

Revolutionary Tactics:

THE CURRENT TACTICAL SITUATION IN NORWAY

In March and April Klassekampen carried a series of articles on revolutionary tactics. They pointed out different articles by Marxist classics dealing with these questions and showing how flexible tactics have always been the condition of success in revolution. Some aspects of the tactics of the AKP(m-l) in different periods were analyzed and criticized with reference to the classics and to conditions in Norway and abroad. Subjects that have been emphasized include the difference between strategy and tactics (see Stalin: *The Foundations of Leninism*), the principle of not hitting out in all directions (see Mao Tse-tung's articles in *Selected Works* volume 5), the fact that mass work is the basis for any successful tactics that involve necessary short term and long term alliances, and the necessity of profiting on contradictions within the enemy camp. The final article gives a reply to the question: is there a revolutionary situation in Norway today? This article sums up the main features of the current tactical situation in Norway. Here are some excerpts:

Some people claim that the situation in western Europe is such that revolution is a problem to be taken up for solution, that we have a revolutionary situation. Is this correct? Is there a revolutionary situation in Norway? No, this idea is mere wishful thinking. I see no place in Europe where the situation could be termed revolutionary. Lenin advances three characteristics of a revolutionary situation. The masses do not accept the old form of government. The ruling class is unable to rule by its old methods. There is a mass movement in depth against the ruling classes that also mobilizes broad strata of usually passive or disinterested people. The situation in Norway today does not at all correspond to these three characteristics.

THE TACTICAL SITUATION IN NORWAY IN SPRING 1978

Some factors worthy of mention are:

- The economic crisis is becoming quite serious, creating problems for the ruling class and undermining the strength of the social-democrat government party the DNA among the working class.
- People have a clearer understanding of the aggressive character of social-imperialism, as a result of

the war on the horn of Africa.

- There are sharper political contradictions within the bourgeoisie over foreign policy, especially towards the Soviet Union.
- Mass support for the modern revisionist parties is lower than it has been for many years. Within the modern revisionist SV party there are serious splits over issues such as the attitude towards the USSR, class collaboration etc.
- Dissatisfaction within the working class, among fishermen and poor farmers is on the rise.
- The struggle of the students is improving after a period of relative calm. This is also true of certain other groups of young people.
- The cultural movement is surging forward to an even greater extent than during the struggle against the Common Market, and the range and political level have vastly improved.
- The women's movement is on the rise. Political divisions that used to be quite sharp have been overcome on a correct political basis.
- The AKP(m-l) is more respected than before. Klassekampen has established itself as a daily. Many people who used to be sceptical towards the Marxist-Leninists and the party are on the verge of uniting with us.
- More factors could be mentioned. The tactical situation is very favorable. It should be possible for the working class and for the AKP(m-l) to make some progress.

LEARN FROM PAST MISTAKES

In 1973 the AKP(m-l) made important mistakes. Not that we refused tactics and unity with others: on the contrary, we united with the wrong people at the wrong moment. We disregarded basic principles to achieve tactical advantages. To unite with modern revisionists we ceased defining revisionism as a bourgeois and reactionary ideology. This gave revisionism an excellent opportunity to worm its way into the party.

We have learned from these mistakes. Now we are more able to avoid them. As long as there is class struggle we can never become immune. But that is no excuse for not doing anything.

(March 20, 22, 31, April 4, 11, 14)

SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM ON SVALBARD

RECENT PROVOCATIONS

One of the main fields of Soviet provocations against Norway is the Svalbard Archipelago. Here the Soviet Union runs a mining town (Barentsburg), and has built an illegal military helicopter base. The islands are Norwegian territory, but the USSR consistently violates Norwegian sovereignty over the islands. Two years ago the Soviet authorities privately informed the Norwegian government that they want «joint Norwegian-Soviet sovereignty» over the islands.

In November Klassekampen published documents proving that at the end of August 1977, two Soviet helicopters had deliberately provoked a Norwegian civilian helicopter, forcing it to land. The incident was covered up by the Norwegian authorities, who nevertheless confirmed the facts reported by Klassekampen. The authorities made no effort to demand an explanation from the Russians. The Russians claimed that the Norwegian helicopter had flown «contrary to rules and regulations» but did not register any formal complaint. The incident is typical of the brazenness of the Soviet authorities on Svalbard.

Another incident which illustrates the same attitude stems from the crash of a Soviet helicopter on Svalbard last summer (see *Class Struggle* 10). February 8, Klassekampen reported that the Norwegian authorities had received no explanation at all from the Russians on the accident which involved several deaths, in spite of the fact that the crash occurred on Norwegian territory. Previously a Norwegian on the spot investigation had been prevented by the Russians' removal of the wreck.

February 1, the USSR staged a small exercise in attacking the Longyearbyen airfield with weasels, under cover of transporting goods landed by Soviet aircraft to the Barentsburg settlement. The weasels used the path reserved for snowscooters, and ruined it. Previously boats and helicopters have been used for the same purpose. The Soviet Union has thereby a high level of training in using different forms of transport between its settlement and the Longyearbyen airfield.

According to the former district governor of Svalbard Leif Eldring, the Soviet authorities have not applied for permits to carry out different types of activities since 1973. From 1961 to 1973 permits were applied for according to the Svalbard Treaty and previous practice. Since 1973 the Soviet authorities have claimed that no permits are needed. The Russians break several Norwegian rules and regulations, notably concerning the use of weasels, radio equipment and helicopters. Eldring emphasizes that this state of affairs is untenable.

SVALBARD WORKERS' UNION PROTESTS

Klassekampen reported April 10 that a new Soviet provocation had occurred at Svalbard on Good Friday. Two Russian helicopters landed in South Spitzbergen National Park to pick up an abandoned Polish automobile from a research station in Hornsund. In this area it is expressly forbidden to land airplanes or helicopters. The landing was a planned violation of Norwegian sovereignty. The case was immediately reported to the government by the local authorities.

While disregarding permits, the Soviet authorities register protests against Norwegian regulations which they do not observe anyhow. In February they protested against the new regulations on hunting and fishing worked out by the Norwegian Environment Ministry. In March, the Ministry gave way to Soviet protests and altered the regulations for Svalbard. The reasons for the Soviet protests was not unreasonable regulations, but the fact that Norwegian authorities issue regulations at all. The attitude of the Norwegian authorities on this issue is typical of their capitulationist policy towards social-imperialism.

(November 4, 5, February 8, 13, 22, 24, March 2)



The Svalbard Archipelago. Main Norwegian settlement is Longyearbyen, main Soviet settlement is Barentsburg. At Kapp Heer some kilometers north of Barentsburg, the Soviets are building an illegal military base. The imperialist Svalbard Treaty, an offshot of the Versailles Treaty, restricts Norwegian sovereignty over the islands. Social-imperialism takes the most of this, and bullies Norway in violation of the treaty to gain complete control over the strategically important islands.



Helicopters at Kapp Heer. The illegal military base here was discovered by a reporter from Klassekampen, the first Norwegian to visit Barentsburg without the express permission of the Soviet authorities for many years. Recent information confirms continued social-imperialist build-up.

Norway Builds Navigation Lights for Soviet Helicopters

March 15 Klassekampen reported a new case of exceptional Norwegian helpfulness towards social-imperialism on Svalbard. Soviet authorities had requested that navigation lights be built between Longyearbyen and the Soviet mine settlement Pyramiden to facilitate helicopter navigation. Not only did the Norwegian authorities comply, but they footed the entire bill: N.kr. 500 000.

The Soviet explanation is the need for helicopter flights between their main settlement at Kapp Heer and the mine settlement at Pyramiden. In fact, however, the navigation lights

are ideally placed for flights from Pyramiden to the main Norwegian settlement at Longyearbyen, and could readily be used for a military attack by the USSR.

Navigation lights are essential in arctic areas, where the sun does not rise at all for several months during winter.

This example shows how Norwegian authorities contribute to the war preparations of the most aggressive of the two superpowers, even to the extent of small but key favours.

Study Campaign on Articles from Mao's Vol.5

This spring the AKP(m-l) conducted a study campaign on selected articles from Volume Five of Mao Tse-tung's *Selected Works*. The choice of articles was made with respect to five important themes which are particularly important now to improve the work and political level of party members and sympathizers.

These themes are: revolutionary tactics (important now to improve our work in trade unions and for anti-imperialist unity), the construction of socialism, methods of work and the mass line (to be on our guard against

bureaucracy, sectarianism and violation of the mass line), on international conditions and how to handle them, and applied materialist dialectics.

The articles the AKP(m-l) urges everybody in Norway to study particularly conscientiously are: (pages refer to the Peking English language edition)

- Don't Hit Out in All Directions (p. 33)
- Be a True Revolutionary (p. 37)
- On the Policies for our Work in Tibet (p. 73)

- Combat Bureaucracy, Commandism and Violations of the Law and of Discipline (p. 84)
- Solve the Problem of the «Five Excesses» (p. 89)
- The Debate on the Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture and the Current Class Struggle (p. 211)
- On the Ten Major Relationships (p. 284)
- US Imperialism is a Paper Tiger (p. 308)
- Some Experiences in Our Party's History (p. 324)

- Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (p. 332)
- Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees (p. 350)
- Be Activists in Promoting the Revolution (p. 483)
- A Dialectic Approach to Inner-Party Unity (p. 514)

(May 29)

«Grey Zone Agreement»:

USSR PERMANENTLY ANNEXES NORWEGIAN TERRITORY

The «Grey Zone Agreement» or «Barents Sea Agreement» between Norway and the USSR was formally negotiated last June. However, it was not signed until Jan. 11, and not ratified by the Norwegian Storting (parliament) until March 8, due to vast popular resistance by fishermen and others, renewed provocations by the Soviet Union, contradictions between the bourgeois parties, and contradictions within the ruling social-democrat party the DNA.

Formally the Grey Zone Agreement is a temporary agreement regulating fishing zones in the Barents Sea. Its formal validity expired in June 1978. Despite protests it was renewed by the Norwegian government. This shows that the agreement in fact signifies a permanent annexation by social-imperialism of Norwegian maritime territory.

«AGREEMENT»: A SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST ULTIMATUM

The AKP(m-l) and patriots, workers, fishermen and others, have fought this agreement since before it was made public. The AKP(m-l) issued a formal declaration July 7 last year (see Class Struggle no. 10) to denounce the agreement, and to call on all progressive people to oppose it and fight it. Klassekampen played an important part in propagating the implications of the agreement and in mobilizing to demonstrations. On several occasions Klassekampen published secret telex messages from the Norwegian Moscow embassy to the Department of foreign affairs. These telegrams (that of May 16,

1977 in particular, see Class Struggle no. 10) reveal that the Soviet Union considers the terms of the agreement as an ultimatum to the Norwegian government on all issues concerned. Zemskov, the vice foreign minister of the new czars, formally informed the Norwegian ambassador to Moscow that the USSR was only willing to negotiate «for the sake of appearances», that is to give the social-democrat government in Norway an alibi and an opportunity to try to make the agreement more politically acceptable to the rest of the bourgeoisie.

73 500 KM² TO SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

The map shows very clearly the contents of the agreement. According to established principles of international law (such as the 1958 Geneva Convention, signed by the USSR and Norway, among others) all sea territory west of the middle line belongs to Norway. The middle line means a line drawn at equal distance from both countries. All the dividing lines in the North Sea, for example, are drawn according to the principle of the middle line.

The Soviet Union wants to replace the middle line by the sector line, that is a line drawn from the mainland border between the two countries to the north pole. This method of dividing maritime territory has no basis in international agreements or practice. The reason why the Soviet Union wants the sector line is evident: it enlarges the Soviet portion of the Barents Sea by 155 000 km².

Social-imperialism tries to justify the sector line in the Barents Sea on the basis of the Soviet decree of April 15, 1926, by which the USSR claimed all land in the arctic within the sector from the north pole to the Soviet northeastern and northwestern borders. This decree formalized Soviet demands to land that had always been considered as Russian. It is interesting to note that by virtue of the same principle, the Svalbard Archipelago, to which the USSR claims «joint sovereignty» with Norway, belongs exclusively to Norway. This reveals once more that the one principle observed by the new czars is the principle of «all to the USSR».

The decree of April 15, 1926, is valid only for land territory. (Klassekampen published a Norwegian translation in its June 3 issue. The source is «Soviets in the Arctic», by T.A. Taracouzo, New York, 1938). It does not apply the sector line principle to sea

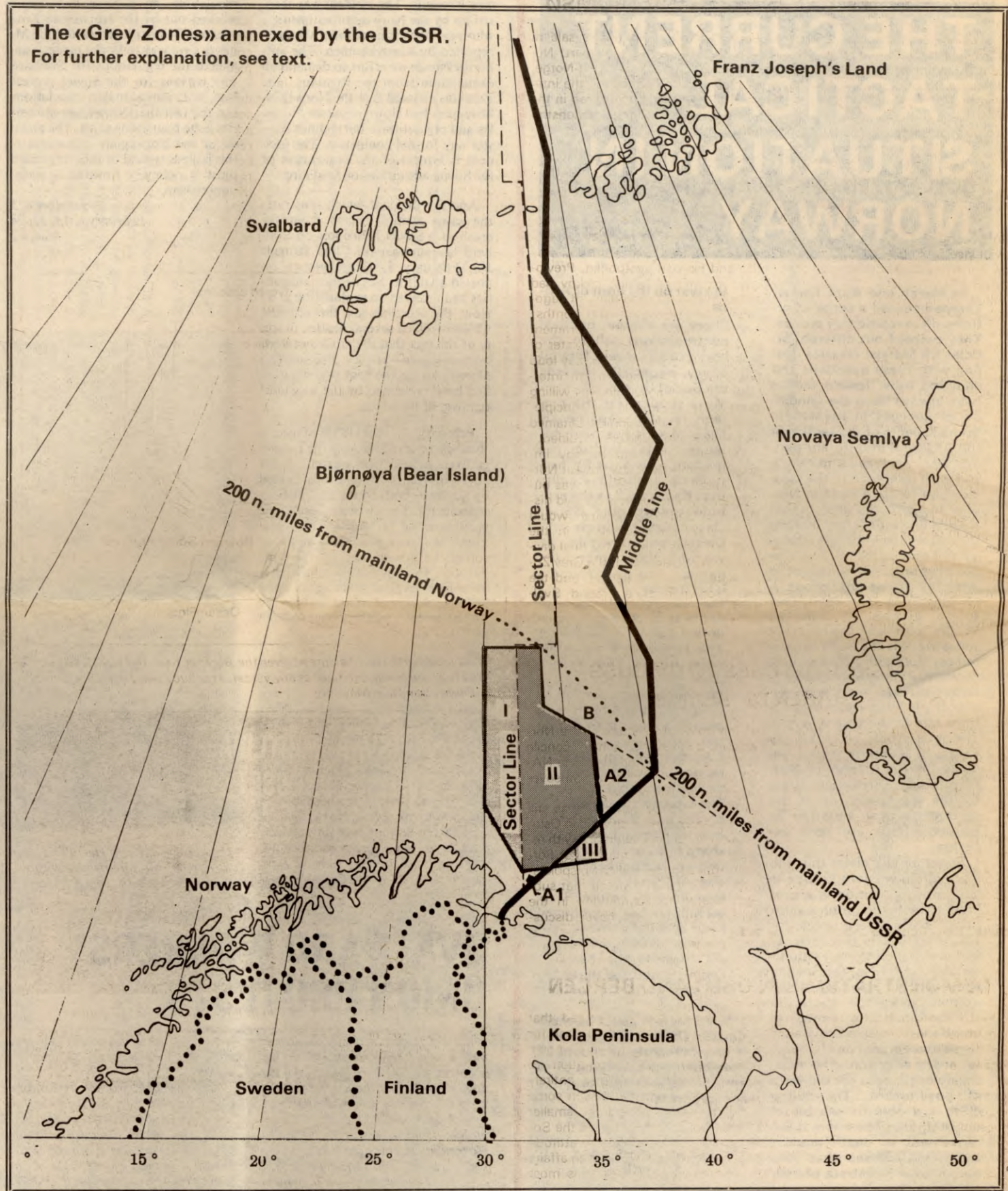
territory. Stalin's policy was not to partition the sea to the detriment of Norway, but to claim as Russian land which everybody had considered Norwegian. The Soviet Union acknowledged this implicitly when it signed the Geneva Convention in 1958, whereby the middle line was established as the principle to be followed in the partitioning of sea territory.

By the Grey Zone Agreement, Norway formally surrenders its sovereignty over that portion of the Barents Sea west of the sector line, east of the middle line and south of the Norwegian 200 mile limit. It also surrenders sovereignty over grey zone I, west of the sector line. This zone is Norwegian even by the sector line principle.

This means that Norway loses (and social-imperialism correspondingly gains):

- Grey Zones I and II (23 000 and 41 500 km² respectively). Loss to Norway: joint sovereignty with the USSR, instead of full sovereignty.
- Zones A1 and A2 (9 000 km² in all) are completely ceded to social-imperialism. Parts of zone A1 and the Grey Zone are only 20 to 25 miles from the Norwegian coast.
- Zone B within the Norwegian 200 mile limit and west of the middle line. This area should be under Norway's unreserved sovereignty. However, according to the Grey Zone Agreement, this area is «international waters».

The «Grey Zones» annexed by the USSR.
For further explanation, see text.



JOINT SOVEREIGNTY: A MYTH

One must note, of course, that «joint sovereignty» between Norway and the USSR is a myth existing only on paper. In reality, «joint sovereignty» between an aggressive imperialist

superpower and a small country of four million inhabitants signifies sovereignty for social-imperialism exclusively.

NORWAY'S CAUSE IS JUST

Both Norway and the USSR are imperialist countries. But the USSR is an imperialist superpower seeking hegemony over the entire world. The threat constituted by social-imperialism cannot be compared to that of Norwegian imperialism. In the Barents Sea, Norway is in the position of a small country defending its legitimate rights against an overwhelming enemy. Norway is fighting for principles the defense of which are in the interest of the peoples of the world. While the Grey Zone Agree-

ment has sharpened contradictions within the Norwegian bourgeoisie, the principle it mainly adopts is that of appeasement, that is, to gradually give way to Soviet demands and surrender Norway's legitimate rights.

The class leading the struggle to defend the legitimate rights of the Norwegian nation against social-imperialism is the working class. The organized political force most consistently in line with this struggle is the AKP(m-l). Part of this struggle is the struggle against the capitulationism

of the bourgeoisie, a capitulationism strengthened by the revisionist parties and revisionist tendencies within the government party, the social-democrat DNA.

It is in the interests of the peoples of the world that the encroachment

of Norway's legitimate rights in the Barents Sea be stopped. The struggle of the working class to defend the legitimate rights of the Norwegian nation against social-imperialism is a just struggle, and is therefore worthy of international support.

SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM CONFIRMS ULTIMATUM

December 7, 1977, Klassekampen published a telex reporting among other things a conversation between Sobolev, the head of the division for Scandinavian affairs in the Soviet Foreign Department, and Norway's ambassador to the USSR Graver. The conversation was like this:

«Sobolev remarked finally with a smile that he with great interest had read Klassekampen's report on Graver's conversation with Zemskov

May 16. Zemskov and he had agreed that the report was fully correct ...

«Graver replied that he could assure Zemskov that future conversations would not be reported, among other reasons because new procedures had been established to prevent repeated leaks.»

(Zemskov is the Soviet vice minister of foreign affairs.)

This conversation took place in October.

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GOVERNMENT DECEIVES PEOPLE

During the election campaign in August and September, the government and the bourgeois parties agreed not to make the agreement a subject of contention. In November the government had not yet dared take any decision on how to present the draft agreement to parliamentary organs. Meanwhile, opposition increased, among the workers and people as well as among sectors in the bourgeoisie.

November 11, the government announced that following secret consultations with Soviet representatives in London, a joint supplementary declaration had been issued, allegedly constituting a guarantee of Norway's rights in the Barents Sea. It also announced it would sign the agreement prior to ratification in parliament.

Klassekampen denounced this «joint supplementary declaration» as a fraud. Later, even bourgeois politicians declared that it aimed simply at deceiving the people.

The government persisted (and persists) in calling the Grey Zone Agreement «temporary», and declared that it will have no effect on future negotiations with the Soviet Union over a permanent division of the Barents Sea. It also appealed to people to wait until parliament had discussed the draft agreement before debating it in public, that is until after the government had signed it and made it valid.

DEMONSTRATIONS IN OSLO AND TROMSØ

November 24, the Initiative Committee against the Barents Sea Agreement arranged a demonstration in Oslo under these slogans: No to the Barents Sea Agreement with the USSR. Defend the middle line — reject Soviet pressure. Svalbard is Nor-

wegian territory. No to the sale of Norway. 850 people took part. November 30, the Aksjon Kyst-Norge, an organization fighting for the interests of the coastal population in the north, arranged a similar demonstration.

BULL-DOZER OF SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM VISITS NORWAY

In December a visit to Norway by Soviet vice-foreign minister Zemskov was announced. Zemskov was the man who in Moscow in May last year insulted the Norwegian negotiators, but was willing to «continue negotiations for the sake of appearances», according to a secret telegram intercepted by Klassekampen between Moscow and the Norwegian Department of Foreign Affairs.

