletarian world revolution.

It is by no means a diversion from the questions concerning the co-operation of the workers of all nationalities in Germany when we start out with the following clarification: When Lenin and Stalin proved from the Communist point of view that, on the basis of proletarian internationalism, a Communist Party must be built in every area, this was rooted very deeply in the whole process of the proletarian world revolution, its stages, developments and peculiarities. The basic principle is the co-operation of the Communist Parties in question, be it in the frame of an international organisation such as the Communist International or in other forms of co-operation.

From a deeper point of view, there are primarily two reasons for the autonomous existence of a Communist Party in every area of work:

First, *the law of the irregular economic and political development* of the various countries of the imperialist world system. Because of this law, the development of the revolutions in the various countries will always be irregular, not occurring at the same time. The proletarian revolution is, therefore, not a simultaneous act, but instead, because of the ripening process of the contradictions of imperialism, the world front of imperialism will crack first in the country which represents the weakest chain link at that moment.

Second, in order to *raise the consciousness of the majority of the working class* in one's own country and to organise this majority, we need, not only principled and strategic efforts, but also a huge amount

of tactical work. The latter can't be done without a detailed knowledge of the history and the present of one's "own" country or without a summary of the experiences of the revolutionary struggles in this country, a summary for which the Communist Party must serve as the organising centre.

### The historical genesis of nation states and multination states and the modern migration of nations under imperialism

It is important to be aware of the fact that in one's own country, there are more nations than just one, and workers from more than one nationality. The reasons for this are twofold:

First, the reasons are historical, having to do with the emergence and development on the one hand of various nations and nation states (especially France and England, but also Germany), and on the other hand, states inhabited by a variety of peoples (Austria-Hungary and the Tsarist Russian empire in the pre-monopolist era of capitalism).

Second, the historical and present background of this phenomenon is the "modern migration of nations" (Lenin) in the epoch of imperialism. The "modern migration of nations" is the inescapable consequence of the imperialist robbery and oppression by imperialism of the peoples in the dependent countries whose living conditions are generally so bad that the working people are forced to leave their countries.

Lenin demonstrated that the modern migration of nations is not only an inescapable consequence of imperialism, but that it also offers favourable possibilities for the development of class struggle:

"... only reactionaries can shut their eyes to the *progressive* significance of this modern migration of nations. Emancipation from the yoke of capital is impossible without further development of capitalism, and without class struggle that is based on it. And it is into this struggle that capitalism is drawing the masses of working people of the *whole* world, breaking down the musty, fusty habits of local life, breaking down national barriers and prejudices, uniting the workers from all countries in huge factories and mines in America, Germany and so forth." (Lenin, "Capitalism and Worker's Immigration," 1913. Collected Works, Vol. 19, p. 454)

It is also an undeniable fact that there is no imperialist-capitalist country in Western Europe with a purely national working class. Rather, the workers migrate to and from various countries, leading to a complicated picture of the national question in all European countries, including Germany.

### On the effects of the modern migration of nations in Germany: 24 million cases of immigration vs. 17 million cases of emigration since 1955

In order to get a glimpse of the complexity of the national question within the national borders of Germany, we should first talk about a fact that is suppressed in most statistics or, if not suppressed, never pushed front and centre by the imperialists in their use of statistical data: from 1955 to 1997, 24 million people from other countries have immigrated to West Germany and later Germany, 17 million of whom emigrated again later on.

It is impossible to discuss the real conditions in Germany today without these figures and the consequences connected with them. These numbers

show very clearly that the more than 7 million people presently living in Germany without a German passport are part of a long chain of immigrations and emigrations. These reasons have to be understood as clearly as possible, if we want to draw the right consequences for a revolutionary co-operation.

These numbers make clear that there was a much larger migration movement than is officially admitted. The question of the naturalisation of a small part of the 7 million workers from other countries of origin living and working in Germany, and of the naturalisation of the members of their families is, therefore, quantitatively a subordinated question.

### Fight the "divide and rule" politics of German imperialism thoroughly!

Apart from the flight from political, religious or racist persecution and from reactionary wars, the deepest reason for the modern migration of nations of millions and millions of people to Germany and from Germany is the pursuit of maximal profit on the part of the German bourgeoisie. Out of economic as well as political reasons, it is extremely interested in a surplus supply of workers, to have an industrial reserve army, an army of unemployed people.

