

**DOCUMENTS
FROM THE FIRST
JOINT MEETING
OF NORDIC
MARXIST-LENINISTS
January, 1975**

**COMMUNIST LEAGUE, MARXIST-LENINISTS -
DENMARK
THE MARXIST-LENINIST GROUPS OF FINLAND
OYGGJAFRAMI (ML) - THE FAROE ISLANDS
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF UNION - ICELAND
NORWEGIAN WORKERS' COMMUNIST PARTY (ML)
COMMUNIST PARTY OF SWEDEN**

CONTENTS

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE FIRST JOINT MEETING OF NORDIC MARXIST-LENINISTS

STATEMENT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The Nordic Countries between the superpowers s. 9

The USA and the Soviet Union - the Two Superpowers s. 12

The Superpowers are the Greatest Threat Against All the World's Peoples s. 15

The Struggle of the Third World s. 17

Detente or Increase of Tension in Europe s. 19

The EEC - an Organ of West European Monopoly Capital s. 22

The Mobilization of the Working Class and of the People - the Only Guarantee for our Capacity to Win or Defend National Independence and the Right to Self-Determination s. 24

The Nordic Countries: Between the Superpowers and the Third World s. 26

The Superpowers - a Military Threat Against the Nordic Peoples s. 27

The Soviet Union and the Svalbard Islands s. 29

The Social-Imperialists and Maritime Law s. 30

The Economic Interests of the Superpowers in the Nordic Countries s. 31

Support the Struggles of the Peoples of the Third World s. 32

Develop the Ties of Friendship with the Socialist Countries s. 34

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Strengthen the Friendship between the Nordic Peoples s. 36

STRENGTHEN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM s.41
The Struggle Between the Two Lines is Decisive for the Revolution s. 42
The Revisionist Parties in Western Europe and in the Nordic Countries. s. 45
The European Revisionist Conference - a Link in the Strategy of the Social-Imperialists s. 49
Struggle Against Revisionism — a Prerequisite for Progress in the Mass Struggle s. 52

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE FIRST JOINT MEETING OF NORDIC MARXIST-LENINISTS

In January 1975, the marxist-leninists parties and party-building organizations of the Nordic countries held their first joint meeting. The following parties and party-building organizations participated:

- Communist League Marxist-Leninists Denmark
- Oygjafraami (M-L), (The Faroe Islands)
- The Marxist-Leninist Groups of Finland
- Communist League of Union, (Iceland)
- Norwegian Workers' Communist Party (M-L)
- Communist Party of Sweden

The summing-up at the joint meeting showed that the Marxist-Leninist movement is making progress in the Nordic countries. In the past year it has gained strenght in all six participating countries, and it has achieved many good results in its work. The meeting shows that the relation between the participants is a warm, friendly and confident one. It was a special pleasure to be able to greet the Communist League of Union (M-L). This new Marxist-Leninist organization of Iceland was founded at a congress in the beginning of 1975.

The meeting adopted two statements that are supported by all six participants: the first concerns the international situation in the Nordic countries, the second the struggle against revisionism.

In the statement

»~~The~~ Nordic countries between the superpowers)), the Nordic Marxist-Leninists assert that the Nordic countries are increasingly menaced by both superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union.

In the west we find NATO, the extended arm of US imperialism, and to the east, the Warsaw Pact. The Nordic countries are in the fireline between the two superpowers. Due to their rivalry and struggle for influence over Europe, the superpowers are liable, sooner or later, to launch a new world war.

The superpowers use Nordic waters to conduct military maneuvers and to strengthen their navies. They overexploit the fishing resources in these waters and try to limit the national sovereignty of several of these countries through coercion.

The Marxist-Leninists are now striving to mobilize the peoples of the Nordic countries to defend their countries' right of self-determination, and that this right should be conceded to Greenland and the Faroe Island.

The statement

»~~Strengthen~~ the Struggle Against Modern Revisionism* takes up the European revisionist conference which is to be convened by the Soviet leaders in East-Berlin in May this year. The purpose is, among others, to strengthen the »~~deane~~ propaganda) in order to conceal Soviet arms expansion.

Even though the policies of the Nordic revisionist parties vary, they have one element in common: Today, they operate not only as an agency for their own bourgeoisie within the working class, but they have also become spokesmen for the goals which an imperialist superpower is striving after.

The revisionist parties have nothing in common with communism except for the label. The true communist movement is today represented by the new Marxist-Leninist parties and party-building organizations, like those represented at the Nordic conference.

The joint meeting had been prepared over a longer period of time beforehand through discussions between the participating parties and organizations. A fundamental principle during these discussions has been that all shall enjoy equal status and that no one shall be able to impose his views on any other participant. That a statement could be adopted by a majority against a minority has therefore never been envisaged. Instead, the discussions have been held until full and free agreement on all issues has been reached. This proves that the genuine communist movement in the Nordic countries now consists of parties and organizations that both in principle and in reality organize international relations between themselves on the basis of political agreement and equality. This stands as a sharp contrast to the false »~~communists~~» in the revisionist parties, who are not independent, but let the social-imperialists decide the line for several countries from a center in Moscow.

The Nordic communist parties and organizations are working under different national conditions, and have different experiences. They are adapting their policies to the particular circumstances in each country. However, our experience shows that we are closely united in all fundamental issues of principle. We are united by our desire to represent the interests of the proletariat and the labouring people, and we support the peoples of the whole world in their

struggle against imperialism, monopoly capitalism, reaction and opportunism. We are united on the basis of our common theory, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, which we combine with the national conditions in each country. We are united by the common historical experiences of the Nordic peoples, and by the mutual solidarity the working people of the Nordic countries have shown in the course of history. It is on this unshakable foundation that we, in the future, will continue to strengthen the relations and the cooperation between us.

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST WORLD MOVEMENT!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

LONG LIVE THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE COMMUNISTS AND THE PEOPLES OF THE NORDIC COUNTRIES!

STATEMENT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

THE NORDIC COUNTRIES BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS

At their first joint conference, the Marxist-Leninist parties and partybuilding organizations of the Nordic countries discussed the international situation and the situation of the Nordic countries.

The Nordic countries and their relations to the rest of the world differ in many ways, but they also show many similar traits. The Nordic countries are all small nations in a world where great imperialist powers strive for world domination, and they are all placed in the line of fire between the two superpowers — the USA and the Soviet Union.

To the west of the Nordic countries is NATO, the extended arm of US imperialism. To the east the Soviet Union has built up the Warsaw Pact, the nature of which is also clearly aggressive.

On the Kola Peninsula — in the immediate vicinity of our countries - the Soviet Union has constructed the largest naval base of the world.

This means that the Nordic countries lie in the middle of the line of fire between the two superpowers.

The upsurge of the struggle of the Third World is a characteristic trait of the situation in the world

today. Monopoly capital in the Nordic countries participates in the exploitation of the peoples of the Third World. At the same time, the Nordic countries are themselves threatened by the superpowers, that is, by the main enemies of the peoples of the Third World. Thus, the tasks of the Nordic peoples are to struggle against the superpowers side by side with the peoples of the Third World, to struggle against the exploitation of the Third World by their own ruling class, and in addition to win or defend their own independence.