Klassekampen characterized Zemskov as a «bull-dozer for social-imperialism». He entered the Foreign Department in 1946, but made no headway until 1957, after Khurshchev's counter-revolutionary coup, when he became head of Archives in the Soviet Foreign Department. He has taken part in several international conferences, and is an aggressive spokesman for social-imperialist interests.

Immediately after the announcement of Zemskov's visit, a committee was formed to organize demonstrations

against him. A few days later it was announced that Zemskov was «ill» and his visit postponed. Previously, minister of fishing Izhkov had been similarly «ill» and delayed negotiations with Norway several months.

This «illness» made government spokesman, in particular minister of maritime law Jens Evensen, pay loud homages to Brezhnev. In an interview Evensen implied he was willing to surrender the middle-line principle, so that a «just» division be obtained and «unpleasant» episodes avoided.

Zemskov's condition thereby improved, and he was able to visit Norway Jan. 3 to 7. No agenda was published, but the government said discussions and negotiations would concentrate on «contention in the northern areas», that is the final division of the Barents Sea, the Grey Zone Agreement over fishing, and the fish protection zone around Svalbard.

ZEMSKOV REFUSES TO DISCUSS BARENTS SEA

Norway's foreign minister Frydenlund told the press that as a member of NATO, Norway could «negotiate and cooperate with the Soviet Union without fear». He added that on the other side NATO-membership could not permit Norway to «behave like a great power towards the Soviet Union». Insisting that the behaviour of small and large countries should abide by different principles he emphasized that «the USSR has legitimate interests of security that we must respect». This attitude is characteristic

of the dominant sectors of the Norwegian bourgeoisie, which conciliate submission to US imperialism in NATO with the sale of Norwegian sovereignty to social-imperialism.

When Zemskov came he was still too «ill» to visit other cities than Oslo. Though he had consultations with representatives of the ministry of Foreign Affairs for several days, spokesmen of the ministry stated that subjects related to «contention in the northern areas» were never discussed.

DEMONSTRATIONS IN OSLO AND BERGEN

During Zemskov's visit, two demonstrations were held, one in Oslo and the other in Bergen. Among the slogans at these demonstrations: Grey Zone Agreement: 73 500 km² Norwegian sea territory as a gift to the USSR. The government on its knees to the USSR: defend Norway's right to self-determination. Defend the middle line. Svalbard is part of Norway. Zemskov, Brezhnev's voice: non grata in Norway. Do not forget Czechoslovakia 1968. USSR out of Africa — victory to Eritrea. 400 took part in Oslo, 100 in Bergen.

Klassekampen fired lots of propaganda and exposures against Zemskov, social-imperialism and the sell-out policy of the government. The Kremlin reacted with articles criticizing «anti-sovietism» in the Norwegian press. The government organ «Ar-

beiderbladet» sorely remarked that «it seems as though the only basis for Soviet evaluations (of Norwegian newspapers) is a subscription to Klassekampen». While not entirely true — conservative and even some social-democrat papers in smaller towns have sharply criticized the Soviet Union for its aggressive attitude and interference in Norwegian affairs — the remark reflects who is most active in this field.

The conservative press criticized the Arbeiderbladet and «uninterrupted laments» from the Kremlin. It pointed out that the reason for the USSR's criticism of the Norwegian press is the fact that it will use every means at its disposal to put more pressure on the Norwegian government.

«GREY ZONE AGREEMENT» SIGNED

Zemskov had hardly left when his colleague Izhkov, Soviet minister of fishing, came to sign the Grey Zone Agreement. The signing was delayed some days. Government spokesmen said at first the delay was due to «technical and substantial difficulties». It was later revealed that social-imperialism refused to acknowledge some of the clauses of the Joint Supplementary Declaration issued in November in London.

The Kremlin opposed clauses of the supplementary declaration stating that the Grey Zone Agreement does not anticipate negotiations over the Barents Sea dividing line. It also rejected the clause stating that both parties are committed to resume negotiations over the Barents Sea dividing line as soon as possible. The Norwegian government, however, persisted in talking about «translation difficulties». Eventually, when the

Former Editor of Klassekampen Disclosed Nato Plans to Use Nuclear Weapons ON TRIAL FOR TREASON

January 11, 1977 Klassekampen disclosed four internal telegrams from the NATO exercise «Teamwork» carried out in Trøndelag (central Norway) in autumn 1976. The telegrams proved that NATO plans to use nuclear weapons on Norwegian territory in event of war. Such plans were part of the «Teamwork» exercise. Areas singled out for the use of nuclear weapons included Schleswig-Holstein in Germany and Trøndelag in Norway. Thus Klassekampen disclosed what superpower strategy in event of war consists of — a war bound to effect Norway which lies in the line of fire between the two superpowers.

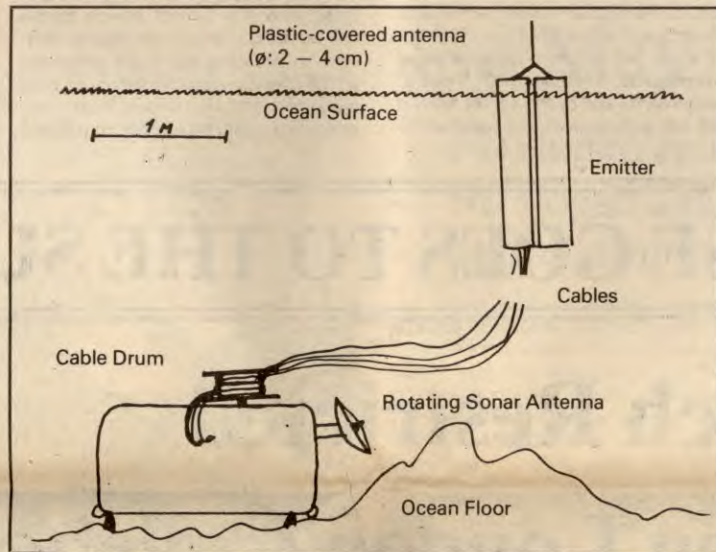
The disclosure hit the high command hard, and was widely echoed in the bourgeois press. March 29, 1977, Finn Sjøe, at that time editor in charge of Klassekampen, was reported to the police by the High Command.

In August a session was held in the Magistrates Court in Oslo. Finn Sjøe met and explained that he was unwilling to expose the sources of the disclosures. December 21, 1977 Sjøe received the indictment from the Magistrates Court: he was charged according to two paragraphs normally reserved for spies, involving prison terms from three to ten years.

As consultative experts the court chose two officers who had held responsible positions during the Teamwork exercise! Sjøe proposed several independent experts, but these were rejected by the court. Appeals to the court for an explanation of these rejections have been refused.

In April this year the Attorney General L.J. Dorenfeldt intervened personally to extend the indictment. In addition to the spy paragraphs Dorenfeldt wants Sjøe tried for treason according to special clauses for the treason law of 1947. This shows that the authorities are specially keen on statuting an example in an attempt to scare Klassekampen from bringing more disclosures.

(May 13)



With spy gadgets like this spread over the Barents Sea, the USSR would be able to follow every movement of any vessel. This buoy was found accidentally by a Findus trawler in May.



Demonstration in Oslo: Defend the middle line, Reject Soviet pressure!



Demonstration in Oslo: No to the Barents Sea Agreement.

Grey Zone Agreement was signed, the «controversial» clauses of the Joint Supplementary Declaration were deleted.

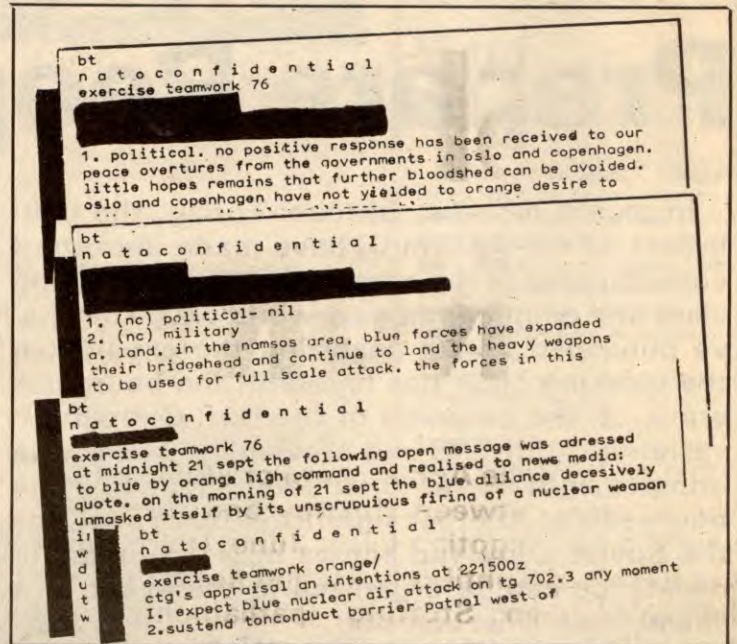
March 9, the Grey Zone Agreement was ratified by parliament. The social-democrat party had to rely on the modern revisionist SV party to get a majority, as the other bourgeois parties, while supporting the main li-

nes of the social-democrat and revisionist sell-out to social-imperialism, found the terms of the Grey Zone Agreement too tough to swallow for the time being. One factor determining this attitude of the bourgeois opposition is the unofficial criticism of the Grey Zone Agreement by US imperialism, which sees its interests prejudiced in the Barents Sea.

JUNE: GREY ZONE AGREEMENT EXTENDED

No new negotiations on the Barents Sea dividing line have been

held. But in June the social-democrat government signified its intention of



Telex messages published by Klassekampen that form the basis of the treason charge against the former editor.

SOVIET BUOY FOUND: SPY EQUIPMENT?

May 23, a Findus trawler found a Soviet stationary buoy on the bottom of the Barents Sea west of the middle line. The exact position of the find has not been verified, but it could be west of the grey zone as well.

The buoy consisted of a rotating sonar antenna and other equipment on the bottom of the sea, connected by cables to a floating emitter and radio antenna. This is a very sophisticated piece of electronic equipment, weighing several tons in all. Using a series of similar buoys, the USSR could follow ship movements to the slightest detail.

Norwegian authorities were strikingly silent about the find, and Klassekampen experienced great difficulties in getting precise and concrete information on this new form of Soviet espionage.

(May 31)

FISHERMEN'S ORGANIZATION PROTESTS SOVIET PROVOCATION

While disregarding every effort by Norwegian authorities to establish quotas on fish in the Barents Sea the USSR has illegally imposed a 1000 tonn limit on shrimp caught by Norwegian ships in the Soviet zone. This flagrantly violates a Norwegian-Soviet agreement from 1970, according to which both countries have the right to fish on each other's zones. The annual meeting of the fishermen's organization in Finnmark county demanded that Norway protest against the «illegal unilateral Soviet measure. The chairman of the organization said the Soviet measure was a provocation. Minister of maritime Law Jens Evensen present at the meeting, expressed the capitulationist policy of the government by warning against adopting a «hawk line».

(June 19)

SIX COUNTRIES PROTEST SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST JAMMING

At Kiev the Soviet Union has built a radio sender, which disturbs, among other things, vital ship to ship and ship to land communications. The Kiev emitter even jams frequencies used by the Norwegian merchant marine for SOS and May Day signals from lifeboats and life rafts, among others. This greatly endangers the lives of Norwegian seamen.

In December, 120 operators at Rogaland Radio said they would support a boycott against Soviet ships in protest against the Kiev emitter. Rogaland Radio is the main ship to ship and ship to land radio and relay station in Norway.

This threat made the USSR barely tune down the jamming. In March, six countries (Norway, Sweden, Denmark, West Germany, Switzerland and Greece) filed a protest at the ITU (International Telecommunications Union) conference in Geneva.

The USSR claims it has taken all «necessary measures» to prevent the Kiev emitter from jamming international radio telephony. It claims the Kiev sender is used to do research on radio waves.

Klassekampen commented that the aim of this research is quite evident: social-imperialism is developing a

technique by which it can cripple radio communications during a war. Klassekampen encourages the operators of the six countries to boycott Soviet ships, like they threatened to do last December.

(December 12, March 14)

NEW PLANES AT KOLA

Klassekampen reported June 12, on the basis of information from the Norwegian military leadership, that in the previous weeks the USSR had renewed a whole airborne regiment at the Kola base, comprising some 30 to 40 jet fighters. The new planes are thought to be of the MIG 23 type, called Fogger-B in the Nato countries.

The new planes have three times the range of the old ones, and can easily be used in raid or support operations against areas in Norway close to the Arctic Circle. Their speed can attain 2.3 mach.

every day. The agreement denies Norway the right to control Soviet mesh size.

More and more fishermen demand that the agreement be cancelled, and interviews Klassekampen has published reflect their growing awareness as to Soviet policy not only towards Norway but in Czechoslovakia and the horn of Africa as well.

At the session of the Joint Norwegian-Soviet Fishing Commission in June, the extension of the Grey Zone Agreement was the only issue to which both sides agreed.

Oktober Publishers Prepare People for War

In recent months, Oktober Forlag, the publishers of the AKP(m-l), have made important contributions to the preparation of the working class and people for a new world war. They have published books analyzing the experience the working class has had with the bourgeois army, on the occasion of the Nazi-German invasion in April 1940 and previously. The books bring to light secret documents hidden by the bourgeoisie. Another significant book analyzes the Soviet army and shows how a successful resistance can be organized in the event of a social-imperialist invasion.

«WEAPONS AGAINST THE PEOPLE», A HISTORICAL TRILOGY

The last two books of the series «Weapons Against the People» have been published. They consist of *The Secret Army* (vol. 2) and *Quiet Mobilisation* (vol. 3).

Quiet Mobilisation (*Stille Mobilisering*) aims at bringing to light the truth of the reaction of the bourgeois army when the nazis invaded Norway, and the reasons for its inefficiency.

The facts are that the main state organs such as the government and parliament fled in panic immediately. What was left of constituted authorities rapidly started a close political and economic cooperation with the German occupant. Armed resistance was improvised and spontaneous, mainly the result of heroic efforts of young patriots, often in defiance of their officers. Adequate equipment, arms, ammunition and officers were severely lacking. A series of orders to capitulate came out of the blue. Enti-

re divisions were surrendered to the Germans without any struggle. German war ships passed coastal fortresses and cannon posts without being shot at.

The book explains these facts on the basis of a painstaking investigation of the organizational and tactical dispositions of the bourgeois army. It shows that the rifles delivered to the recruits had been deliberately sabotaged. It shows that the organizational dispositions of the army, aimed at mobilizing against the *working class*, prevented an immediate mobilization, and that the orders were not to mobilize fully, but secretly. It explains the historical and political background for this, and gives a convincing substantiation of Marxist-Leninist theory on bourgeois armies in developed countries.

The Secret Army (*Den hemmelige hæren*) is the result of an investigation of dusty military archives, brought to light for the first time. It proves the existence of a secret army directed against the working class, in the period 1918 to 1940. It was organized as part of the regular military apparatus, a select and reliable faction. This secret army had its own mobilization arrangements. This extent of these arrangements and of the secret army itself was only known to a handful offi-

cers and politicians.

The existence of this army from 1918 to 1940 has been proved beyond any doubt. It would be folly to exclude the existence of similar or more elaborate arrangements today.

As a supplement to these books, Oktober Forlag also published the complete original text of the first volume of the *1946 Military Investigation Commission*, on the behavior of various officers in April 1940. This revealing report is still marked secret by the government. No historians have ever been allowed to consult it.

«THIS IS THE SOVIET ARMY»

This book aims at making knowledge about the Soviet army accessible to ordinary people. Norway will be one of the first targets for Soviet attack. Only the masses of the people can fight back such an attack, but they must be prepared in advance.

This is the Soviet Army is the first comprehensive and popular presentation of the organization, arms and equipment of the Soviet army. It analyzes how the Soviet armed forces will be used in an attack against Norway. It presents the main principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory of people's war, and also shows how these principles could be applied to a possi-



This is the Soviet Army: prepares people for war by showing what the enemy will be like and how he can be fought.

ble, clash between Soviet divisions and a Norwegian liberation force.

The bourgeoisie has tried to minimize the significance of the book by several means. However, career officers have been unable to point out

any serious mistakes, and some of them have been brought to admit that the application of principles of people's war to Norway is militarily tenable.

IMPORTANT CASE GOES TO THE SUPREME COURT:

* Freedom of Speech Restricted

* War Government in London Collaborated with Gestapo against militant Patriots

* Veil Lifted on Secret Army and CIA Guerilla Groups

In February an important trial was conducted in Bergen. Five progressive people stood charged of having uttered «injurious accusations» against Bergen's former chief of police Asbjørn Bryhn.

Bryhn is an important figure within the Norwegian bourgeoisie. A whole generation knew him as the head of the secret service. He was one of the foremost representatives of McCarthyism in Norway. During the German occupation he played a key role in preventing a more militant line from being carried out in the Resistance.

The five charged had repeated accusations against Bryhn that have been made public on several occasions the past 30 years: That Bryhn, whom the government in exile stationed in Stockholm during World War II as leader of a division for surveillance of civilians, in that capacity cooperated with Gestapo agent Toré Hansén in 1943. The five also showed how Bryhn urged the destruction of the biggest file over wartime traitors to Norway. They criticized him sharply at a press conference for his responsibility for police violence against youth in Bergen.

For all these «injurious accusations» the five were sentenced to fines, damages and court costs amounting to N.kr. 54 000 (US dollars 10 000) in all.

«INJURIOUS ACCUSATIONS»

In reality, however, all the «injurious accusations» were substantiated and documented, both within and without the courtroom.

Bryhn was the leader of the division of the Norwegian Legal Office in Stockholm that conducted surveillance of civilians. This division was created in autumn 1942 when Bryhn came to Sweden.

This Legal Office was directed by

minister of justice Terje Wold of the government-in-exile in London to conduct surveillance, discipline and neutralize communists and other «illoyal activists» who did not observe the line of passive resistance.

In March 1944 the government declared that the service of surveillance had done a «great job» in practising this directive. According to a deposition made to the police February 18, 1944, Bryhn used Tore Hansén, agent of the Swedish secret police and of the Gestapo in Nazi Germany, as a source of information on Norwegian communists in Stockholm.

THE POLITICAL ESSENCE OF THESE FACTS

These are therefore undisputable facts. What they amount to is this: *During the war the social-democrat government collaborated closely with the bourgeois leadership of the official Resistance in Norway to push a line of passive resistance against the German occupation, while working hard to neutralize and render harmless those who wanted active struggle against the Germans, in particular the communists. Bryhn was a tool and driving force in this work, for which he had special moral and pro-*

fessional qualifications.

The accusations concerning responsibility for police violence were also substantiated by witnesses.

EXTENSIVE DISCLOSURES OF SECRET BOURGEOIS ORGANIZATIONS

The background of the trial concerns the work done in recent years to disclose the true role of the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the German occupation. But the trial itself was an indictment of freedom of speech, an attempt to prevent people from voicing political opinions based on accessible facts and to scare people away from disclosing more of the role of the bourgeoisie during the war years.

Since the trial in February, a wave of disclosures have been made on underground anti-worker organizations.

More documents have been uncovered that disclose the fight of the government-in-exile against communists and its collaboration with seedy policemen in Sweden. One such figure was Harry Södermann who made several trips to Germany during the war and who was a correspondent of minister of justice Terje Wold.

Oktober Forlag, the publishing house of the AKP(m-l), has published a new book in the series «Weapons Against the People»: «The Secret Army», by historian Ottar Strømme. This book discloses the existence of a secret underground army during the 1920's and 30's, an army eventually under the command of the social-democrat government, and trained for use against workers' revolts and other forms of popular unrest.

William Colby, former head of the United States Central Intelligence

Agency CIA, claimed recently that the CIA organized underground groups in Norway after the war, in cooperation with leading members of the social-democrat party DNA. Other people have since made public declarations substantiating Colby's claims. These groups kept lists over communists that were to be liquidated. Their main aim was not to function in case of attack by the then socialist USSR, but to work continuously to protect and defend the US, the bourgeoisie and the DNA. In at least certain cases such groups were organized on the basis of the apparatus of Milorg, the military department of the official bourgeois-led Resistance.

It has also been disclosed that the Norwegian bourgeoisie organized an intelligence service called RAMAR, with connections to the Norwegian Nazi Party NS, the German occupant, the Legal Office (of the government in exile) in Stockholm (led, among others, by Asbjørn Bryhn), the social-democrat party DNA, and the underground groups organized by the CIA. RAMAR was initially financed by Norsk Hydro (a leading conglomerate mainly in the chemical industry), Norway's Association of Shipowners and other similar elements.

THE LINES OF DEFENCE OF THE BOURGEOISIE

Facts from the Bryhn case and the recent disclosures show that the bourgeoisie had secret organizations directed against workers and progressive people before, during and after the German occupation. It is bound to have similar organizations today. We are beginning to get an idea of some of its lines of defence:

— The official state apparatus,

the bureaucracy, different varieties of police forces, and the military with the officers as a stable reactionary core.

— the secret underground army, probably with several divisions and within different organizations, with connections to the official state apparatus, the social-democrat party DNA, and the like.

— Nazi gangs cultivated by the big anti-communist campaigns of the big newspapers and by powerful figures operating behind the scenes.

NO FREEDOM OF SPEECH?