For German imperialism, the millions of workers from other countries are especially important as an industrial reserve army. These workers are exploited, oppressed and persecuted in an especially brutal manner. They are threatened with deportation and are often forced into illegality. To a large extent deprived of rights, they can be pushed around, thrown out of the country and brought in again when needed.

This also serves to fan the flames of national contradictions. The promotion of German chauvinism is not to suggest that the reason for unemployment is not to be found in the capitalist system but in the workers from other countries, who allegedly "take the jobs away" from the German working people.

In this sense, the German imperialists have always intervened into the process of the modern migration of nations and have always tried to influence it in accordance with their ideological, political and economic interests. This can be demonstrated by the numbers and facts concerning the various stages of the fledgling German imperialism after 1945, the deliberate use of recruitment, deportation, opening and sealing off shows especially clearly that the question which nationalities are attracted and which ones are repelled is part of German imperialism's larger concept of "divide and rule" and has an important role to play.

Each progressive worker's movement has to struggle right from the start and unconditionally against all varieties of incitement against workers from other countries of origin. All "special laws" like the "foreigner's law" as well as "rules for additional populations," "immigration laws" etc. are instruments of German imperialism to infuse the German working class with a sense of arrogance and chauvinism. The Communist Party must be the vanguard in the anti-imperialist-democratic struggle for equal rights of all people living in Germany, for the abolition of all "foreigner's laws" and against all immigration limits, against all special laws and against all limitations for workers without a German passport.

### Questions concerning the common struggle and the revolutionary perspective

An analysis of the present situation of the more than 7 million people living in Germany without a German passport makes clear that the term "foreigner" lumps up totally different problems, obscuring these problems thereby. Already a rough summary of the nationalities working and living in Germany is sufficient to draw a

## Facts from Bourgeois Statistical Data on the Modern Migration of Nations

At present, more than 7.4 million people without a German passport live in Germany. From 1955 (when the recruitment started) to 1997, 24 million immigrations and 17 million emigrations are officially registered (for West Germany). Immigration and emigration are distributed as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Period	Population in the first year	immigrated	emigrated	Population in the last year
1955-73	0,5 million	9,5 million	5,7 million	4,3 million
1974-85	4,3 million	6,8 million	6,5 million	4,6 million
1989-97	4,6 million	7,6 million	5,1 million	7,1 million
		23,9 million	17,3 million	

Sources: *Daten und Fakten zur Auswanderung*, 17th Edition, Bonn, March 1998 / table 1.4, table 7, *Migration und Integration in Zahlen. Ein Handbuch*, Berlin, November 1997 / table 2.1.1, Press announcement of the Federal Office for Statistics, July 30, 1998.

□ In 1967, the workers from Italy were the relative majority of all immigrants, with 23 %. Since 1973, most of the immigrants come from Turkey, with immigrants from (ex-)Yugoslavia ranking second. In 1996, 2 million working people from Turkey lived in Germany, constituting 28 % of all working people from other countries. The number of the working people from ex-Yugoslavia is 1,3 million, constituting 18 % of all working people from other countries. The number of the workers from East Europe, especially Poles, grew during the nineties, reaching 500.000 in 1996, that is, 7 % of all working people from other countries.<sup>2</sup> Starting with the eighties, the number of the working people from Asia (10 %) and Africa (4 %) has also grown and has reached one million by now.

□ Of the more than 3 million gainfully employed people from other countries of origin, the official statistics registers 65 % as workers, and 25 % as white-collar workers. Of those from the "main recruitment countries," the workers constitute 75 %. The official unemployment rate of these is presently at 20 %, that is, more than 500.000 people. The unemployment rate is thus twice as high than the one for the German working people. Government sources additionally estimate that a "quiet reserve," i.e., unemployed people not included in the official

unemployment statistics, comprises about one million workers without a German passport.

German imperialism is strengthening the creation of an insecure, short-term status of residence in the country, which is at present valid for more than one million people. 600.000 of these are, according to official statistics, directly threatened by expulsion and deportation. The number of persons without legal residence ("without papers") lies, according to cautious estimates of social associations, at around ½ million. Subjected to an especially brutal exploitation are the 250.000 firm-contract workers who are even denied all of the normal social services and benefits.

