

**The International Situation,  
Europe and the  
Position of the  
Marxist-Leninist Parties**

**- Outlines and Theoretical Explanations -**

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( unauthorized translation )

## I.

What is the present international situation? Where do we find the most important contradictions on international level? What is the position of the developed countries such as the Federal Republic of Germany, which do not belong to the superpowers, not to the 'sovereigns', but belong to the imperialist countries? Do they fulfil a positive role in uniting against the superpowers, and what must be the attitude of the proletariat in these countries thereto? These are the questions engaging the attention of the Marxist-Leninists in various countries at present.

Here we are going to 'outline' the standpoint of our party. Speaking of 'outline' means that we are trying to answer and shall answer this whole complex of questions as a whole. Together, there will arise a series of important theoretical questions which we cannot yet debate here, concerning above all the history of the communist working-class movement in the developed countries, its decline, and the question of the objective economic development during the last 50 years, in which the world-wide national-liberation movements have grown up, becoming the most conspicuous characteristic in the present world situation.

a. The Importance of the Analysis of the Concrete Situation

Every act of a Marxist or a Marxist party is derived from the analysis of a concrete situation. What is the international situation, and what is the national situation? Where do we find organized independent proletarian forces, how strong is the reaction, which developments are favourable and which are unfavourable to the proletariat? A Marxist must always ask himself such questions, and he must be eager to answer them most thoroughly and exactly. The carefulness in these questions is an absolute order for every Marxist, for a mistake in such questions means nothing less than exposing irresponsibly masses to the reaction, either involving masses in a premature hopeless fight or throwing away chances of a victory of the mass movement and missing a certain moment, but in any case inflicting a loss to the world proletariat and helping the enemy. With all that, one must always face the fact that present imperialism is the highest developed form of exploiting classes' rule incorporating all the experiences in strategy and tactics of former exploiting classes against the masses. The leading cliques of imperialism will take advantage of all opportunities and reserves to lengthen their rule, in particular they will profit by every mistake of the socialist forces in the world. That is the root of that intransigence, that power measuring like two wrestlers demanding the extreme concentration of both, of that way of struggle in which today the international proletarian revolution and the imperialism and social-imperialism are confronted with each other as well worldwide as on the small national and regional scope, even though the revolutionary forces are in the better strategic position and revolution is the main trend in the world today.

b. What Is the Concrete International Situation? (\*)

The international situation is characterized by great disorder and turbulence throughout the world. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution; in this trend and in this intensified struggle against the two superpowers, the sharpening of all fundamental contradictions in the world is particularly manifesting itself at present. At present, a special significance is due to the movement for national independence of all oppressed peoples and oppressed nations and of all countries suffering from the bullying of the superpowers. At present, the international questions are very much in evidence in the struggle for progress, for the social revolution of the proletariat. And in connection with these questions, the question of the position of a number of developed countries is also of a special importance for the social progress in the world. Here we want to specify once again a number of elementary factors proving this.

It is international class-struggle that is happening in the world. On the side of progress, of revolution, there are today definitely the international proletariat, the socialist countries, and the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, who are fighting for their liberation, for their self-determination against colonialism, imperialism and racism, and for their real political and economic independence.

On the side of international reaction, there are first of all the superpowers as well as some reactionary outposts that are loyal and steady lackeys of international counter-revolution, as for instance Israel and South-Africa, the Thieu clique and the Lon Nol clique and others. As to the superpowers, it is to be emphasized that Soviet social-imperialism is displacing U.S. imperialism more and more from the role of the chief promoter of international reaction and is taking

it over itself, that today it has become the main warmonger, the vanguard of political reaction and is becoming even more, that it expansively thrusts forward to all directions and establishes close relations with all the arrant reactionary forces in the world.

The fact that such a significance is due to the movement for national independence has its root in the historical development. In any case, today's movement of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations and today's Third World countries for unity and solidarity plays a great role in the struggle for progress in the world, because it is a real chain-link towards emancipation, for the struggle for independence of these countries from today's hegemonic powers, the two superpowers.

This trend to national independence has today seized a number of dependent, essentially likewise oppressed, developed industrialized nations. And this is utmost positive and by no means negative in the struggle against the superpowers, because it restricts their opportunities to blackmail the peoples and to unchain a world war, and the Marxist-Leninists must stand up for this unity.

c. To understand this struggle between the peoples fighting for freedom and independence and the superpowers one must pursue the historical movement of the past fifty years, as well the development of the communist movement as the international development, the liberation struggles of the peoples.

For at least fifty years, the movement of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations has been undergoing a rise passing through various twists and turns but essentially continuous and ever increasing. The vast majority of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations achieved its state independence during this period. In several developing countries a socialist (respectively a new

democratic) revolution took place.