The Bryhn case involves freedom of speech for progressive people of Norway, their right to public utterances on issues the bourgeoisie dislikes having brought in the open, utterances that are based on substantiated and well-documented facts. The line of the defense of the five accused was therefore not mainly to prove the truth of their statements against Bryhn, although this was an important part of the testimony of the defense witnesses. The main line of the defense was to show that freedom of speech, as guaranteed by the constitution, must allow people to voice opinions of the kind the five did. This allowed for broad support work for the five accused, and contributed to the isolation of Bryhn and the prosecution in public opinion.

The defense showed how the same accusations had been raised against Bryhn in 1946 in Norway's leading newspapers. Bryhn did nothing to try to clear himself at that time. The accusations were repeated on several occasions, notably in 1971 in Klassekampen and in Bergens Arbeiderblad (social-democrat). Still Bryhn did not lift a finger. But when the five repea-

ted the accusations in 1975 on behalf of the Red Electoral Alliance of the AKP(m-l) and independent socialists, they were brought to court and sentenced in spite of their documentation of facts to support their opinions.

While the five were sentenced by the court, Bryhn was the one to be condemned by public opinion, in spite of several attempts by the bourgeoisie to turn the whole trial to a question of for or against the political program of the AKP(m-l).

NO FAIR TRIALS?

The Bryhn case also raises even the formal possibility of progressive people to receive a fair trial in Norway. After the accusations against the five were published, defense witnesses were consistently intimidated, interrogated by the police and threatened in various ways. This is common in countries such as Argentina and the Soviet Union, but in Norway it is unprecedented, at least since the German occupation.

The state attorney in the case against the five was Stein Alsaker, a rabid anti-communist and former assistant of and close collaborator of Bryhn. The defense demanded he be disqualified, but the objection was overruled.

Attorney General L.J. Dorenfeldt has taken special interest in the case. In other cases directed by Dorenfeldt, progressive people have systematically been sentenced. On the other hand Dorenfeldt has refused to allow prosecution of avowed nazis who have publicly spread illegal racist propaganda.

The sentence has been appealed to the Supreme Court.

(Feb. 1—22, June 16, 19, 20)

MAY DAY 1978 MAY DAY 1978

«Countries Want Independence»

Foreign Minister Huang Hua's visit to Zaire is an important event. With this visit the Government of the People's Republic of China has shown it fully supports Mobutu against the attempts by social-imperialism to dismember and enslave Zaire.

Zaire is one of the most important and biggest countries in Africa. With Azania and Zambia it has the largest mineral resources of the continent. It borders to as many as nine other countries, as far apart as Sudan and Angola. It is quite natural for the Soviet Union — in this case using mercenaries — to try to subjugate the country. Should it succeed in overthrowing Mobutu and installing a quisling like in Angola, the USSR would have acquired a base in the heart of Africa.

Against this attack — the second in less than fourteen months — it is correct to give full support to Mobutu. This is in accordance with the interests of the people of Zaire.

But is not Mobutu a reactionary? It is a fact that Mobutu and the bourgeoisie he represents oppresses the people of Zaire. However, we support a lesser oppressor against a greater one. The USSR is a more dangerous oppressor than the Zaire government. Against the USSR Mobutu wages a just struggle worthy of support. Should the people of Zaire want to rid itself of him that is up to them; no other state has any right to interfere. And in case international conflicts arise in Africa this should be cleared up by the African states exclusively.

The superpowers are engaged in a wild scramble for hegemony in Africa. The Soviet Union can not aspire to compete with the US in the economic field. It must seize the state apparatus by a coup d'état or an invasion. It will take advantage of every border quarrel. It will seek to turn any revolt and any effect of popular dissatisfaction to its favor. To underestimate this fact would contribute to create a dangerous situation in Africa.

Other African countries that want to send support to the Zaire government do so as friends. They have no capital interests in Zaire. China is a true friend of Zaire and its people. China has no capital interests in Zaire either. But the western countries headed by the US are not true friends. It is Mobutu's right to ask for assistance from anybody. But western soldiers do not come as friends of Zaire, they come as defendants of western economic and political interests. Their direct military aid aims at defending western hegemony against the USSR. Behind France and Belgium stands the US. It tries to recruit Moroccan soldiers as mercenaries, and it tries to turn an African peace-keeping force to a western force under the ultimate command of the US. Time will show what will become of this.

If the people of Zaire want to overthrow Mobutu we will support them. But this is not the issue today. The issue today is the right of Zaire to exist as a state, the right to not be ruled by quisling agents of social-imperialism. In this issue — of importance not only for Zaire but for the whole of Africa — we give full support to Mobutu who has shown in practise that he will fight against social-imperialism.

Huang Hua's visit to Zaire is a powerful encouragement to all countries of the third world that fight against the two superpowers and social-imperialism in particular.

Successful Class Struggle Demonstrations

May 1, 1978, confirmed the hegemony acquired in the streets by the Faglig 1. maifront demonstrations. These demonstrations are non-party, anti-imperialist and pro-class struggle. A number of mass organizations join.

The Faglig 1. maifront demonstrations held their position in the big cities as the largest demonstrations by a long run. In Oslo and Tromsø the Faglig 1. maifront demonstrations were as big as the reformist and revisionist demonstrations put together, 8 400 and 750 respectively. In Bergen, 2 050 marched in the Faglig 1. maifront demonstration. In Trondheim, where the revisionists and social-democrats had united, the Faglig 1. maifront demonstration had over 2 000 participants, 600 more than the revisionist/reformist demonstration.

In several localities Faglig 1. maifront activists adopted flexible tactics to unite with grass roots members of revisionist and reformist parties. In towns where the May Day demonstrations were organized with the local leaderships of these organizations, such as in Kristiansand, Molde and Asker, the number of people taking part in the anti-imperialist class struggle demonstrations increased significantly.

In some localities May Day demonstrations based on class struggle, were organized for the first time in decades.

Examples are Langesund in Telemark and Vågsøy in Sogn og Fjordane.

Our estimates show that more than 22 000 people took part in class struggle demonstrations on May Day this year at more than 110 different places. In sharp contrast to the demonstrations of the social-democrats and the revisionists, where many take part out of sheer loyalty towards their party, the class struggle demonstrations express a living mass movement around central issues such as opposition to the crisis policy of the government and to imperialist superpower oppression.

In certain fields thorough work gave especially encouraging results. One example is the youth section of the Faglig 1. maifront in Oslo with 1 500 participants. The previous evening hundreds of young people had engaged the police in street fights. The fact that they rallied the Faglig 1. maifront demonstration shows that people who fight know which demonstration to take part in.

At some ten places class struggle demonstrations were organized on the basis of alliances in which the revisionist SV party participated. This was made possible by the general anti-imperialist opinion, especially opposition against the colonial war of the USSR on the horn of Africa. The central SV leadership was unable to withstand this pressure and was compelled to accept these demonstrations in flagrant violation of its own public directives expressly forbidding local SV branches from cooperating with Marxist-Leninists in any manner.

May Day 1978 signified a new step towards the total isolation of the minor and most pro-Moscow revisionist party, the «NKP». Not even the revisionist Sv party leadership dared to touch it either in places like Oslo and Tromsø. This is an important victory for all anti-imperialists. We hope that next year the Brezhnevite «NKP» will be even more isolated.

(May 3)



At Longyearbyen in Svalbard, the Worker's Union organized a class struggle demonstration.

Modern Revisionists and May Day:

- No slogan against wage reductions
- No slogan against Soviet aggression in Africa

Early in April the leadership of the modern revisionist SV party passed some motions on the line to be adopted for May Day demonstrations. Besides some slogans, the SV leadership defined tactics aiming at uniting with the minor modern revisionist party the «NKP», and the social-democrat government party the DNA. The SV leadership also issued directives forbidding local branches from any cooperation whatsoever with Marxist-Leninists.

The tactics were not quite successful. In several cities the SV leadership was forced to organize its own demonstrations. In about ten places local SV branches were pressed to dis-

regard the anti-AKP(m-l) directive and cooperated with Marxist-Leninists and others to organize progressive and anti-imperialist demonstrations.

The slogans are interesting. Not a single one opposes the scheme of the social-democratic government for wage reductions. Not a single one opposes Soviet aggression anywhere, not even on the horn of Africa. To a certain extent the US is criticized. But the slogan on the military budget expresses the willingness of the modern revisionist leaders to grant funds to NATO: all they demand is a certain reduction.

(April 3)

Political Basis

The political basis of the different May 1st demonstrations for class struggle varied somewhat from place to place, according to local demands and preoccupations. Here are the most important slogans of the demonstration in Oslo which may serve as an example.

The principal slogan was: «Unite on the basis of class struggle». To clarify the political basis of the demonstration, the initiative committee adopted this phrase: «Struggle against all imperialism, struggle against monopoly capital, struggle against class collaboration and struggle against all oppression of women». These slogans were adopted as main slogans:

- Victory to the Eritrean liberation struggle — the USSR out of the horn of Africa!
- Support the liberation movements of southern Africa — out with the US and the USSR!
- Support the people of Palestine and Lebanon against Israeli aggression!
- Oppose the crisis policy of the government — say no to wage reductions!
- No to the closing of Nyland — defend industrial jobs in Oslo! (This is one of the main shipyards in Norway)
- Against all racism — Norwegian and foreign workers unite!
- Turn the unions to organizations for struggle — no to the class collaboration of the LO-leadership! (the LO is the trade union federation, led by the social-democrat party).
- Self-determined abortion now — away with the boards! (these boards, according to current practise, decide whether the abortion is to be carried out or not. They are composed of one to three doctors).
- Ban the nazi party the «Norwegian Front»!
- Defend freedom of speech: No to job bans and political surveillance!
- Reject Soviet pressure at Svalbard and in the Barents Sea!
- No to the law on reindeer husbandry — defend the national rights of the Sami people!
- Municipal bosses: hands off the forests around Oslo!
- Industrial wages to pensioners!
- No to police violence! Youth demands jobs and places to stay!
- For a socialist Norway!

(April 3)



Youth section of Faglig 1. maifront demonstration in Trondheim. «Youth club at Pappenheim NOW!», and anti-nazi slogans. Slogans against police harassment and for international solidarity were also prominent in youth sections in class struggle demonstrations all over the country.

International Solidarity

International solidarity was a central part of the progressive May Day arrangements in Norway this year. In several cities demonstrations were addressed by Eritrean refugees who spoke of the struggle to free their homeland from social-imperialism. The slogan «Victory to the Eritrean liberation struggle — the USSR out of the horn of Africa» was borne all over the country.

Other speakers at different arrangements all over the country included representatives from the EPRP (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party), the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization), the PAC (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania) and the PC(m-l) of Argentina.

The link between national liberation in the Third World and class struggle in Norway was pointed out by the AKP(m-l) chairman Pål Steigan in these terms:

«The war on the horn of Africa has put Norway in the center of world development to a much greater extent than before. Does this sound strange? Only if you look at things in an isolated manner and not in relationship to one another. The USSR is not waging war on the horn only to acquire this area. It is a move in a bigger game. The goal is world hegemony. The road to world hegemony crosses Eritrea. The horn of Africa is on the road to the south flank of Europe. If the USSR captures the south flank the north flank is next. Norway is the north flank. Herein lies the deepest relationship between the Eritrean liberation struggle and class struggle in Norway.»

(May 3)



From the immigrant worker's section of the Faglig 1. maifront demonstration in Oslo. «Fight against racial discrimination». «Restore democratic rights in India». Note too the streamer in Hindi.

Typographers Fight for Wage Demands

In June, typographers of the Schibsted group, that publishes two of the biggest dailies in Norway *Verdens Gang* and *Aftenposten*, carried out actions which resulted in a reduced number of pages in both papers. The actions were part of a fight for wage demands and a local agreement on index regulation of supplementary compensation which the bosses had openly violated.

Negotiations are now in course on wages, while the agreement on

index regulation will be handled by the courts.

The newspapers have made the Schibsted group a thriving firm. Both papers have grown the last two years, and profits amount to several millions.

Their actions put the Schibsted typographers in a good position for negotiations. These are followed closely by typographers in other firms.

(June 14, 16, 21)

Sit-In Against Close-Down

Jotun is a major Norwegian firm, engaged mostly in paint production. It has several factories in Norway. In May the leadership resolved to close down the Jotun factory at Ljabru in Oslo. The workers responded immediately with a one-day sit down strike.

According to the plans of the leadership the factory is to be closed down by 1980. The official Jotun balance sheet shows net profits of millions of N.kr. the past years. Last years the official net profit was N.kr. 600 000.

The Jotun leadership became notorious after a fire ravaged their factory in Sandefjord in September 1976. Six workers were killed and total damages amounted to N.kr. 175 000 000. The fire started in an illegally constructed building. The workers had fought to improve security for several years, but the directors and the local labour aristocrats thwarted several measures which would have led to safer conditions of work.

(April 4, May 25)

Worker Solidarity Saves Strikers' Jobs

May 28th, the directors of the Fjeldstad Scaffolding firm at the Saga/Rafnes construction site tried to pull a quick one. They had fired 32 workers, and had already started to replace them by new ones. The workers went on strike. The next day four new workers appeared anyway and the workers went on strike again. That was when the directors used their weekend off to drive around

to strikers' homes and personally deliver notices of dismissal.

The union representatives of the over 1000 workers at the Saga/Rafnes site resolved to call a political strike and to organize a national boycott of the Fjeldstad firm. Within hours the dismissals of the strikers were repealed. Negotiations to repeal the initial 32 firings are in course.

(May 30, 31)

7000 Strike Against Lay-Offs

May 3, over 7 000 iron and steel workers in Oslo Bergen and Trondheim carried out a one hour strike against the lay-offs of 92 workers at the Nyland West Shipyard in Oslo. The Nyland workers demanded negotiations to discuss other solutions than laying off 92 men. One proposal has been to work four days a week for full pay.

For years the Aker conglomerate, which owns the Nyland Shipyards and is backed up by the Fred Olsen Shipping companies and the DnC bank (Den norske Creditbank), has planned the dismemberment of Nyland West. But workers have been told, as lately as February this year, that there is

no danger of anybody losing their jobs.

Profits in the ship building industry used to be enormous. They were invested in the North Sea offshore oil industry. In the North Sea the Aker group exploits workers from pirate firms, firms that have no administration and no equipment, only workers, instead of letting their own workers keep their jobs. The Nyland workers, however, are not prepared to accept lay-offs or being arbitrarily sent to the North Sea. They are fighting against lay-offs, to defend industrial jobs in Oslo.

After the strike it was reported that two thirds of the lay-off orders had been repealed.

3300 Bus Drivers Strike for Higher Wages

In April 3300 bus drivers went on strike for higher wages. They work for private firms, and their wages are up to N.kr. 22 000 a year below wages paid to bus drivers working for the state.

The drivers are organized in a union outside the social-democrat trade union federation LO. The labor aristocrats have used this as a pretext to attack the strike.

The strikers displayed a high degree of militancy in fighting scabs protected by the police.

The strike was a courageous fight against the overall policy of the bourgeoisie, including wage reductions.

After two weeks parliament passed a special law to force the drivers back to work.

(April 3—13)

1300 Workers Win Fight Against Wage Reduction

From February to April, 1 300 construction workers at the Saga/Rafnes construction site fought against a wage reduction attempted by the Trosvik conglomerate against 150 workers, and won.

The Trosvik conglomerate withdrew a N.kr. 5.- supplement per hour to those working at the Saga/Rafnes site. It used the labor aristocracy to threaten lay-offs and firings if the workers did not comply.

The workers at Saga/Rafnes have waged a long struggle to overcome demarcation lines between different firms, trades and

nationalities. Together they have won several victories over different firms the past years. When the wage reductions were announced by the Trosvik conglomerate the workers saw this as a threat to all. Their victory proved the fallacy of the threats of lay-offs and firing.

The victorious struggle was also a warning to the top labor aristocrats in the LO trade union federation and the Iron and Steel Workers Union, who condemned the strikes and other actions carried out by the Saga/Rafnes workers.

(commentary from April 20)

State Plans and Finances Lay-Offs

A state commission established to review the situation in the ship building industry proposed in January that the state grant more than 2000 million N.kr. (400 million US dollars) to reduce the number of jobs in this industry from 20 000 to 14 000 within 1980. The commission was composed of shipyard directors, a ship owner, the chairman of the Iron and Metal Workers' Union Association Lars Skytøen (a famous labor aristocrat), some top bureaucrats from the Department of Industry, and similar elements.

Two bureaucrats from the Department of Industry constituted a minority in the commission and proposed that 12 000 jobs be abolished.

Due to the reduction of international transport Norwegian shipyards experience difficulties in selling ships. Several have started producing smaller ships or are engaged in more conventional production. The commission proposes that this trend be continued. It also proposes that more production be aimed at the oil industry. It implies that ship-building capacity in Norway in 1980 should lie 40 percent below the 1975 capacity.

However, the commission admits that the «possibilities for alternative activities in the shipyards are restricted». Therefore, the «off-shore market appears to be the only larger alternative», on the condition that oil exploitation on the North Sea continental shelf be intensified. On the other hand, at a press conference one

of the shipyard directors admitted that production capacity for off-shore activities is already overdimensioned.

The commission had only hazy ideas of what 6000 «superfluous» workers could do.

STATE: CAPITAL RESERVE FOR PRIVATE MONOPOLIES

Many shipyards in Norway, in particular those of the Aker group, are owned by or have close connections to shipping capital. The state shipyard commission made no proposal that ship owners — a group of the monopolist bourgeoisie with important reserves of capital — contribute capital to «assist the ship-building industry» which they own themselves. Instead the commission shows how monopoly capital in Norway uses the state to transfer capital from the taxpayers to the shipping magnates.

2000 million N.kr. accumulated from taxes paid mostly by workers will be used to wipe out 6000 jobs.

LABOR ARISTOCRATS SUPPORT DEAL

The chairman of the Iron and Metal Workers Union Association, Lars Skytøen, is not the only top labor aristocrat to support this deal. In February the leadership of the national trade union federation LO issued a declaration in support of the proposals of the commission. The LO leadership indicated that further reductions could be envisaged in the future. It said nothing about assistance to the 6000 workers who will lose their jobs within 1980.

The leadership of the modern revisionist SV party has claimed its opposition to the deal. But top labor aristocrats of the SV party, such as Gunnar Nilsen, joint union representative at the Nyland shipyard and main labor aristocrat there, has supported the deal, in addition to the concrete plans of 92 lay-offs at the shipyard against which workers have staged several actions (see other article in this issue).

STATE COUNTY BY COUNTY PLAN FOR LAY-OFFS

The state plans and coordinates for the monopolist bourgeoisie. In May Klassekampen published a secret go-

vernment plan applied since January. The plan mentions a number of factories to be closed down in the near future. Klassekampen published a county by county synopsis so that workers in each factory prepare themselves for struggle. Veiled in bureaucratic terms, the plan signifies the loss of 10 000 jobs. The conclusion of the plan indicates that in the future, unemployment relief will be more closely linked to «geographical mobility». In other words: if you do not have a job and if you refuse to move they will starve you out.

By mid-June the plan had already produced some results: important lay-offs are announced regularly. Some of the places are: the Nyland shipyards, the Aker Verdal shipyard, the mines at Skorovas and Sulitjelma, the Tandberg concern, STK in Oslo (owned by the ITT), Freia in Oslo, Munck in Bergen, Jotun in Oslo.

Several places, workers have staged different actions against lay-offs and have managed to reduce the number of lay-offs (see other article in this issue).

At a press conference June 14, social-democrat prime minister Nordli announced with satisfaction that the government's anti-crisis measures had already brought positive results. (Jan 17, May 19, June 16)



Pickets in Bergen during the bus strike (see article to the left).

Devaluation: Profits and Prices Up

Before New Year Klassekampen predicted that the Norwegian krone would be devaluated. February 10, the prediction became reality. The krone was devaluated 8 percent. Bourgeois dailies said the devaluation came as a surprise. In fact it was a logical consequence of the government anti-worker policy, and corresponded to demands furthered by monopoly capital.

The government reckons that the devaluation will contribute to real wage reductions for workers, and higher profits for capitalists in the export industry.

The leadership of the modern revisionist SV party regard the increase of exports as a guarantee that jobs be maintained. Therefore, it actively supports the devaluation. This shows it has the same analysis of the economic crisis as the Shipowners' Association: both consider high production costs as the cause of unemployment, while in reality unemployment is due to overproduction.

The Central Bureau of Statistics itself has contributed to disclose the motives of the devaluation. According to its calculations, «owners' in-

comes» (another word for profits) would rise 30 to 35 percent in the export industry. Other profits would increase 20 to 25 percent. Price rise due to the devaluation was estimated at 2.7 percent.

DEVALUATION INCREASES FOREIGN DEBT

The mainstay of the economic policy of the Norwegian government is to borrow money now and pay later with expected profits from oil. In another article we show that the current over production of oil could cause oil

income to drop far below the expected level. Current prognoses indicate that Norway's net foreign debt will attain 95.9 thousand million N.kr. (almost 20 thousand million US dollars) in 1978, almost three times the debt in 1975, 32.2 thousand million N.kr.

The devaluation will serve to raise foreign debt by 8 percent.

This serves to emphasize the tottering base of the current economic policy of the social-democrat government in collusion with the rest of the monopolist bourgeoisie.