□ At present, more than 1,6 refugees live in Germany. About 100.000 were able to apply for asylum in 1997. The numbers on applications for asylum show that most of the refugees come from East- or Southeast Europe, with Asia and Africa ranking second and third. The number of asylum seekers recognised as refugees has dropped dramatically. In the eighties, the numbers lay between 10 and 30 %, today, the rate is at 3-4 %. From 1987 to 1997, there were at least 160.000 deportations; there were 70.000 deportations in 1993/94 alone. This number doesn't even include those refugees who are deported directly at the German border.

<sup>1</sup> The official bourgeois statistics doesn't include working people who do not officially enter and leave the country and whose movements are therefore not statistically recorded.

<sup>2</sup> In addition, there are more than 2 million so-called "Aussiedler" from East Europe, persons who are classified as "of German origin" by the German bourgeoisie.

Sources: *Daten und Fakten zur Aussiedlersituation*, 17th edition, Bonn, March 1996; *Migration und Integration in Zahlen. Ein Handbuch*, Berlin, November 1997; Press announcement of the Federal Office for Statistics, July 30, 1998; *Statistisches Jahrbuch für die BRD*, Stuttgart 1997; *Strukturdaten über die ausländische Bevölkerung*, Stuttgart 1997; *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, March issue, 1996, T.E.T. Marketing und Verlagsgesellschaft; *Der Markt der drei Millionen Gastarbeiter und ihrer Familien in der BRD*, Frankfurt 1994/95; Report of the commissioner of the Federal Republic of Germany for questions concerning foreigners on the situation of foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin, December 1997; *Frankfurter Rundschau*, December 3, 1998, Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft (ed.): *Ausländer in Zahlen, Daten und Fakten von A-Z*, Cologne 1997. Pro Asyl Internet page

qualitative distinction. People who live in Germany and come from Austria, The United States, France and England account for half a million people. Whenever there is talk about the so-called "foreigner problem," it is clear right from the start that it is not about the members of these nations. This is often a point where racism becomes visible.

Although it is difficult to prove in detail, we can state with reasonable certainty that the majority of the members of these nationalities within Germany does not belong to the working class. (There are certain border regions, including parts of the French-German border, where the situation is different.) The question of the revolutionary co-operation and the revolutionary perspective will therefore arise not primarily in connection with members of these nationalities.

The multifaceted character of the problem also shows up at the other end of the hierarchical pyramid of the differentiation of the so-called "foreigners." These are the refugees at the lowest end of the hierarchy, split into many nationalities. They have largely a status of outlaws. They are deported in large numbers by the governmental offices. They are the primary target of the terror of the Nazi gangs. They are especially people from Asia and Africa who have fled from the political conditions in their "own" countries.

A second important category consists especially of

the workers from Turkey (of Kurdish and Turkish nationality), but also Croats, Serbs and Bosnians from ex-Yugoslavia. In numbers, they comprise more than half of the so-called "foreigners" in Germany. This is primarily the result of the recruitment of unskilled workers who have started to create their own structures and traditions in Germany during the past 20 years.

In this, we should be well aware that the workers who come to Germany cannot simply be counted as part of the German working class just from "the day after" they came here, but are bound to remain part of the working class of their countries of origin for a long time to come. Considering the huge extent of immigration and emigration, therefore a large part of the workers presently living and working in Germany has probably come to Germany only very recently and must consequently still be considered part of the working class of their "own" countries.

The example of the Turkish and the Kurdish nationalities also shows that the whole matter is not only about the state of origin, but also about nationality. According to the "Verfassungsschutz" (office for the protection of the constitution), among the workers from Turkey 40.000 people belong to the revolutionary left, and among the Kurdish population in Germany, 11.000 are deemed to be activists of the PKK (*Stern* 3/99, p. 30). From the point of view of German imperialism, they constitute a revolutionary potential

## Historical Experiences

### Engels's struggle against the incorporation of the Irish section of the First International by the English section

Engels defined Ireland as a nation oppressed by England. He strongly objected to the attempt to incorporate the Irish section of the First International into the English section. He did so for basically two reasons:

First, on this basis it would have been impossible to fight chauvinist tendencies among the English workers, who already felt like "superior beings" in comparison with their Irish counterparts (Marx-Engels Works (German), Vol. 18, p. 80). Second, this melting of the Irish section into the English section would have been a direct sabotage of the revolution in Ireland. As Engels expressed it, the Irish sections in England were "our operational base, as far as the Irish workers in Ireland are concerned." The Irish

workers in England were, under the then prevailing conditions, "more progressive, since they live under more suitable conditions," and therefore, the movement in Ireland could be "propagated and organised only through their mediation." (*Ibid.*, p. 81)

Therefore, in cases like these, "true internationalism must necessarily be based on an autonomous national organisation" (*Ibid.*, p. 80).

