

# 6) Strengthen Proletarian Internationalism!

The world situation now more than ever demands that the communists of the whole world and in the western countries pull together.

Our movement is international. Its aim is communism in the whole world. The working class and the peoples of all countries have common enemies. They must coordinate their struggle against the Superpowers and Reaction. This demands that the communists, the vanguard, also coordinates their struggle.

Revolution is the people's own work in each country, it cannot be imported or exported. WCP(m-l) is as a matter of principle against international centres and supranational organs in the world communist movement deciding the policy for many parties. Each single party must independently develop and adopt the policy for its own country.

But this also requires international cooperation, that the communists of all countries support each other, learn from each other and discuss with each other.

First of all, we wish to develop joint work for a common aim, especially international solidarity work, e.g. for Kampuchea, Afghanistan and Poland. At the same time, we wish to develop discussion and to learn from others in order to fight the revisionist and liquidationist tendencies in the international communist movement, especially in the West.

LONG LIVE THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT!  
LONG LIVE MARXISM-Leninism-MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT!



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- 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 AKP(m-l) and its two youth organisations, the Red Youth (Rød Ungdom) and the Communist Student League of Norway (NKS) — Norges Kommunistiske Studentforbund.

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# DECLARATION TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

see pp. 2, 3, 4.

from the 3rd congress of the Workers' Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), 27th-28th of Dec. 1980.

## 3rd congress of WCP(M-L) held

The Workers Communist Party (marxist-leninist) held its 3rd congress on the 27th and 28th of December 1980.

The congress adopted a new statement of principles. This programme states that the WCP(m-l) as before builds on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

After a sharp, democratic discussion in the whole party and on the congress, resolutions on all important questions of principles were adopted near unanimously.

The congress warned against a Soviet invasion of Poland and supported the Afghan people's struggle against the Soviet occupation. It supported civil disobedience against the building of a barrage in the Alta river in Northern Norway, and formulated demands for the wage negotiations this spring.

The congress moreover called for a strengthened and independent national anti-invasion defence.

A new programme on the sami question was adopted. (The sami people is the biggest national minority in Norway).

The 3rd congress of the WCP(m-l) formulated a declaration to the International Communist Movement, which is printed in this issue of Class Struggle.

The congress elected a new central committee of the WCP(m-l). In its first session, the central committee reelected Pål Steigan as chairman.

We will return with a broader coverage of the congress in our next issue.

# 1) The development since 1976

## Declaration to the International Communist Movement

Much has happened since our Party held its 2nd congress in October 1976.

Social-imperialism has continued its offensive in all parts of the world. The contradiction between the superpowers has sharpened. Several peoples' wars and insurrections have been victorious.

Mao Zedong died in 1976. Shortly afterwards, the «gang of four» was demasked. Vietnam, which was considered a socialist country, has shown itself to be an aggressive and reactionary power. The Albanian leaders have condemned Mao Zedong, taken up positions against important principles of Leninism, and broken with the world communist movement.

These changes have created difficulties in the world communist movement ... In the West, many new parties and organizations are experiencing crises. The situation is characterised by the fact that many have difficulties in orienting themselves under the new circumstances. This has led to confusion, revisionism and liquidationism.

Some organisations have split or disbanded. Some former marxist-leninists have gone over to social-democratic or revisionist parties. Some groups have gone over to an open pro-Soviet line, joined the Albanian leaders, supported the «gang of four» or gone over to obscure petty-bourgeois-intellectualistic theories.

WCP(m-l) have made progress after 1976. The Party has increased its membership, strengthened its influence in the working class and in United Front work. Our main organ, KLASSEKAMPEN, has become a daily newspaper. Policies have



Afghani freedom fighters.

been developed in many important fields. At the same time, the WCP(m-l) has also had problems and experienced setbacks

in some fields. The Party has been going through a sharp internal struggle. The tendencies in the communist movement in

the West, are also present in WCP(m-l).

Consequently, we wish to present our views on some of the important que-

stions, especially for the communists of the West, seen in the light of our Party's experiences.

## 2) WCP(M-L)s views on the world situation and the policy regarding the danger of war

We hold that the development of the world situation confirms Lenin's analysis of imperialism and the appraisements Mao Zedong made until his death. It shows that:

- It is impossible to abolish war as long as imperialism exists.
- The tendencies towards war between the two superpowers are increasing.
- The division of countries according to the Theory of the Three Worlds is still valid today.