The situation, in the world as well as in Europe, is developing very rapidly. History has doomed imperialism and capitalism to destruction, and the peoples of the whole world have decided to take the future in their own hands. But the superpowers continue to prepare for war against the peoples and against each other. Both superpowers are stepping up their arms expansion in Europe. Facts show that the Nordic countries by no means constitute a quiet corner of Europe.

But other factors are also a part of the picture. The Common Market has also cast its eyes on the Nordic countries and is currently expanding its markets here. In most West-European countries the economy is in state of chaos. The strikes of the working class are developing.

All of these facts • have occasioned the Nordic Marxist-Leninists to assemble in order to discuss the situation. We are of the opinion that a heavy responsibility lies on our shoulders. Although our organizations are as yet young and relatively small, the tendency is nevertheless that the Marxist-Leninist movement of the Nordic countries is progressing rapidly. Our responsibility lies, among other things, in

the fact that we - the Nordic Marxist-Leninists - are the only parties and party-building organizations that struggle consistently against *both* superpowers and stand firmly on the position that our countries must win or defend their national independence.

The differences in the situation of the Nordic countries are also obvious. The Faroe Islands and Greenland have colonial status. Denmark, Norway and Iceland are members of NATO, whereas the Soviet Union regards Finland as part of her sphere of interest.

As the situation, moreover, is changing rapidly, it is of vital importance that every true Marxist-Leninist organization itself prepares its own strategy and tactics, according to the situation in its own country. Each Marxist-Leninist organization draws up its own policy on a completely independent basis.

But this does not prevent us from issuing a common statement of our appraisal of the situation, for in all main issues our views on the state of affairs in our part of the world are identical.

We also hold that the situation demands a strengthening of the cooperation between the Nordic Marxist-Leninists, - between the working class and the peoples of our countries.

We are submitting this statement in order to present this common analysis, to emphasize the basic unity of views between our organizations in the appraisal of the situation in our part of the world, and to stress the fact that the current state of affairs demands that the struggle be strengthened.

THE USA AND THE SOVIET UNION - THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

Since World War II US imperialism has been the bulwark of world reaction. US imperialism has created a system of neo-colonial exploitation in Asia, Africa and Latin-America, it has supported the most reactionary forces, and has established bases many places around the world. Western Europe and the Nordic countries (with the exception of Finland) also came under the economic and political influence of US imperialism and in the cases of Norway, Denmark, Iceland, the Faroe Islands and Greenland, a military influence too.

But oppression begets opposition, and US-imperialism was defeated first in China and Korea, and now recently in Indochina. Politically speaking, the USA is discredited over the whole world. Militarily, US imperialism has been defeated many times. The economic and financial problems of US imperialism are insurmountable. Historically speaking, US imperialism is on the decline. When we assert this, we do not, however, deny that US imperialism might be able to regain some of its lost positions for a shorter period of time. Nor does our conclusion contradict the fact that the striking force of US imperialism is still important. The example of Chile shows that it is still the quite dominating superpower in Latin-America. This is also true in other parts of the world. If US imperialism is to be finally vanquished, it must be combatted to the bitter end.

But while US imperialism has been weakened by the victorious struggles of the people, the world's

progressive forces have, nonetheless, been temporarily defeated on another front.

The Soviet Union was the first socialist country. The working class and its Communist Party won great victories in the construction of the Soviet Union to an advanced industrialized nation, and the contribution of the Soviet Union in the struggle against Hitlerite fascism was of world historic importance. After World War II, the Soviet Union was the foremost defence in the struggle against US imperialism.

But the working-class of the Soviet Union did not succeed in maintaining its power within the state or within the party, or in pursuing the revolution in the superstructure of society. The CPSU(b) had no earlier experiences of the dictatorship of the proletariat on which to build. The communists did not have a clear enough comprehension of the fact that class struggle continues under socialism. The danger of a bourgeois counter-revolution was underestimated, and a correct line for the struggle against this possibility was not developed in time. There were important bureaucratic tendencies. This gave the bourgeois stratum in the state, in the economy and in the party and opportunity to develop into a new bourgeois class with a revisionist ideology. This class gained power under the leadership of Krushchev. It replaced the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat with a reactionary bourgeois dictatorship, carried out a bourgeois policy in all sectors of society, and transformed the socialist enterprises to state capitalist enterprises. Thus the once socialist Soviet Union has degenerated into a state which passes itself off, in words and phrases, as socialist, but

which, in fact, is a state monopolist, imperialist state, with an increasingly aggressive foreign policy. Socialism in words, imperialism in deeds: this is what we call, in accordance with Lenin, social-imperialism.

The ruling bourgeoisie of the Soviet Union is now in control of the means of production, and uses them to increase its own wealth. It exploits and oppresses the working class of the Soviet Union, and under the cover of COMECON, it has established a system of colonial exploitation of several of the former peoples' democracies in Eastern Europe and Mongolia.

But when this new ruling-class had consolidated itself as a state monopolist class in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, it also began developing imperialist ambitions in other parts of the world. The imperialists of the Soviet Union - the social-imperialists - now participate in the plunder of the Third World. They buy at low prices and sell at high. They try to maintain the current so-called »~~division~~ of labour* between rich and poor countries by advocating the theory of a »~~new~~ type international division of labour* between the developing countries and the so-called »~~socialist~~ countries*. They are establishing so-called joint ventures in the Third World and exploit their sources of raw materials and cheap manpower. Both the USA and the Soviet Union are trying to obstruct the struggle of the Third World against exploitation, oppression and hegemonism.

As imperialist superpowers the USA and the Soviet Union share a certain restricted sphere of common interest. Both superpowers uphold the theory that other nations have »~~limited~~ sovereignty* in relation to themselves, the self-styled policemen of the world. But precisely because they are imperialist powers, the strug-

gle between them is basic. Their cooperation is only temporary and conditional and forms part of the game played by each of the superpowers to better its position at the expense of the other one. The struggle between the superpowers over markets, raw materials and influence is rapidly becoming more and more intense, and sooner or later it can lead to an imperialist war of redistribution between the superpowers or against other countries. No other states have by far such enormous amounts of destructive weapons as the two superpowers, and they have military bases and warships all over the world. It is quite possible that the superpowers will launch a third world war. It is possible to prevent this, but only through the common struggle of all peoples against the two superpowers.

THE SUPERPOWERS ARE THE GREATEST THREAT AGAINST ALL THE WORLD'S PEOPLES

To all the peoples of the world, the two superpowers appear today as their greatest and most dangerous common enemy. The events of the past few years have confirmed this by a great many new examples. The development of the situation also shows that the superpowers are not becoming less dangerous, but that the threat from them is increasing.

The superpowers keep certain countries under military occupation, such as Czechoslovakia and South-Korea. Other countries are controlled through fascist dictatorships installed on the initiative of a superpower, like Chile. In places where colonial wars are being waged, there is usually a superpower to help and strengthen local reaction, unless it is the superpower itself that is waging the war.

At the same time, one or the other superpower will in certain situations also try to win influence over the liberation movement and offer >help> in order to further its imperialist ambitions. Wherever the two superpowers see an opportunity, the masses experience how they both struggle for their own interests in complete disregard of the appalling calamities inflicted on the people. The superpowers are the worst enemies of the working masses all over the world.