### Experiences of the Communist Party of France and the Communist Party of Italy from the twenties to the forties

Of the three million worker immigrants living in France in 1926, about 850.000 came from Italy. These were in part organised in the Communist Party of France (FCP) or in the M.O.I. ("Maison d'Oeuvre Immigrée"), an FCP-led organisation of immigrant workers living in France.

From this, there emerged an altercation between the FCP on the one hand and the Italian Communist Party and its foreign department on the other. The most important goal of the foreign department of the Italian party was the recruitment and organisation of cadres for the anti-Fascist illegal resistance in Italy. But the FCP pursued the conception of admitting Communist immigrants into the cells of the FCP. Thus, a situation of competition was created.

A precise assessment and evaluation of this conflict, using original sources of the Italian Communist Party, the French Communist Party and the Communist International, is indispensable for the debate today.

(Concerning the situation in France of the workers from other countries of origin at the time under review, see the article: "Zur Frage der ausländischen Arbeitskraft in Frankreich" in *Kommunistische Internationale*, No 47/48, 1928, p. 2891-2904).

which - according to the spokespersons of the state - "endangers the security of the German state." As far as the population of ex-Yugoslavia is concerned, such fears are presently quite superfluous from the perspective of German imperialism - although, given the armed struggle of the KLA (Kosovo Liberation Army) in Kosovo, the activities of Albanian organisations here in Germany as well as in ex-Yugoslavia are under close observation by the German state. The fluctuation between ex-Yugoslavia and Turkey on the one hand and Germany on the other hand is very great, a fact hardly represented in the statistical data. The to and fro and the two-way character of the economic and cultural relations to both countries disproves all those who can see only a "here" or a "there."

From a revolutionary perspective it is clear that, especially for the Kurdish liberation struggle, the large number of the Kurds living in Germany constitutes a strong *material and political basis for the liberation struggle* against the Turkish state. This is a process which, albeit in a different form, also emerges in the Kosovo-Albanian population in Germany, concerning the national liberation struggle in Kosovo against the Yugoslav central state.

It is, at present at least, different in the cases of nationalities like Italy, Spain and Portugal where there are no revolutionary mass movements or armed struggles on the agenda today. Here perspectives of staying in Germany for a long time a much more influential, without, however, giving up the country of origin completely.

A different problem once again is represented by the national minorities who have often lived in Germany for centuries, like parts of the Jewish population, the German Sinti and Roma and the Sorbs, as well as the Danish minority in Schleswig-Holstein. By far the largest part of them want to stay in Germany. But considering the growing anti-Semitism and anti-Gypsy racism in Germany, emigration and flight of the Jewish population as well as of the Sinti and Roma can by no means be excluded.

But this is another example of the complexity of the situation, since, for example, the Jewish population of Germany consists largely of immigrated Jews especially from East European countries who have fled the anti-Semitic pogrom atmosphere there, while another part consists of survivors of the Nazi genocide (and their children and grandchildren) who have lived in Germany already before 1945. Also from the East European countries, especially from ex-Yugoslavia

and Romania, Roma fled from the pogroms and anti-Gypsy terror in their countries of origin and came to Germany.

Even if the complexity of the situation can be outlined here only very roughly, one thing is clear: Whenever the question of a common struggle and the revolutionary perspective of the worker and the other working people of various nationalities in Germany is raised, it is impossible to abstract from the situation in the countries of origin, from the decade-long migration movement, the different nations and states of origin, as well as from questions of age and position in the production process.

It is of decisive importance, especially in the building of the Communist Party in Germany, to perceive the complexity and the big differences and to be aware of their importance, because otherwise our answers to the questions concerning the revolutionary perspectives will be simplistic. If we want to clarify the role of the workers of other nationalities in the construction of the Communist Party in Germany, an important step is a glance backward at the historical experience, as well as a concentration on the present experiences.

### Historical and present experiences

Historical experience shows that the great theoreticians of scientific Communism have given different answers in different situations. Their answers are lessons that show that, on the basis of scientific Communism, a differentiated approach is necessary.

In a particular situation, namely, in Switzerland with its three nationalities - speaking the French, the Italian and the German language -, and considering the fact that the immigrant workers there were largely from France and Italy, Lenin took it for granted that the country should have a CP comprising all workers of Switzerland.