(Feb. 13, 15, 18)

1978 WAGE SETTLEMENTS:

— Wages Reduced 5 to 10 Percent — Government Dictate: No Referendum

The wage settlement this year has been a difficult task for the bourgeoisie. Wages in Norway are usually settled by tripartite negotiations between representatives of the employers' association (the NAF), the government, and the national trade union federation LO which is under the leadership of

labor aristocrats pertaining to the social-democrat government party the DNA. The result of these negotiations, where representatives of the monopolist bourgeoisie sit on behalf of all parties, has been put to referendum among all organized workers.

NO REFERENDUM THIS YEAR

This year the tripartite negotiations were maintained, but instead of organizing the usual referendum, the three parties decided to leave the settlement to the government compulsory arbitration court. The NAF, the government and the LO leadership all feared that a negotiated settlement between the three would be rejected by a majority of organized workers.

WAGE SETTLEMENT TO REDUCE WAGES

They had good reason to fear workers' reaction. During the election campaign last year the social-democrat DNA party which won the elections called for a reasonable improvement of wages and standard of living. In January it called for the maintenance of buying power at the current level. By March its leadership was already openly admitting that many workers had to count on wage reductions this year. During the tripartite negotiations there were hardly ever any perceptible differences between the «demands» of the LO leadership and the «offer» of the NAF employers' association.

In February Klassekampen predicted that wage reductions could attain N.kr. 370 a month for an average income. Bitterness against the proposed wage reduction and against the compulsory arbitration court grew.

25 000 WORKERS STRIKE

April 24, 25 000 organized workers responded to an appeal from the Joint Union Association in Odda for a one hour political strike against the compulsory arbitration court. This strike was also directed against the LO leadership. It is the first time that thousands of workers have participated in a coordinated demonstration against the policy of the LO-leadership.

The strike is highly significant. The fact that it originated in Odda is also significant. In autumn 1976 workers at the Odda Zinc Company staged a strike for wage demands. The strike

rapidly became a struggle against the LO leadership, and against modern revisionist labor aristocrats who staged a witch hunt against members and sympathizers of the AKP(m-l). The strike appeal reflects the reborn militancy of Odda workers in autumn 1976.

GOVERNMENT PACKAGE LOWERS INCOME

In April the social-democrat government launched a new «Kleppe package», named after finance minister P. Kleppe. The package was baited with a child support payment of 300 N.kr. per child. It also contained an increase of taxes and electricity fees. Klassekampen published calculations proving that for an average family with two children the new Kleppe package would lead to at least 300 N.kr. increased annual living expenses.

WORKERS' INCOMES DOWN 7.7 TO 9.6 PERCENT

The verdict of the compulsory arbitration court was published on May 20th. It gave all adult workers a general wage increase of N.kr. 0,50 an hour. It provides for a special increase for low-paid workers which in fact amounted to almost nothing (see below). The court provides for joint LO-NAF measures against irregular wage increases. The settlement is to be valid until 1980. A revision will be effected in 1979 by the NAF and LO leaderships.

Some days later an extra edition of Klassekampen was spread to thousands of workers all over the country. It contained an appeal to wage local struggle to force the bourgeoisie to limit wage reduction. It published figures proving that buying power for different wage groups with various family burdens will decrease by between 177 N.kr. per month (5.7 percent) low wage worker with two children; to 329 N.kr. per month (9.6 percent); slightly above average wage with no children), by March 1979. Klassekampen also showed that wage demands would prevent wage reduc-

tions for different categories. The demands vary from N.kr. 1.80 to 4.00 per hour. A far cry from the N.kr. 0.50 provided for by the state!

Klassekampen published a list over profits made by different firms in 1977, and a review of capital export from Norway. These figures show there is money to be had, and that class struggle is necessary to transfer part of it back to the working class.

SPECIAL INCREASE FOR LOW WAGE WORKERS: HOAX

Later Klassekampen disclosed that the special increases for low wage workers only affect 0.1 percent of workers in industry. Press communiques on this special increase were formulated so as to induce people to believe that all who earn 80 percent or less of average industrial wages would get a special raise of N.kr. 0.80 per hour, and that those earning between 80 and 90 percent of the industrial average would get a special increase of between N.kr. 0.80 and 0.10. Those with more than 90 percent of the industrial average get no special increase.

In reality the special increase is not linked to the wages of the individual worker, but to the average wage of male workers in a given sector and area. Individual workers may be paid far below 80 percent of the average industrial wages, but they get no special increase unless this is the case for the average wages of male workers in their sector and area.

This hits all low wage workers very hard. The deal is particularly directed against women and young workers. It is a rule that women in certain sectors are paid far below men. The official method of determining who is to get the special increase for low wage workers denies the supplement to thousands of women who earn less than 80 percent of the industrial average.

Klassekampen published lists of big firms where the effect of this measure is particularly severe, and renewed the call for local struggle against wage reductions.

(Febr. 22, April 14, 25, May 20, 24, June 3, 6)



Finance minister Per Kleppe with «FINE FAT FOWL» to raise low incomes which actually amount to nothing. Kleppe is the symbol of social-democrat wage policies: down with wages and swindle propaganda on me-

Trade Union Federation Chairman Tells Munck Firm:

Close Down your Factories! Wipe Out 300 Jobs!

In May and June, workers at Sverre Munch A/S in Bergen went on strike twice against plans to close down a series of Munck plants in western Norway, and expand certain other plants. The plan will involve the loss of 300 of 830 jobs.

After the first strike the workers thought all they had to deal with were the Munck directors. But June 13, Klassekampen published a letter from the State Industry Fund to the leadership of the Munck firm dated May 9, that is prior to the first strike. This letter, held secret, analyzes the situation in Munck, and supports the

plans of the firm leadership to close down plants and wipe out 300 jobs. It states that the workers could be expected to react sharply and that the contents of the letter must therefore not be divulged. It also recommends that the plans be rapidly carried out.

The State Industry Fund owns 38 percent of the Munck stock. Its position is decisive for the Munck firm.

The chairman of the State Industry Fund is Tor Halvorsen, a well known social-democrat labor aristocrat. Tor Halvorsen is chairman of the trade union federation LO. This fact illustrates the role played by the labor aristocracy in Norway as instruments of the monopolist bourgeoisie.

The second strike at Munck in Bergen was carried out June 14. The workers receive broad support from

other iron and steel workers in Norway. The line of the local labor aristocrats in the Munck firm, negotiations with the directors on how many workers have to go, lost headway when the workers became aware of the cynical manipulations of the State Industry Fund and the LO leadership.

The struggle continues. The Munck board, as a first concession, has decided to reduce the number of firings to 200, so lots of work remains to make them give up.

Workers interviewed by Klassekampen are full of fighting spirit. They state that their struggle can be won.

(May 12, June 14 — 17, 21)

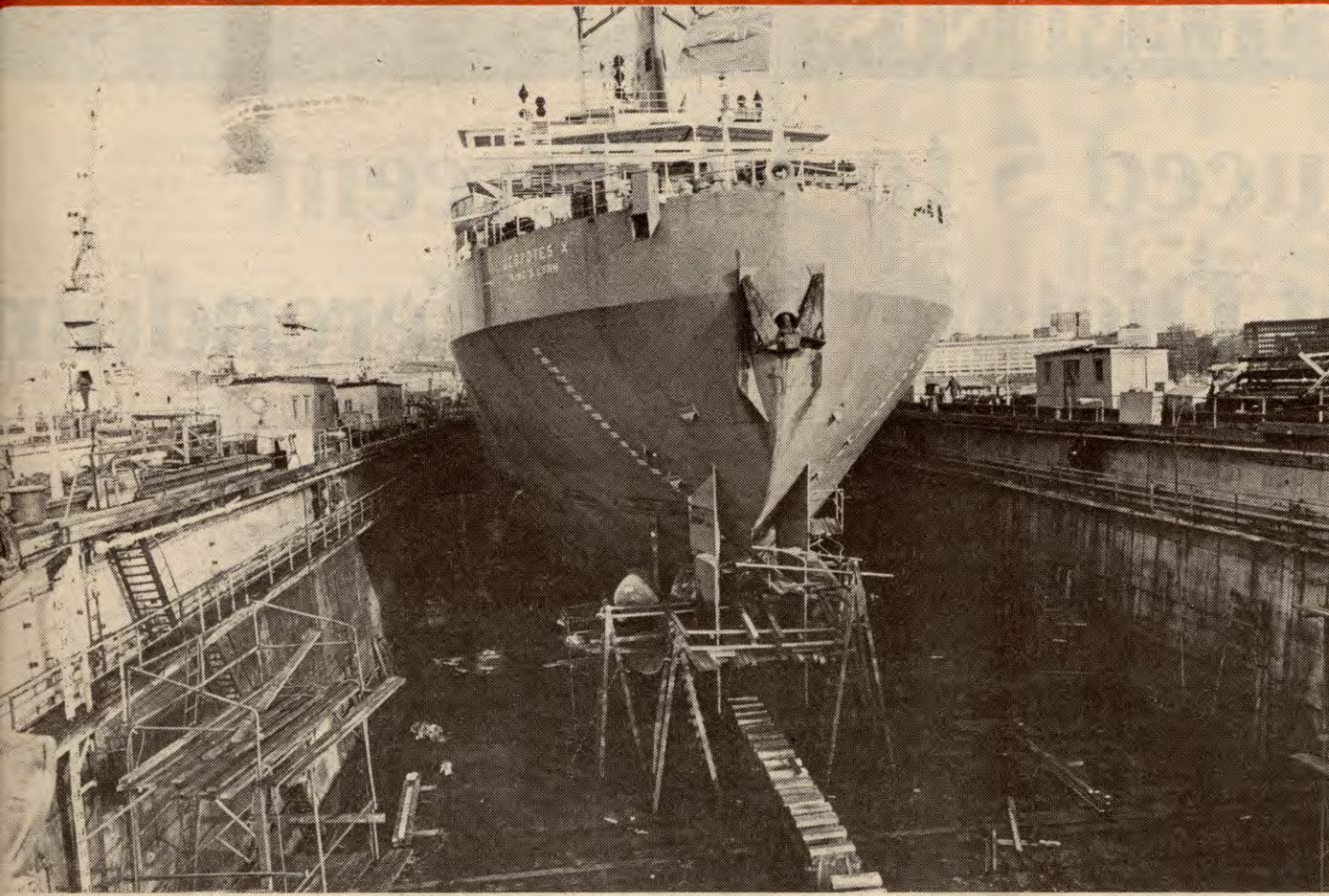
2.1 Percent Price Rise in one Month

February 11, Klassekampen reported that the official price index for mid-January was 2.1 percent above the level of the preceding month. The main cause of the rise was a series of tax rises enforced by the government. Two days later the government devaluated the Norwegian krone, a guarantee of future price rises (see ot-

her article in this issue). At the same time the government introduced a so-called price freeze. Even bourgeois papers called this bluff, pointing out that during previous freezes most prices continued to rise, and that at the end of the freeze period prices jumped.



Workers strike at Munck in Bergen, as part of fight to prevent factory from being closed down. Partial victory was won when the Munck firm backed down on first demand that 300 should be fired. Main stockholder in Munck is the State Industry Fund, whose chairman is the leading-labor aristocrat in Norway, trade union federation chairman Tor Halvorsen. Whose side he is on is therefore quite clear.



Dry dock at Nyland Shipyard in Oslo. A government committee has recently proposed that 6000 jobs be eliminated at Norwegian shipyards. This proposal reflects one aspect of the extensive economic crisis in Norway. The

bourgeoisie shoves the burden of the crisis to workers and working people. It is aided by the modern revisionists who debate illusive «reforms». The Marxist-Leninists propose a line of class struggle.

AKP(m-l): 12 Slogans Against Crisis

As the economic crisis advances and its effect on prices, employment and wages are being felt, discussions rage on its causes and how to counter it.

In the beginning of the 70's Norway was riding the top of a prosperity wave. At that time the Marxist-Leninists were the only ones to claim that economic crisis and depression could and would reoccur. Revisionists of all sorts talk about «the crisis-free era of late capitalism».

In 1975 Norway experienced an economic crisis. It was short, and an upswing followed rather soon. But no true prosperity came, and the economy soon plunged into crisis again. The 1975 crisis had not led to a large enough destruction of productive forces to be followed by a new period of prosperity.

Marxism-Leninism can explain the existence of crisis in capitalist economies. Several articles in Klassekampen have given a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the crisis.

The bourgeoisie has different explanations. Until last year the social-democrats mainly applied Keynes' theory on the overcoming of crises by state investments. Now the bourgeoisie prefers another theory, since it is a fact that the Norwegian state has poured millions of N.kr. into different firms, without solving the crisis. The bourgeoisie blames the working class for the crisis, saying that the «production costs», i.e. wages, are so high in Norway that Norwegian firms are unable to compete on the international market. But no one has yet offered an explanation of why the economic crisis is much harder in Britain, where wages are half the Norwegian level.

The modern revisionist SV party has not made any attempt at a Marxist analysis of the current crisis. It has indicted the monetary cooperation with other western countries, and it has supported the demands of the shipping tycoons to devalue the Norwegian krone. Concerning proposals such as closing down shipyards to rid the economy of 6000 jobs, influential SV leaders issue mutually contradictory statements, some are in favour, others are against.

The Brezhnevite «NKP» presents a series of reforms to increase state capitalism and to integrate Nor-

way's economy with what they term the «crisis-free economy» of the «socialist countries». The substance of this is to «combat» the crisis by making Norway a satellite of the Soviet Union.

The position of the AKP(m-l) is that crises cannot be prevented. But workers can and must fight against the capitalists to prevent the burden of the crisis from being shoved on their shoulders. The AKP(m-l) has presented a series of 11 slogans to further a policy of united front and class struggle against the bourgeoisie and its crisis. These slogans are:

1. FIGHT AGAINST WAGE REDUCTIONS

The state has established by «compulsory arbitration» at the tripartite settlement that wages this year are to be reduced, and extraordinary measures have been taken in and effort to prevent an restrict irregular wage increases. The conditions for wage struggles are therefore difficult. But we think a breakthrough can be made by local strikes. The slogan also requires a good deal of strike support work to be effective.

2. DEFEND JOBS, NO TO UNEMPLOYMENT

This struggle is even more difficult, and the Norwegian working class has less experience in combating unemployment than in fighting for wage increases. Strikes are one method to further demands that jobs be maintained. But workers who are fired have a relatively weak position during a strike. Sympathy strikes by workers in more «profitable» industries are therefore required.

In other countries occupations of factories and seizures of warehouses have been used to defend jobs. Such forms of action must be thoroughly discussed to find out when and how they are to be used in Norway. Against the planned cut-backs of state expenses the construction of more day-care centers for children, the extension of railways etc., must be demanded.

3. FIGHTS AGAINST CUT BACKS IN THE SOCIAL SECTOR

An advanced example of this is the struggle waged by the inhabitants of Rjukan to keep their hospital.

4. DEMAND JOBS FOR YOUTH

The government has established «six-week courses» for youth. In reality these are a form of free labor without any rights, and the courses must be rejected. Trade unions must make the struggle for jobs for youth part of their programs of action, and they must combat measures such as recruitment pauses. Youth that are unemployed must register and further their demands against the job exchanges and against the local authorities.

5. DEFEND JOBS FOR WOMEN

Attempts to have men and women workers fight against each other must be rejected. The governments' policy is to push women back to the kitchens. Actions must be carried out to defend existing jobs for women and to demand new ones.

6. OPPOSE JOB BAN, DEMAND UNION DEMOCRACY

The broad opinion against blacklists and the job ban must be strengthened. Democracy in unions and locals must be reinforced. Terrorism and anti-communism by the most reactionary of the labor aristocrats must be rejected.

7. DEFEND FREEDOM OF SPEECH

We must fight against the increasing censorship in the press on radio/TV. We must fight against the attempts at gagging the democratic opposition.

8. FIGHT AGAINST THE CULTURAL BREAK

The government and the bourgeoisie are using the crisis to cut back the economic facilities for cultural activities. Against this move a broad unity of action must be established.

9. REJECT ALL RACISM

In times of crisis the bourgeoisie will try to turn Norwegian workers' wrath against foreign workers. The result of this would be a split in the working class and relief for the capitalists. We must fight back against all forms of racism and chauvinism, establish solid unity between Norwegian and foreign workers against the policy of crisis. Demands must be emphasized by actions, like the Jøtul workers did two years ago.

10. DISCLOSE THE WAR PREPARATIONS OF THE SUPERPOWERS

The crisis is international. The superpowers try to solve their crisis by war and aggression. These attempts must be fought against. The false «peace propaganda» of Brezhnev must be disclosed as a direct preparation for war.

11. SHOW THAT SOCIALISM IS THE WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS

Class conscious workers must spread the idea of socialism and show how crises can be abolished by replacing capitalism with socialism. We must popularize and study the valuable experiences of the People's Republic of China.

(April 15, May Day)

Editor's note:

These slogans were put to debate after having been published in Klassekampen. Criticism pointed out notably that there was no slogan for crisis-ridden farmers and fishermen. In Røde Fane 3/78 (theoretical organ for the AKP(m-l) this was corrected by adding the slogan: «Defend jobs in the primary sector».

OVERPRO

O

Catastrophe for Government's Financial

From 1975 to 1978 Norway will have tripled its net foreign debt to nearly 100 thousand million N.kr. (20 thousand million US dollars). This capital has been invested in North Sea oil, the profits from which are to pay back the loans. But government calculations do not correspond to reality. Many signs indicate that international over production of oil can cause the government's policy to end in catastrophe.

In 1973 an oil crisis hit the imperialist world. The OPEC countries succeeded in acquiring a greater share of oil profits. But the international oil concerns took advantage of the situation to press oil prices even higher.

At the same time it became apparent that the North Sea contained enormous oil reserves. The social-democrat party DNA observed the rising oil prices and predicted an oil boom that would make every Norwegian rich. All the parliamentary parties overbid each other in promises concerning what the oil profits should be used for. The modern revisionist SV party participated in this dance.

None of the parliamentary parties

reckoned with the laws of capitalism, that also govern the international oil market. When oil prices soared capitalists the world over raced to control and expand oil reserves. The Norwegian government was not alone in hitting upon the brilliant idea that oil prices on the rise signify high profits.

In the pace of a rather short period oil reserves were discovered that vastly exceed the world market. In time production caught up with the market too. Tendencies to over production became apparent. Today over production of oil is a fact.

Recent OPEC meetings have at best resulted in insignificant rises of oil prices. In December a temporary price freeze was imposed. In February, spokesmen of the Norwegian government continued to announce soaring oil prices for the near future. This is wishful thinking. In reality, production of oil exporting countries lies far below capacity.

From January to October 1977 OPEC countries delivered only 78 percent of production capacity. From 1976 to 1977 Kuwait's production dropped from 108 to 75 million tons.

UNEMPLOYMENT

- At least 4.5 percent - On the rise

Officially Norway has one of the lowest rates of unemployment in the world. This article discloses the severe anti-worker definition of unemployment which serves to hide the existence of thousands of jobless people, especially women. While Norway officially has one third the unemployment rate of Sweden, a relatively higher percentage of Swedish adults, especially women, have jobs. Different estimates of unemployment in Norway vary, according to the definition applied, from 15 000 to 475 000. In any case, all observations show that unemployment is on the rise, and probably will continue to rise.

OFFICIAL RATE: ONE PERCENT

Norway has officially one of the lowest unemployment rates in the world. One reason for this is simply that the official definition of unemployment is extremely restricted: an unemployed person is a person who is registered at a labor office as a job seeker. In January, 15 000 had registered at labor offices, corresponding to a 1 percent unemployment rate. The social-democrats and an influential liberal daily used this figure to proclaim Norway an island in a sea of unemployment.

The International Labor Office ILO defines an unemployed person as one who has no paid job, is active in seeking work, and is prepared to accept available work immediately. According to this definition unemployment in countries such as the US and Sweden is 7 and 3 percent respectively.

OTHER OFFICIAL ESTIMATE: TWO PERCENT

The Central Bureau of Statistics in Norway applies the ILO definition in quarterly polls to determine unemployment. For the third quarter of 1977 its unemployment figure was 35 000, or more than 2 percent. This figure is

Since January a discussion has been conducted in Klassekampen on how to measure unemployment.

PRODUCTION OF

Government Policy

To avoid losing even more of the market Kuwait introduced a special 10 cent discount per barrel.

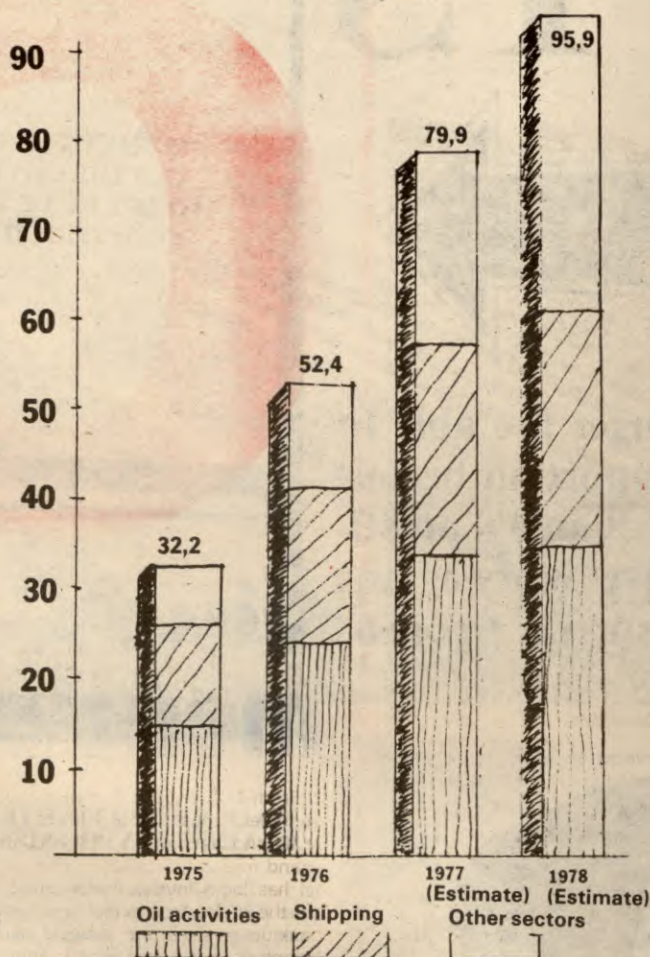
According to a study by the US economist Arnold E. Safer, the oil exporting countries will not be able to raise oil prices before some time in the 1980's.