Mao pointed out that the Soviet Union is the most dangerous of the superpowers now. Aggression against Angola, Kampuchea, Eritrea; the Soviet Army's war against Afghanistan etc., confirms this. Mao said that the Soviet Union has become a capitalist, imperialist state of the Hitler-fascist type. The development of the foreign and interior politics of the Soviet Union confirms this.

The brilliant striking movement of the Polish workers confirms that the system of the revisionist countries is capitalist. The Bourgeoisie there suppresses the workers. The character of the revisionist countries is not a kind of «socialism with faults» or «a historically new type of class society».

The last years have shown still more clearly that the United States now is weaker than the Soviet Union. At the same time, the USA has not given up the struggle for world hegemony. US-imperialism still oppresses many countries in the Third World,

### NOTICE

As our readers will have noticed, Class Struggle has not been published during 1980. We now plan to resume publishing this bulletin four times a year.

Subscribers having paid for 1979 or for 1980, will have their subscriptions prolonged accordingly.



The brilliant striking movement of the Polish workers confirms that the system of the revisionist countries is capitalist. The bourgeoisie there suppresses the workers.

and is a dangerous enemy for the peoples of the world.

Mao pointed out that the peoples of the Third World are the greatest force against imperialism. The tendencies to liberation struggle and revolution are increasing in many countries in the Third World. The revolutions in countries like Zimbabwe, Iran and Nicaragua and liberation struggles in countries like Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Eritrea and Palestine confirm this. In the Third World, the main task is still national liberation and new democratic revolution. The theories of Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong about this have been proved in practice. Theories which will abandon this intermediate stage, developed among others

by Trotsky, Khrushchev and the Albanian leaders, have been defeated in practice.

The sharpening of the crisis in the world capitalist system shows that the working people never will get a good and safe life under capitalism. Unemployment and social problems are also on the increase in the highly developed western countries. At the same time, the political development of the masses in these countries is far behind many countries of the Third World.

At the same time, the peoples of the Second World see ever clearer that they are in peril of becoming a battlefield for the Superpowers and a victim of Soviet aggression. This develops the basis of the struggle for national

independence in these countries.

WCP(m-l)'s view is that our Party now has two important tasks in the struggle against imperialism.

It is our internationalist duty, as communists in a small imperialist country, to support those who are being suppressed by imperialism. We must support the liberation struggles in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, the workers struggle in Poland, the liberation movements in Palestine, in Africa, in Latin-America etc.

We must also fight for preserving the national independence of Norway, and strengthen its defence against superpower aggression. This is at the same time a struggle for preserving peace

in our part of the world.

In 1979, the WCP(m-l) adopted a programme for military policy. This points out that the main danger now for Norway, is aggression from the Soviet Union. Against this menace, we demand a military defence which as much as possible serves the interests of the population, and which makes an aggression costly for the Soviet Union and suited to the requirements of US-imperialism. At the same time, the party points out that the working class must not trust *any* bourgeois defence. It can always be turned against the working class. The working people must also prepare to continue the struggle by way of a peoples' war, because the bourgeois ar-

my most likely will collapse in the event of a Soviet attack.

In the struggle for reforms of the state's defence policy, the WCP(m-l) may work together with bourgeois groups or support specific measures of the government. At the same time, the party points out that the Bourgeoisie cannot defend Norway. Only the working class and the people can defend the country. In foreign and defence policy, communists must fight to get the working class to take a position in favor of the people's and the nation's interests, independent of the Bourgeoisie.

The experience of our Party is that we can and must develop the class struggle against the Bourgeoisie, *at the same time as*

we fight for a strengthened national defence, even, on specific issues, together with bourgeois groups. Class struggle against the reactionary policy of the government and the exploitation of the bourgeoisie is a *precondition* to winning increased support for correct lines in the defence and foreign policy areas.

This line has given us progress since 1976. As opposed to this, we see that groups that have tried to follow a line of «no unity with one's own bourgeoisie against the superpowers — only class struggle» or «no class struggle, only unity with the bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union», has led to defeats and strengthened revisionism.