In a prison of the nationalities such as Tsarist Russia that had emerged and developed historically and was by no means enriched by an immigration of many nationalities from other countries, Lenin and Stalin struggled for a unitary CP oriented on the territory of Russia, preserving national peculiarities. (See Lenin, Works (German) Vol. 10, p. 152, Vol. 19, p. 420 and Stalin, Works (German) Vol. 2, p. 329-332).

These are models that we ought to know and assess, but we must not apply them to schematically to other situations.

On the other hand, there is an example in pre-monopolistic capitalism that is also important for

imperialism, namely, the question of the organisational forms of the Irish workers in England. Engels clearly and expressly stressed that he saw the Irish workers in England as the basis of a revolutionary development in Ireland. According to Engels, these workers should under no circumstances simply be subjected to the English organisational fetishists, simply being incorporated into the Communist organisations in England thereby.

One thing emerges clearly in all these cases: the point of departure of the reflections of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin was always the interest of the proletarian internationalist in the maximal promotion of the proletarian world revolution and - subordinated to this general perspective - the interests of the revolution in every particular country.

What Engels shows using Ireland as example can in our time be illustrated and explained with the Kurdish liberation struggle as example. In this, we don't overlook the nationalist tendencies more or less dominating the PKK and leading to the danger that the PKK turns into an instrument of imperialist rivalry.

It is entirely clear that the Kurdish population in Germany, among them the youths who were born here, sympathise with the Kurdish liberation struggle against the Turkish state power and are ready to support it materially, politically and, if need be, also by directly taking part in the armed struggle. This would be even truer if the PKK had a clearly Communist line oriented on scientific Communism with clear ideological, political, strategic and tactical foundations. The demands of some pseudo-revolutionary organisations according to which all Kurdish revolutionaries, if they live in Germany, should primarily take part in the building of the Communist Party in Germany are exposed immediately as what they actually are: reactionary appeasement, a veiling of their own capitulationist line.

What is at stake is not simply the question how long someone has lived in Germany or whether he or she was or was not born here. Rather, the most important thing is a person's revolutionary perspective, his or her revolutionary clarity, his or her revolutionary enthusiasm. Even among those born here, there are many youths who close ranks with the Kurdish revolutionaries in order to take part in the armed struggle against the Turkish state. This example demonstrates clearly how dangerous it would be to exclude the question of the *revolutionary perspective*, when it comes to questions concerning the organisation of the revolutionaries of various nationalities in

### Three basic principles for the approach of the Communist Party to the national question

Lenin stressed that in its approach to the national question, the Communist Party must start from the following basic principles:

"first, from a precise appraisal of the specific historical situation, and, primarily, of economic conditions; second, on a clear distinction between the interests of the oppressed classes, of working and exploited people, and the general concept of national interests as a whole, which implies the interests of the ruling class; third, on an equally clear distinction between the oppressed, dependent and subject nations and the oppressing, exploiting and sovereign nations, in order to counter the bourgeois-democratic lies that play down this colonial and financial enslavement of the vast majority of the world's population by a insignificant minority of the richest and advanced capitalist countries, a feature characteristic of the era of finance capital and imperialism."

(Lenin, "Preliminary draft theses on the national and colonial questions," 1920, Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 145)

Germany.

### The decisive importance of the struggle against German chauvinism

The correct stance concerning the common struggle of the workers of various nationalities in Germany in the economic, political and ideological struggle and in the building of the Communist Party is undoubtedly of decisive importance.

In an imperialist big power such as Germany, the approach to the national question is touchstone for every revolutionary Communist Party. The maximal support of the revolutionary movement in those countries that are held as virtual half-colonies by German imperialism, as is largely the case with Turkey or, say, Croatia, is a point of departure for developing a truly proletarian class consciousness in the ranks of the working class in Germany.

Of course, German imperialism will do all and everything in order to turn the workers of various nationalities in Germany into tools in its service and to use them for the destruction of the revolutionary movement and for the accelerated exploitation in the countries still held in the status of half-colonies.

But the millions of workers from other countries are also an important antipole in the struggle against the accelerating development of a German chauvinism on a broad basis, and against the systematic cementation of a worker's aristocracy oriented on German nationalism, consisting of foremen and masters who feel themselves as members of the master race, entitled to boss around the working slaves from other countries of origin. Without a correct approach to this question, the German working class, the working class in Germany can't be unlocked from the chains that bind it to German imperialism. The common class struggle of the workers of different nationalities in Germany is an important touchstone for the readiness to develop into a revolutionary direction, to develop a real class consciousness.

For various organisations declaring themselves Communist, which are in reality much more reformist than one would assume from their revolutionary phrases, a favourite theme are discussions about intermediate and transitional phenomena which aren't really at the core of the problems. It is of course possible to discuss down to the smallest detail at which

time a youth of the third generation whose grandfather came from Spain can be regarded or not regarded today as a German in the wider or narrower sense. From a Communist point of view, the person concerned should be able to contribute his or her own view to this.

### Basic principles of a differentiated approach and of the individual admission into the CP

In the building of the revolutionary Communist Party in Germany, the decisive thing is to really lead a struggle on two fronts, a struggle that, based on the interests of the proletarian world revolution, correctly promotes the preparation and execution of the proletarian revolution in Germany. This can happen only on the basis of the maximal development of the co-operation of the Communist Parties and revolutionary movements in all areas of work, in order to overthrow capitalism and imperialism in the course of the common struggle, finally achieving the victory of the proletarian world revolution.

On the one hand, this means that it must be clear right from the start and unconditionally that the question of citizenship or nationality cannot play any role for the admission into the Communist Party in Germany, cannot be a criterion for membership.

On the other hand, in the admission of revolutionary forces from other countries into the party, which of course has to take place individually, a series of questions has to be taken into account.

Here, the first question is whether the comrade in question changes party membership with the consent of the CC of a sibling organisation or not, or whether it is a case of a comrade who wants to join a Communist Party for the first time, and whether the question of the personal perspective was discussed thoroughly with the comrade and the friendly sibling organisation.

Apart from this individual question, there exists a very important general problem. It is not admissible to enter into competition with the Communist organisations in other countries which build foreign departments of their organisations here in Germany to create or strengthen a revolutionary mass basis for the revolutionary, often armed, struggle in their "own" country. At this point, the Communists who are building the Communist Party in Germany must be particularly modest and humble and must distinguish themselves by their proletarian internationalism. They must display the characteristics of Communists who are well aware that they are building the Communist Party in an imperialist big power which strives with all its might to become the imperialist power number one of the world and to subjugate other peoples and nations to an ever increasing extent and ever more brutally.

It is also clear that the case of an Australian comrade who lives and works in Germany and wants to take part in the building of the Communist Party in Germany is completely different from the case of a Kurdish worker who asks him- or herself whether to take part in the armed struggle in the Kurdish areas of Turkey or in the building of the Communist Party in Turkey, or whether or not to join the revolutionary perspective in Germany.

Undoubtedly the *lowest layers* of the working class will play the largest role in revolutionary struggle, and therefore broad masses of people who are not German in the classical-reactionary sense will also play an important role in the armed struggle during the proletarian revolution. Without doubt there will be excellent cadres in the Communist Party who understand themselves as immigrants. But primarily we are already able to see that it is hardly the expectation of quick revolutionary changes in Germany that encourages immigrants to stay here; as far as revolutionary changes are concerned, they are at present certainly more likely in such countries like Turkey

from which they emigrated in the first place.

The core is to do, in a quiet and non-sensationalist manner, the work in building the Communist Party in Germany, to fight German chauvinism in all its typical and less typical varieties and to show by one's whole activity that one's own decision was primarily made to serve proletarian internationalism, the proletarian world revolution and, in this framework and subordinated to it, the preparation and execution of the revolution in Germany. For this very reason, in the building of the Communist Party in Germany there will be no propaganda campaign, say, for the organisation of all workers of Kurdish nationality within the German party because they allegedly all have to take part in the building of the Communist Party in Germany. If we reject such a campaign, this doesn't mean at all that we reject the admission, for a shorter period or permanently, of workers and Communists of other nationalities living here in Germany into our organisations in every single case.

Basic guideline for the co-operation of the revolutionary forces of the different nationalities in Germany is the following:

„The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at the Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have world to win.

Workers of all countries, unite!“

(Marx/Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," Peking 1965, p. 77)

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Contact thru:

### BOOKSTORE Georgi Dimitroff

Koblener Str. 4, 60327 Frankfurt/M.

\*Fax: (069) 73 09 20

\*E-Mail: BuLaGDimi@aol.com

\*http://members.aol.com/bulagdlim/gds.htm

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