Meanwhile, in the relatively high-developed countries the working-class movement had to suffer without any doubt several heavy defeats of strategic importance, as for example the defeat of the German communist movement by the Nazi-fascism and his underlings, and the degeneration of the Soviet Union to a fascist, counter-revolutionary power.

As to the communist parties in the developed countries, it is, generally speaking, a fact that besides the strategic defeats during the last 20 to 50 years they passed through a development of shallowing and flattening over some ups and downs that finally ended in a complete revisionist degeneration, in the bourgeoisification of these parties. This applies in like manner, even though in various forms and in mutual influence, as well to the C.P.S.U. as to the C.P. of Germany, England, France, Italy, etc. Look at the social development: on the one hand, despite two world wars, heavy economic crises and shakings creating in a way revolutionary situations in those countries at different times, there was a development and expansion of opportunism among the labour leadership not taking advantage of the revolutionary situations and actually even helping imperialism to survive; but on the other hand, the revolution has developed on the side of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations overcoming obstacles and set-backs, as well the liberation movement of the nations as directly the social revolution of the proletariat.

Historically considered, imperialism has sought the way out of the inevitable becoming proletarian revolution in the intensified exploitation of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, of the Third World. That becomes evident from this side, from this contradiction of the historical development, too. In this we see the fundamental meaning of Lenin's thesis of the year 1922:

"But the morrow of world history will be a day when the awakening peoples oppressed by imperialism are finally aroused and the decisive long and hard struggle for their liberation begins." (1)

The split of nations into exploiting and exploited, into oppressing and oppressed is the basis of the system. Lenin wrote utmost significant:

"That is why the focal point in the Social-Democratic programme must be that division of nations into oppressor and oppressed which forms the essence of imperialism, and is deceitfully evaded by the social-chauvinists and Kautsky." (2)

In the exploitation of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, there is the root for the development and relative strength of opportunism.

The historical movement involved that the principal aspect of the development of the proletarian revolution was resting with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, that the centre shifted there. The independent working-class movement and the real communist parties were suppressed by imperialism and revisionism. They were controlled by revisionism. The arising of such real movements was prevented by murder and terror on the one hand, by repeated 'buying', corrupting of the upper stratum and a part of the leaders of the working-class on the other. All this could not justify giving up the proletarian revolution in the developed countries at any time, because on the other side, the pressure on the lower masses by this system became more and more tormenting; but as long as the working-class movement was controlled by modern revisionism, as the independent working-class movement was confronted by enormous difficulties, this tendency, the shifting of revolution to the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, was to be marked more and more.

The historical development has manifested itself in today's situation:

The labour aristocratism and opportunism, the bribery of an upper stratum of the proletariat, and the privileging of whole peoples as compared with others are just based on the exploitation and plundering of the Third World. In the developed countries there exists a system today that is suppressing the proletarian revolution at home with brutality as well as the most cunning methods. Proletarian revolutionary parties within these nations find themselves not only under massive pressure, they are also continuously threatened by the danger to succumb to the influence of opportunism, of bribery, and of philistine and bourgeois degeneration. Therefore, real Marxist-Leninist parties in these countries must fight a hard struggle, must go a complicated winding path, must pursue an universally right policy over various phases, must fight an extremely consequent struggle, if they want to become real proletarian revolutionary parties of the masses, if they want to carry through the aim of the social revolution of the proletariat. That must be so because of the whole division into oppressing and oppressed nations, and that is also taught by the experiences, already those of Lenin concerning the parties in the developed countries as well as the experiences of today's Marxist-Leninist parties. This situation obliges the Marxist-Leninist parties in these countries to work particularly careful according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to fight particularly thorough against revisionism, to apply the above principles particularly thorough.

The temporary suppression of the working-class movement in the developed countries - despite the high degree of socialized production, despite the over-ripeness of imperialism and social-imperialism and despite the many experiences of the working-class in the developed countries because of their history - was just only another aspect of

the fact that actually the centre of proletarian revolution is with the peoples and nations of the Third World or at least has been there up to the present for some decades, which has consequences on the world situation up to this day.

Lenin forecast this development. In the year 1919, he pointed out in another important passage:

"It is becoming quite clear that the socialist revolution which is impending for the whole world will not be merely the victory of the proletariat of each country over its own bourgeoisie. That would be possible if revolutions came easily and swiftly. We know that the imperialists will not allow this, that all countries are armed against their domestic Bolshevism and that their one thought is how to defeat Bolshevism at home. That is why in every country a civil war is brewing in which the old socialist compromisers are enlisted on the side of the bourgeoisie. Hence, the socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie - no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism." (3)

These historical explanations, of course, do not mean at all that one may disregard the importance of the working-class movement in the developed countries. At present, the working-class movement is undergoing a big rise, and the development of the proletarian revolutionary movement in the developed countries is of decisive importance for the progress of revolution all over the world, and "it is self-evident that final victory can be won only by the proletariat of all the advanced countries of the world". (4) The proletarian revolution and the Third World liberation movements are representing the two great revolutionary tides of our epoch.

The historical movement, which opposed a vast number of oppressed and exploited peoples and nations, where today nearly three quarters of the whole mankind are living, to a handful of exploiting imperialist countries, has made clear differences and new contradictions occur within the developed nations themselves. During the decades-lasting contest for hegemony, during the contest for which imperialist plunderers may exploit the foreign countries, semi-colonies and colonies at the most, a number of imperialist-capitalist countries have become themselves a subject of hegemonism and of oppression and exploitation by other imperialist great powers. And above all, the decisions of the two world wars played a great role. The system of oppression of the former colonies and semi-colonies has ultimately turned themselves into dependent and oppressed nations, too.

During this development, one state passed through an enormous rise within imperialism, that is the U.S.A., which gained immense profits from the two world wars and had the best economic conditions at home for building up the biggest monopoly capitalism. It obtained vast influence in Europe, in Latin-America, Asia, Africa and Oceania and eventually plundered two thirds of the world. Others, as for instance Great Britain, were on the very decline since World War I. The British Empire largely fell into ruin. Others passed through an exceedingly changing history, as for example Germany, who herself was at times extremely suppressed, but on the other hand became herself temporarily the bulwark of fascism, of enslaving other peoples, the chief promoter of international reaction. France, England, Italy, Japan and Germany (respectively West Germany) are countries which in the past took part in the imperialist competition, temporarily in leading positions, but today have fallen themselves partly into dependence.

Finally, Soviet social-imperialism originated from revisionist degeneration of socialism in the Soviet Union, by the counter-revolutionary over-

throw of the socialist society in the Soviet Union in the mid-fifties by the Soviet revisionists and the following restoration of capitalism and development towards social-imperialism reproducing the old tsarism in a new form as social-fascism and presenting itself a bourgeois dictatorship in the line of the Hitler dictatorship.

And in this development, there is the historical necessity. For, which imperialists can today still take part in the contest for hegemony entirely? It is exclusively the two superpowers coming into question for that according to their economic, military and political potential. The emergence of such 'superpowers' among the imperialists became necessary for maintaining the system of imperialism against the rising liberation movement of the Third World. In this way the system with the two hegemonic powers has emerged in the past 20 to 50 years.

The thrusts of imperialism against the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, the further development of imperialism together with the two imperialist world wars and increasing exploitation and oppression of, and threat to, the whole world by today's system of the two superpowers have produced their antithesis. The oppressed nations and oppressed peoples offer an ever increasing resistance as well each one as united to the two hegemonic powers.

These short historical considerations illustrate the significance of the revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations and define a certain relation of the working-class movement in the developed countries and this revolutionary movement. The great trend befalling us today - countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution - is emerging from the movement of the Third World and decisively supported by it. The movement of the Third World and the tendency in the world connected with it, the general upheaval, is the most outstanding manifestation of proletarian revolution at present.

d. According to the European countries (excluding the Soviet Union) the following can be said: just as Japan, Canada, Australia, Oceania, they do not have the same position as the superpowers or a similar. This is self-evident considering their present position. None of these countries possesses such a military or economic potential as the two superpowers. None of these countries carries on an interference and control comparable to the two superpowers within dozen of countries and on the oceans. On the contrary, most of these countries are bullied themselves by the superpowers to considerable extent. Several of these countries are themselves occupied or kept like a colony, such as the countries within the Soviet revisionist sphere of influence; others are kept in dependence by export of capital and other means of economic infiltration.

The Federal Republic of Germany, too, does not fill a position equivalent to the superpowers, nor it is a 'sheer lackey' of the superpowers. One must deal with the Federal Republic differentiating it, too. The Federal Republic ultimately belongs - despite its relative strength as compared with the other countries and its relative close ties to the superpowers, and although the German question is very closely bound up with the rule of the superpowers, which split Germany - still to the group of countries in between the superpowers and the Third World and is threatened itself to a particular extent, too. The Federal Republic borders itself upon the power sphere of the Soviet revisionists and has a great strategic significance. The Soviet Union particularly pursues expansively to get the Western European countries under its control. The Federal Republic is a constituent state of a nation, in whose other constituent state the Soviet social-imperialists have concentrated a threatening military force.

The argument that the European Community with a West German hegemonic power could become a second or a third superpower does not hold either. On the one hand, because presently it is at best

a matter of a tendency. On the other hand, the sphere of the European Community and the Eastern European Comecon-countries excluding the Soviet Union hitherto belongs to the sphere of influence of the superpowers, and the tendency of being oppressed by them even increases, by the superpowers' trying to split the European group of countries, by intensifying their infiltration and control and pressure, by trying to coalesce with most reactionary forces within these countries, by trying to paralyse the resistance against themselves and to suppress the advanced masses, first of all the working-class.

Hence, these countries altogether have a position in between the Third World countries and the superpowers. So far as they oppose the tyranny of the superpowers, so far as they unite for mutual defence, the Marxists-Leninists throughout the world must support this; but so far as they take part in the oppression of other countries themselves and link with the superpowers, the Marxist-Leninists must fight against this. The proletariat is interested in the widest possible unity of all countries against the superpowers, which today are the very powers striving for imperialist world hegemony and threatening world peace.

In this way, the attitude of the Marxist-Leninist parties can be derived quite elementally. But we want to enter more profoundly into the matter, because this matter must, of course, be complicated, and because it is a question for a Marxist-Leninist to think over exactly, to support the aspirations for national independence of countries which are by nature themselves imperialist countries or have at least essential attributes of an imperialist country.

## II.

During the last years a trend appeared throughout the world - countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. And doubtlessly, this trend has seized this zone too, that consists of a number of capitalist and imperialist countries situated between the two superpowers on the one hand, and the peoples of the Third World and the socialist countries on the other. This trend in a way threw a connection between the national-liberation struggle of the Third World and the endeavours of these countries to national independence. A number of magnificent liberation wars of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations after World War II produced a world-wide avalanche of the struggle for national independence. In recent history, the liberation wars of the three peoples in Indochina gave an example to all peoples of the world. The glorious victory of the Vietnamese people over U.S. imperialism must strengthen an avalanche of the struggle for national independence of the peoples, but also of a number of governments. National independence produces progress, a flourishing of culture. National independence, joint resistance of umpteen countries of the Third World against the superpowers, which constitute the rear forces of reaction on the international scale, that is in reality the actual guarantee for peace and restricts necessarily the possibilities of the superpowers of unchaining a world war. And national independence will undoubtedly produce better democratic conditions for the masses, for the proletariat, at least in the vast majority of all cases. Every real Marxist-Leninist in the world had and has to understand this movement and to support it as a great progressive power.



But how about the development of such relatively strong imperialist countries as the Federal Republic, England and France, to which this trend has spread already for some time, which partly, as France, for a long time have been playing a positive role in many international questions, in the struggle against the superpowers? However, Great Britain and the Federal Republic recently have also shown considerable resistance against one or the two superpowers.

Hence, some questions arise: What is the attitude of the proletariat to such a movement in such an imperialist country?

There was for instance a controversy on the occasion of the Breshnev-visit in West Germany in the early summer of this year (1973 - the translator) with the 'KPD', 'Roter Morgen' and other parties and organizations. There are also a number of wrong opinions among the Marxist-Leninists, which must positively be eliminated, such as putting the contention between the Western imperialists and the Soviet revisionism for their influence in Eastern Europe as an absolut fact into the foreground, but leaving out that fact or putting it into the background that the efforts of Soviet revisionism are directed towards the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, towards the movement of nearly all countries, and that including the European countries and including the Federal Republic too, for disengagement from the superpowers. Or for example that opinion to deny systematically the danger of an imperialist aggression or exertion of influence in Europe, and that including the F.R.G., by threat and blackmail on the part of the Soviet Union. This is as more important as Soviet revisionist social-imperialism aimed and up to the present aims at achieving a breakthrough in Europe and getting the whole Europe as far as possible under its control as a chain-link of its ambitions of world domination. Our party is concerned to fight against these endeavours of the social-imperialists and against the endeavours to link with it, to take a stand in the in-

ternational controversy and to support the struggle for independence. The international revolutionary proletariat must enter the lists and struggle against the dangerous, aggressive aspirations of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism.

Fighting against the imperialist at home, its machinations and manoeuvres against the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations and the socialist countries is always an important task for the Marxist-Leninists in an imperialist country.

Only the proletariat, together with the broad masses who oppose the labour aristocratism and the bribery are a real firm and durable ally of the peoples and nations oppressed by imperialism in their struggle for independence. Only the proletariat that strives for complete abolition of the property-relations of imperialism and for replacing them by communism, or before by communism in its first phase - the socialism, can be a real, durable ally of the peoples and nations oppressed by imperialism, for the property-relations within imperialism are universally connected with the exploitation of foreign countries. Generally, imperialism means the change of all propertied classes to the side of reaction, of imperialism, including the middle-bourgeois and the most part of the petty-bourgeois forces which all are profiting by the exploitation of foreign countries and thus are likewise tending to justify or palliate the oppression of foreign countries in this or that degree.