# 3) WCP(M-L) and the class struggle in Norway

From 1970 on, the Marxist-Leninist movement in Norway has laid heavy stress on the daily class struggle. We hold that this is an important reason why the Party, in spite of defeats, has continued to strengthen itself until today.

Our country is highly developed, the working people have many democratic rights, and a high standard of living, if we make a world-wide comparison. But Norway is still capitalist. The content of state power is the dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie. The main contradiction still goes between the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat. It can only be solved by a socialist revolution.

Norwegian capitalism is relatively stable. Revolution is not on the agenda today. The communists must develop the class struggle and gain forces. Our experience is that the WCP(m-l) must lay heavy stress on the economic struggles of the workers, strikes etc. Much of the Party's forces must be concentrated in the trade unions, which are being led by the Social Democrats. In the trade unions, the Party cannot limit itself only to economic questions.

Our experience is that we must unite the economic struggle with political and theoretical struggle. The communists must work on anti-imperialist solidarity, defence of the independence of Norway, democratic rights, the woman question etc. Good work in the everyday struggle and in the trade unions is necessary in order to win increased support for the whole policy of the Party.

We cannot spread marxism-leninism-Mao

Zedong thought in Norway without struggle against revisionism and the Social Democracy. The main thrust must be directed against the pro-Soviet revisionists. They are the most reactionary party in Norway. But we must also continue the struggle against the influence of the Social Democracy, which dominates in the working class, and is a main obstacle to the development of the class struggle.

In order to advance, our Party must also urge theoretical studies and theoretical struggle.

We must explain the necessity of socialism and of revolution, and criticize various tendencies which attack Marxism. This is also a struggle to defend the necessity of our Party. If we overlook this struggle, uncertainty and defeatism will spread inside the Party. If we wage this struggle well, we win revolutionaries over to our Party.

Our experience is that the concentration on the proletariat must be combined with a many-sided work among different progressive classes and groups. In our country, it is especially important to work among peasants and fishermen in the countryside and among intellectuals. We must also develop United Front work in different connections with many organisations, well known personalities, public servants etc.

We maintain that in a country like ours, it is important that the communists fight against *chauvinism* in the working class and in the Party itself. WCP(m-l) has strengthened itself in fighting nazism and racism and done important work in the struggle for the interests



of the sami national minority and the guest workers.

We maintain that we must use all legal possibilities to spread our policy. We have had good expe-

riences through participating in elections. Red Electoral Alliance, in which the WCP(m-l) participates, is represented in 17 municipalities (out of 454) and in 4 provincial

asssemblies (out of 18). Even with these small results, this work has led to an important strengthening of the Party organization and influence locally.

Norway is still capitalist. The contents of the state power is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The picture shows Norwegian police attacking a worker during an «illegal» strike.

# 4) Criticism of the theory of the party

In the communist movement in the West, the communist party theory has been attacked. Such criticism has also been raised in our party.

Some critics will abolish democratic centralism. Some people maintain that it is only necessary in a situation of war, not in peaceful times before the revolution, and not under socialism.

WCP(m-l) holds democratic centralism to be indispensable for the communists in all phases of the class struggle. The enemy is heavily centralised. The communists own forces can only be fully used when the party has both democracy and centralism. There are no alternatives to the Leninist party model, as it has been further developed by Mao with the theory of the mass line and inner-party life.

Lack of democracy and other faults in many communist parties is no argument for abolishing centralism and adopting ultra-democracy. This will only satisfy intellectual individualists wishing for «freedom from party discipline». In ultra-democratic parties, revisionists and social-democrats may easily take power, whereas ordinary workers are suppressed and majority resolutions are reduced to worthless paper.

Some critics maintain that under our circumstances, everything can be open and public. WCP(m-l) stands by the Leninist line of uniting legal and illegal work. KGB, CIA and others keep surveillance on the WCP(m-l). The Party must always be prepared for persecution. Social-imperialist occupation is possible within a few years.

Some people maintain that the class structure has changed so that the communist party can no longer base itself on the Proletariat. WCP(m-l) holds that even in highly developed Norway, the Proletariat is the most important and most revolutionary class. The industrial Proletariat must be the backbone in our Party, and we must concentrate most of our forces on this class. Other groups are also important, but must be given priority after the Proletariat.

Some people maintain that communist parties are no longer



necessary in the West. There are ideas that they can be replaced by broad fronts or «green» movements. The old trotskyite idea about giving up autonomous organisation and enter as fractions in social-democratic or left-socialist parties, has also been raised in the Marxist-Leninist movement.

This shows a lacking of understanding of the fact that the basic class and society relationships in the West have not changed. Social-democrats, left-socialists, «euro-communists» etc. are bourgeois movements which neither can nor will lead to a revolution. Neither can they lead the working class in the

everyday struggle against the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

The Marxist-Leninists have no other alternatives than to create their own parties independent of and in contradiction to all these tendencies. They must form their own cadres, develop their own strategy and tactics, see to their own independent propa-

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ganda etc.

The fact that many groups in the West have done this job badly, is no argument in favour of rejecting the Leninist party the-

ory. The task now is to strengthen the struggle for real communist parties, not to abandon the struggle and capitulate in face of revisionism.

# 5) The attacks against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought

Some people maintain that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is no longer useful in the West. The view of the WCP(m-l) is that central Marxist-Leninist theories again and again have been proved right by history. Among them are:

- The theory of the basic and inextricable contradictions within the capitalist economic system.
- The theory of the development of imperialism and the national liberation struggle.

- The theory of the Proletariat as the leader of the revolution heading a united front of all revolutionary classes and groups.
- The theory of the Communist party.
- The theory of the necessity of armed revolution and the dictatorship of the Proletariat in order to build socialism.
- The theory of the development of Modern revisionism, capitalism and imperialism in the Soviet Union.

Many of these theories are being criticised in the communist movement in the West at present. We have already mentioned the attacks against the theories of national liberation struggle, the leading role of the Proletariat and the party theory.

Some people also maintain that armed revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary in the West. The capitalist states in the West are among the best organised ones in the world. The Bourgeoisie, the state bureaucracy and the army is much stronger than in the majority of the states in the Third World. Imperialist economic and strategic interests in Norway are much stronger than in e.g. the countries of Central Africa. The opportunist idea about «peaceful transition» is more absurd in our country now than ever before.

Both the economic and technological development, and mistakes, in all socialist countries are being used as arguments for the

non-applicability of Marxism.

The marxist analysis is not finally developed. Important questions lack an answer in connection with the new technological revolution, environmental problems, planning under socialism and proletarian democracy under the dictatorship of the Proletariat. But Marxism-Leninism has never been an answer solving all questions in advance. In order to solve these problems, we must stick to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and analyse them by way of the dialectical and historical materialism, and find solutions geared to our specific Norwegian circumstances.

Some critics want to reject Mao Zedong, Stalin and the so-called «Comintern tradition».

WCP(m-l) maintains that it is impossible to develop a correct line for the revolution without building on the theory to the greatest marxist-leninist of our times, Mao Zedong.

Neither will we reject history between Lenin and Mao. Comrade Stalin and the CPSU did an immense job of world historical significance. The CPSU created for the first time a big socialist planned economy, supported revolutions in many countries and led a huge international front against fascism. Stalin and the CPSU also made serious mistakes. But a study of the successes and mistakes they made is necessary in order to reach better results in the future building of socialism.

In the Comintern period, the communist parties of the West had a size and a striking-power as never before or after. These parties also made mistakes, and revisionism conquered them all in the end. But their experiences contain many good things. We will not in the main reject them but learn from that which was good.

The world communist movement developed a style of blindly following and copying Moscow. Later, new Marxist-Leninist parties have sometimes blindly copied Beijing. This is wrong. WCP(m-l) in Norway fights under circumstances which are different from those of the CPSU, the Communist Party of China and the parties of the Comintern. WCP(m-l) is against copying blindly, and in favour of analysing our own circumstances and developing a policy for revolution in Norway. A precondition for this is that we have an independent attitude towards the communist tradition, and don't reject it, but learn from everything good in it.

Many Marxist-Leninist organisations in the West reject Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought at a time when reality itself more and more confirms the validity of this Theory. This shows that our movement still has too shallow roots in the realities of our own countries and too shallow independent understanding of marxism. We must strengthen our ability to use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, not reject it.