Prices for oil from the Ekofisk field in the North Sea fell in February between 10 and 15 cents per barrel. Although this amounts to only 1 percent, it is nevertheless highly significant. Still, profits from North Sea oil remain about 2 to 3 dollars per barrel.

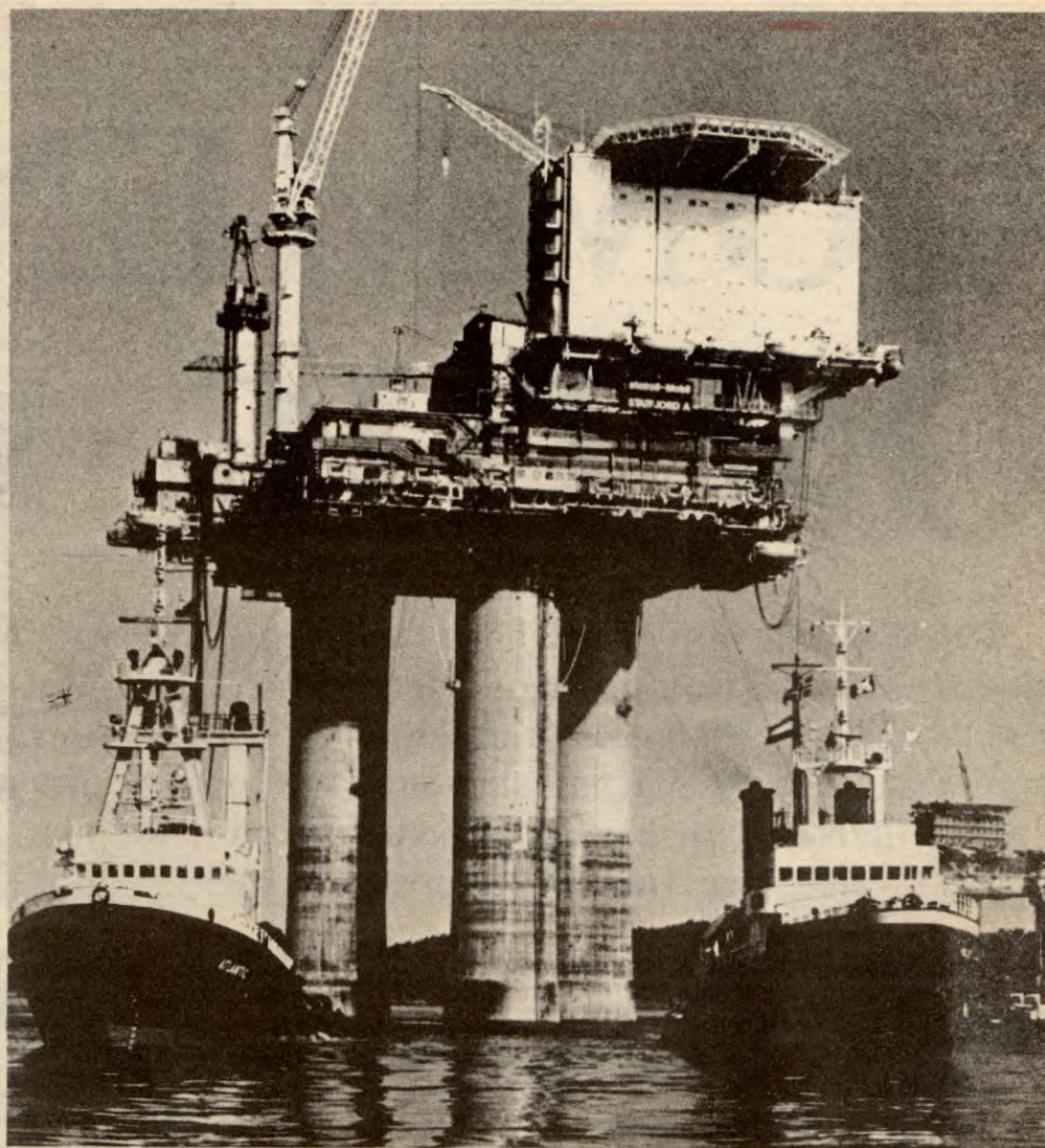
In 1977 122 million barrels were produced in the Norwegian sector of the North Sea. A price fall of 15 cents would diminish profits by about 100 million N.kr. and cause serious difficulties for the monopolist bourgeoisie.

In most OECD countries industrial production is decreasing. The demand for oil in these countries will decrease to cause even greater over production. This will make prices fall even more.

(Feb. 15)



Norway's net debt to foreign countries in thousands of millions of N.kr. The expected increase from 1975 to 1978 is 198 percent.



The Statfjord A platform, here being towed out to sea, is now in production. The government has been loaning wildly to finance oil production in the North Sea. But they are not the only capitalists with the brilliant idea to invest

in oil, where profits some years back were extremely high. Now oil is being over-produced throughout the world, and a financial catastrophe for Norway is in sight.



Work? Still no work? The Oslo employment agency.

MENT percent

more directly comparable to other figures using the same definition than the official 1 percent rate. However, the ILO definition too is too restrictive from the point of view of the working class to adequately reflect unemployment. Also, the Central Bureau of Statistics uses methods that eliminate some forms of unemployment, apparently partly registered by the ILO definition in other countries.

WORKING CLASS AND BOURGEOISIE: OPPOSITE CONCEPTIONS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

People who read ads in the newspapers, talk to friends about available work and the like are not accepted as «actively seeking work». This eliminates large groups, in particular housewives and pensioners, especially those living in places where little work is to be had.

In periods of crisis the number of people seeking work will increase. The number of available jobs will decrease. Since no work is available, the number of people «actively seeking work» by sending in applications and in other ways, will decrease too. The ILO definition will accept this as a decrease in unemployment, and not as an increase.

People can have paid part-time work, from a few hours on Saturdays to some afternoons every week, and still want a full time job. But this paid work will automatically exclude them from being considered unemployed.

Women are particularly hit by the demand that available work must be accepted immediately to qualify as unemployed. A family woman will have to find a day care center or other means of assuring care of children before being able to accept a job. She will not be able to accept it immediately, in some cases never.

The ILO definition corresponds to the bourgeoisie's way of considering the labor market. It does not reflect the point of view of the working class.

UNEMPLOYMENT: AT LEAST 4.5 PERCENT

January 17, Klassekampen published an analysis of the methods of the Central Bureau of Statistics. (SSB, Statistisk Sentralbyrå). On the basis of a strict application — with all its shortcomings — of the ILO definition, Klassekampen estimated that the number of unemployed could not be less than 75 000, about 4,5 percent. A number of forms of unemployment accepted by the ILO are not registered by the current methods employed by the SSB. The figure 75 000 is achieved like this:

1. Estimated SSB figure for 4th quarter 1977:	40 000
2. Estimated increase from 4th quarter to New Year:	5 000
3. Job seekers working only a few hours a week:	10 000
4. Job seekers among the so-called «disabled persons»:	8 000
5. Job seekers who due to illness did not seek jobs in the period inquired about by the CBS:	2 000
6. Jobless due to poor weather and similar conditions:	5 000
7. Job seekers in the group «family labor power»:	1 000
8. Other job seekers on the market during the eight-week period of the inquiry, but not during the precise week inquired about by the SSB:	4 000
TOTAL UNEMPLOYED AT NEW YEAR 1978:	75 000

(The official SSB figures for the 4th quarter of 1977 were not yet available in January 1978).

IN REALITY: SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSANDS NEED JOBS

In May a reader of Klassekampen wrote to indicate the shortcomings of the 75 000 figure Klassekampen estimated according to a strict applicati-

on of the ILO definition.

Reader cites the analyst Knut Halvorsen («Arbeid eller Trygd», PAX 1977) who pointed out that «to achieve the same job frequency as in Sweden, Norway must increase the number of employed men by 100 000, and

the number of employed women by 200 000.» Reader also writes that the same analyst, on the basis of different investigations, estimates that 30 to 50 percent of Norwegian housewives, between 165 000 and 275 000 people, would like to have paid jobs. The fact is that employment among women is much lower in Norway, according to official statistics, than in similar countries. In Sweden and Denmark 48,2 and 44,9 percent respectively of married women have paid jobs, in Norway only 23 percent.

Reader cites an article by a district doctor in Telemark county, who states that 44 percent of those of his patients who are officially branded «disabled persons», could work full time if provided with jobs adapted to their condition. With 140 000 «disabled persons» in Norway, this could imply 60 000 to 70 000 unemployed. Reader also points out that many of the some 460 000 pensioners in Norway would accept work if suited and available.

Reader concludes that unemployment in Norway, from the point of view of the working class, is not 75 000, but several hundred thousand. All these people would be professionally active in a socialist society.

June 7, Klassekampen reported the publication of an analysis by professor Cato Wadel at Tromsø University on unemployment. Wadel's figures corroborate those of Klassekam-

pen's reader, and his method is similar. Wadel's estimate of unemployment, defined as those who want to work but who have no work, is 475 000.

The Central Bureau of Statistics published some figures which also serve to undermine its own investigations. In 1976, 104 000 women who would have answered affirmatively to questions on whether they wanted or needed work, had not made any applications for jobs. 56 000 of these women would have indicated that no appropriate jobs were available, so there was no reason for them to make any applications.

UNEMPLOYMENT ON THE RISE

No figures can hide the fact that unemployment is increasing. The official figure of registered unemployed for April was 17 800, 13 percent above that of April 1977. The Central Bureau of Statistics figure was 30 000 for the first quarter of 1978, 25 percent above that of 1977 (first quarter). With government plans of wiping out about 10 000 industrial jobs within the next few years, it is clear that unemployment will continue to rise.

(Jan. 4, 9, 16, 17, Feb. 7, May 3, 20 June 1)

Statistics Expose Crisis

Klassekampen has experimented with a regular column called «current statistics». This column has been used to present facts about current economic and social development in Norway, and to teach readers how to pick facts from bourgeois statistics.

March 6, the column brought some figures on the economic crisis currently developing.

The production index of the Central Bureau of Statistics (SSB) was 9 percent higher in January 1978 than in January 1977. But while industrial production decreased by 3 percent, mining (including oil and gas) production increased 60 percent. Mining not including oil and gas increased only 2 percent.

These figures show that oil and gas accounts for the increase in total production, while other sec-

tors either decrease or stagnate. This explains why the monopolist bourgeoisie within and without the state apparatus are so intent on keeping oil and gas production in the North Sea going, heedless of the severe and dangerous conditions created for the workers.

Gross consumption can indicate crisis. The January 78 level of gross consumption was 2,3 percent below the January 1977 level. A comparison between the last two twelve month periods shows a decrease of 3,1 percent. Gross consumption in energy intensive industry fell 8,6 percent in the same period. Probably the sectors related to iron, steel and ferro-alloys account for most of this decrease. For these sectors, gross consumption in January 1978 was 25 percent below the January 1977 level.

Bankrupt Bourgeois Theory Links Low Wages to High Export

According to the bourgeoisie, the big problem in Norwegian economy is the high level of production costs. Propaganda to the effect that the only way to increase exports is to reduce production costs, and that the only way to reduce production costs is to reduce wages, is being spread every day in all the media.

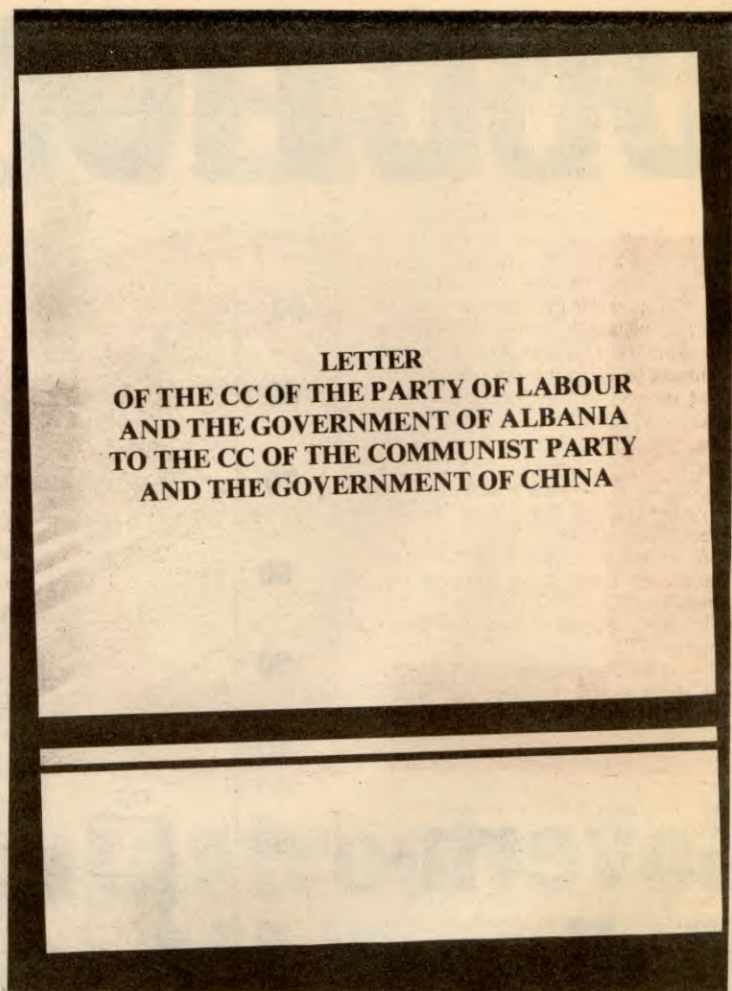
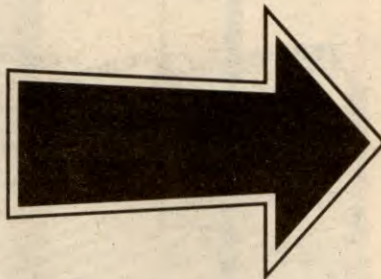
The primary costs of shrinking exports is not production cause but the capitalist crisis. In addition wages are not the main component of production costs, they account only for some 20 percent.

Figures from other countries indicate that wages cannot determine the level of exports like the Norwegian bourgeoisie pretends.

Wages in the US and Britain have sharply decreased compared with wages in Norway, while wages in Japan have increased somewhat in comparison. According to the theory the bourgeoisie in Norway is trying to sell the workers, the US and Britain should have a better development of exports than Norway, and Japan should have a poorer development. Statistics show that the opposite case is true. Japan, has the best development of exports, while that of the US and Britain is poorer than Norway's. This proves that the theory linking high exports to low wages is false.

(March 18)

COMMENTS ON THE



LETTER
OF THE CC OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR
AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ALBANIA
TO THE CC OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
AND THE GOVERNMENT OF CHINA

Communists in Norway have had deep consideration for the viewpoints of the Party of Labor of Albania. When the PLA leadership says things that we consider wrong and anti-Marxist, we must seriously

show *why* we no longer are able to agree. This is also important because we must prevent Albania's prestige among progressive Norwegians from being used to spread erroneous ideas.

From August 14 to 29, Klassekampen printed important excerpts — amounting to more than 40 of the 54 pages of the English language edition — of the «Letter of the CC of the Party of Labor and the Government of Albania to the CC of the Communist Party and the Government of China» dated July 29, 1978. Each excerpt was accompanied by an article explaining the views of Marxist-Leninists in Norway on the issues raised by the corresponding passage of the Albanian «Letter». As an introduction to the series, Klassekampen printed an article summing up its views.

The entire «Letter» will be printed in the first coming issue of Røde Fane, the theoretical journal of the AKP(m-l). This issue will also contain the main Chinese documents related to the cessation of China's aid to Albania.

READERS URGED TO LEARN FROM THE LETTER OF THE ALBANIAN LEADERSHIP

The AKP(m-l) is part of the communist world movement. It is based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We consider that the «Letter» of the Albanian leadership is an attack on the communist world movement and on Mao Tsetung. In our opinion, this «Letter» is politically completely wrong.

Why do we use so much space in Klassekampen to reprint an erroneous document?

Because we think it will be useful for our readers to study it and to learn from it. We do not learn merely from studying what is correct, but also by analyzing things that are incorrect. We believe that the great majority of our readers who will take the trouble to study these pages will agree with us in our appreciation of the «Letter», and at the same time they will learn a lot about politics. The «Letter» is good study material, as a negative example.

Another reason emphasizing the importance of publicizing the current views of the Albanian leadership is the fact that the Albanian party previously made important contributions to the struggle against modern revisionism. From this the PLA and Albania have derived great international prestige. Thousands of progressive Norwegians have travelled to Albania, seen the results of socialist construction there, and learned of like and respect Albanian workers, collective farmers, intellectuals and cadres. Between the «AKP(m-l)» and the PLA relations were very close. The AKP(m-l) has conducted extensive friendship work and propaganda in favor of Albania and has drawn lessons from the Albanian revolution. On several occasions the Albanian leaders expressed their high esteem of the AKP(m-l). In 1976, on the occasion of the second congress of the

AKP(m-l), the PLA leadership sent a message of greetings declaring full support to the policy of our party. (see Class Struggle, December 1976).

This implies that communists in Norway have had deep consideration for the viewpoints of the Albanian party. When the Albanian leadership says things that we consider wrong and anti-Marxist, we must seriously show *why* we no longer are able to agree. This is also important because we must prevent Albania's prestige among progressive Norwegians from being used to spread erroneous ideas.

As Norwegian Marxist-Leninists we despise the method of only rendering a semi-digested concentrate of opinions with which we disagree, without letting those we disagree with express themselves. (...) Our readers know that no other party paper in Norway is as open as Klassekampen to articles and letters containing sharp attacks on our party and its policy. In our opinion, not printing what is against oneself is an expression of lack of faith in one's own arguments as well as a depreciation of one's readers, as if they were not mature enough to judge for themselves. (...)

We want to emphasize the fact that this method stands in sharp contrast to the methods employed by the PLA leadership in Albania. The conclusion of the «Letter» states that the Chinese note on the rupture of economic relations has been published by the Albanian press. But this note does not contain the CPC's or Mao's arguments in support of the political line so violently attacked by the Albanian leadership on repeated occasions since 1976. The Albanian leaders attack Mao's three world theory. No Chinese defense of this theory has been made available to the Albanian masses. On the contrary: Chinese publications have been withdrawn from sale in Albania, and other similar measures taken. On the other hand, the Albanian criticism of the three world theory has been published in China.



The «Letter» of the PLA leadership violently attacks the policies of Mao Tsetung. This serves to clarify contradictions and lines of demarcation.

THE MAIN ACCUSATIONS AGAINST THE CPC AND MAO

Many of the accusations against the CPC and Mao will surprise friends of Albania. Their publication now may nevertheless be considered an advantage. They establish clearer lines than previously, since they show that the contradictions have been more extensive, deeper, and above all older than what those lacking in special information may have had reason to believe.

With the «Letter» from the Albanian leadership there is less occasion to gloss over and minimize contradictions. The «Letter» also shows that it is impossible today to take a stand in favor of both Mao Tsetung and the Albanian leadership, precisely because essential passages of the «Letter» contain extremely sharp attacks against Mao.

Here are some of the main accusations:

— In the part on economical questions the Albanian leaders state notably that the Chinese side made use of economic aid to exert pressure, that it sabotaged Albanian economy and defense, and that it gives a false impression concerning the amount of aid.

MAO: A POOR FIGHTER AGAINST REVISIONISM?

— The Albanian leaders state that the CPC leadership has been vacillating ever since the struggle against modern revisionism began. They state that the CPC leadership in fact did not want a rupture with the USSR, and only accepted it when compelled to. The Albanian leaders claim that the CPC at first had a policy of alliance with the USSR against the US, then a policy of struggle against both superpowers and finally a policy for alliance with the US against the USSR.

— The PLA leadership accuses Mao Tsetung of having raised the question of borders between the USSR and other countries in 1963 (in an interview with Japanese reporters), and in this respect, of displaying «the chauvinistic spirit of the great state and bourgeois nationalism». (page 29)

— The PLA leadership claims it supported the cultural revolution because Mao specifically requested such support. It states that the situation in China was characterized by unprincipled struggles within the party both before and after 1949, that this was a result of the fact that the CPC never properly understood or applied the experience of the Soviet October revolution, and that the Albanian leaders disagreed with the CPC on many questions concerning the principles and the leadership of the cultural revolution. The Albanian leaders state

that the cultural revolution led to more bad things than good and that in the end state power in China was seized by bourgeois and revisionist elements. This implies: 1) The Albanian leaders claim that the CPC and Mao had a poorer understanding of the construction of socialism than the Russians under Lenin and Stalin. 2) The bourgeoisie came to power in China while Mao was alive. And this, of course, is a rather sharp criticism of Mao.