The superpowers dream of subverting all the countries that escape their full control. Therefore they also threaten the national sovereignty of the small and medium sized countries. Their real attitude towards national sovereignty is exposed in practice by the support of the Soviet Union to the dismembering of Pakistan by India and India's occupation of Sikkim, and by the aggression and interference of both in Cyprus in the summer of 1974. The superpowers have no respect for the national sovereignty of other states, and they are at any time willing to trample it underfoot, even to the extent of conquering other states through war. The superpowers are the most dangerous threat against the national sovereignty of all small and medium sized countries.

These are not farfetched questions that only concern continents other than Europe, in Europe, events such as the Soviet conspiracies in Yugoslavia, and the threats and pressure against Romania, disclose what a superpower might have in mind against countries that try to uphold an independent position. In the event of a world war, they will heedlessly use our countries as battlefields.

There is no country in the world that is not

threatened by the superpowers. They are exerting pressure everywhere, they are trying to meddle everywhere, and they have plans of possible military attacks everywhere. The aggravation of the struggle between them also increases the possibilities of aggression against other countries, of new calamities for the people, and also of the possible launching of a third world war.

Therefore the great masses of workers and oppressed peoples in all countries and of the whole world have a common interest in combatting these two dominant imperialist powers, with the long term perspective that the struggle must be waged until the imperialist world system has been buried for ever.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE THIRD WORLD

Although they are strong and aggressive, it is not the superpowers that characterize the development of the present world situation. The world situation is first of all characterized by the advance and by the victories of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin-America in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

The peoples' armed struggles for national liberation have won shining victories in the past decade, and constitute the strongest force in the struggle against imperialism.

The people of Vietnam have shown that a united people that takes up armed struggles can win against a superpower armed to the teeth. In Cambodia the peoples' armed forces have initiated a successful offensive on all fronts. In Laos, the people have won

great victories, and a national coalition government has been set up.

The liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies have caused the Portuguese colonial empire to totter. The Palestinian people have remained firm in their struggle, and have recently won important political victories.

While the peoples' armed struggle for liberation has directed hard and decisive blows against imperialism, other tendencies have also developed.

The countries of the Third World have made great efforts to break the economic monopoly of the superpowers and gain control of their own resources.

Many countries have been politically independent for more than a decade. But the old colonial powers and US imperialism are still having much influence over their economy. And because the old colonial powers and the two superpowers have forced upon the developing countries an economic structure in world trade that implies continued extortion and exploitation, economic independence has not been completed. Thus, political independence has also been undermined. In this situation, it has become apparent that many of the states of the Third World have succeeded in uniting and rallying around important demands directed against the imperialist countries, and especially against the two superpowers. This has notably occurred at the UN conferences on raw materials, economic development, law of the sea, population etc. The countries that have supported this struggle have contributed to the weakening and the isolation of the superpowers, irrespective of the fact that many of them are led by regimes with a reactionary domestic policy.

It is an important task for the working class and the people of the imperialist countries to support the struggle of the Third World.

DETENTE OR INCREASE OF TENSION IN EUROPE?

The two superpowers, and especially the Soviet Union, propagate that »~~peace~~, security and detente* is the main tendency in international relations. And while they are making such declarations they are arming themselves to the teeth and are preparing a new imperialist war of redistribution. Disarmament and detente are for other countries.

All over the world the two superpowers contend for influence. But there is no doubt that the biggest jack-pot is Europe. In Europe there are great industrialized areas with a highly developed technology. Europe offers an important sales market and is strategically decisive. The one superpower that achieves hegemony over the entire European continent will also have a decisive lead over the other in the struggle for world hegemony. It is therefore no coincidence that the two superpowers concentrate their aimed forces in Europe. It is especially important to be aware of the strong social-imperialist arms expansion, but also the US armaments in Europe are increasing.

The aggression against Cyprus, the events in Greece and in Portugal, the arms expansion of the Soviet Union in the Mediterranean, in Central Europe and in the Northern regions, as well as the disclosed plans concerning a coup d'etat in Yugoslavia, show that Europe on no account is a region without tension.

In order to conceal its own imperialist ambitions

behind phrases of peace and detente, the social-imperialists have taken the initiative to convene the so-called European conference on peace and security. The object of this conference is to lull the European peoples into a feeling of security, to conceal their own plans of aggression and to get a platform for interference in Western European affairs as well.

In the meantime they are strengthening their troops in Eastern Europe, bettering their weapons, building the strongest naval base in the world on the Kola Peninsula, and they are also strengthening their positions in the North Atlantic, the Norwegian Sea and The Barents Sea.

The USA is also increasing her military forces in these regions. Thus, the Nordic countries have definitely come in the line of fire between the two superpowers. It is not true that the Nordic countries have a friend or a protector in one of the superpowers against the other. Both the USA and the Soviet Union are aggressive imperialist powers that threaten peace and security, also for the inhabitants of the Nordic countries.

The economic and political situation in Western Europe is rapidly being aggravated. The relatively long period of stability that followed World War II is over, and Western European monopoly capitalism is facing a general economic and political crisis with unemployment and galloping inflation. In several countries production has not only stagnated but even receded, and the rate of inflation is far above 10 per cent. The present crisis shows that capitalism is not aimed at, and cannot satisfy the most elementary needs of the working people. Confidence in capitalism and in the social-democratic policy of class

collaboration has begun to weaken. In several countries, monopoly capital has even difficulties in installing stable Governments.

The attempts of the ruling class to shift the burdens of the crisis over to the working people are developing and intensifying class struggle. The strikes of the working class have advanced greatly. The state apparatuses of the monopolies are therefore preparing for the struggles to come by limiting step by step democratic liberties and civil rights and by fortifying their own state apparatus. In this situation, in spite of the experience of Chile, the revisionist parties, supported by the ruling class of the Soviet Union, continue to preach the so-called peaceful parliamentary road to socialism. They declare themselves prepared to shoulder responsibility in the governments of the vernalments of monopoly capital, and assist in the administration of crisis-ridden capitalism. At the same time they split the struggle of the working class for day-to-day demands and attempt to isolate the progressive forces.

But today's tendency in several revisionist parties is that they not only act as the outpost of their own bourgeoisie within the working class. In addition, they offer their services as spokesmen for the policy of Soviet social-imperialism.

Apart from the revisionist parties there are also certain Christian-democratic, social-democratic and other parties in Western Europe that function as the political mainstay of the hegemonism of the superpowers. They preach that the problems in their countries can be solved through cooperation with one or other of the superpowers.

But the problems of the working masses cannot be solved in bourgeois parliaments and governments or through cooperation with any of the superpowers. The Marxist-Leninists believe that the peoples have only one way to go in order to win a future without unemployment, concern for the day to come, or new wars. The working class and its allies must be actively mobilized to defend state sovereignty against the attempts of the superpowers to win hegemony over Europe, to defend democratic liberties and civil rights and the living conditions of the working people, and to struggle for the socialist revolution.

THE EEC - AN ORGAN OF WEST EUROPEAN MONOPOLY CAPITAL

After World War II the USA increased her strength in Europe. Because of the war Western Europe was weak, and it became the most important field of investment of American capital. But today the situation has changed. The economy of the Western European countries has grown in strength, and therefore Western Europe has begun to free herself from US economic dominance. At the same time, US imperialism has been weakened. The difficulties of the USA with the dollar crisis and the balance of payments is, among other things, an expression of the fact that the Western European capitalist countries will no longer passively accept that the USA shoves her problems over to them.

Through the Common Market, the European monopolies wish to continue to increase their profits, by intensifying the exploitation of the native working class, by coordinating their interests against the USA

and the Soviet Union, and by extending their exploitation of the Third World.

The monopolies are strengthening their mutual cooperation through agreements on a customs union, on economic and financial coordination. They are attempting to create a new, multinational state which they hope will supersede, in due time, the »old« states, and do away with national independence. This has, at the same time, created important contradictions between different states in the Common Market.

The Nordic Marxist-Leninists are working for this objective: that the Nordic countries shall *not* be members of the Common Market. This is our objective, because the Common Market is a union of European monopolies that threatens the right to self-determination of our countries — in certain cases it even threatens the economic conditions of our subsistence — and because membership in the Common Market signifies a stronger exploitation of the working class.

In certain cases the Common Market has interests of its own to defend which will objectively make it come into opposition to both superpowers. This is for instance the case when the Common Market establishes direct contact with the oil-producing countries. In a situation where both superpowers struggle with all their might to extend their influence in the world, especially in Europe, a weakening of the superpowers is also a step forward for the working class in the small and medium sized nations. At the same time we must nevertheless make it clear that the reason why the Common Market can oppose the superpowers in certain situations is related to the fact

that they are imperialist powers in their own right, and that it demands extended markets and spheres of interest for its own benefit. As the basis of the Common Market is the oppression of the working masses, and since it also practises national oppression, the Common Market does not offer any effective protection against the superpowers. It is a good thing that small and medium sized nations unite against the superpowers. But such cooperation must be based on equality, and not on oppression.

Our struggle against the Common Market is based on the struggle to win or defend national independence. National independence is also the basis for our struggle against the superpowers. Therefore we also oppose the attempt of the revisionists to use the struggle against the Common Market as a pretext for trying to lead the Nordic countries into the sphere of interests of socialimperialism.

**THE MOBILIZATION OF THE WORKING CLASS
AND OF THE PEOPLE - THE ONLY
GUARANTEE FOR OUR CAPACITY TO WIN OR
DEFEND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND
THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION**

In the first stage of the development of the bourgeoisie, it was in its interests to defend the independence of the nation. But with the development of capitalism to monopoly capitalism and imperialism, the export of capital and the continuous hunt for new markets became a condition of subsistence for capitalism.

Capitalism was forced to break down the old forms of the national state. Thus the attitude of capital

towards the national question changed. Monopoly capital has no native country. For monopoly capital the defence of national sovereignty and the right to self-determination is something to be bought and sold, something subordinate to the economic and political objectives of monopoly capital. In order to increase its profits, monopoly capital does not only participate in the imperialist plunder of other peoples, but it also allies itself with monopoly capital from larger imperialist countries to sell the sovereignty and right to self-determination of its own nation.

Monopoly capital in Norway, Denmark and Iceland has given up military sovereignty in favour of US imperialism, through membership in NATO. Monopoly capital in Finland has to an increasing extent become interested in more cooperation with the ruling class of the Soviet Union; at the same time it has attempted to strengthen its ties with the Common Market. Danish monopoly capital succeeded in making Denmark a member of the Common Market. Norwegian and Swedish monopoly capital are also nourishing hopes of making Common Market-members of their countries. In the same manner, the ruling class in the Nordic countries is giving in for threats from the superpowers against the sovereignty and independence of its own states in issues concerning fishing-limits, economic maritime zones and the right to exploit the resources of the ocean-floor, where the interests of our countries clash with some of the demands of the superpowers.

But in all the Nordic countries the working class has struggled against the attempts of monopoly capital to sell national sovereignty: it stands as the

foremost defender of sovereignty. In the case of the Faroe Islands and Greenland, the struggle has above all been aimed at gaining the right to self-determination.

**THE NORDIC COUNTRIES:
BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS
AND THE THIRD WORLD**

Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway and Iceland are developed capitalist and imperialist countries where monopoly capital is in power. The Nordic countries are thus a part of the world imperialist system. Especially monopoly capital in Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Finland is active in the plunder of the Third World, among other things through a rapidly increasing export of capital. Examples of this are investments by Swedish monopolies in Brazil, investments by Norwegian monopolies in the Middle-East in order to participate in the plunder of the natural resources of the Arab countries, Finnish investments in Brazil and investments by Danish monopolies in South Africa.

But at the same time, the Nordic countries are *not* imperialist *superpowers*. They are themselves small capitalist countries, under pressure from the really big imperialist powers, and especially from the superpowers.

The two superpowers have great economic, political and military control in one or several of the Nordic countries, often in alliance with the ruling class of the country concerned. In addition, they interfere in the internal affairs of our countries in a series of issues. Therefore the Nordic peoples, too, live under the threat from the superpowers.

**The Superpowers — a Military Threat
Against the Nordic Peoples**

Through membership in NATO, US imperialism has military bases and control over the armed forces of Denmark, Norway and Iceland. This military control by one of the superpowers is no defence of the peoples of these countries against the superpowers and imperialism. On the contrary: the NATO-forces represent a military threat from US imperialism. For example, telegrams from military exercises arranged by NATO and the government in Norway have been exposed several times: they show that military exercises directed against the working class, students and communists, are being conducted with a view to armed attacks on these groups.

Norway, Denmark, the Faroe Islands, Greenland and Iceland are all incorporated in the NATO ~~>>defence>>~~ system, and have, in this connection, a common alert system to assist the USA in her conducting of an atomic war. The task directly ascribed to Norway is that of being a ~~>>flank~~ defence* for the USA and NATO in case of war with the other superpower. Norway will therefore become a battlefield in the line of fire between the superpowers. The other Nordic countries are in the same position.

The Soviet Union regards Finland as a part of her military sphere of influence, and denies the neutrality of Finland with the theory of ~~>>neutrality~~ only in times of ~~peace~~.

In recent years, Soviet social-imperialism in connection with the military base in Murmansk — the largest naval base in the world — has been engaged in an enormous arms expansion in the North. At the same

timi, they have built up huge infantry forces and a great arsenal of atomic weapons in that region.

The Soviet Union's military alliance, the Warsaw Pact, comprises several countries by the Baltic Sea. Large Soviet military forces are stationed in East Germany, and the Baltic fleet of the Soviet Union has been strengthened.

The huge Soviet arms expansion along the borders of the Nordic countries has a clear aggressive character. It greatly increases tension in the area, and is a serious military threat against the Nordic countries.

The superpowers are engaged in regular exercises with these forces. At regular intervals, NATO — the extended arm of US imperialism in Europe — conducts exercises with planes, naval forces and infantry, both in the coastal waters of the Nordic countries and on the territory of several of the Nordic countries.

The Soviet Union does the same thing. An obvious example of the aggressive character of these exercises is the fact that the social-imperialists carried out a big naval exercise, OKEAN, in 1970, with 200 warships. At that time the Soviet forces practised landing on Norwegian territory by going out in the sea from the Kola Peninsula, and swinging in towards land in order to carry out the landings exercise on their own territory, hugging the Norwegian coast and the Norwegian border.

Outside Swedish territorial waters lies the Soviet Baltic fleet, which has carried out provocative exercises in a similar manner against Swedish territory, such as Gotland. It is especially important to note that the build-up of the Soviet fleet seems to

concentrate on ship and weapons of an aggressive type, such as landing crafts.

The sovereignty and the right to self-determination of our countries is threatened by the superpowers. But this does not at all mean that an alliance between the Nordic countries and one or other of the superpowers would be in the interest of the working class or the people.

Our countries can only secure their sovereignty and right to self-determination by combatting the attempts of *both* superpowers to win control over other countries. The working class and the people of our countries must wage this struggle side by side with the peoples of the Third World.

The Soviet Union and the Svalbard Islands

The attempt at undermining Norway's sovereignty over the Svalbard Islands is an important part of Soviet policy towards the Nordic countries. These Norwegian islands were even formally ~~accorded~~ Norway as part of the Treaty of Versailles after World War I. The treaty of Svalbard, where this was made clear, states that Norway exercises full sovereignty, limited by certain conditions. These conditions were that the partners in the treaty should all have the same right as Norway to economic activity on the Svalbard Islands, and that the territory should be totally demilitarized.

In direct opposition to this, the social-imperialists have begun to demand, through secret contacts, that Svalbard should be placed under ~~joint~~ Norway-Soviet sovereignty and administration*. Thus the new czars in Kremlin demand sovereignty and control over territory that has long been Norwegian.

The Social-Imperialists and Maritime Law

In negotiations with the Norwegian government over the border line in the Barents Sea, the social-imperialists are now opposed to the principle of the middle line, which was ratified by the Geneva convention on the continental shelf in 1959. The Soviet Union herself signed the agreement in Geneva. But to further her own imperialist interests she now upholds the ~~>>sector~~ principle)) as the basis for the partition: this means that she would have the border as a straight line from the Soviet border to the North Pole. This implies that the Soviet Union will receive 155 000 square kilometres more of the Norwegian maritime territories.

Other Nordic countries have also been subject to the same sort of demands from the social-imperialists. An example is the vain negotiations Sweden has been conducting for many years over the partition of the Baltic Sea, in which the Soviet Union refuses to acknowledge the Swedish island of Gotland as the point of departure of a middle line.

In the same manner, the Soviet Union refuses to acknowledge the extension of fishing limits to 50 nautical miles, and opposes the creation of economic zones of 200 nautical miles. At the International Court of Justice in the Hague, the Soviet Union voted to condemn Iceland's unilateral extension of her fishing limits to 50 nautical miles. In 1974 the Soviet Union broke unilaterally the agreement regulating the cod fishery in the North-Atlantic, without taking into consideration the interests of, among others, the small coastal countries of that region.

This shows that the Soviet Union is a rapacious

imperialist superpower that threatens the right to sovereignty and legitimate national interests of the Nordic countries and the Nordic peoples.

In the Barents Sea, the Soviet Union persists in overfishing, and desires control over as much as possible of the sea-bed, which is probably an area with, among other things, large oil resources. The ocean-going trawling fleet of the Soviet Union over-exploits the fish in the entire North Atlantic.

The Economic Interests of the Superpowers in the Nordic Countries

Politically, militarily and economically, the two superpowers are today engaged in a gigantic escalation to increase their influence over the Nordic countries.

US imperialism has in the entire post-war period strengthened its position by buying key industries in the Nordic countries. The oil boom in the North Sea has led to a further expansion of American monopolies in Norwegian industry. The Soviet Union continues to bind Finland closer to herself economically. Finland is, for example, almost totally dependent on the Soviet Union for supplies of energy. The Soviet Union has exploited this situation by demanding very high prices for important oil products. With the support of the Finnish revisionists, the Soviet Union is also attempting to exploit Finland in order to increase her influence in other countries. They have, among other things, suggested joint power-plant projects in the Third World. The Soviet Union is also keen on extending her economic influence to Sweden.

Iceland's sovereignty and the economic indepen-

dence is threatened by American monopolies such as Johans-Mansville, Union Carbide and Alusuisse, that have all constructed, or are in the course of investing in, large production plants in Iceland. The Soviet Union too, exerts influence over the Icelandic economy: Iceland buys all her oil from the Soviet Union at the highest world prices, and pays with fish and wool products at a relatively low price. The Soviet Union has additional control over Iceland by the fact that Iceland owes more than ten billion Icelandic crowns to the Soviet Union. In Denmark, American monopoly capital has increased its investments since World War II. The American monopolies control, among other things, most of the Danish oil supplies and part of the electronics industry.

The progressive movement in the Nordic countries must be on its guards against the increasing economic influence of the superpowers in their countries, and combat any further undermining of their economic independence.

SUPPORT THE STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLES OF THE THIRD WORLD

The working class and the peoples of the Nordic countries have no advantage whatever in an alliance between the governments of their countries and one or the other of the superpowers. They have still less advantage in the imperialist plunder carried out by Nordic monopoly capital in the Third World.

On the contrary, the only advantage of the working class lies in the consistent defence of the national independence of their own and of all other countries.

When the governments of the Nordic countries take

a stand against the Third World in favour of the imperialism of their own or other countries, it is the task of the working class and of the people to struggle against this. We are working to develop the movement of solidarity with the peoples of the Third World, and we strive to mobilize the peoples of the Nordic countries to fight in order to force their governments to choose sides correctly.

We demand, among other things:

that they break off relations with the junta in Saigon, recognize the PRG in South Vietnam and GRUNC in Cambodia,

that they must give full support to the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and cease to close ranks around the existence of the imperialist state of Israel.

that they in the United Nations must vote for the exclusion of South Africa, as long as this country continues to flout UN resolutions by the illegal occupation of Namibia and the brutal policy of apartheid.

that they in the UN must vote for the membership of the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea, and for the withdrawal of all foreign troops under the ~~flag~~ of the UN.

that they must support the demands of the Third World for a new economic system, and for a twelve mile territorial limit and 200 mile economic zone: the defence of these demands is to the advantage of the Nordic states.

that they must participate in a revision of the UN Charter, in order to abolish the right of veto, which now secures the five permanent members of the Security Council supremacy over the majority.

DEVELOP THE TIES OF FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

The struggle against imperialism and the superpowers rests on a solid foundation and has a secure base in the socialist countries. The communists and the working masses in the socialist countries, the Peoples' Republic of China, the Peoples' Republic of Albania, the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are shining examples by their efforts to build progressing socialist societies and by their heroic struggle to defend their independence in the struggle against imperialism.