Conversely, the proletariat can only pursue its revolutionary aims in the closest alliance with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations. For, which forces can the revolutionary proletariat rely on, under the conditions that imperialism is suppressing the proletariat and splitting it by means of the profits drawn away from the oppressed nations, creating strata held up by, and humble to, itself, promoting and wakening opportunism everywhere.

"The revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would in fact be nothing but a sheer fraud if, in their struggle against capital, the workers of Europe and America were not closely and completely united with the hundreds upon hundreds of millions of 'colonial' slaves, who are oppressed by that capital." (5)

Lenin wrote so in 1920. And this applies to this day to an immense extent, after opportunism has dominated the scene in many of the developed countries over decades, after the struggle between the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations on the one hand, and imperialism respectively social-imperialism on the other, has sharpened enormously, after the political movement of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations has reached a high level but with an exploitation still more increasing at the same time. All this has to be beyond dispute for a Marxist-Leninist. For the Marxist-Leninists in Germany, among other things, it will be the point to unite with the struggle of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations of Eastern Europe, who are more or less completely suppressed and brutally exploited by Soviet social-imperialism, but whom West German imperialism tries to exploit as well, partly under the predominance of the Soviet social-imperialists thus being also economically useful to it, partly seeking political control there itself.

The question that matters here above all is the attitude of the Marxist-Leninists to the movement of their own imperialist countries in the struggle for their own national independence against the superpowers, in particular against Soviet social-imperialism, which is itself menacing these countries, and how to estimate these countries in the international arena.

This question is deriving from today's complicated international situation that differs considerably from the former situation of imperialism existing in Lenin's times, when he elaborated

the fundamental analysis of imperialism. Today's imperialism has yet become more manifolded and more differentiated although its characteristics have remained the same.

At the time of Lenin's well-known analysis of imperialism, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" from 1916, there were a number of more or less 'equal' imperialist states, the policy of which consisted in competition for hegemony, in a contest for the repartition of the world, first of all the colonies and the semi-colonies. This competition had already reached the stage of a war - World War I. This war was mainly waged for the repartition of foreign territories, not precedently for the subjugation of one of the imperialist countries.

Today, we are confronted first of all with the system of the two superpowers, which are opposite to the socialist countries and the Third World. A number of capitalist-imperialist states formerly belonging to the leading states have themselves, up to a certain grade, fallen into dependence upon the superpowers and become a subject of their hegemonic politics. And this is raising new questions.

And these questions must necessarily be complicated. Within the international system, these states are quite definitely countries of capitalism and imperialism. They show the most fundamental economic characteristic of imperialism, that is the monopoly, the monopoly capitalism. Another definite characteristic of imperialism in these countries is the participation in exploitation of foreign nations, first of all the Third World nations, and resulting from this, also the corrupting and bribing of a part of the working-class which is held up by a part of the superprofits or lifted up to a higher, petty-bourgeois standard of living. During the last years, it was a tendency that this labour aristocracy in a number of European countries has been raised up to an even higher level by the

massive import of millions of foreign workers from Northern Africa and the 'marginal zones' of Europe. Thus, the workers in the European countries were considerably relieved from the heavy and dirty work to some extent.

By their nature, these countries must be anxious to take part in the repartition of the world besides the superpowers, of course even today, to expand their imperialist spheres of influence just the same way as they did formerly. On the other hand, these countries must offer resistance against the tutelage and the subjugation by the superpowers. And within these endeavours, the bourgeoisie or a part of it will show readiness to unite in a way with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations. Thus, the foreign political endeavours of these countries in a way have two aspects which are different in their essence.

The economy and the relations concerning home affairs of these countries must also be influenced by their international position based on the historical development of imperialism in the last 50 years. The monopolies of U.S. imperialism dominate quite unequivocally within international monopoly capitalism. They carry on export of capital on a very large scale, and that in recent years especially to Western Europe and Japan, and again especially into the Federal Republic of Germany. Soviet revisionism, too, carries on political and economic subversion and infiltration and tries for instance to make the F.R.G. dependent on its raw material resources to an increasing extent.

On the other hand, the economic connection of these countries with the developing countries will have besides the negative aspects also positive ones, as for instance, if this economic connection such as the participation in big projects is of use with regard to the safeguarding of independence, that must mainly be directed at the superpowers.

Recently, the oil-exporting countries, which are mainly Third World countries, for instance are uniting ever stronger and thus are able to exercise influence on the countries of Europe.

These examples, anyway, show that the international position can influence the economy of these countries, too; hence it must be conceded that certain aspects of imperialism must be modified, diminished or increased, which precisely to be analysed is still a task for the Marxist-Leninists.

In any case, it is clear that the superpowers, which exert subversion, infiltration and threat within these countries, everywhere allying with the most reactionary forces, must strengthen stagnation, decay and reaction in these countries, while the endeavours of these countries to unite closer with the Third World in economic and political respect must generally promote the very opposite aspects, such as relatively extensive democracy.

However, let us return to the contradictory political position of these countries. The question arises, what the attitude of the Marxist-Leninists within such countries towards the endeavours to unite and to offer resistance against the superpowers is like.

How and only how can a Marxist go about the question of this movement of the European countries for unity and for defence of sovereignty: he must proceed from the question - which policy is the correct one from the standpoint of the international proletariat? Which one serves the international proletariat most of all? And to answer this question he must proceed from the concrete existing situation as we have just described it.

The above characterized situation is distinguished just by a world-wide trend of striving for national independence in which the peoples and nations have united. In this connection, it is clear that the concentration of the widest possible

unity against the superpowers is of utmost importance, that the superpowers will get most isolated by it while the international proletarian revolution will advance an important step, and that presently a particular importance is due to the European countries, because Soviet social-imperialism must try to make a breach into the international front, must try to split asunder the European countries, weakening the single countries as well as playing off the countries against each other.

Moreover, the conflicts in Europe are to be regarded on the basis of the conflicts between the Third World countries and the superpowers. Soviet social-imperialism will just try to get the European countries under its control, to pull them on its side so as to exert a massive pressure on the Third World countries as well, to achieve a most uniform block of reaction against the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations. It is in the nature of things - or of the social-imperialism that by all this, it aspires after world hegemony itself and thus must fall into an acute contradiction as well to the other European states as to the other superpower, the U.S. imperialism. And without any doubt, it is just these intentions which the Marxist-Leninists must rise against. These intentions govern the policy of the Soviet revisionists, governed for instance Breshnev's 'travelling wave' in summer this year (1973 - the translator). That Breshnev had no success with it, but met with refusal more or less everywhere is one thing, essentially a reflection of the fact how far the movement for national independence has already grown. A Marxist-Leninist, however, who is not mainly fighting against this attempt, but directs his chief attention to the fight against the European Community, the associations of the European states and the advancing of West German imperialism in such a moment, who mainly reproaches Soviet revisionism with letting West German imperialism advance too

far, in a moment when Soviet revisionism is menacing Europe including the Federal Republic of Germany, that one hopelessly falls behind the situation and at the bottom still clings to a past development.

The accentuation of the Third World and the movement for national independence - and it is necessary here to emphasize this once again - can in no case mean the renunciation of an independent proletarian revolutionary policy and the building up of an independent proletarian revolutionary party. On the one hand, only for that reason that the rivalry of the superpowers must contribute to the intensification of all contradictions in Europe. The superpowers pounce upon these countries with their high-developed industrial potential to subordinate it to their disposal. It is quite imaginable that on ground of the intensified contradictions between imperialism and social-imperialism and the superpowers' frenzied attempt to undermine these countries and to get them under their control, European countries belong to the next chain-links where socialism will have a break-through. Just because of that, the proletariat must get prepared, the communists must multiply their efforts and overcoming all difficulties create definitely consolidated proletarian parties against opportunism and revisionism. - On the other hand, the economic conditions in these monopoly capitalist countries, the contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces in a way always put the social revolution of the proletariat in these countries on the order of the day. Engels already wrote:

"In the trusts, freedom of competition changes into its very opposite - into monopoly; and the production without any definite plan of capitalist society capitulates to the production upon a definite plan of the invading socialist society.

Certainly this is so far still to the benefit and advantage of the capitalists. But in this case the exploitation is so palpable that it must break down. No nation will put up with production conducted by trusts, with so bare-faced an exploitation of the community by a small band of divident-mongers." (6)

Only the shifting of a big part of the exploitation on to the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, the creation of a bribed labour aristocracy, and the undermining, destroying and absorbing of the labour leaders by opportunism and social-imperialism could check the inevitable becoming proletarian revolution. The relations under imperialism have been uphold, so to speak, artificially. Every independent working-class movement, however, that cannot be bribed, that preserves its independence, that strictly adheres to the proletarian leninist line, that relies on the international revolutionary proletariat, the broad lower masses and the close alliance with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, that is leading the masses to revolution corresponding to the real conditions, to the already existing high socialization of production, is antagonistic to monopoly capitalism. The contradictions to the whole imperialist bourgeoisie must always be extremely acute. International imperialism with its two chief representatives, the two superpowers, remains the enemy of the working-class. The whole political situation demands that the Marxist-Leninists in those countries strictly adhere to the aim of proletarian revolution and win the working-class for it.

The real communists must, nevertheless, defend the national independence of those countries and their union against the superpowers, must back them against tyranny and blackmail by the superpowers and in particular combat intransigently the social-imperialism, for that

is in the interest of the international proletariat and is a just cause. At times, they even have to fight for the solidarity of these countries and nations against an aggression from outside by one or the two superpowers and their slavish collaborators and quislings, for the superpowers try to infiltrate these countries, to penetrate as well the bourgeoisie as the working-class movement and all progressive forces, and to paralyse these countries from within. At present, this applies first of all to Soviet revisionism, which must attempt to oust U.S. imperialism and to split the European countries among one another and to force them under its influence. Basically, the infiltration is the other side of its attempts to push these countries into the role of a lackey by pressure, courting, blackmail, military encircling, and overt armed intervention. In case of an aggression or occupation by the superpowers, currently by the social-imperialism in particular, the communists must unite with all forces who defend the national interests and struggle against the aggressors. Every capitulation to the superpowers and every collaboration with them against the Third World peoples must be fought against. The real communists must resolutely stand up for the closest possible friendship and support of these countries with the peoples and nations of the Third World, must intransigently fight against every aggression or participation in an aggression, in particular every intrigue and aggression against socialist China, above all a surprise attack by the social-imperialism against China. They must stand up for the broadest possible solidarity of all countries bullied by the superpowers, support the broadest possible united front and encounter to the danger of an imperialist world war as far as possible.

### III.

The sharpening in the questions of international situation makes the significance of the struggle of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations as well as the modern revisionism in its historical role appear even more evidently.

To seize the essence of the present situation it is necessary to seize the essence of modern revisionism, especially of Soviet revisionism. It is just the political reaction of Soviet revisionism that is not clear to many socialists in the developed countries.

Social-imperialism means, as Lenin said, "socialism in words, imperialism in deeds". In this way its essence can be put into a formula. Today, the imperialist character of the Soviet Union is quite evident in a multitude of crimes against the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, against the Eastern European countries which are exploited in a quite outrageous way, in a policy of threat and blackmail that is in no way inferior to the policy of the U.S.A., but in a way even has outflanked it. The Soviet revisionism is exerting a massive threat to the European countries today. But nevertheless, many socialists do not see this character or are still hoping for a return of the Soviet revisionists to socialism or are trotting behind the situation denying or extenuating the role of today's Soviet Union as a chief promoter of imperialist reaction which contends with the U.S.A. for world hegemony.

In so doing, the Soviet revisionism is just building on opportunism, on the privileges of whole peoples and nations, by which also a part of the socialists in these countries was deceived,

because the exploitation has shifted in particular towards the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations.

Inwardly, relative to the Marxist-Leninist movement, the revisionism is manifesting itself just in avoiding the thorough ideological struggle, in shallowing the Marxism-Leninism, in denying the proletarian revolution. The Soviet revisionism basically aspires an "unprincipled unity of the socialists", in which the criticism of Soviet revisionism, of its crimes is taboo, that basically aims at disintegration and bribery of all honest forces who want to support the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations in their struggle.

The Soviet revisionism tries to camouflage itself by the tradition of the former socialist Soviet Union. However, one must realize the political essence of Soviet revisionism, as a country officially standing on the basis of Leninism, but acting contrarily in deeds and accepting the ideological controversy in no way, representing a completely hypocritical, blackmailing social-imperialism.

Such a revisionism that overthrew an already victorious socialism, that reproduced the tsarism and exploits other countries, and that now expects its hypocrisy to be accepted as socialism, must in fact be a barbaric, fascist reaction. A party and a country, that officially stands on the foundation of Leninism, but on the other hand precisely carries out the contrary and tramples upon Lenin's doctrine, must be dominated by a barbaric, unlimitedly hypocritical, fascist reaction, that must ban every practising of Marxism-Leninism, every real examination on the basis of its criteria from the very beginning.

Formerly, the Soviet Union was a connecting-link between the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations in the East and the proletarian revolution in the West. It was a fundamental principle of the Soviet Union that she gave the complete

state equality to the peoples and nations formerly oppressed by the tsar and aimed at the development and advancement of these countries economically as well. But with the establishment of revisionism the old tsarist prison for all nationalities was re-established, too.

A support for the Soviet revisionism is the opportunism, or rather the exploitation of foreign countries by a handful of rich nations, from where imperialism gains superprofits into the bargain, by which it can bribe the upper stratum of the working-class, by means of which it is able to relieve the peoples of these rich countries from the dirty and heavy work. The tendencies connected with it of a part of the working-class to become philistine and petty-bourgeois were and are still some protection from the rise of a genuine Marxist-Leninist movement, from the fight for a genuine ideological struggle, which would completely pull down the mask of Soviet revisionism.

What causes opportunism on the one hand must cause the intensification of international class-struggle on the other. The modern revisionism has its root in the massive, extensive exploitation of the Third World countries. And just from this side it must at most unmask itself. The social-imperialism of the Soviet revisionists must overtly clash with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations. Such a power as the social-imperialism of the Soviet revisionists must utmost fear every genuine movement, every movement of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations for independence and every genuine communist movement.

The Soviet revisionism has today become a vanguard of political reaction in the world. That is what the Marxist-Leninists must understand.

Since decades, the modern revisionism, overtly appearing and come into power since Khrushchov, has been opposing the genuine communist movement,

fighting every genuine practising of Marxism-Leninism. The modern revisionists have plotted and intrigued against the Marxist-Leninist movement in the world, they have promoted the opportunism, fought against the independent struggle of the proletariat, denied the necessity of the armed revolutionary insurrection. They have opposed every genuine creative policy of the proletariat, in particular the possibility to make use of contradictions within the bourgeoisie for the purpose of the revolutionary proletariat.

At present, in a time when Soviet revisionism, too, begins tottering, when it frantically intends aggressions, it will try to get a most possible united reaction or, if possible, to hush up the contradictions within reaction, its own isolation and weakness. The Marxist-Leninists, however, must in no way allow themselves being hoodwinked or confused by this. The Marxist-Leninists must firmly unite with the movement of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, must in the right way support all forces that are on the side of national-liberation movement and thus, in the final analysis, on the side of proletarian revolution.

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## Notes

- (1) Lenin, The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation', 1922 (Collected Works, Eng. ed., Vol. 36)
- (2) Lenin, The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination, 1915 (Collected Works, Eng. ed., Vol. 21)
- (3) Lenin, Address to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East, November 22, 1919 (Collected Works, Eng. ed., Vol. 30)
- (4) ibidem
- (5) Lenin, The Second Congress of the Communist International, 1920 (Collected Works, Eng. ed., Vol. 31)
- (6) Engels, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, 1880 (Marx and Engels, Selected Works, Eng. ed., Vol. III)

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- (\*) In this article we only deal with the fundamentals of the concrete situation. For more detailed study of the present international situation should be referred, for example, to the analysis of the concrete situation in the Report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, by Comrade Chou En-lai, which contains an excellent summarized analysis of the strategic and tactical situation in the section "On the Situation and Our Tasks".



## Bibliography

An important authority for the analysis of the present situation and also to this article are a number of contributions from the People's Republic of China, above all the

"Report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China", by Comrade Chou En-lai,

which contains very important explanations on the international situation.

Furthermore, the three speeches by Chiao Kuan-hua, Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China

at the Plenary Meeting of the 26th Session of the U.N. General Assembly (November 15, 1971)

at the Plenary Meeting of the 27th Session of the U.N. General Assembly (October 3, 1972)

at the Plenary Meeting of the 28th Session of the U.N. General Assembly (October 2, 1973)

The articles by Shih Chun containing a wealth of important material and theoretical explanations on history are also of great importance:

"Why It Is Necessary to Study World History" (Peking Review 21, 1972)

"Again On Studying World History" (Peking Review 24, 1972)

"On Studying Some History About Imperialism" (Peking Review 25, 26, 1972)

"On Studying Some History of the National-Liberation Movement" (Peking Review 45, 1972)

"Apologists of Neo-Colonialism"  
Comment on the open letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU (IV), October 22, 1963, from  
"The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement"

For the study of the foundations should be referred in particular to the works of Lenin on the national question, among others:

- "The National Question in Our Programme" (Collected Works, Eng. ed., Vol. 6)
- "Democracy and Narodism in China" (Works, Vol. 18)
- "Regenerated China" (Works, Vol. 18)
- "The Awakening of Asia" (Works, Vol. 19)
- "Backward Europe and Advanced Asia" (Works, Vol. 19)
- "Critical Remarks on the National Question" (Works, Vol. 20)
- "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (Works, Vol. 20)
- "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (Theses) (Works, Vol. 22)
- "The Junius Pamphlet" (Works, Vol. 22)
- "Discussion on Self-Determination Summed up" (Works, Vol. 22)
- "A Caricature of Marxism and 'Imperialist Economism'" (Works, Vol. 23)
- "Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)", March 18-23, 1919 - Report on the Party Programme (Works, Vol. 29)
- "Address to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East", November 22, 1919 (Works, Vol. 30)
- "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'" (Works, Vol. 36)

Moreover Lenin's fundamental work:

"Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" (Works, Vol. 22)

and supplementally the article:

"Imperialism Is the Eve of the Social Revolution of the Proletariat", by Chang Chien (Peking Review 39, 1973)

(In the notes and the bibliography annexed by the author, the references to the respective English publications were added by the translator.)

CORRECTION

P.7, line 6: For "'sovereigns'" read "'overlords'"

P.16, line 6: For "presenting" read "representing"

P.17, line 1: For "According to" read "Concerning"

P.21, line 3 from bottom should read: "...strata

kept up by, and submissive to, itself..."

P.32, line 3 from bottom: For "Since" read "For"