MAO: «IMPERIALIST» AS OF 1971???

— The PLA leadership accuses Chou En-lai of sabotaging Albania's defense by suggesting an alliance with Yugoslavia and Romania and preparations for defensive guerilla warfare. This proposition (supposedly furthered in 1968) is characterized as «anti-Albanian and counterrevolutionary» (page 38). Former vice premier and minister of defense Beqir Balluku is accused of having supported the proposal. (Balluku was purged in 1974 and executed). At the 1976 PLA congress Balluku was characterized as a counterrevolutionary and foreign agent — therefore of China. This involved China while Mao Tsetung still was alive and chairman of the party.

— In an overall appraisal of the

c't'd page 11



From the 7th congress of the PLA, November 1976. The banner on the wall shows that the PLA leadership has never recognized Mao Tsetung as a classic of Marxism-Leninism.

CPC during the struggle against Krushchevism the Albanian leadership states that the CPC's aim was not to defend Marxism Leninism, the revolution and the liberation of the peoples», but that the CPC fought «simply for pragmatic ends and selfish interests» (page 40). The Albanian leaders claim that this became evident with Nixon's visit to Peking in 1971. «With Nixon's visit, China joined the dance of imperialist alliances and rivalries for the redivision of the world, where China too, would have its own share» (page 41). Thus the Chinese leadership supposedly scrapped support to truly socialist countries, to Marxist-Leninists, to revolution, to national liberation movements. Since it is well known that the initiative to Nixon's visit was taken by Mao and that Mao personally played an important role in the discussions with Nixon, then this amounts to accusing Mao of having waged an imperialist policy as of 1971, and to have ceased supporting world revolution in 1971.

— The Albanian leaders also repeat their violent criticism of Mao's three world theory, which they brand as counterrevolutionary. They say the theory aims at turning China to an imperialist superpower, and that China wants to exercise hegemony over the third world. They call China's warnings about the Soviet menace a «hoax» (page 46), and repeat Soviet propaganda assertions to the effect that the three world theory instigates world war.

They state too that China is a great danger to the peoples of the Balkans (!). The Albanian leaders assert that it is not the CPC which has invented the three world theory but world reaction, and they claim they fought against this theory as far back as the sixties and even before.

— The Albanian leaders accuse the CPC leadership of not wanting to discuss contradictions with them, notably in 1974 but also before. They also claim that they have not conducted polemics against China and that they have not attacked Mao.

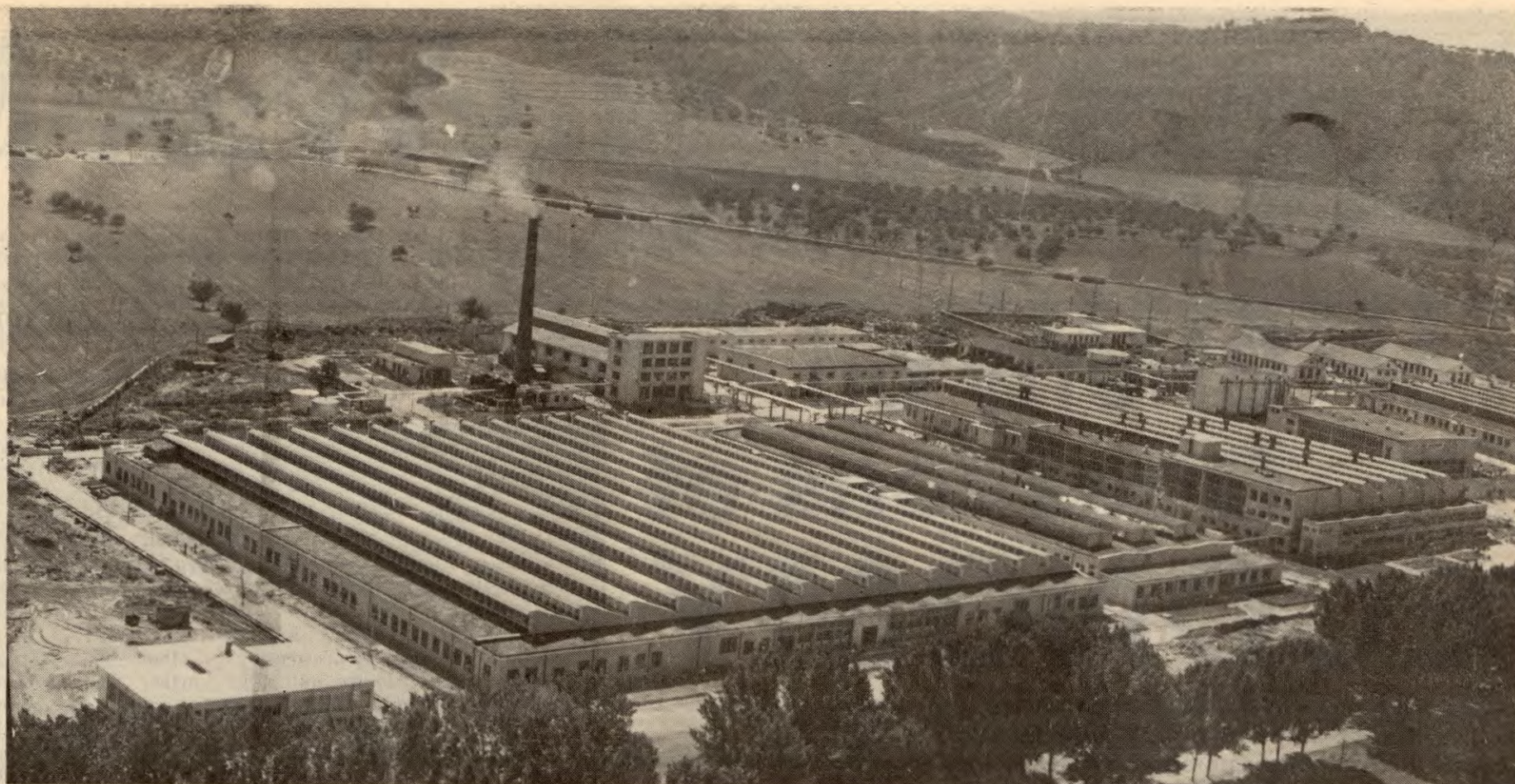
— The Albanian leaders say that the CPC leadership asked them to denounce the «gang of four», but that they would not do this. Nevertheless, they claim they do not support the «gang of four» or Lin Piao. They assert further that the CPC leadership wanted the PLA «to support its illegal and non-Marxist-Leninist activity to seize state power in China.» (page 52). This means that the PLA leaders accuse Hua Kuo-feng of having become party and state leader in China by «illegal» and «non-Marxist-Leninist» activities.

IMPOSSIBLE TO SUPPORT BOTH THE PLA LEADERS AND MAO TSETUNG

We stated that this «Letter» in a way draws sharper lines of demarcation. As the readers will notice, it contains attacks against Mao for almost all components of his revolutionary activity. Before 1949, the CPC — under Mao's leadership — was supposedly characterized by unprincipled factional struggles. After 1949 the party did not properly understand the experience of the October revolution for the construction of socialism. The struggle against Khrushchev's revisionism was vacillating and reluctant, and in fact only in the service of opportunist Chinese state interests. The cultural revolution, initiated by Mao, was more bad than good. It led to the bourgeoisie seizing state and party power. And with Nixon's visit in 1971 — upon the initiative of Mao and involving talks between Nixon and Mao himself — Mao's party definitely betrayed truly socialist countries, the Marxist-Leninist movement, the revolution and the liberation movements. Under Mao the CPC sought hegemony and aimed at making China an imperialist superpower. Moreover, the current party leadership under comrade Hua Kuo-feng is illegal. China has exerted continuous pressure against Albania, refused to accept correct criticism since the sixties, and furthered counterrevolutionary proposals since 1968.

A myth has arisen in the west, according to which «the Albanians are for Mao and against Hua». This myth is related to another, supposing that «the gang of four was loyal to Mao while the current CPC leadership is against Mao».

We have claimed on previous occasions that the Albanian leaders in reality criticize the policy furthered by China under Mao, and not only the



The gigantic Mao Tsetung textile works at Berat in Albania, a symbol of the significance of Chinese aid to industrial construction there.

policy furthered under Hua. We have pointed out that no other assessment is admissible, among other reasons because Hua's policy is merely a loyal development of Mao's policy, based on the same fundamental lines. The «Letter» of the Albanian leaders fully confirms the correctness of our appraisal. They do not make the slightest attempt at opposing Hua and Mao (Hua is not even mentioned by name). They criticized Mao and the CPC leadership many years before Mao died. If any year of demarcation exists for them, it must be 1971 (which, incidentally, is the year when Lin Piao was exposed and died fleeing to the Soviet Union). We agree with the Albanian leaders in this one respect: the question is: for or against the policy of Mao Tsetung.

In this manner the Albanian leaders themselves remove the basis of the propaganda of certain western «pro-Mao» revisionists, who have tried to establish a new revisionist ideology portraying the Albanian leaders as the true successors of the policies of Mao. (One group having attempted this is the little pro-Albania revisionist group in Norway). These circles have notably published pictures of «six Marxist classics», that is: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Hoxha. But the Albanian leaders themselves reject the heritage of Mao. They have never formally recognized Mao as a classic. On the contrary, they now attack all his revolutionary achievements. If they were to admit that Mao was a communist they would in any case rank him far below Stalin and people like themselves. On our side we consider Stalin a great Marxist, but we rank Mao higher. When it comes to the Albanian leaders, we believe Mao was right and that they are wrong.

THE PLA LEADERS HAVE CHANGED THEIR LINE

At the same time, it is clear that the Albanian leaders have changed their positions on a number of issues. They conceal the fact that they themselves have called Mao the leader of the communist world movement, and that they also published extremely positive appraisals of China's international policy after 1971. They also conceal the fact that they themselves have maintained positions identical to or very close to those they now denounce in such vehement terms.

For those who have previously studied Albanian material, the «Letter» confirms quite clearly that the Albanian leaders have changed their line. The Norwegian Marxist-Leninists have been accused of having «followed China» after «China changed her line», while «betraying Albania» when «Albania maintains China's old line». The Albanian leaders have now come to our assistance in exposing these absurdities. It is well known that Norwegian Marxist-Leninists have upheld Mao Tsetung Thought since the sixties. Should we follow the Al-

banian leaders now, we would have to change line and reject Mao Tsetung Thought! And then talk of betrayal would be founded on reality. The Albanians criticize our line and the CPC's as «counterrevolutionary» since 1971. But on the basis of this line we were able to maintain excellent party relations with the PLA. Now the PLA leadership denounces what it previously accepted, and a new situation has emerged.

Therefore, the «Letter» provides valuable assistance to those who have not yet taken a clear position. If you want to support the new line of the Albanian leadership you have to reject and denounce Mao. This will probably cause certain false friends of Mao to cast their masks once and for all. On the other hand there can be no doubt as to the final choice of the great majority of revolutionaries.

DIFFICULT TO TAKE SIDES?

But is there not a lot we do not know? Do we not lack information making it difficult for us to judge certain accusations of the Albanians?

The «Letter» from the PLA leadership contains many concrete assertions such as what happened at this or that meeting and the like. We know from experience that certain honest people will find it difficult to take sides on these issues, as no «neutral and impartial» rapporteur can be found to give an objective version of meetings, diplomatic encounters etc.

Nevertheless we think it is easy to take sides.

There are of course things we do not know. We do not know what party leader X said to party leader Y at various meetings in the sixties. We have not read all the secret records of trade or other agreements.

But: We are acquainted with the main lines of Chinese and Albanian policy. We know the main trend of world development. We know the main aspects of Mao's activity and of the activity of the current CPC leadership under comrade Hua.

We can judge: Is it true that Mao understood less of socialist revolution than Stalin? Who represented a correct policy in 1960? For the most important in this respect is not secret: it consists of a policy that had a forceful impact on the world. And who had a correct line in 1971? Is it true that from then on China ceased to support revolution? Who represents a correct policy in 1978? Is it true that China instigates war, aims at turning the Balkans to a powder keg and seeks hegemony?

Concerning concrete details such as meetings and minutes, it is up to the CPC to reply if it wishes. We cannot and will not treat this in detail.

On the other hand, when it comes to the main political questions, it is our right to hold an opinion, and we

dispose of lots of material. We can and will comment on the main issues, and we believe it is not difficult to take sides.

In the continuous commentary to the eight excerpts we will comment on certain minor issues as well. But

we will mostly concentrate on the main questions of strategy and principle, concerning both a correct appraisal of history and a correct analysis of the current world situation. (Aug. 14)

PLA leaders claim experience from cultural revolution was mainly negative. Here is one of the many workers' groups that have played an outstanding role in furthering revolution and production.



President Nixon visited China and met Mao Tsetung in February 1972. Did this visit signify the end of China's support to revolution and liberation movements, to «join the dance of imperialist alliances and rivalries for the redivision of the world?»

Comments on the Albanian «Letter»

PART
TWO

Was Mao

PART ONE: Briefly on Questions of ECONOMY

The excerpt from the Albanian «Letter» printed in Klassekampen Aug. 15 corresponds to pages 19 (from where paragraph II begins) to 22 (ending with «necessary to review the development of Albanian-Chinese relations»). The complete text of the «Letter» concerning economic questions (pages 7 to 19) will be published in Norwegian in Røde Fane, the theoretical organ of the AKP(m-l), together with the complete text of the Chinese note.

Below is a translation of the commentary to the excerpt on economy. Concerning other issues raised by the excerpt, the reader is referred to the Introduction (see this issue, pages 10–11).

The «Letter» from the Albanian leaders asserts that China broke off economic aid, not because of the Albanians' lack of willingness to cooperate, but to exert political pressure.

We have commented this assertion previously. We have pointed out that China provides aid to many countries, also to countries whose policy is opposed to that of China. We have pointed out that it is not in China's interests to shove, for example Albania, towards social-imperialism. We do not believe the assertions that China has attempted to exert pressure.

In addition, the Albanian leaders claim that when the Chinese talk about their economic aid to Albania this expresses boastfulness and great state chauvinism. They also state that the Chinese omit mentioning Albania's assistance to China, and refer in this respect to declarations by Mao, Chou and Kang Sheng that express thanks for Albania's political support to China.

CHINA DOES NOT BOAST

It is our experience that China does not boast about the aid she gives. China published the note because the aid had to be stopped. China expected

public Albanian attacks because of this and wanted therefore to publish her motives immediately.

The Chinese note tells how Albania received assistance while the Chinese people themselves lived poorly and lacked many necessities. Our experience is that this is correct. China has a lower standard of living than Albania, and during the seventies this difference was accentuated. During the same period China provided Albania with important economic aid. In our opinion this expresses the true proletarian internationalism of the Chinese people, party and government. In this connection it seems rather embarrassing to refer to Mao's and Chou's declarations on Albania's political support to the struggle against revisionism as if it were an equivalent repayment for China's economic aid, which is the argument contained in the Albanian «Letter».

CORNERSTONE PROJECTS IN ALBANIAN ECONOMY

The Albanian leaders claim that a series of assertions in the Chinese note of July 7 are untrue. They notably state that the sum total of Chinese aid is not 10 000 million Chinese yuan, but only 3 000 million yuan. They

also claim that China has sabotaged Albania's economy.

The calculated impression created by these claims is that the aid has not been a significant contribution to Albania's economy. Those who have traveled in Albania and visited most of Albania's heavy industry and the main construction sites know that this is clearly a wrong presentation of facts.

Chinese aid involved cornerstone projects in Albanian economy. Most of the heavy industry, other big industry, power stations, are equipped with Chinese machinery or with machinery China procured from other countries. This is not a mere matter of «percentage of national income» (page 14). This is equipment delivered while Albania was excluded from big markets. It is machinery Albania otherwise would have had to pay in international currency of which she had little. All was bought and installed with the assistance of expertise Albania could not provide herself.

THE AID CHANGED THE STRUCTURE OF ALBANIAN PRODUCTION

There can be no doubt whatsoever that Chinese aid changed the overall structure of Albanian production, and contributed decisively to the very extensive industrialization of the sixties and seventies. This signifies a great historic advance for Albania and constitutes the basis for increased standard of living and a firmer fundament for the struggle to safeguard national independence.

Albanian workers, collective farmers, intellectuals and cadres have worked hard and devotedly to develop the economy. It is of course the working people of Albania who have the main honor for the construction of their country. But what the Albanian leaders do is to conceal the great significance of the internationalist economic aid the Albanian people have received from China, an aid which has been far from insignificant or mainly «harmful» to the economy.

(August 15)

August 16, Klassekampen printed a complete translation of points 1) and 2) of chapter II of the Albanian «Letter» (corresponding to the English text from page 22 «Contacts between our two parties and countries were established ...» to page 28 «... did not prove to be consistent and principled in this struggle.»).

In the same issue, Klassekampen published these comments, under the title: «Was Mao a Poor Fighter against Revisionism?»:

The main accusation contained in this excerpt from the Albanian «Letter» can be summed up in these terms: The struggle waged by the CPC against Khrushchevite revisionism was reluctant and poor. The CPC wavered in 1960 and later. The reason for this was that the CPC in reality did not want any rupture with Khrushchev and was only compelled to consummate the break in 1963. These viewpoints, developed in the present excerpt, are closely related to several other assertions in the «Letter». In contrast to the CPC leadership of the PLA is portrayed as exceedingly consistent, as a «done» opponent of Khrushchevite revisionism until 1963. Further on in the «Letter» especially in point 8, from page 39 to page 44) it explains that the CPC leadership never really opposed Khrushchev, its criticism was motivated by Chinese great state interests. The CPC leadership and Mao were supposedly never really interested in defending Marxism-Leninism: tactic considerations compelled them to choose this form of struggle against Khrushchev.

Points 1) and 2) are also part of the «documentation» of the Albanian leaders to indicate that the CPC leadership has changed the «axis» of its policy «three times over ten years, from 1962 to 1972» (page 44) and «vacillated» — that is proposing first an alliance with the Soviet Union against the US, then struggle against both superpowers, and finally wanting an alliance with the US against the USSR.

We will return to a series of these questions later. Here we shall concentrate on the question of who fought well against Khrushchevite revisionism, the CPC leadership under Mao or the PLA leadership?

MAO'S AND THE CPC'S SYSTEMATIC STRUGGLE AGAINST KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISM

Is it really true that Mao's struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism first began in 1963? History shows that this assertion is absolutely untenable.

Mao wrote the articles «On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People» and «On the Ten Major Relationships» in 1956. These articles are important appraisals and theoretical creations that analyze errors and weaknesses in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe at that time. These trailblazing analyses are compulsory reading for anyone wanting to understand why and how revisionism could seize power in the Soviet Union. «On the Ten Major Relationships» discerns notably extremely significant errors of economic development in the USSR. «On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Within the People» points out how an incorrect handling of such contradictions under certain circumstances can give mass support to reaction against socialism.

These articles do not stand alone. Volume Five of Mao's Selected Works (copies of which have been seized at the Albanian border, and which Albanian workers are prevented from reading) contains many passages where Mao criticizes tendencies in the USSR, criticizes Khrushchev and points out that Khrushchev incorrectly rejects Lenin and Stalin. Guided by Mao, the CPC also compiled the important article from 1956 «On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat», which publicly summed up some important experiences of socialism under Stalin.

In 1956 the CPC fought the Khrushchevite thesis of «peaceful and parliamentary transition to socialism» and «peaceful coexistence» between the peoples and imperialism. This is well known.

In 1960 the CPC published the polemical article «Long Live Leninism» and collections of quotations from Lenin. While avoiding public criticism of the USSR, the CPC thus presented correct, anti-revisionist and anti-Khrushchevite lines to guide communists in their work. These publications acquired international significance. They accelerated the

struggle of Marxist-Leninists against revisionism, and were actively combated by the Khrushchevite revisionists.

In the years immediately following 1960 Mao worked intensely on the question of the victory of revisionism in the Soviet Union. Some of the results of this work will certainly be made available in the forthcoming volume of Mao's Selected Works.

MAO'S WORKS EXPOSE ALBANIANS' ASSERTIONS

At the same time there appeared various public polemical articles against Khrushchevite revisionism and against revisionist parties that attacked China. Among the most signi-

ficant were the open letters of 1963. These were notably: «A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement» and «On Khrushchev's False Communism», which constitute a systematic criticism of Khrushchevism, involving the line for the world movement and the manner in which bourgeois class dictatorship was established and capitalism restored in the Soviet Union itself.

Altogether, Mao's works from these years are the best material at our disposal to analyze modern revisionism. Altogether Mao's own works and the rest of the Chinese polemics effectively expose the absurdity of the following assertions made in the «Letter»:

• «The CPC did not oppose Khrushchev before 1963.» Wrong. The CPC leadership opposed Khrushchev from 1956, and waged struggle in various forms as of approximately this period.