The Communist Party of China, and the Party of Labour of Albania have made a contribution of world historic importance both through their protracted struggle to expose and isolate modern revisionism, as well as through the defence and development of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which they have applied to the current world situation and the current stage of the construction of socialism in the two countries. After the Soviet Union and many other socialist countries and Peoples' Democracies had degenerated into state capitalist countries, the communist parties of China and Albania drew correct conclusions. The working classes were mobilized against degenerated elements in the State and in the party, against remnants of the old reactionary classes, and against reactionary leftovers in culture and ideology. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China and the Revolutionization Campaign in

Albania show that the communists of these countries have, in practice, solved the problem of the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the prevention of the reestablishment of a bourgeois dictatorship in the socialist countries. By their example, the communist parties and the working masses in China and in Albania have raised a red banner for the peoples of the whole world, and they inspire the proletariat in the capitalist world to stand firm in the struggle for the socialist revolution and to advance towards a future without oppression, exploitation or war.

Internationally, the socialist countries of China and Albania stand in the foremost line in the struggle that is now developing against the two superpowers. Therefore, naturally, the superpowers and perhaps especially the social-imperialists would like to see the Peoples' Republics of China and Albania crushed. Although the social-imperialists are maintaining great numbers of troops towards Europe, they are also building up their forces against China, and a social-imperialist assault on China is a current possibility.

For the communists in the Nordic countries it is an important task to show the people what true socialism consists of, and to develop the struggle against the superpowers. It is therefore an integral part of the work of the Marxist-Leninist organizations to deepen the friendship between the peoples of their own countries and the socialist countries, and to support the struggle for good interstate relations between the Nordic and the socialist countries.

STRENGTHEN THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE NORDIC PEOPLES

The situation of the Nordic peoples presents many common traits, and to a large extent our peoples have the same enemies. Our peoples have many similar traditions, and the continued struggle for the socialist revolution will also present many common features.

The fact that the superpowers have divided the Nordic countries in different spheres of interest, gives them the possibility of splitting and maneuvering in our part of the world. United action by the Nordic peoples would in several situations make it more difficult for the superpowers to carry out their policy.

The Faroe nation is being oppressed by Danish imperialism. By investments and loans the Danish state has on one side built modern implements of production for the fisheries. The result of this is on the other side exploitation and dependence on Danish capital, both state and private, and a dominating oneness in Faroe industry. By this policy, Denmark has kept her political lackeys in the Faroe Islands in power since the temporary culmination of the movement for independence in 1946, where the majority of the islanders voted for independence in a referendum. Denmark continues ignoring this referendum. The system of Home Government, which was the Danish answer, served above all to split the independence movement by corrupting part of the Faroe bourgeoisie. This policy is again related to the Danish policy in industry and trade. Denmark requires fish as a raw material, profiting at the same time by forcing all Faroe imports through private

Danish firms. Thus, Faroe industry develops on-sidedly to the advantage of imperialism, on which it is rendered totally dependent.

In spite of repeated motions passed in the Faroe parliament demanding the withdrawal of all American and Danish NATO-forces from Faroe territory, the occupation still continues. Danish membership in the Common Market strengthens foreign imperialism in the Faroe Islands even more, and threatens the basis of subsistence of the nation.

We, the Nordic Marxist-Leninists support, and call for extensive support to, the struggle of the Faroe people against Danish imperialism and for their right to create their own separate state.

Formally, Greenland became part of Denmark in 1953. Since then, Danish capital has intensified its oppression of the Greenlandic people. As a consequence of Danish membership in NATO, Greenland is militarily subject to the domination of American imperialism. At the same time, huge Danish capital investments have led to an enormous depopulation with the abandoning of about 100 villages the past two decades. Politically, the Danish capitalist oppression of the Greenlandic people has lately exposed itself above all in the issue of Greenland's membership in the Common Market and in the question of fishing limits. In the Common Market referendum, a majority in Greenland cast their votes against membership, but the subjugation under Denmark made Greenland a member anyhow.

In fishery questions, the Greenlandic fishermen and the Greenlandic parliament have demanded an extension of the fishing limits to fifty nautical miles. But this is not the policy of the Danish government,

therefore the demand was not realized. And the Danish state has given over the mining of the Greenlandic mineral deposits to foreign firms.

We, the Nordic Marxist-Leninists support the struggle of the Greenlandic people against imperialist oppression, and will support a development in Greenland springing from the Greenlandic People's own interests and terms based on their right to create their own state separate from that of Denmark.

The Lapp national minorities in Northern Norway, Northern Sweden and Northern Finland have borne century-long suffering at the hands of colonialism of many countries. Large territories have been stolen from the Lapp people and their revolts have been met with hard suppression. In addition to national oppression, the Lapp territories are now also threatened by the monopolies' policy of depopulation. The national, democratic and economic struggles of the Lapps are a just cause, and progressive forces from the majority nationalities should consider it a special duty to support them.

The monopoly system of large-scale organized import of workers to the worst and lowest paid jobs is a new form of slave trade created by imperialism. Not only do the foreign workers belong to the most exploited part of the proletariat, they are in addition denied democratic rights and are subject to special national oppression. Those that are refugees experience an especially difficult situation.

We, Marxist-Leninists struggle for unity between the foreign workers and all other workers. We fight for more support to the foreign worker's struggle against exploitation, for democratic rights — inclu-

ding full rights of citizenship — and for the recognition of the larger groups as national minorities.

We also support the Gypsies' and other national minorities' struggle for political rights and for better economic and social conditions, and for the preservation of their own culture.

In the near future it will be an especially important task to work for an extension of the fishing limits and economic zones of the Nordic countries and to support other Nordic countries when they wage a just struggle against the superpowers or against British or West-German imperialism. We condemn the Nordic governments for their denial of support to Iceland in her hard struggle for new fishing limits. Our organizations regard as an important task the strengthening of the ties of friendship between the Nordic peoples in view of enforcing the national independence of our countries against the larger imperialist powers and especially the two superpowers. But this must be based on the complete sovereignty of each country over her internal affairs.

Our organizations therefore regard as an important task the building and the strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist organizations of the Nordic countries. These are the only movements that struggle consistently for the right to self-determination of their own and of all other countries, as well as for the socialist revolution.

The world situation opens bright perspectives for our peoples and for all peoples. The superpowers are more and more isolated every day, the Third World is winning brilliant victories in its struggle, the working class and the peoples of the capitalist countries are strengthening their struggle against exploitation and

oppression, and the peoples of the socialist countries have beaten back attempts to restore capitalism.

A tidal wave is surging all around the world — countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the peoples want revolution.

Proletarians and oppressed peoples of all countries

— unite!

STRENGTHEN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM

The Marxist-Leninist parties and party-building organizations of the Nordic countries have all sprung out from the struggle against revisionism and opportunism. It was the liquidation of the communist parties by modern revisionism that made the creation of these new organizations necessary.

Modern revisionism distinguishes itself from earlier forms of revisionism in several ways — by the fact that it appears in a »~~communist~~» and »~~Marxist-Leninist~~» figure, and by the fact that some of the revisionist parties wield state-power in their countries. The main force of modern revisionism is the Soviet Union, a superpower and one of the world's two strongest imperialist powers.

In several of the Nordic countries, the revisionists have succeeded in exploiting the upsurge in the working class and popular struggles to strengthen their own positions. In all the Nordic countries revisionism constitutes a very important obstacle to the development of the class struggle, because it seeks to divert the struggle down the path of parliamentarism and reformism. The revisionists have also, where they have found it necessary, put on an increasingly leftist demagogy.

In certain countries, the revisionists' advance has become particularly dangerous, because they are

intensifying their ideological and political support to the social-imperialists, as the ambitions of social-imperialism in Western Europe are growing. This support has recently become manifest at the European conference of revisionists in Warsaw by the unanimous declaration by the Soviet revisionists and the Western European revisionist parties on the necessity of »strengthening peace, security and cooperation* in Europe. This type of propaganda has been carried out by the Soviet Union, especially since the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968, in order to divert attention from its own armaments in Europe.

For the Marxist-Leninist parties and party-building organizations, the study of modern revisionism and its varying forms of appearance under changing international and national circumstances is important.

In this statement from the Nordic Marxist-Leninist conference, we do not intend to give a complete description or analysis of modern revisionism. But in the following we will sum up certain experiences which are of special importance for the struggle against modern revisionism in the Nordic countries.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO LINES IS DECISIVE FOR THE REVOLUTION

Historical experience shows that the struggle against revisionism is a task of vital necessity if capitalism is to be overthrown and socialism realized in the Nordic as well as in all other countries.

One of the decisive prerequisites for victory in the Russian revolution was the fact that the Bolsheviks had disassociated themselves from the revisionist leaders of the Second International. In World War I

these leaders sent the workers to the trenches, and afterwards drowned workers' uprisings in several countries in blood.

Within the Soviet Communist Party, the victory for the policy of socialism in one country, and later the victory in the anti-fascist World War, were decided by the outcome of the struggle between the opportunist factions of Trotsky, Bukharin and others on the one side, and those who upheld the line of Lenin and Stalin on the other.

The rupture that occurred in the world communist movement in the beginning of the sixties has acquired world historic importance. During the fifties, the privileged bureaucratic stratum of the Soviet Union succeeded in capturing state-power and started to restore capitalism. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was thus transformed from being the vanguard of the international proletariat to an instrument of oppression in the hands of the new bourgeoisie that had entered itself in power.

The breakthrough of modern revisionism in the party of the Soviet Union was an important contributing factor to the strengthening of the revisionist tendency in most communist parties and to their final engagement down the path of revisionism. The Khrushchev revisionists became powerful allies for certain parties where the revisionists had already taken the lead.

It was primarily the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania which first stood up against modern revisionism. They exposed the fact that the party of the Soviet Union had established a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and took the lead in a worldwide struggle against modern revisionism.

In recent years, the development of the class struggle on a national and international scale has provided ample proof for the fact that the revisionist ideas are false while the Marxist-Leninist ideas are correct:

- The revisionists tried to make people believe that the struggle of the Third World against colonialism and oppression constituted a danger to the people of the world, because it ostensibly could lead to a world war. Khrushchev expressed this by saying that »a single spark can set the world ~~afire~~». Therefore, the revisionists also promised that they would prevent and combat such »~~sparks~~». In spite of this sabotage by the revisionists, the liberation movements have nevertheless won great victories and clearly proved that armed struggle for liberation is not a »~~danger~~ to the peoples of the world», but on the contrary, a support to the peoples' struggles against imperialism everywhere. At the same time, the Soviet Union has to an ever increasing extent revealed her imperialist nature and herself become one of the worst enemies of the oppressed peoples of the world.

- The revisionists advocated the »~~peaceful~~ road to socialism*. In the West European countries, the communist parties thereby transformed themselves into more and more openly parliamentary and reformist parties. In other countries, such as Chile, where this line was tried out in practice, it led to a bloody defeat of the working class.

- Furthermore the revisionists tried to convince people that the Soviet Union still was a socialist country, and that the increasing oppression of the working class was but the manifestation of certain

»~~failings~~» within this »~~socialist~~» society. The ruling class of the Soviet Union has subsequently provided innumerable examples of the fact that that it "has established a terrorist bourgeois dictatorship. The peoples of the Peoples' Republic of China and Albania have by their example shown that, when the working class continues to fortify its position under socialism, it is possible to avoid degeneration of the kind which has taken place in the Soviet Union. The Cultural Revolution in China and the Albanian Revolutionization Campaign have provided the international communist movement with epoch-making lessons.

THE REVISIONIST PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE AND IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES:

In many European countries the revisionist parties have developed into openly reformist parties, but in other cases they try to conceal their policy behind radicalistic demagogy. In an increasing number of countries they aim at securing positions in capitalist governments.

In *France*, the revisionists, together with the »~~socialist~~» leader Mitterand, have founded a so-called coalition of the left, endowed with a pronounced reformist program. The treachery of the revisionists during the May-uprising of 1968 shows quite clearly what is to be expected of such a coalition. They then did their utmost to prevent the struggle of the masses from menacing the dictatorship of the bourgeois class.

In *Italy*, the revisionists are trying to maneuver themselves into government position by way of the

»~~historic~~ compromise* with the Christian-Democrats, and they both seek and find an increasing support for this from the monopoly capital.

In *Portugal*, the revisionists participate in the government: they stand forth as a guarantee for the continued dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, they rely on the bourgeois military apparatus, they combat the strikes of the workers and encourage blackieging.

The same tendencies, which have been manifested to an exceptional extent in these West European countries, exist more or less developed in the Nordic revisionist parties as well.

In *Finland*, the revisionist party SKP came out in the middle of the sixties as a fully developed party of class collaboration: Among other things, it participated in the coercive interference by the State in the wage struggles, and lent their support to the so-called overall income policy solutions proposed by the government.

When the party's influence was endangered by this policy and by the participation in the »~~popular front governments~~» of 1966-71, there arose an organized opposition within the party which gained a relatively strong influence among the working people by means of a more »~~leftist~~» phraseology. This is especially dangerous, because the opposition utilizes whatever support it has to increase the influence of the social-imperialists and to spread illusions about the nature of social-imperialism. The majority wing stands for a more open class collaboration with the bourgeoisie of their own country by, among other things, propagating for a new government coalition with the social-democrats.

In *Denmark*, the revisionist party DKP experienced a strong upsurge last year. They have exploited this

upsurge to deter the growing strike and protest movement of the working class against the assault of the bourgeoisie on the peoples' living conditions.

The DKP is canalizing this struggle along parliamentary paths in order to muster votes for itself, and so as to be able to set up a so-called labour government in collaboration with the social-democrats.

In *Iceland*, the revisionists have traditions which date back to the thirties, when they liquidated the party in favour of a front with left social-democratic splinters. The Popular Alliance, which is the offspring of this party-building, is a reformist party. In 1971—74, when it participated in the government, it was an enthusiastic advocate for the development of state monopoly capitalism in Iceland. In the trade union movement, the Popular Alliance plays the same role as the social-democrats in the other Nordic countries.

In *Norway*, the Socialist Election League alliance (SV) consists of the revisionist party NKP together with, among others, the left social-democratic Socialist Peoples' Party (SF). In the parliamentary elections in 1973 the SV was quite successful, because many working people, who desired to break with the right social-democrats were forced into regarding SV as an alternative. But SV has used its success to support the policy of the right social-democratic party both in parliament and in the trade unions, as well as to support social-imperialism and to sabotage the day-to-day struggles of the masses. On the threshold of 1975 SV is having great difficulties, because many of the sincerely progressive supporters are dismayed, and because of the internal struggle between the loyal Moscow revisionists in the NKP

and the more tactically »~~independent~~« opportunists of the SF.

In *Sweden*, the revisionists have experienced a limited upsurge over the past few years. They have succeeded in regaining some of the voters they had lost earlier, and in securing an increased influence among intellectuals. The party is torn by hard clashes between a wing loyal to Moscow and a majority among the leaders that advocates a more »~~independent~~« line. The divergences, however, were not as great as to prevent the revisionists on both sides to start a campaign against the Communist Party of Sweden last summer, when the Party intensified the studies of and the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism.

Thus, the revisionists of the Nordic countries vary in strength and in their relationship with social-imperialism and the domestic bourgeoisie, respectively.

Even though the most important and most dangerous variant of revisionism is this modern version, the organized expression of which consists of the »~~communist~~« parties connected with Moscow, revisionism manifests itself in very different forms.

Common to the majority of the Nordic countries in recent years is the appearance of Trotskyite and other »~~left~~«~~opportunist~~ groups. Common to these groups is that, by refusing to regard the Soviet Union as an imperialist superpower on the same level as the US, they in reality support the modern revisionists' justification of social-imperialism.

The modern revisionists themselves adopt highly varying tactics. In certain countries and in certain situations they submit blindly to the course expoun-

ded by Moscow, at other occasions they try to develop an »~~independent~~« policy without forsaking the fundamental theses of revisionism.

In certain countries and in certain situations they try, in their domestic policy, to lie as close as possible to the social-democrats with the aim of collaborating with them in »~~Labour~~« governments)). In other cases they try to increase their influence over the mass movement by developing a more »~~militant~~« phraseology.

These differences cannot, however, cover up the basic similarities; that the revisionists represent the interests of the bourgeoisie within the working class movement and that they function as spokesmen of the social-imperialists.

THE EUROPEAN REVISIONIST CONFERENCE: A LINK IN THE STRATEGY OF THE SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS

The social-imperialists have lately increased their efforts to strengthen their control over their fraternal parties* in Western Europe, in order to make them intensify their propaganda for the policy of »~~détente~~« between the superpowers and to contribute to a »~~final~~« condemnation of China.

In 1973, the Kremlin leaders revived the idea of convening a world meeting of revisionist parties for this purpose. Following the occupation of Czechoslovakia and parallel to the war armaments expansion in Europe, it has become always more necessary for the Soviet Union to seek political support in Western Europe — among the »~~fraternal~~« parties)), the social-democratic parties, or wherever convenient.

As a first piece in the puzzle of getting this world meeting organized, there took place a conference between the Western European revisionist parties in Brussels in January 1973. In October 1974, a conference was held in Warsaw as a first preparation for an ~~»all-European»~~ revisionist conference in East-Berlin in May this year.

Because several of the parties invited to the Warsaw meeting - e.g. Romania and Yugoslavia - set up as a condition for their participating that no motion of condemnation of any other party should be passed, the Soviet revisionists were compelled to postpone the condemnation of China further into the future.

That the social-imperialists have not succeeded in achieving a joint condemnation, not even among the ~~»fraternal~~ parties*, is good evidence of the growing international prestige of China.

They succeeded, however, in pushing the line that the question of ~~»peace~~, cooperation and security* in Europe shall be the main theme of the meeting in Berlin. At the conference, no criticism was voiced either of the occupation of Czechoslovakia, or the Soviet armament in Europe. In connection with the conference, the Swedish and Norwegian parties disavowed their earlier stand that Czechoslovakia is an occupied country.

The rallying round the ~~»policy~~ of security* is an important victory for the social-imperialists. This policy serves as a smokescreen around their actual behaviour in Europe, which tells its own tale: of arms expansion, which, when imperialist countries are involved can only mean one thing - increased danger of war.

The Moscow revisionists are now operating very intensely to strengthen the front with the revisionist parties of Western Europe, and they have even intervened directly in the affairs of parties such as the Finnish, the Spanish and the Dutch.

The main line generally advocated by Moscow for her parties is to seek governmental power. As the only condition for unity with e.g. the social-democrats they demand that the basis of cooperation shall be ~~»~~ strengthen the ties with the socialist world system.*

The convening of the Berlin conference must be viewed in the light of this general policy, by which the social-imperialists endeavour to strengthen their control over the European revisionist parties. Its purpose is to strengthen the propaganda in order to weaken the vigilance of the European peoples against social-imperialism. It is also convened in the hope of being able to counter the great international advance of the Peoples' Republic of China, and to blow new life in the frantic anti-China campaign, which is part of the aggressive social-imperialist strategy against that country.

The Nordic revisionist parties which are to participate in the Berlin meeting must also be held responsible for this. To sit at the same table as the gentlemen from the Kremlin is nothing else other than running errands for social-imperialism. To sit at the same table as the leaders of e.g. the governmental revisionist parties of Czechoslovakia or Poland, without protesting against the violent suppression of the working class by the police and the armed forces in these countries, is to support what is happening there.

I

The parties that participate in the social-imperialist war strategy show by their behaviour that modern revisionism not only is an agent of its own bourgeoisie in the working class, but also a spokesman for the endeavours of an imperialist superpower.

Conferences of revisionist parties, of the type to be held in Berlin, have in reality long ceased to represent the international communist movement. The parties that convene there have nothing in common with communism than the label.

Nor are the Nordic communists represented by the false »communists« from our countries that are to negotiate in Berlin. In the Nordic countries the truly communist movement is represented only by the Marxist-Leninist parties and party-building organizations. We have convened a conference, not to sit at the same table as the Soviet leaders, but, on the contrary, to intensify the struggle against US imperialism and social-imperialism.

STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM - A PREREQUISITE FOR PROGRESS IN THE MASS-STRUGGLE

To the Marxist-Leninist parties and party-building organizations of the Nordic countries the development of an ideological, theoretical and political struggle to clarify the fundamental differences between revisionism and marxism-leninism appears as a common task.

As revisionism is not an incidental, temporary phenomenon, but has a material foundation, the struggle to drive back its influence must be waged unceasingly.

The struggle against revisionism must be waged by unveiling it both theoretically and programmatically. It is important that this work will be done thoroughly. But while the theoretical and propagandistic struggle is an absolute necessity, by itself, it is inadequate.

The influence of the revisionists can only be wrested from them if the Marxist-Leninists at the same time participate in the mass struggle, and develop it and lead it according to their ability. In the day-to-day work, among the workers in the factories, in the organizations of the working class and of the people, and everywhere else, the Marxist-Leninists must develop a mass line that affords an alternative to people that are willing to fight, and that contributes to the isolation of revisionism. At the same time, the struggle waged by the masses cannot progress unless the revisionists are fought concurrently, because they split the struggle and lead it to defeat.

The Marxist-Leninist parties and party-building organizations of the Nordic countries base their struggle against revisionism on a correct combination of propagandistic and theoretic struggle, and struggle in the work among the masses. They are developing a tactic for how this struggle is to be waged according to the specific conditions of each country.

The struggle against revisionism is a necessary part of the struggle for socialism in the Nordic countries. Revolution can only be accomplished where there is no revisionist party strong enough to prevent it.