• «The CPC's opposition was based only on tactical considerations.» Wrong again. Mao's works from this period show that the contradictions with Khrushchev involved basic political issues. While struggling, Mao did not want to provoke a split. He let Khrushchev take the responsibility for consummating the rupture. This was a tactic for not shoving more people than necessary over to his side. We will notice on several occasions that the Albanian leaders are discontent with the CPC's attempts at applying flexible tactics.

BUT WHAT ABOUT THE ALBANIANS?

What about the PLA leadership? Is it true that it fought against Khrushchevite revisionism over a longer period and more consistently than the CPC?

In 1956 Enver Hoxha held a speech in which he subscribed to Khrushchev's thesis of peaceful and parliamentary transition. Today the Albanian leaders assert that they had contradictions with Khrushchev as early as this. In any case, however, this speech of Hoxha clearly reveals that the PLA leaders were not consistent opponents of Khrushchev's policy from the very beginning.

In 1960 the CPC received support from the PLA and certain other parties against the Soviet attack. This was of course a good thing. But is it true that the CPC leaders vacillated at the meetings in 1960?

Let us refer to the judgement of Enver Hoxha himself. 1976 saw the publication of volume 19 of Hoxha's collected works. This book contains the Albanians' own selection of Hoxha's internal letters, speeches etc. The majority of these were published in Norwegian by the Oktober Publishers, upon the Albanians' own suggestion.



Inside the Tirana Tractor Spare Parts Factory, built on the basis of extensive Chinese aid.



The Norwegian edition of Mao's Selected Works, volume 5. This volume contains articles such as «ON THE CORRECT HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE PEOPLE», and «ON THE TEN MAJOR RELATIONSHIPS», both of which are important and theoretically creative appraisals of mistakes and weaknesses in the USSR and eastern Europe. Written in 1956, they completely disprove Albanian assertions that the CPC did not make any criticism of Khrushchevite revisionism before 1963.

a Poor Fighter Against Revisionism?

The Albanian leaders turn history upside down when they claim that China never waged any proper struggle against modern revisionism. The PLA leadership never wrote any criticism of revisionism comparable in value and depth to works by Mao Tsetung. Mao's analyses of Khrushchevite revisionism are classic theoretical works of Marxism-Leninism.



«CONSULT WITH THE CHINESE COMRADES»

October 7, 1960, Hoxha sent a telegram to Hysni Kapo, who represented the PLA at the conference of communist and workers' parties in Moscow. «They will accuse us, too, of being 'dogmatic', because we take the side of China. We must show the Soviet representatives ... that ours is a Marxist-Leninist line, that we defend the Communist Party of China only because it upholds a correct Marxist-Leninist line ...» (see for example Albania Today 6/75 (25) page 27). And Enver gave this advice to Hysni Kapo: «Consult and collaborate with the Chinese comrades.» (same place)

This was how the PLA and Enver Hoxha assessed the stand of the Chinese leaders in 1960. There is no indication here of any «vacillation». Hoxha states the CPC represented a Marxist-Leninist line, and advises Kapo to consult the Chinese delegates. Late 1975 and early 1976, only a few months before the PLA started the polemics against the CPC, the Albanians took the initiative to have these assessments translated in many countries, such as Norway.

It seems to us that the so-called «vacillation» is a recent invention, tailored to cope with a situation in which the Albanian leaders want to deflate the international prestige of Mao Tsetung, which is partly based on Mao's contribution to the struggle against Khrushchev.

THE PLA'S CRITICISM OF KHRUSHCHEV FOLLOWED THE CPC'S

Is it true that the Albanian leadership, as opposed to the CPC, proceeded to a thorough theoretical criticism of Khrushchevite revisionism in these years?

At the conference of 81 parties in 1960 Hoxha held a speech which was a sharp attack against Khrushchev. This speech was significant because it exposed a series of Khrushchevite revisionist crimes against Albania. But is it an analytical, theoretical criticism of Khrushchevite revisionism? Does it explain that capitalism had been restored in the USSR and the reason for its restoration? No.

In the years following 1960 the PLA published many polemical articles. The PLA has gathered several of them in various books of several hundred pages each. We have studied the articles in these books and other places. And what do we find?

LACKING IN EXTENSIVE ANALYSES

These articles were of course valuable in the exposure of Khrushchev. They also contain many valuable things we can learn from.

But they are mostly lacking in more extensive analyses of what the causes of revisionism are, and how the capitalist modern revisionist system in the USSR functions.

The articles concentrate on the criticism of revisionism in a long series of separate issues. They are also part-

ly marred by being unsystematic and somewhat verbose.

Besides, they repeat much of the CPC's criticism of revisionist leaders in the Soviet Union. This is the case, also in a series of questions where the PLA leaders now criticize the CPC, such as support to governments in bourgeois and semi feudal/semi colonial countries of the third world.

NO OWN THEORETICAL CRITICISM OF REVISIONISM ON A BROAD SCALE

Several of the articles express full support of important Chinese polemical articles, such as «A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the World Communist Movement», which the PLA leadership considered very significant.

And what does this show? That the Albanian leaders never compiled any extensive theoretical criticism of revisionism on their own. They never presented any thorough analysis of the errors of the Soviet Union comparable to Mao's contributions after 1956, or to articles like «On Khrushchev's False Communism». On the contrary: The Albanian leaders adhered to the theoretical criticism made by the Chinese, praised it and applied it. The Albanian polemics from these years was valuable, but to characterize it as more consistant and thorough than that of Mao and the CPC would be to turn things upside down.

THEORETICAL WEAKNESSES IN THE PLA LEADERSHIP'S CRITICISM OF REVISIONISM

Subsequent articles from the leadership of the PLA betray a significant lack of theoretical clarity in the attitude towards modern revisionism, and this several years after 1963.

For the sake of simplicity we shall concentrate on one single article, entitled «The Working Class in Revisionist Countries Must Take the Field and Reestablish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat» from Zeri i Popullit, March 24, 1968. This article has since then been published abroad and Enver Hoxha designated as the author. We could have used other articles as well, but quotations from this one will suffice to prove our point. (Our quotations conform to the text published in the anthology «The Party of Labour in Battle with Modern Revisionism», Tirana, 1972. See pages 389 to 432.)

We will not go through the article in detail. This would be too lengthy, and it is not necessary for our purpose: to show the existence of significant lack of clarity in the theoretical comprehension of revisionism. We will therefore only mention briefly that the explanation contained in this article of the emergence of revisionism is influenced by idealism. All emphasis is put on complacency and ideological defects of the cadres, and the existence of errors of political and economic line within the leadership of Stalin's party is rejected. In this respect too it is clear that the Albanian criticism of revisionism can by no means be compared to Mao's.

But the error on which we want to concentrate here is the lack of clarity concerning the character of the social system in the revisionist states of eastern Europe. Is it capitalist or socialist?

«In all the countries where revisionists are in power, the dictatorship of the proletariat is being smashed and replaced by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the socialist regime is being replaced by the capitalist bourgeois regime ...» (p. 391)

«SOCIALISM» IN EASTERN EUROPE IN 1968

In other words, in 1968 the Albanian leaders claimed that there were countries in which revisionists had seized power, but where the restoration of capitalism had not been completed. Logically speaking, this implies that it was still possible to consider the existence of a type of (degenerated, to be sure) socialism. Many other utterances of the same type show that this is no mere unique or accidentally unprecise formula.

On Dubcek's struggle against Novotny within the revisionist party, the article puts the question: «How is the new counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia unfolding?» and gives this answer: «... towards capitalism, to the complete political, ideological, economic and State restoration of the capitalist bourgeois republic.» (p. 399)

Further on we read these remarks: «The Dubcek group, to cover their aims, are resorting to apparently legal forms to purge the Novotny clique ... The whole of this operation is being very quickly carried out, ... amidst the frantic applause of world capitalism to whose fold a scabby goat has thus returned.» (p. 402)

«In both countries (i.e. Czechoslovakia and Poland) the new revisionist cliques which want to speed up the process of the transformation of their countries into completely capitalist countries, are striving to get rid of the Novotny and Gomulka revisionist cliques, these old revisionist cliques.» (p. 403)

«On the other hand, capitalist Czechoslovakia strengthens the capitalist positions of Tito and Co, helps

in the complete transformation of Kadar's Hungary ... it helps the process in Poland.» (p. 404)

«This whole capitalist transformation jeopardizes Democratic Germany ... Capitalism has great interests in financing those who separate themselves from the Soviet Union and turn towards the West.» (pp. 404—405)

There are lots of other possible quotations in this and in other articles which convey the same impression. It is not necessary to refer them all.

What is implied here? That the successful struggle of Dubcek and his group against Novotny in Czechoslo-

vakia in 1968 was a step «towards capitalism», and that it was only possible to speak about «capitalist Czechoslovakia» and the threat this implied for «capitalist transformation» in other countries, after Novotny had been deposed.

What is wrong here? The simple fact that in all the countries mentioned, capitalism had been restored many years prior to 1968. Therefore it was as absurd to write about evolution «towards capitalism» in Czechoslovakia or Poland in 1968 as it would have been to write the same about Sweden, Britain or Norway.

ILLUSIONS WITHIN THE ALBANIAN LEADERSHIP

Were analyses of the capitalist system in these countries inexistant in 1968? By no means. The CPC had carried out excellent analyses, notably of the capitalist system in the Soviet Union. The Communist Party of Poland, which is mentioned in the same article, had published an analysis of Poland before 1968. The Communist Party of Poland pointed out that Poland had never been truly socialist and that it now (prior to 1968) was capitalist.

In spite of the existence of correct Marxist-Leninist analyses, the Albanian leaders had articles published as late as 1968 in which they expound incorrect and erroneous points of view. The implication of this is that

they did not grasp the nature of the social system in eastern Europe at that time, and that the Albanian leadership nurtured illusions on the survival of remnants of «socialism» in the revisionist countries.

This could also lead to a tendency to consider opposition in these countries that was not clearly communist, as an opposition «for the worse». There is a tendency in the articles from 1968 to prefer Novotny to Dubcek. Today this tendency has developed to denunciation of a democratic and anti-imperialist opposition like Charta 77, an opposition which is not burdened by Dubcek's mistakes and within its limitations is mainly correct.

BREZHNEV «POWERLESS» AGAINST DUBCEK?

It may be considered a curiosity that the article of 1968 considers Brezhnev as «unable to do anything» against Dubcek, and that he will not do anything.

We read: «What will the Soviets do? Nothing but to take Novotny for their collection, if he is available, and install him also in a villa near Rakoski's.» (p. 402) There is even this interesting short-term prediction: «The whole of this situation which is being created in Central Europe will smash

the Warsaw Treaty and the Economic Mutual Aid Council.» (p. 404)

These sensational errors of judgement were reproduced, together with the rest of the article, in Tirana in 1972!

These weaknesses in grasping the social system of the revisionist countries have not been corrected. Here is a quotation from the report to the 7th congress of the PLA, November, 1976:

NO CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE SOVIET UNION

«In the Soviet revisionist 'bloc' they even talk about the theory of class struggle, but this too, only for appearances' sake, for the purpose of misleading people, because class

struggle in its Marxist-Leninist sense is not waged either in the Soviet Union or the other countries of Eastern Europe.» (Report to the 7th Congress,

c't'd page 14



In 1960 Enver Hoxha himself urged the Albanian party delegation to cooperate with the Chinese, because they upheld a correct Marxist-Leninist line. Now the Albanian leaders claim that the CPC vacillated at that time. But who had the clearest and most thorough analysis of Khrushchevite revisionism?

c't'd from page 13

of the PLA, Tirana 1976, page 231.) On the following page the report mentions workers' struggles, notably in the USSR and in Poland. But if this is not class struggle in the Marxist-Leninist sense, then what is? A rereading of the Albanians' own polemics shows that it is above all the Albanian leaders themselves who have displayed weaknesses in the comprehension of modern revisions, and committed mistakes in their polemics. Previously these errors could be considered minor, and they did not have any great practical significance. Today, however, the situation has changed.

The Albanians refrain from criticizing the fascist Castro regime in Cuba, one of the revisionist regimes of today that has committed the worst crimes. They maintain good relations with Castro. They maintain good relations with Mengistu in Ethiopia. They characterize Vietnam today as a «socialist country». They support the Vietnamese regime in its war against Kampuchea and in its prosecutions of Chinese nationals and other minorities.

So, all aspects taken into account: Who have not been consistent in their criticism of modern revisionism?



In March 1968, «Zeri i Popullit» claimed that Brezhnev was powerless to do anything against Dubcek, that the Warsaw Pact and the Comecon would fall to pieces. In August social-imperialism invaded Czechoslovakia....

THE QUESTION OF ALLIANCE WITH THE USSR AGAINST THE US

We will return to the accusation in the «Letter» of an alleged three-phase evolution of the foreign policy of the Chinese leaders. (See page 44 of the «Letter».) But we will comment shortly at this stage the assertion that various Chinese leaders allegedly wanted an alliance with the USSR against the US in the early sixties.

that Albania would fight together with the USSR against attack from the US.

We will also remark that Albania was a member of the Warsaw Pact, and that she did not formally relinquish her membership until after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, even though the Albanians were denied the right to take part in the deliberations of the leading bodies of the pact.

One thing is clear in any case: In the early sixties the Albanians tended to the same alliance with the USSR for which they today accuse China.

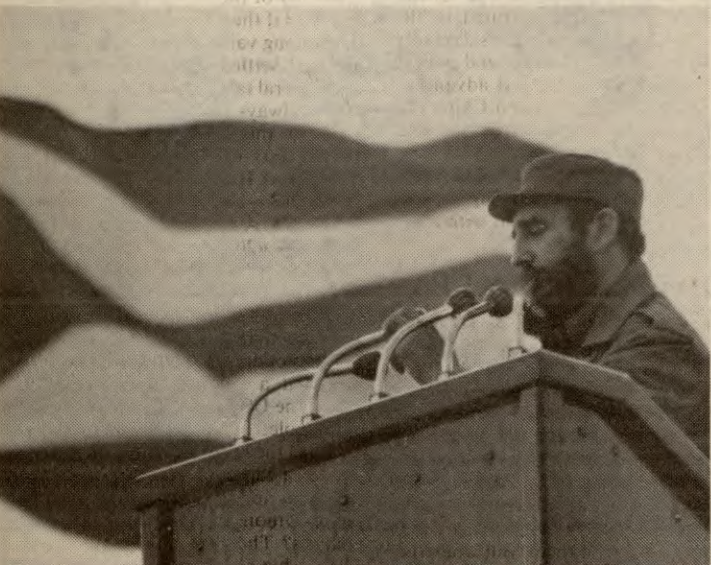
TO REJECT THE THEORETICAL CRITICISM OF REVISIONISM

We believe the question of China's alleged «vacillation» and generally poor struggle against modern revisionism before and after 1960 is essentially simple to resolve.

comprehension of modern revisionism. They initiated a powerful advance of the new Marxist-Leninist movement, which has learned that it cannot combat revisionism without relying on these works of Mao. The PLA leadership never accomplished, either in the fifties, the sixties or the seventies, any criticism of the same depth and value.

It is this classical contribution of Mao Tsetung, today part of the fundaments of the communist world movement, that the Albanian leaders reject.

(August 16)



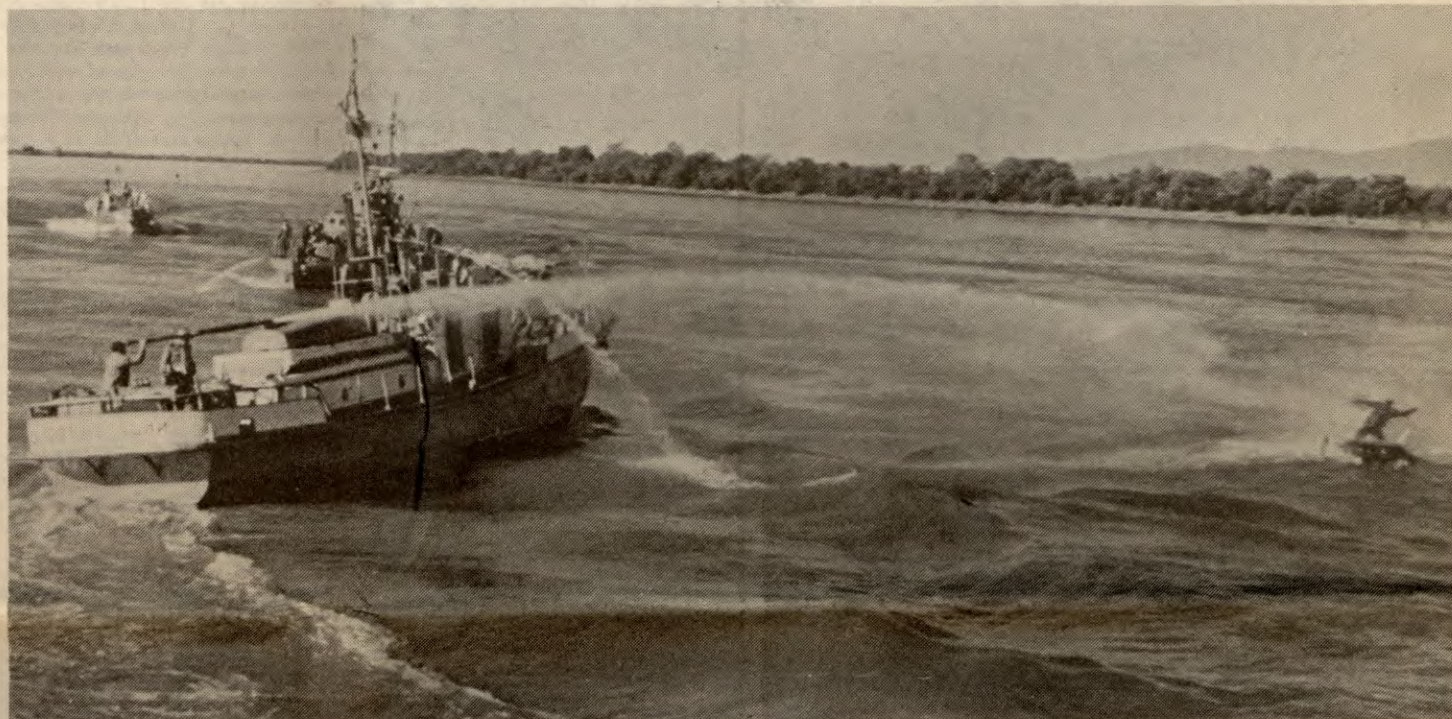
The Albanians used to be less mistaken in their conception of revisionism than they are today. The PLA leadership does not criticize Castro's fascist regime in Cuba, but maintains good relations with Mengistu in Ethiopia.

PART THREE:

Comments on the Albanian «Letter»

Albanian Leaders on Border Questions:

Helping Hand to New Kremlin Czars



In February 1969 Soviet forces initiated a series of provocations at the Chinese border. Here is an episode from the Wusuli river: a gunboat attack against

a Chinese fisherman. Who displayed «great state chauvinism» on this occasion?

The third commentary to the Albanian «Letter» was published August 17, under the title «The Attitude of the Albanian Leaders towards Border Questions: a Helping Hand to the New Kremlin Czars». It was accompanied by the translation of part II point 3 of the «Letter» (pages 28 to 30). Below is the translation of the commentary.

The Albanian leaders repeat their criticism of Mao Tsetung from 1964, because he raised the question of border problems that many countries had with the Sovjet Union. By their attitude the Albanian leaders have committed at least three grave errors, and they provide Soviet social-imperialism with badly needed support.

MAO EXPOSED THE CHARACTER OF THE SOVIET UNION

1) When Mao in 1964 raised criticism of Soviet hegemonism towards neighboring states, this was closely related to his analysis of the USSR at the time. In this period Mao had asserted before anyone else that the Soviet Union had become a «dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type». Today we are aware of the full implications of Mao's analysis: the USSR seeks «Lebensraum» — living space — prepares war in the same manner as Hitler's Germany, conducts fascist

oppression at home and exports fascism on a broad scale. Mao understood that the USSR would make the most out of all unequal agreements from the past to further its own imperialist interests. One of the concrete issues Mao raised was the Soviet occupation of four Japanese islands. Today the Soviet Union still keeps these islands occupied and conducts provocations against Japan.

In Norway we know from our own experience how the new czars are making the most out of the imperialist Svalbard Treaty in their attempts at seizing Norwegian territory.

The Albanians claimed in 1964 (and repeat in 1978): «... we must not start a controversy and polemics over whether or not the Soviet Union has appropriated other countries' lands». (pp. 29—30) Why not? If the USSR has seized territory from other countries, why should we keep silent? What type of true «struggle against revisionism» would make the slightest effort to conceal Soviet hegemonism?

The Albanian leaders criticize Mao for having raised the unsolved border problems between the USSR and China. But Lenin himself stated that the Sino-Russian border had been drawn by the Russian czar on the basis of unequal agreements. September 27, 1920, the Soviet government under Lenin's leadership: «proclaims null and void all agreements made by previous governments with China, renounces all conquered Chinese territory and all Russian concessions in China and restores to China without compensation and for all time all that has previously been conquered by the czarist government and the Russian bourgeoisie.» (see the Declaration to the Chinese Government by the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, quoted in Report to the 9th Congress of the CPC; our translation).

Five years after the Albanian leaders had sent their letter to Mao Tsetung the Soviet Union conducted ar-

med attacks against China to emphasize its demands of Chinese territory. This should have convinced the Albanian leaders that they were wrong and that Mao had been right. Instead they repeat their criticism from 1964 as if nothing had happened. This is therefore a case of rather unabashed support of social-imperialism.

CORRECT CRITICISM OF STALIN: OH HORROR!

2) The Albanian leaders were afraid that to raise border problems would imply criticism of Stalin. The four Japanese islands were occupied by the USSR towards the end of World War II. They were not returned to Japan and are today integrated in the USSR. That this raises objection to parts of Stalin's policy is evident. Mao, the CPC and the AKP(m-l) have all declared that we consider Stalin a great revolutionary. At the same time we believe he made certain errors, such as a tendency to hegemonism in certain aspects of foreign policy. What attitude should communists take in this case? Should we defend hegemonist tendencies of a socialist country? Should we try to conceal historical facts? Or should we do like Mao Tsetung and learn from both the positive and the negative experiences of proletarian dictatorship in the USSR under Stalin? There can be no doubt that Mao Tsetung represents the only scientific attitude. Making an analysis like he did is the only way of avoiding the repetition of mistakes committed in the Soviet Union when it was socialist. By covering up negative experience the Albanian leaders take a stand opposed to Marx' historical materialism. Should we follow their line we would lose our capacity to learn from historical experience, and we would meet the same fate as Lenin's and Stalin's party: the bourgeoisie would take power from within.

It is precisely because Mao could show what hegemonistic tendencies could lead to that he formulated the thesis «Never seek hegemony» as a guiding line in Chinese foreign policy.

SUPPORT TO SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

3) When the Albanian leaders criticized Mao in 1964, they thus committed two grave mistakes. At that time it was perhaps difficult to grasp the significance and the profundity of Mao's analysis. Today, however, 15 years of the construction of social-imperialism have proved a hundred times over that Mao was right. If the Albanian leaders had taken a Marxist attitude, they would have made a self-criticism of their wrong criticism of Mao in 1964. But they do the exact opposite. They take pride in their mistake and repeat their incorrect stand. In this manner they notably support the Soviet Union in its unjust occupation of the four Japanese islands in the north at a time when the anti-imperialist mass movement in Japan is intensifying its struggle against precisely this occupation. The position of the Albanian leaders is therefore no longer a mere error, it is a counterrevolutionary and pro-imperialist act.

MAO WAS CORRECT IN NOT REPLYING

The Albanian leaders attack Mao for his declaration that he would not reply to the letter in which China was criticized for raising the border questions. All through the many pages of their «Letter» they try to make this a question of principle, and they end up accusing the CPC and Mao of «megalomania» (page 43) and the like because they refrained from replying to the Albanian letters.

This is to play to the grandstand. The Albanian leaders themselves have not practised this principle to-

wards sister parties who have criticized them. To date they have not made any reply to the critical letter from the AKP(m-l) last autumn (see forthcoming issue of Class Struggle). Towards other parties they have even refused to acknowledge reception of critical letters. Contrary to what the Albanian leaders would have people believe, there is no general Marxist principle stipulating that all letters require a reply, not even necessarily between sister parties. A concrete assessment must be made of what serves the struggle against the class enemy and what does not. When Mao refused to reply to the erroneous position of the Albanian leaders in 1964, this was clearly because he saw that this would lead to polemics susceptible of prejudicing relations between the two parties. For a proper defense against the Albanian criticism, Mao would have had to deal thoroughly with the policy of the Albanian leaders and expose many revisionist errors. It would be rather naive to assume that this would not have created a split within the front against Soviet revisionism. Mao thought the Chinese and Albanian parties should put their disagreements aside for the time being in order to concentrate on the struggle against the main enemy. He probably hoped too that given time, the Albanian leaders would discover their mistakes. When this hope was not realized, one

cannot blame Mao, but the Albanian leaders exclusively, because they refuse to learn from historical facts. Experience has shown that Mao's line of creating unity between Marxist-Leninist parties on the basis of the main issues, and taking lots of time and patience to deal with questions of lesser importance, is the only line susceptible of establishing a strong and powerful communist world movement. There will always be contradictions between parties, regardless of the strength of their unity around the main issues. Parties do not develop equally. They fight under different conditions and make different experiences. The idea that it is possible to reach 100 percent unity, «monolithic unity» like Enver Hoxha put it in the Report to the 7th congress of the PLA, has no root in reality. Those who are aware of the fact that contradictions will always exist, will painstakingly choose the questions to be solved immediately by ideological struggle, and let the others wait for the time being. Today we understand that Mao made a correct choice in not fighting over the issue raised by the Albanian leaders. More important issues were on the order of the day, and the communist world movement has good reason to be grateful that Mao chose to concentrate attention on them.

(Aug. 17)



In part 2, point 4 (pages 30 to 34) of their «Letter», the Albanian leaders repeat their assertions to the effect that the Chinese allegedly vacillated in their attitude towards the USSR. The basis this time is the fact that China sent a delegation to the Soviet Union in 1964, right after the deposition of Khrushchev, to take part in the celebration of the October Revolution. But who actually vacillated? In November 1964 Enver Hoxha declared notably: «Our party and our people are fully aware of the leading role of the Soviet Union in the socialist camp.»

When Hoxha Supported the «Peaceful Road»

In Part 2 of our comments on the «Letter» of the Albanian leadership we asserted that Enver Hoxha had supported the thesis of peaceful and parliamentary transition to socialism presented by Khrushchev at the 20th congress of the CPSU. One such occasion was at the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution, November 2, 1957. Hoxha declared notably:

«... It will be known that the 20th party congress, a significant event in the history of communism and of the international communist movement, has not only developed a great number of Marxist-Leninist theses, such as the thesis of peaceful coexistence, the thesis on the possibility of averting wars, on the roads that will assure the conquest of power by the working class etc., but it has also elaborated the grandiose program for the transition from socialism to communism, the task of catching up with and overtaking the per capita production of the developed capitalist countries within a short historic period, for demonstrating the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist by way of peaceful economic competition.» (Our translation from a transcription in German).

PART FOUR:

New Tales of «Vacillation»

China's Tactics in the Struggle Against Modern Revisionism

Klassekampen published a fourth excerpt from the Albanian «Letter» August 16. This excerpt corresponds to pages 30 to 34 of the Tirana edition, that is, part II, point 4. This excerpt criticizes especially Chou En-lai for «opportunism» after October 1964 when Khrushchev was deposed.

Klassekampen commented this excerpt under the title: «China's tactics in the struggle against modern revisionism», with the subtitle: «New tales of 'vacillation'». Here is a translation of most of these comments:

In point 4 of part II of their «Letter» the Albanian leaders repeat their assertions that the Communist Party of China «vacillated» towards the Soviet-revisionists. They refer to declarations that have never been published, declarations from a context on which we are kept in the dark. We cannot discuss them. And this is not necessary, because we can take sides on the main question on the basis of accessible facts. We know what China did when Khrushchev was deposed. The Chinese leaders sent a delegation to Moscow to take part in the celebration of the October revolution. This is what the Albanian leaders in fact criticize, claiming that it denotes «vacillation» towards Soviet-revisionism, hopes of «ideological reconciliation» etc.

It is a characteristic feature of the Albanian leaders that they make no attempt at describing the concrete historical situation in 1964 or the nature of the relations within the international communist movement at that time. They refer the steps taken by the Chinese completely out of time and space and forget everything Lenin said about a «concrete analysis of the concrete situation» being the «living soul of Marxism». Therefore we must recall how things stood.

MANY THINGS UNSOLVED IN 1964

In 1964 the split in the communist world movement had been consummated in the main. With their «Open Letter» the Soviets had directed hard attacks against the CPC and Mao Tsetung. On the other hand the CPC had exposed Khrushchev's modern revisionism and denounced the policy of the new bourgeoisie in the USSR. The CPSU had succeeded in having several parties denounce the CPC and was trying to give the impression that the split had been provoked by the CPC and Mao Tsetung, while the Soviets allegedly tried to maintain «unity in the socialist camp». In this period, however, several parties still maintained an intermediate stand, and had not yet decided whether they would choose the Marxist-Leninist or the revisionist road. These were parties like those in Romania, Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. There were also reasons to believe that there still were unpurged communists among the membership of the Soviet and other East-European parties. It carried great strategic and tactic significance to show these people in practise that the Soviet leadership was lying about the aims of the CPC.

The Albanian leaders do not discuss this at all. They act as if considerations of this sort had not the slightest importance. But would it have been totally insignificant if, let us say, the Vietnam Workers' Party had become an easy prey for the USSR as early as in 1964?

THE FALL OF KRUSHCHEV — A NEW SITUATION

When Khrushchev assumed power as the leader of the new bourgeoisie at the 20th congress of the CPSU in 1956, counter-revolution had been mainly accomplished. In November 1956 Mao already pointed out that the Soviet leaders had not only rejected Stalin, but Lenin as well (see Selected Works, Volume 5, «Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC», pages 341—2). All the great polemics by the CPC from 1960 to 1963 were directed against Khrushchevite modern revisionism. Then Khrushchev was deposed. The new rulers Kosygin and Brezhnev accused Khrushchev of mistakes and crimes he actually committed, while elaborating a policy where modern revisionism was clad in several «socialist» phrases. Should China have continued the polemics in the same manner as before? Well, this is the argument of the Albanian leaders. On the surface very principled, but in practise exceedingly harmful. What if China had followed the Albanian suggestions? Would not Brezhnev and Kosygin then have been able to claim that China attacked them while they had not attacked China, that they had deposed Khrushchev while China acted as if nothing had happened, and that this was final proof of China's disruptive practises and pro-imperialist line?

It is obvious they would have argued in precisely this manner, and it cannot be doubted that such arguments would have been effective towards the middle of the road-parties, perhaps to the extent of consolidating them against China.

WHAT DID CHINA ACHIEVE BY HER ATTITUDE?

By calling off the polemics and traveling to Moscow the CPC was able



The Albanian leaders direct particularly sharp attacks against Chou En-lai for «opportunism» towards Soviet revisionism. But what did China achieve by sending Chou En-lai as head of a delegation to Moscow in 1964? They temporarily called off polemics a brief period after the deposition of Khrushchev and gained a tactical advantage. The Soviets lost a tactical advantage. China did not divert a iota from her principled criticism of revisionism.

to demonstrate to the whole world that China was willing to stretch a hand, and did not favour splittism. Did this act signify their reconciliation with modern revisionism? No. They did not depart from a single point of their polemics against modern revisionism. They did not retract on any question of principle, and the Albanian leaders do not even dare suggesting they did so. They called off polemics for a short while, and resumed it when the Soviet leadership had demonstrated to the world that they were mere successors to Khrushchev's ideology and policy. China achieved a tactical advantage which the USSR lost, and China did not retract even a iota of principled criticism of revisionism. This was part of a series of tactical maneuvers that contributed to delaying the onset of modern revisionism within several parties.

THE ALBANIAN LEADERS VACILLATED, NOT MAO OR CHOU

To be sure, the Albanian party made some important contributions to the struggle against Khrushchev's modern revisionism. Even though the Albanian leaders today trample over these contributions by furthering large-scale revisionism on their own, we will not forget them. But when the Albanian leaders claim that Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai «vacillated» towards modern revisionism while the Albanian party allegedly defen-

ded a correct line, it is our duty to expose those who truly vacillated.

In a speech on the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Albania (Nov. 28, 1964) Enver Hoxha said notably:

«Our Party and our people are well aware of the leading role of the Soviet Union in the socialist camp. We never have and never will underrate its leading role in the international arena.»

(...)
«Unity of the socialist camp can be achieved if the differences existing today among various socialist countries are first settled through bilateral or multilateral talks. Our Party has been and is always ready for talks of this kind, for this is dictated by the general interests of the socialist camp.» (See: Enver Hoxha, Speeches and Articles 1963—1964, Tirana 1977, pages 376 to 378. A complete version of this speech — «20 years of New Socialist Albania» — was published in Tirana in 1965.)

Here Enver Hoxha gives the impression that it is possible to solve contradictions through conversations and that a socialist camp exists in which the USSR ought to play the leading role. In the same period Mao had told the CPC that the Soviet Union was a capitalist and fascist country. Who spread illusions about the Soviet Union, and who had a correct analysis? The Albanian leaders have lifted a big stone, only to drop it on their own feet.

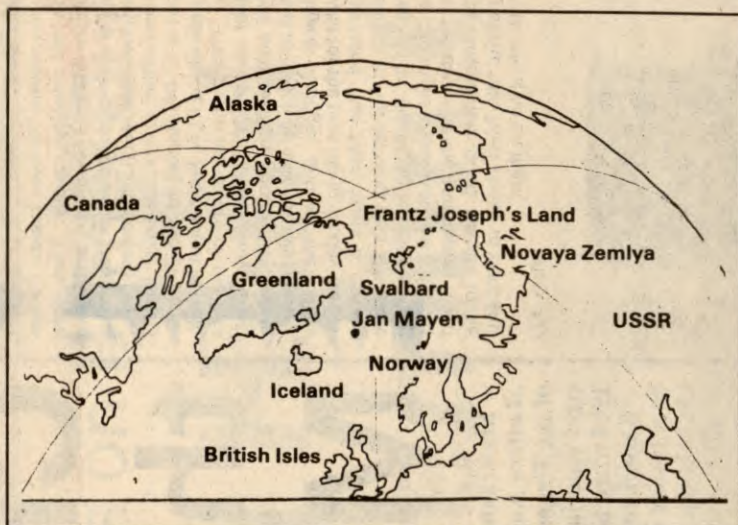
(August 18)

AKP(m-l), Norway, and EIK(m-l), Iceland: JOINT DECLARATION ON STATUS OF THE ISLAND OF JAN MAYEN

The AKP(m-l) and the EIK(m-l) are sister organizations and represent the interests of the proletariat and working masses of Norway and Iceland. In accordance with this fact and with proletarian internationalism, the AKP(m-l) and the EIK(m-l) support the struggles waged in both countries against monopoly capital, imperialism, and both superpowers the USSR and the USA.

The AKP(m-l) supports Iceland's demand for full control over a 200 nautical mile fishing limit around Iceland. The AKP(m-l) has supported the struggle waged by the Icelandic people against powers such as British and West-German imperialism, and will support all opposition against attempts by the two superpowers to gain control over Iceland.

The AKP(m-l) opposes and condemns Norwegian imperialist moves against Iceland, such as the ferrosilicium works of the Elkem-Spigerverk concern now under construction.



The EIK(m-l) supports wholeheartedly a Norwegian 200 nautical mile fishing and economic zone, and the demand that the middle line be the principle applied in the division of sea territory in the north. The EIK(m-l) supports wholeheartedly the struggle waged against social-imperialist pressure at Svalbard and in the Barents Sea.

The governments of Iceland and Norway have recently discussed how to divide the sea territory between Iceland and the island of Jan Mayen. Therefore the AKP(m-l) and the EIK(m-l) declare:

1. The AKP(m-l) and the EIK(m-l) ascertain that the island of Jan Mayen is part of Norway. No other state can legitimately lay claim to Jan Mayen.

2. The AKP(m-l) and the EIK(m-l) wholeheartedly support the principle that sea territory should be divided according to the middle line. This principle is under attack, above all by the two superpowers and by social-imperialism in particular.

3. In the sea territory between the island of Jan Mayen and Iceland it is also necessary to take into special account interests that are vital to Iceland. A rigorous application of the middle line in this area would signify a loss to Iceland of 30 000 square kilometres of sea territory to Norway. Today this area lies within Iceland's

200 nautical mile fishing limit. In this area are situated some of the herring banks that are most important for Iceland. They carry vital significance for Iceland. Therefore the middle line must be applied, but an exception must be made for this area. This is in the common interests of the peoples of Norway and Iceland.

4. In the same area, different imperialist powers, including Norway and the Soviet superpower, have started seismological investigations in view of finding oil deposits. Research indicates that oil could be found in the area.

The working class of Norway and Iceland must be prepared for political horse dealing between the governments of the two countries, at the expense of the interests of the Icelandic people. The situation may make it possible for the Norwegian government to use the important sea territory as an instrument of pressure to acquire advantageous terms for Norwegian monopolies to increase their exploitation in Iceland. The AKP(m-l) and the EIK(m-l) will fight against such a move, and characterize it as a reactionary, imperialist, and chauvinist attack.

5. The AKP(m-l) and the EIK(m-l) urge all progressive people of both countries to protest against imperialist horse dealing of this type.

The AKP(m-l) urges progressive

The Island of Jan Mayen

The Island of Jan Mayen is a small island in the Arctic. It is internationally recognized as Norwegian territory, although it is situated some 800 km north-east of Iceland, and 1000 km west of Norway. The Marxist-Leninist organizations of Norway and Iceland have carried out joint studies of the history of the island of Jan Mayen; the joint declaration is based on these careful investigations, which show, as pointed out in the declaration, that the sovereignty exercised by Norway is legitimate.

The main feature of the joint declaration of the EIK(m-l) and the AKP(m-l) on Jan Mayen lies in the correct Marxist-Leninist solution to the problem of the division of sea territory between Norway and Iceland in the area between the island and Iceland. The sister organizations oppose a rigorous application of the middle line principle, which in this concrete case would be detrimental to the vital interests of Iceland and favor the interests of Norwegian imperialism.

people in Norway to demand that the Norwegian government withdraw any claim to any territory within Iceland's fishing limit.

The EIK(m-l) urges all progressive people in Iceland to demand that nothing be conceded to Norwegian imperialism on any territory within Iceland's current fishing limit, and warns the Icelandic government against any weak-kneed policy. The EIK(m-l) also urges sharper struggle against the activities of Norwegian monopolies in Iceland.

6. This line corresponds to the interests of the peoples of Norway and Iceland, and it will strengthen the common struggle in the Nordic countries against chauvinism and reaction, imperialism and especially the two imperialist superpowers the USSR and the USA.

The EIK(m-l) Central Committee
The AKP(m-l) Central Committee
April, 1978

The International Bulletin

Class Struggle is the international bulletin of Klassekampen, the daily paper of the Workers' Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) WCP(M-L), Norway - Arbeidernes Kommunistparti (marxist-leninistene AKP(m-l)). It is published 4 to 6 times a year. Its purpose is to inform readers:

- of superpower aggression against Norway.
- of class struggle in Norway,
- of struggle against modern revisionism in Norway.
- of the activities and policy of

the Norwegian Marxist-Leninist movement, comprising the WCP (M-L) and its two youth organizations, the Red Youth - RU Rød Ungdom - and the Communist Student League of Norway - NKS Norges Kommunistiske Studentforbund.

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JOINT COMMUNIQUE

A meeting was recently held between representatives of the Communist League of Unity (Marxist-Leninist), Iceland — EIK(m-l) — and the Workers' Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), Norway — AKP(m-l). The themes discussed at the meeting include among others the development of class struggle in Norway and Iceland, the international situation, and the increasing danger of war.

The meeting showed that there is basic unity between the EIK(m-l) and the AKP(m-l) on issues such as the two superpowers and the increasing war danger. Of the two most dangerous enemies of the peoples of the world it is the Soviet superpower in particular which is on the offensive and whose aggressivity is steadily growing. The EIK(m-l) and the AKP(m-l) also agreed that Mao Tsetung's theory on the three worlds is an important and correct guide in the common struggle against imperialism and hegemonism.

The meeting strengthened the good relationship between the EIK(m-l) and the AKP(m-l).

The Central Committee of the EIK(m-l)
The Central Committee of the AKP(m-l)
(Klassekampen, June 19, 1978)

CLASS STRUGGLE

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«Grey Zone Agreement: see page 2. USSR PERMANENTLY ANNEXES NORWEGIAN TERRITORY

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

- The current tactical situation in Norway;
- Veil lifted on secret army and CIA guerilla groups;
- May Day demonstrations;
- Economic crisis in Norway;
- AKP(m-l) and EIK(m-l), Iceland; joint declaration on status of the island of Jan Mayen.



May Day: Victory to the Eritrean Liberation Struggle. The USSR out of the Horn of Africa.

AKP (m-l):

COMMENTS

on the «Letter of the CC of the PLA and Government of Albania to the CC of the CPC and Government of China» PARTS ONE TO FOUR

- ★ Briefly on Questions of Economy
- ★ MAO: A Poor Fighter Against Revisionism?
- ★ PLA and Border Questions: Helping Hand to the New Czars
- ★ China's Tactics Against Revisionism

CLASS-STRUGGLE

We regret very much that this issue of Class Struggle has been delayed. Class Struggle has not appeared since December last year (No. 10, i.e. No. 4/77). We expect to be able to resume regular publication within the end of the year.

July 29, the Zeri i Popullit published a «Letter of the CC of the Party of Labor and Government of Albania to the CC of the Communist Party and Government of China». In this issue we publish the first four instalments of Klassekampen's comments to this letter. The rest of the comments (nine instalments in all) will appear in the next regular issue. A special issue will shortly appear, containing other contributions to international questions.

In order to publish our comments while the «Letter» is still fresh, we have been obliged to cut important material on women, foreign workers, youth and students, modern revisionism in Norway, international solidarity, etc.

However, we would like to refer some important news. Social-imperialism continues its military build-up in Svalbard: an illegal radar and a launching site for missiles have been installed; other infringements of Norwegian sovereignty have occurred, and Svalbard workers have demonstrated against social-imperialism. Elsewhere there have been some important strikes, notably in the North Sea. August 21, some 11 000 people demonstrated against the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia.