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# **NORWEGIAN MARXIST-LENINISTS INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM**

**OKtober**



**Resolution from the National Conference  
of the Workers' Communist Party (M-L),  
Norway, November 1974**



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AGAINST SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM**

**Resolution from the National  
Conference of the Workers' Communist  
Party (Marxist-Leninist), Norway,  
November 2–3, 1974**

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**Central addresses of the Norwegian Marxist-Leninist movement, June 1975:**

The WCP(M-L) central party office:

AKP(m-l), p.b. 211, Sentrum, Oslo 1.

The Party's weekly newspaper, Class Struggle:

KLASSEKAMPEN, p.b. 2046, Grunerløkka, Oslo 5.

The OKTOBER Publishing House:

FORLAGET OKTOBER, boks 6875, St. Olavs pl., Oslo 1.

The Red Youth League:

RØD UNGDOM, p.b. 610, Sentrum, Oslo 1.

The Norwegian Communist Student League:

NORGES KOMMUNISTISKE STUDENTFORBUND,  
p.b. 5628, Briskeby, Oslo 2.

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## INTRODUCTION

### COMMUNISTS SHARPEN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

The Workers' Communist Party (Marxist-Leninists) – WCP(M-L) – is the only Norwegian party that openly and consistently struggles against *all* forms of imperialism.

For many years the Marxist-Leninists of Norway have been in the vanguard of the struggle against US-imperialism in our country and for solidarity with the people of Indo-China. No other political movement has been as active and consistent in its resistance to the American imperialist superpower.

It is precisely because we have always been consistent anti-imperialists and because of our many years of experience in anti-imperialist work that we now sharpen the struggle against the other superpower: the Soviet Union.

Many years ago we Marxist-Leninists had already started on the task of showing that the once socialist Soviet Union has been transformed into an imperialist state. We have pointed this out time and time again in our press, our programmes and our statements. In all these years we have in addition fought against social-imperialism. The day after the Soviet assault on Czechoslovakia in 1968 the Norwegian Marxist-Leninists immediately organized a demonstration in protest. Independent of *all* bourgeois demonstrations, it supported the

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**Czechoslovak people and socialism, and attacked  
revisionism and social-imperialism.**

But the latest developments make it necessary for us to put even more power into the struggle to expose social-imperialism than we have done before.

The world situation is characterised by growing tension and unrest. In the last few years the world has gone from crisis to crisis and from war to war. Oppressed peoples rise up in armed struggle for their freedom. They deserve our full support. But at the same time the imperialist powers are arming themselves and trying to interfere everywhere. The two imperialist superpowers – USA and the Soviet Union – are by far the most dangerous. They are arming themselves to attack smaller countries as well as each other.

In this situation it is important that we learn to see through the game of the superpowers. We must be able to distinguish their words and their feints from their real plans.

It is of course important to learn how to expose US imperialism. The struggle against it must be intensified. But Marxist-Leninists and other anti-imperialists have already been fighting US imperialism for many years. A majority of the Norwegian people now repudiate the imperialist wars of the USA in Indo-China, and large groups of the masses of the people have seen through the reactionary character of US imperialism. Facts about US imperialism can be found in many books and it is not difficult for anyone looking for information to find it. It is not enough to expose only US imperialism. We will get only »half the story» unless we at the same time expose the fact that there exists another highly

dangerous imperialist superpower. It would be a totally irresponsible policy to act as if this other imperialist superpower didn't exist, and to deny the fact that it is just as dangerous to the people of the world – and to Norway – as US imperialism.

It is especially important to us as communists that this other superpower talks about Marx and Lenin and calls itself socialist – and at the same time has developed an imperialist economy and policy. The Kremlin leaders are trying to use the prestige from the proud period when the Soviet Union was the world's first socialist state to defend their plundering and assaults. This gives us communists a special responsibility to show that this is not socialism, and that the masters in the Kremlin are not telling the truth.

In Norway too there are people who call themselves communists in one breath and hail Brezhnev with the next. The situation today makes it even more important than ever before to expose that they are not true »revolutionaries» or »progressives», but represent reaction and imperialism.

It is therefore necessary for us to clarify and deepen our analysis of social-imperialism. We must do this well before the tanks start rolling and the bombers are in the air. The war preparations of the superpowers have started, and if we are to take them seriously we must put more force in the struggle *now*.

The following points sum up the resulting development in depth of the analysis of the WCP(M-L). They arise from discussions among our members and supporters. They have been discussed at a national conference of delegates from our constituent organi-

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sations in the autumn of 1974, and at a meeting of  
the central committee.

No doubt the resolution has weaknesses. We have never intended that it should contain a complete account of all aspects of the development of the Soviet Union under socialism and under capitalism. It is meant as a statement from the party which propagates the Marxist-Leninist point of view against the various bourgeois accounts – both those against and those in favour of the Soviet Union of today.

The resolution fills an important need: It draws a sharp line against the many wrong ideas that exist concerning the Soviet Union.

We are sure that the points will be of help to many workers, revolutionaries and anti-imperialists that are struggling to understand the development in the Soviet Union of today, and who wish to combat imperialism and reaction. We Marxist-Leninists will gladly discuss with comrades and friends who think that something or other seems unclear in this statement, who disagree on some parts or would like to learn more. We hope that as many as possible of those who read this will join us as fellow combatants against both of the imperialist superpowers and all imperialism.

## **1. THE ONCE SOCIALIST SOVIET UNION HAS BECOME AN IMPERIALIST SUPERPOWER**

A. The workers and the labouring masses of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of CPSU(B), were the first in history to smash the power of the exploiting classes, to build a proletarian dictatorship, to found a socialist state and to develop a socialist economy. Under the leadership of Lenin, and later, Stalin, the Soviet Union became a bulwark against fascism and imperialism. Workers and oppressed people in all countries looked on the Soviet Union as their model.

The members of WCP(M-L) make use of the experiences from the October revolution and the socialist state it created, which was the world's first example of a victorious socialist revolution in a whole country. We support the line the Bolsheviks followed, and we combat all bourgeois attempts to blacken the Soviet Union's proud history during the period the Bolsheviks led the country.

B. There exist in all socialist countries hostile classes and class struggle also after the socialist revolution has succeeded. This was also the case in the socialist Soviet Union. Reactionaries and bourgeois stratas and groups fought continually against socialism. They hoped for a restoration of capitalism and worked for a counter-revolution.

In the time of Lenin and Stalin the communists in

the party and state leadership ascertained many times the possibility of a counter-revolution. Stalin pointed out that »the communist bureaucrat is the most dangerous type of bureaucrat. Why? Because he masks his bureaucracy with his party membership.» (Speech to the Communist Youth League, May 1928.) He also emphasized the fact that this must not only be looked upon as extreme formalism. »Bureaucracy is an expression of the bourgeois influence in our organisations.» (Against Vulgarizing the Slogan of Self-criticism, June 1928.) But nobody realised in this period how dangerous the enemy was to become. During this period the main line of the CPSU(B) was to build socialism and combat reaction and this main line was correct. At the same time the communists in the world's first socialist state lacked experience in regard to the various forms the attacks of the bourgeois reactionaries could take. In the struggle against bourgeois elements mistakes were also made. Perhaps some of these mistakes could have been avoided, others were unavoidable in their time. I was these faults that gave the reactionary classes and groups a chance to strengthen their positions and prepare a coup.

C. When Stalin died these arch-reactionary forces found that time was ripe. After a hard and bitter struggle they managed to secure power for themselves both in the party and in the state. Thousands of leading party members that fought against the reactionaries were thrown out of the party. Workers that demonstrated for communism were met with armed force.

At the 20th party congress in 1956 Khrushchev managed to change the party line from being revolutionary into being revisionist and bourgeois. Under cover of »criticizing the cult of personality» he aimed the same attacks against Stalin and the politics of the CPSU(B) under his leadership, as trotskyites and imperialists always had made in order to harm the socialist Soviet Union. The 20th party-congress was a surrender to imperialism and the first step towards cooperation with US imperialism against the struggles for liberation and socialism.

In reality Khrushchev seizure of power was a purely bourgeois counter-revolution – with him the bourgeoisie took power and consolidatet it gradually in all areas. The counter-revolution in the Soviet Union teaches us the important truth that *revisionism in power is the same as the bourgeoisie in power.*

D. During and after the counter-revolution the new rulers used the state power to develop a bureaucratic-bourgeois ruling class founded on the various reactionary classes, stratas and groups that the revisionists based their power on. This has been a process with many inner struggles that have gradually developed more and more openly capitalistic forms. The new ruling class is the bureaucrat-capitalist bourgeoisie. The bureaucrat-capitalists control the state-apparatus and make use of it to gather profits. Through the state-apparatus it has collectively, as a class, the right to dispose of and therefore the actual ownership of the state and collectively owned means of production. The top party and state bureaucrats rely on the firm-managers and technocrats that directly administrate the capitalistic exploitation. In

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various ways they establish ties with a worker-aristocracy consisting of workers with special privileges.

**E.** When capitalism was restored in the Soviet Union it became at once a state-monopoly-capitalist society. The socialist monopoly of the most important means of production changed class character and became a capitalistic monopoly.

Monopoly capital is, in accordance with its nature, imperialistic. It has to exploit internationally in order to survive. And so it is with the Soviet state-controlled monopoly-capitalism. From once having been the first socialist state, the Soviet Union has turned into an imperialistic superpower after the counter-revolution.

## 2. THE SOVIET UNION TODAY IS A NEW TYPE OF STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALIST SOCIETY

A. The class character of any society is determined by the prevailing relations of production – that is, the relations into which people enter for the purpose of production. If man operates as capitalist and wage-slave in production, then the society is capitalistic, even though those operating as capitalists do not formally or legally own the means of production. In the West where the private finance monopolies reign, there are large state-owned companies that formally are not owned by any capitalist. But in reality there are exploiters and exploited, masters and slaves, in the Western state-owned companies too. The nature of the state-owned firms is decided by the class nature of the whole society. It does not differ from that of privately owned firms. This we can clearly see at f.ex. the Norwegian state-owned firms »Jernverket» and »Hydro».

B. That's what it's like in the Soviet Union of today. The aim of socialist production is to secure maximum satisfaction of the ever growing material and cultural needs of the entire society. But in today's Soviet Union *profit* has been reintroduced as the decisive factor for all social activity and production. This is openly admitted in the directives that were decided for the economic reforms which were put to work from 1965 and onwards.

Control of the means of production is removed from the workers and collective farmers to the directors and state-bureaucrats. Those who lead and administrate reap the profit of the work of the masses through sky high wages and many other privileges. With this the Soviet Union has also become a capitalistic society. Indeed, the factories, collective farms etc. aren't *formally* owned by the new bourgeoisie, but because capitalistic relations of production reign it is this class that *in fact* owns the means of production. Those who reason that the Soviet Union of today is socialist by referring to the fact that there formally is state-social ownership of the firms and do not investigate the class relations in the Soviet Union and how the Soviet economy functions, they act the same way as bourgeois economists who state that countries in Western Europe are socialist because the state has large influence.

**C.** A society in which the formal state-ownership of all important means of production is as prominent as in the Soviet Union, then naturally the class character of the state will be wholly decisive for the true class character form of the ownership. When the bourgeoisie has state-power as in the Soviet Union, then naturally the state-property is controlled by this bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie »owns» the state – and thereby owns collectively the means of production.

**D.** The state-monopolist Soviet-capitalism is of a new type compared to the capitalism of the West because it has arisen after a counter-revolution in a country which has been socialist. No Western capitalistic country has *one* state-monopoly that dominates the

*entire* economy. Monopoly-capital in the Soviet Union is therefore much more concentrated than in any Western country, and of course also much more closely melted together with the state. Simultaneously it is experimenting with the introduction of traditional Western capitalistic forms.

Because of this the capitalism of the Soviet Union on the surface, appears somewhat different from that of the West, even if its nature is the same. Its great concentration and complete fusion with the state gives same advantages. But at the same time it has great difficulties with its often stiff-legged and ineffective bureaucracy which leads to indifference and corruption. The bureaucracy is necessary as a class basis for the Kremlin-rulers, but simultaneously it stands in contradiction to the desire to create an effective and expansive capitalism. The special form of capitalism in the Soviet Union is quickly creating large contradictions between the social character of the means of production and the new capitalistic relations of production.

E. Neither had socialism in the Soviet Union completely finished surmounting all backwardness if the economy that was its inheritance from the time of the czars. During socialism the economy made progress from year to year. But today the Kremlin leaders can no longer use the enthusiasm of the workers and collective-farmers and the advantages of the socialist system to solve their problems.

The Soviet industry toils under a lack of technology and low quality, and backward farming districts are lagging behind in the development of the economy. A low morale in work and absenteeism are

widespread expressions of the dissatisfaction among the working masses. Resistance has also shown itself through strikes and violent demonstrations, and in the organisation of secret revolutionary groups.

All this has created great difficulties in the capitalistic Soviet economy. Already from Khrushchev's first years there were great difficulties in agriculture. In the 70's the economic difficulties have even expressed themselves through the fact that there in periods has been a lack of important means of subsistence such as bread. Soviet capitalism is weak and unstable within its own country. It cannot solve the economic tasks of the Soviet Union, but only lead to more problems and larger crises. This again makes the masters in the Kremlin feel that their position is insecure and partly explains their desperate internal and external policy.

Today the Soviet leaders have opened the borders for American, Japanese, West-German and other foreign monopolies, and lets them manage natural resources belonging to the Soviet Union and the labour power of Soviet workers. With this they also tie the capitalistic Soviet economy to the economy of the West, and make it impossible for the Soviet Union to stay out of the ever returning crisis in the international imperialistic economy.

F. The same tendencies of decay that have always characterised the capitalistic societies have also begun to make themselves felt in the Soviet Union since the socialist society was transformed into a bureaucrat-capitalistic one. On the one hand the top strata in the party and state live in luxurious villas and have a large private consumption. There exist special stores where

only these are allowed to shop, where they can get hold of luxury commodities that nobody else has access to. Prostitution and luxury restaurants and nightclubs with decadent entertainment of a Western type can be found in all larger towns. Black marketing with food, money and even equipment for production is flourishing.

On the other hand alcoholism is a growing problem among the working class and people. The youth is debased to admire Western pop-culture and the hobo atmosphere that is part of it, and there is also a growing abuse of narcotic among part of them. The contradiction between town and countryside is developing at the cost of the countryside, and leads to many workers being driven to the towns to look for work and better living conditions. Officially there is no unemployment, but information from the Soviet Union's own press tells that there is a well developed employment exchange service over the whole country for workers that don't find work in the least developed areas. The Soviet leaders call these problems »welfare problems in a highly developed industrial society». This shows that in their world-outlook the dividing line between socialism and capitalism is completely obliterated.

G. Oppression generates resistance; and even if the ruling bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union today manage to hold down the working class through brutality and demagogy, they will like all reactionaries be overthrown. Just like Western capitalism the Soviet bureaucrat-capitalism is also subjected to the crises of capitalism, its demands for larger markets, intensified exploitation and higher profits – expand or die. Just

**like capitalism in the West capitalism in the Soviet Union is doomed to collapse, because the working class and people will sooner or later put an end to it through a new socialist revolution.**

### **3. THE NEW RULERS IN THE KREMLIN ARE PRACTISING A FASCIST DICTATORSHIP**

**A.** As long as there are classes the ruling class will uphold its leadership by using its own state apparatus to oppress other hostile classes. The state apparatus is always one form or another of class dictatorship. As long as the bourgeoisie rules the state will be a tool for the dictatorship of this class. When the working class wins power it creates its own state apparatus to suppress the old ruling class and to prevent it from making a counter-revolution. This is proletarian dictatorship. The counter revolution in the Soviet Union put an end to the dictatorship of the proletariat and introduced bourgeois dictatorship.

**B.** All facts show that the new bourgeoisie has taken the state-power from the working class. In the Soviet Union of today the state-power is no threat to the bourgeois and bosses. It is used to oppress the workers and collective farmers, especially those among them who are most conscious and revolutionary – the communists.

**C.** During monopoly-capitalism the bourgeois dictatorship can take two main forms; either bourgeois democracy, as in Norway in 1974, or open fascism.

In a bourgeois-democracy the dictatorship of capital is combined with the existence of certain freedoms allowed by the ruling class, such as: the legal

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right for communists to organize themselves and  
propagate, the right to demonstrate, to criticize the  
government and so on.

Dimitrov, who was the chairman of COMINTERN from 1935, defined fascism like this: Fascism in power is *»the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialistic elements of finance capital.»* (Report to the seventh world congress of COMINTERN.)

During fascism the working class is deprived of even the most elementary bourgeois-democratic rights such as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right to demonstrate, freedom to hold meetings and freedom to organize itself politically.

This is how it is in the Soviet Union today. Communists are oppressed harder than in most western countries and are denied liberties that they have nearly everywhere in the West. The workers are denied the right to oppose capitalistic exploitation through striking – a possibility they have in most countries in the West, even if capital there too suppresses strikes with reactionary laws and violent oppression.

Consequently, the bourgeois dictatorship in the Soviet Union does not have a bourgeois-democratic form. It has the form of an openly terrorist and violent dictatorship over the working class, the labouring masses and the national minorities. *Open* because those in power don't care to hide the dictatorship with *»liberties»*, *terrorist* because opposition, strikes, protests get smashed through pure violence, with cudgels, guns and tanks. The open, terrorist dictatorship of capitalism is a definition of fascism.

**D. The fascist dictatorship in the Soviet Union has been compared with Hitler's Germany. And there are many important similarities. There are also many important similarities between today's Soviet Union and Hitler's Germany, which cannot be found in some other fascist states.**

As Germany at the time of Hitler, the Soviet Union of today is an exceedingly fascist dictatorship, where tens and hundreds of thousands end up in prisons and concentration camps. As in Hitler's Germany fascism in the Soviet Union of today is combined with an enormous armaments expansion and militarization of the whole society, with aggression against other countries and propaganda about the global importance of their own state. Not all fascist states have as large visions as those of Hitler's Germany and of today's Soviet of making themselves masters of many other countries and building a great empire. As in Hitler's Germany the rulers of the Soviet Union of today persecute and ridicule other nationalities. As in Hitler's Germany they attempt to secure the control of fascism by thoroughly organising the masses of the people in a network of strong and well-organised fascist mass-organisations. Like Hitler's Germany, the Soviet Union is a state where a revolutionary workers' movement has strong traditions. Unlike other fascists the rulers of these countries therefore hide their policies by appealing to the best feelings of the people and label their policy »socialism«. As Hitler once did Brezhnev calls himself a »socialist« and disguises his fascist policies with some social reforms to deceive the people. As Hitler's Germany was, today's Soviet is a strong, aggressive fascist state in a relatively highly developed capitalist country. There is therefore reason to compare the

**Soviet Union of today with Hitler's Germany. But this does naturally not mean that the two are »exactly alike», and that today's Soviet fascism doesn't present new important traits.**

**E.** The new bourgeoisie has grasped power in all mass-organisation away from the people and turned them into loyal supporters of the state-monopolist capitalism. Like the conditions in Mussolini's fascist Italy the Soviet Trade-union movement is a corporative organisation. It is a weapon for the new bourgeoisie against the working class. Its main goal is to make the workers accept the exploitation the new capitalist system and to function as an organ to keep close watch over the workers and lash them on. There are plenty of examples from the Soviet press to the effect that the trade-union leadership even has supported illegal sackings, breaks of wages-agreements and different sorts of breaches against the employment laws. The stern control the trade-unions and the party have over the workers is used as an argument in favour of it being profitable for monopolies from the West to invest in Soviet Russia. The state-controlled trade-unions of eastern Europe are an even better protection against strikes and wage-struggles than the opportunistic trade-union bosses in the West.

**F.** The Soviet Union is a multi-national state, where the Russian nationality and other nationalities each make up half the population.

The reactionary policy of the czars before the revolution of 1917 was to suppress the non-Russian nationalities and treat non-Russians as second-class citizens. At the same time as their national move-

ments and the opposition among the working masses were put down with force and drowned in blood, the czarist rulers worked to force the non-Russians to adopt Russian language and culture and in that way force them into the Russian ruling nation. Among the masses of Russians czarist absolutism tried to spread reactionary Great-Russian chauvinism and hatred of the other nations. This policy led the Bolsheviks to call czaristic Russia »the prison of nations«.

The October Revolution in 1917 was not only the revolution of the workers and peasants. It was also the revolution of the suppressed nations against the Great-Russian czarist rule. The Bolsheviks supported this revolution from the beginning. It was Lenin and Stalin who explicitly stated that all nations must have the right to self-determination up to and inclusive of the right to their own separate state. After the October Revolution the socialist Soviet Union was set up on the basis of the programme of the Bolsheviks as a voluntary union of nations in opposition to the system of the czarist period with a Great-Russian ruling nation and non-Russian slave nations. Under Lenin and Stalin the non-Russian nation developed economically and culturally in great leaps, and nationalities in poor and under-developed areas were given help to develop. This was the communist policy towards nationalities, and it led to the nations in the Soviet Union being brought closer together instead of being estranged from each other.

An important aspect of the new fascist state system in the Soviet Union is that it has readopted the old policy of the czars in suppressing the non-Russian nations. Today's Soviet leaders disclose their intentions among other things in the way they present the

nationality policy of the czars. In the time of Lenin and Stalin the czarist past was strongly criticized in historical works and encyclopedias. In new books today this criticism is toned down and censured away. Instead, czarist politicians and «explorers», who in reality were imperialists and slaughterers, are praised.

As under the czars the policy of the social-imperialists towards non-Russians in the Soviet Union is to force them to become Russians. Small nations are destroyed as such. Even large nations as the Ukrainians are prevented from using their own language and their own culture. Theories that break with Marxism-Leninism, such as that the Russian culture is a «common Soviet culture» and that a «common Soviet nationality» is developing are spread to give pretexts for the suppression of non-Russians.

This has led to protest movements notably in the Baltic states, Ukraina and the Caucasus. Movements trying to defend the national rights of the non-Russians are persecuted, and demonstrations against national oppression are violently suppressed.

True communists acknowledge the right of self-determination of all nations in the Soviet Union. The struggle of non-Russian nations against Great-Russian oppression is just and deserves the support of all true communists. When the «communists» that exert power in the party and in the government of the Soviet Union do not support the right to self-determination of all nationalities, but oppress the non-Russian half of the Soviet population, it is because their communism is only a false pretence. It shows that they are false socialists, traitors to the nationality policy of Lenin and Stalin, and real fascists and Great-Russian chauvinists.

#### **4. THE SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS ARE INTERNATIONAL EXPLOITERS**

A. Lenin shows that imperialism is capitalism in its last phase. Under capitalism the development of production leads to the development of trusts and monopolies, and to the fusion of banking and industrial capital to finance capital under the control of a few financial oligarchies. The monopoly capitalists achieve a completely dominating position in the capitalist economy of their own countries. The capitalists are forced to find new fields of exploitation abroad, capital »overflows» the »narrow limits» its own country. Thus the export of capital plays an especially important role under imperialism. The great companies and the greatest imperialist powers fight to divide the world among themselves. This struggle concerns the control of both »poor» under-developed countries producing raw materials, as well as highly industrialized »rich» countries and strategically important land and sea areas.

The new capitalism in the Soviet Union fits exactly to Lenin's model of imperialistic monopoly capitalism. A capitalistic state-monopoly dominates the economy, and the Soviet leadership deliberately works to make it more like the monopolies in the West. Finance and state capital have melted together to an even greater extent than in the West. The Soviet Union is exporting capital in a rapidly increasing amount, and fights to divide the world into »zones of interest» belonging to the two superpowers.

**B. COMECON was launched to organise economic co-operation for the mutual benefit of the socialist states and the people's democracies. But after the counter-revolution the new bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union has turned COMECON into a tool secure to secure surplus profits for the Soviet Union. Today the U.S.S.R. speaks of »socialist integration» in COMECON to camouflage the exploitation of the member countries. The other countries are forced to a lopsided development of their economy to cover the needs of the capitalist Soviet Union. The secure this the U.S.S.R. now endeavours to co-ordinate the five-year plans in all the member countries so that they are valid for the same period as the Soviet plans, and that the amount and the arrangement of production, investments etc. in each country shall be co-ordinated with the needs of the Soviet economy. Like the old imperialists the Soviet Union prevents the development of the oppressed countries and gathers their wealth in the strong ruling nation. And as all other imperialists the U.S.S.R. calls this »co-operation».**

**C. The Soviet Union also exploits the Third World by selling expensively and buying cheaply. Weapons, industrial goods and some technology is sold at high prices, raw-materials is bought cheaply.**

**D. It is especially important to note the role played by Soviet exports of arms. The masters in the Kremlin and their lackeys abroad boast of it and call it »aid» but in reality the U.S.S.R. has become the greatest war profiteer in the world. Social-imperialism sells expensive weapons on hard terms, and uses the**

arms exports to secure political and military control. For one thing, they subject the delivery of arms to hard terms securing Soviet control. For another they station key personell who can paralyse the country receiving the arms if she takes action counter to what the Soviet Union desires. Thirdly, the rates of payment are hard. Egypt and Syria, e.g., had to pay blood money for weapons during the October war. For the fourth, the Soviet Union will only deliver weapons that to suit their present policies in the area concerned. That was one of the reasons why Egypt tried to break its dependence on Soviet arms deliveries.

E. One of the most important features of the imperialism is the export of capital. Through investments in foreign countries imperialism exploits the raw-materials and the workers of the receiving countries and thus reaps imperialist super-profits. After the old colonial system broke down the imperialists have been compelled to camouflage much of this export of capital as »aid», but in reality it is still unlimited exploitation.

The U.S.S.R. exports capital too, and calls it »internationalist aid». When the Soviet Union exports capital it first secures a profit by taking interest on the loan, goes on to force the receiving country to buy expensive and unsuitable equipment in the Soviet Union, and finally secures contracts to the effect that the loan shall be re-paid in cheap raw-materials and other products. In this way the Soviet Union in reality secures enormous extra profits through »aid». In addition the Soviet Union often demands special privileges for its experts in the

recipient country, access to start military meteorological stations, the right to let its warships bunker etc.

Besides this most usual form of export of capital, through »aid», the U.S.S.R. is also developing export of capital in the original form, among other things by establishing banks and other enterprises in foreign countries, establishing new firms and buying its way into old ones etc. The Soviet export of capital to the satellite states and India is best known. But in addition the Soviet Union has also exported capital to many other countries in the Third World and lately also to Western Europe.

**F.** Social-imperialism plunders the natural resources of the oceans. At the Caracas conference in 1974, the Soviet Union, in the same way as the USA, wanted to deny the small and medium-sized nations the right to exploit the natural resources outside their own coasts without foreign interference. The Soviet Union is overexploiting fish stocks on an international scale without regard for the interests of other states and without regard for the necessary limitations of fishing to ensure against the extermination of important fish stocks. At the same time the Soviet Union is attempting to illegally usurp large parts of the continental shelf along the borders of neighbouring countries, both to secure military and strategical interests and to gain control over oil and other natural resources of the ocean floor.

It was to secure »the right» to overfish that the Soviet Union voted for condemnation of Iceland's expansion of her fishing-limits at the »European Court of Justice at the Hague» – although neither the

U.S.S.R. nor any »court» has the right to deny Iceland the right to enforce necessary measures in order to secure the livelihood of her coastal population. It was the same »right» to overfish that the Soviet government demonstrated in 1974 when it unilaterally tore to pieces the international agreement regulating the cod-fishery in the North-Atlantic.

When the Soviet government says it wants to stand »uncommitted» at the negotiations concerning the division of the continental shelf between Finland, the U.S.S.R., Norway, Sweden and other countries, it claims, in reality, the »right» to plunder the resources of the ocean floor of its neighbour states. For the Soviet Union has herself signed the *Geneva agreement of 1958*, which clearly expounds the simple and reasonable principle that *the continental shelf shall be divided according to the middle line from the borders between two neighbouring states*. Again the Soviet Union unilaterally tears to pieces an agreement she has signed herself in order to secure the »right» to plunder on an international scale.

The Soviet government also demands the »right» to have warships on all oceans and the »right» to send its navy through the coastal territories of other countries without asking for permission. It even demands that straights that today are the acknowledged territorial waters of one state, shall be made into *international waters*! This shows that the social-imperialists have gone over to old-fashioned imperialist gun-boat diplomacy.

The »right» to overfish, to plunder the ocean floor resources of other states and to cruise along the coasts of other states with warships: this is the

**G.** In the past few years social-imperialism has taken interest in Western Europe to an increasing degree. This fact can be explained by political, military and economic factors. Economically it is because the Soviet Union is relatively under-developed compared to other developed capitalist countries.

Western Europe is one of the richest and most highly developed areas in the world, it has both a larger population and more industry than either of the two superpowers. Western Europe has also a highly educated and productive working population, many raw-materials and a large inner market. Social-imperialism dreams of using Western European capital and technology to overcome its own weaknesses and to solve its great economic difficulties.

The thrusts towards Western Europe proceed partly on a governmental level, among others through some social-democratic governments and governments with revisionist participation. They also proceed through economic joint enterprises. The eastern policy of West Germany is an answer to such invitations, and is an expression of the fact that Western European monopoly capital sees a possibility of solving its sales-difficulties at the East-European markets.

**H.** The USA and other western imperialist states have the strongest foreign interests in Norway. But the policy of the Soviet government towards Norway in the past few years shows that social-imperialism also regards Norway as an object for imperialist exploitation.

Social-imperialism shows itself as an *overexploiter of fish* through its pressure to prevent the just and highly necessary extension of the Norwegian fishing limit. It reveals its desire of plundering possible oil-resources by its attempt to take over Norwegian maritime territory in the Barents Sea. The Soviet Union refuses to obey Norwegian law by its installations on the Svalbard Islands. When the Soviet government in addition engages in unofficial advances towards the Norwegian government in order to secure »special rights», then this unveils fantasies of transforming Norwegian territory to »joint Norwegian-Soviet territory». While the Soviet Union exerts pressure against the Svalbard Islands and western imperialists deny that they are Norwegian territory, the government is silent and keeps the people in ignorance of what is happening. Anti-imperialists must state clearly that these islands are Norwegian territory in the same way as all other parts of Norway. The principles of the Versailles-treaty about »equal rights for all contracting States» follow the imperialist »open door» policy. These are dead and powerless imperialist principles discarded as rubbish by the tide of History.

It is today important to keep a close eye on the thrust of social-imperialism against Norway. We can expect the tendencies of today to be strongly accentuated in the future. Today the social-democratic government and the traditional bourgeois parties are yielding to the pressure from the Soviet Union in several fields. Tomorrow this can quite possibly develop into economic cooperation, such as the founding of joint corporations between the Soviet state and the Norwegian state for the exploitation of

natural resources in the Barents Sea and on the Svalbard Islands, and corresponding cooperative projects in other fields. Norwegian monopolies have already shown interest in deals for production for the Soviet market, and such deals have already been made. There is no reason to expect real opposition from Norwegian monopoly capital against the establishment of closer economic relations between Norway and social-imperialism. Social-democrats and revisionists will warmly support such a development in the name of »detente» and peaceful coexistence. It will be an important task for the anti-imperialists in Norway to challenge such deals and the propaganda used to disguise them, by showing that there is no difference between this type of economic »cooperation» either with social-imperialism or with US imperialism, and that the one is just as great danger to imperialism, and that the one is just as great a threat to Norwegian self-determination as the other. It is necessary to recognize the connection between even seemingly small and unimportant steps in this direction in Norway, and the generally increasing interest and activity shown by social-imperialism towards Western Europe.

## **5. THE TWO SUPERPOWERS THE USA AND THE SOVIET UNION COMPETE TO GAIN WORLD HEGEMONY**

A. There are four basic contradictions that determine the development of the world:

- Between imperialism – with the two superpowers in the lead – on one hand, and the oppressed peoples and nations on the other.
- Between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries.
- Between the imperialist countries and the socialist countries.
- Among the imperialist countries themselves.

In 1974, the main contradiction in the world still goes between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations of the world. Simultaneously the other contradictions are getting sharper. The contradiction between the imperialists – and specially between US imperialism and social-imperialism – has become increasingly sharper for many years, and is having more and more impact on the development of the whole world and increases the likeliness of a world war.

As long as there is imperialism, contradictions between imperialists will also exist. The imperialists always have to struggle to increase markets and to secure for themselves the control of natural resources, they always have to fight between themselves for world hegemony over as much of the world as possible. They do of course have a common interest

in oppressing the peoples of the world and can temporarily gain unity through this. But this unity can never last. It will always be broken by the contradiction between the imperialist powers that plunge themselves into struggles over the partitioning of the world. The contradiction is basic in the relations between the imperialist powers, and it can also lead to war between them.

**B.** After the World War II, the USA was the supreme and dominating imperialist power and the bulwark of world reaction. The USA put the smaller imperialist countries like West Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan under its control economically, politically and militarily. Through the Marshall-«aid» the USA wanted to attain hegemony over the economy of the other capitalist countries. NATO and other military alliances were built up to secure US military control over other countries, and to prepare for military adventures against the socialist countries. US imperialism forced the other imperialist countries out of many colonies and newly independent countries and fought for neo-colonial control over countries which recently had gained independence from colonialism.

Until the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union in the fifties the USA was the only imperialist superpower in the world, and the greatest common enemy of all the people of the world. But after the Soviet Union changed colour, social-imperialism has to an increasing degree taken up competition with US imperialism on the question of being the world's strongest imperialist power. US imperialism has met many defeats. It was defeated militarily first in China

and Korea, and later on in Indo-China. Economically and financially US imperialism has unsurmountable problems. Seen historically US imperialism is declining. At the same time it is important to note that USA still has strong striking power, dominates large areas and has the power to temporarily win back lost positions. The weakening of US imperialism leads to social-imperialism seeing its chance to gain world hegemony. It has won influence in areas where the USA has been defeated. The Soviet Union is as strong as the USA in military force, and in Europe the Soviet Union is militarily superior.

C. Today there are several imperialist states, but only two of them are imperialist superpowers. The Soviet revisionists do not like the concept superpower, and therefore they try to make people believe it is »unmarxist». But today only the USA and the Soviet Union compete all over the world. Only these two have bases in many continents and fleets on all oceans. Only these two have hundreds and thousands of atomic bombs ready to fire off at any time. In military force they are, individually, superior to all other countries. No other countries have as big secret apparatuses for international espionage and infiltration as the two superpowers. Only *these two* try directly to dominate and dictate the policy of scores of governments in other countries. Their production is much bigger than that of any other country. Only these two imperialist powers threaten all people and states in the world and are ready to interfere whenever and wherever needed. All the facts show that the USA and the Soviet Union are imperialist powers that cannot be compared with any other country. No matter what

the Soviet leaders say, the concept »superpower» is consistent with reality, and therefore also compatible with marxism.

**D.** The two superpowers demand to rule world development. They have partitioned the world into »spheres of interest» where they demand that their »interests» be »respected». They demand that international law should accord special rights to the larger states, that are economically and militarily powerful. This means: special rights for themselves. Therefore they are often united against the demands of the Third World countries as for example at the U.N. Conference on maritime law in 1974.

The superpowers demand that the principle of noninterference in other countries' internal matters should not apply to them. In answer to this they propose the »principle» of »limited sovereignty» – which means the right for the USA and the Soviet Union to interfere and assault all over the world.

The US imperialists have intervned in all continents. For 20 years they have lead a war against the people of Indo-China. Ford, the President of the USA, said in the autumn of 1974 that the US also in the future will demand the »right» to organize coups in other countries, as in Chile 1973. The social-imperialists are just as bad. The Brezhnev-doctrine of »limited sovereignty» and »international dictatorship» between »the members of the socialist camp» means that the Soviet-government openly says that it has the »right» to occupy any country that it fears it is losing control of, such as Czechoslovakia in 1968. The social-imperialists utter absurd statements such

as that the inner Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean are areas »close to the Soviet Union» where the Soviet Union has »interests to defend». They gave enthusiastic support to India's occupation of East-Bengal in 1971 and the conquest of Sikkim in 1973-74. This shows that the social-imperialists in reality consider all the world's countries as possible Czechoslovacias that they and others have the »right» to assault.

**E.** The two superpowers have a common interest in oppressing the people of the world, and are often united against the countries in the Third World. They interfere everywhere to try to stop people from liberating themselves from imperialism. They bargain over the interests of the people of the world over the heads of those concerned. To world opinion they explain their behaviour by saying that the responsibility for world peace lies in their hands, and call it »detente» when they act unitedly or barter the interests of other peoples and states. The Kremlin rulers boast about this business, asserting that it means that the danger of a world war no longer exists, and talk of »a new era in world history».

There are people that believe this propaganda and really hope that the masters Breznev, Ford and Kissinger will create »peace». But in reality the contradictions between the Soviet Union and the USA are growing ever larger. The extensive diplomatic game gives ever less results. In reality the hectic »Kissinger-diplomacy» doesn't mean that we are moving towards times of »detente and peace» but that the superpowers are desperate and are losing control of world development. Both superpowers are meeting increasing difficulties both internally and externally.

This sharpens the competition between them for world hegemony, and one of them is trying continually to extend its »sphere of interest» at the expense of the other. We have to reckon with the possibility that the final result will be a third world war.

F. In contrast to the other superpower the social-imperialists try to make themselves up as »anti-imperialists». As »proof» of this »anti-imperialism» they point out that the last few years they have taken contact with certain liberation movements and sold or given them some material. The defenders of the Soviet Union in Norway are also using this as an argument to prove that the Soviet Union in reality is »anti-imperialistic» and »progressive».

They show a boundless underestimation of the struggle of the peoples of the Third World by repeating the facetious social-imperialist statements saying that the liberation movements can thank the Soviet Union alone for their existence and their ability to fight. According to them it is the Soviet Union that has created »the decisive material conditions for the liberation struggle against imperialism». Others, while pretending that they are »critical of certain faults in the policy of the Soviet Union», also say that such »aid» shows that social-imperialism cannot be compared with the other superpower.

But in reality it is *precisely* this »aid» that expresses the competition and the struggle between the two superpowers. It is also an attempt to swindle the people of the world. It doesn't express true anti-imperialism, but is a form of imperialist tactics.

The Soviet Union is not the first example in world history of an imperialist country giving »aid» to

liberation movements. During World War I imperial Germany sent weapons to Ireland in order to weaken England. The USA has done the same both during and after World War II in the hope of getting an entry at the cost of other superpowers. The motives behind the »aid» of the Soviet Union become clear when we remember that until 1964 she spoke of the people's war in Vietnam as »a danger to world peace» and refused to give even the least bit of symbolic »aid». The Soviet Union started »helping» some liberation movements only when it became clear that the liberation wars against imperialism cannot be stopped. Their aim is to try to get influence over liberation movements and to get a foothold in various areas when the struggle is won. Simultaneously they try to use the »aid» as a part of their propaganda for their being »communists» and »anti-imperialists». But this »anti-imperialism» shows its true face for example in Cambodia, where the Soviet Union has for years helped Lon Nol's clique against the legal government and the FUNK.

The social-imperialists control many countries and carry out international exploitation in even more. Hundreds of millions of people live under their dictatorship. A little »aid» to some liberation movements cannot hide the fact that the social-imperialists are just as great an enemy of the people of the world as the US imperialists.

## **6. THE TWO SUPERPOWERS CONCEAL THEIR PREPERATIONS FOR WAR UNDER FALSE TALK OF »DETENTE» AND »PEACE»**

So long as there is imperialism there can never be any »durable peace». Imperialism means war. The imperialists always have to fight the people of the world and they always struggle against each other. The final result is always war. The oppressed peoples must fight a people's war to liberate themselves. The imperialist countries are driven to war against each other by their struggle for world hegemony. Our century is full of examples showing that one must never believe the empty talk of »lasting peace» and »detente». Real peace will be gained only when the whole imperialist world system is swept into oblivion.

**B.** The two superpowers are now arming themselves for war like never before, under the cover of a whole series of conferances about »detente», »security» and »disarmament.» They are building up specially trained so-called fire-corps to oppress people's uprisings and revolution, and at the same time they are preparing for war against each other.

Much of the armament expansion lately has taken place in Europe. The aim of the Soviet Union is to secure for itself a great superiority in strength over the USA in Europe. The Soviet Union has in the past five to six years increased its ground troops in Europe by 20 % and its tactical airfire by 50 %. Simultaneously there has been an enormous expansion of the Soviet navy. Since the

middle of the 60s the Soviet Union has built up a standing navy in the Mediterranean and has continuous fleet exercises in the North Sea. The Soviet navy today sails the oceans of the world to »secure interests of the Soviet Union», as the new rulers in the Kremlin say. This is preparation for war and not for any type of »peace» and »security».

It is important to study the policies of the superpowers and the development of the situation in the world to find out what their most important longterm aims are and what the most important area of competition and struggle between them will be.

C. In the end of the 60s there were many people that expected a Soviet assault on the People's Republic of China. The Soviet Union is engaged in an enormous strengthening of its military might along the border of the People's Republic. The Kremlin masters are scared of the example of socialist China in the countries they themselves rule. They have surely dreamed of solving »the Chinese problem» through an invasion, as in Czechoslovakia. But the military assaults of the Soviet Union against China in 1969 were not very successful. The social-imperialists are also well informed of China's great progress and growing strength. They know that invading troops in China would be drowned in a flood of people's war.

A Soviet attack on China is even so still a possibility. The unsuccessful attempts made by the Soviet Union for many years get countries in Asia to cooperate in a »collective» security system, the support they have given and still give to India's expansionist policy against China, Pakistan and other smaller states in South-Asia, and the building up of

the naval fleet in the Indian Ocean show that this is a part of their strategy. But the current development makes this less probable than before, and the Soviet military build-up in the East is overshadowed by the build-up in the West.

**D.** It is in Europe and in the inner Mediterranean and Middle-East that the two superpowers have concentrated most of their attention the past years. Their military armament is becoming more and more directed towards this area too.

In Europe and the Middle-East the superpowers have the most to win and the most to lose. US imperialism and social-imperialism have for many years each dominated their own part of Europe. If one superpower manages to expand »its part» of Europe and simultaneously weaken the other superpower as much as possible, then this makes a basis for dreams of world hegemony for the superpower that gets the advantage. Europe is not only large, rich and highly developed. The continent has also an important military strategic position between the two superpowers. Here, the two have greater military concentrations than on any other continent. They have also built political parties and organizations in many countries which serve either one or the other superpower's political, economic and military interests.

Neither of the two superpowers will of its own free will let the other get any type of superior position in this area. During the wars in the inner Mediterranean in 1973 and 1974 – the October war between Israel and the Arab states and the war on Cyprus – both the superpowers did what they could to use the situations they themselves had created to fish in

troubled waters. Simultaneously they mobilised and moved troops closer to the area of combat so that if necessary they could interfere directly on the side of their »own» belligerent. This shows how sharp the rivalry in this part of the world has become.

The extensive diplomacy undertaken by the USA and the Soviet Union is not aimed at creating peace in this area. For both the USA and U.S.S.R. the ultimate goal is to coin control over event in this area and in each individual state, and to ensure that one superpower does not gain influence at the expense of the other. Facts show that both superpowers are preparing for war in this area.

E. Brezhnev's supporters state that the Soviet Union's intense interest in all types of »peace conferences», discussions about »Reciprocal force reductions in Europe», »all-European security systems» etc. show that the Soviet Union at any rate is not preparing for war.

But the sugared words of the social-imperialists and their real aims are in strong contradiction to each other. For the proposal of an »all European security system» and the great amount of work they have put into an »all-European security conference» express in reality the *very fact* that the Soviet Union is a threat to the peoples of Europe.

The Soviet superpower judges the situation in Western Europe to be advantageous for a drive in favour of social-imperialism at the expense of Us imperialism. This is the reason for the intense interest in »all-European security». The »security agreement» is meant to make formal the *special rights* of the Soviet Union in the *whole* of Europe and thus also give the

Soviet Union the »right» to interfere anywhere in Europe when »European security» is menaced. Such an agreement could then be used as an excuse for pressure and military assault. It is the »right» to interfere demanded by the Soviet Union of the Warsaw pact countries in Eastern Europe that she now demands of the whole of Europe. The talk of a »security system» conceals the dream of more social-imperialist dependencies in Europe, and of new Czechoslovakia-type invasions West and South of the borders of the Warsaw Pact.

The »Security conference» and other such diplomatic drives have as their primary aim to ease thrusts towards the West with diplomatic, political and economical means. The short term aim is to take advantage of the political and economic problems in the states of Western Europe, the contradictions between these and the contradictions between the USA and Western Europe, to gain political and economic influence in states in Western Europe so as to get a foothold for continued expansion. But just as imperialist powers always have done the Soviet Union builds its diplomatic campaigns in times of peace, on military strength, and is prepared to realize its dreams through war if other means are not successful.

F. The Soviet expansion towards Western Europe also means that the open military threat of the Soviet Union against Norway is increasing. There is a very large Soviet navy base on the Kola peninsula, not far from the Norwegian border. The Soviet Union has regular offensive exercises aimed at amphibious raids against Norway.

The pressure against Norway lately reveals the

inimical motives of the social-imperialists against our country. The pressure in connection with the division of the continental shelf in the Barents Sea, against the extension of the fishing limit and against Norwegian sovereignty on the Svalbard Islands is also militarily important. If the social-imperialists wish to use their offensive naval fleet in Murmansk towards the West, then it is also important for them to secure as strong a control as possible in the Arctic Ocean and in the northern part of the Atlantic. The threat against all the small countries in this area is a logical consequence of this long term policy.

The labouring masses in Norway must therefore prepare themselves for the possibility of military aggression from social-imperialism.

**G.** The only thing that counts for the superpowers is profit and having the advantage, small countries don't mean a thing. Neither NATO, which is dominated by USA, or any other imperialist alliance, can protect us against assaults and guarantee Norwegian self-determination. On the contrary – USA and NATO are an open threat to the Norwegian people. US imperialism arms itself in Norway, not to defend Norwegian interests, but to turn Norway into a battlefield if the clash with the other superpower comes. The so-called NATO-defence does not even aim to protect the Norwegian population against aggression, but aims only to secure NATO's alarm system in Northern Norway. If it comes to war the USA might at any time be ready to negotiate with the Soviet Union about Norway, if US imperialism receives great enough advantages elsewhere. For USA, Norway is no more than a pawn on the chess-board.

At the same time NATO conducts military exercises preparing the suppression of unionised workers, students and marxist-leninists in Norway.

We have a fresh example of the »support» a small country like Norway can expect from its imperialist allies, dating from the autumn of 1974 in connection with the negotiations with the Soviet Union concerning the continental shelf. Before the negotiations had started, Great Britain and West Germany made *public statements* opposing Norway's claim to the sovereignty over the shelf under the Barents Sea and around the Svalbard Islands and that in addition could spread uncertainty about her sovereignty over the Svalbard Islands themselves. Western imperialists want very much to avoid having Norway taken over by Eastern imperialists. But they are not interested in a Norwegian policy defending her sovereignty against *both* Western and Eastern imperialism – they would rather stab Norway in the back and leave her to herself in a conflict with social-imperialism.

US imperialism and social-imperialism, NATO and the Warsaw pact cannot protect freedom and independence. The USA is the enemy within the country, the Soviet Union is the enemy at the border. The Norwegian people has to prepare themselves to combat both of them.

**H.** Even though the superpowers are greatly superior in arms and in the size of their armies, it is not hopeless to wage a struggle against them. In reality they are colosses on feet of clay. They are faced with crises both within own borders and all over the world. They have the peoples of the whole world

by the AKP Archive Project ([www.akp.no/ml-historie/pdf](http://www.akp.no/ml-historie/pdf))  
against them and in the long run they will not be able  
to withstand them and keep them suppressed.

The example of Viet Nam shows that today a small country can defeat the military force of a superpower by refusing to give way and by waging a protracted people's war. This is the road that all small and large peoples all over the world must follow to defeat aggression from the superpowers and all other forms of imperialist aggression. When the people of the world unite and wage people's war against the superpowers, the superpowers will certainly be defeated in the end.

Peoples' war is also the only really reliable weapon that the Norwegian people can use to defend themselves against aggression. There is only one force that can protect Norwegian freedom and independence: An armed people that is willing to combat both superpowers.

## **7. THE REVISIONIST PARTIES OF THE WEST ARE PAWNS IN THE IMPERIALIST GAME OF THE SOVIET UNION**

**A.** The once communist parties in Western Europe that have followed on the heels of the new bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union have turned into bourgeois parties. Today these parties are communist only by name.

It is true that they say that they »follow the road of Lenin» and they pretend to be Marxist-Leninists. But both the theories they announce and their practice show that they are revisionists. They »liberate» Marxism-Leninism of everything that the bourgeoisie hates and replace this with social-democratic politics. In stead of revolution they talk about »the peaceful road to socialism». But in reality they only wish to achieve governmental power under capitalism. Just like the old social-democratic parties the revisionist parties have betrayed the working class and the people and have ceased to fight the monopolies and imperialism. Objectively they represent the interests of the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement. They try to sabotage the class struggle and prevent the working class from creating a truly communist leadership that can take up the struggle for socialism.

But the revisionists also go further than the old social-democrats did. Most of the West European social-democrats became political agents for the US superpower, especially in the 1940 and 1950s. The

revisionist parties are even more directly and closely tied to the social-imperialist superpower and fight for its political interests.

**B.** Today the Soviet Union wishes to get the revisionist parties in governmental office so as to gain a political foothold in countries that traditionally are dominated by the other superpower. The Soviet Union has therefore demanded that the revisionist parties throw all other obligations overboard and that they seek alliance with almost anyone in order to get into the government. In Western Europe the Kremlin-rulers have put special emphasis on building alliances between the revisionist parties and the traditional social-democratic parties. The social-imperialists have gone in for developing good relations with such parties since the 1950s when Khrushchev won the CPSU over to revisionism, and they have some positive experiences in cooperating diplomatically with certain leading West European social-democratic politicians. Now they emphasize that the alliances between revisionists and traditional right-wing social-democrats should be permanent and long term.

**C.** This line has resulted in the Moscow revisionists sitting in the government together with old fascists and colonialists in Portugal. The reactionary Mitterand got their support in France and in Italy they are begging the old monopoly capitalist parties to let them into the government. There are more examples. All experience shows that these types of alliances are completely reactionary. The revisionists in government have participated in suppressing workers on strike, in shooting at demonstrators, in

**D.** In 1974 the Norwegian revisionists have in reality led the Socialist Electoral Alliance (S.E.A.) into an ever closer cooperation with reactionary leaders in the Norwegian Labour Party (N.L.P.) The S.E.A. has openly said that one of its goals is to enter the government and, on a long-term basis, unite with the N.L.P. This is a betrayal of the interests of the Norwegian working class. We should be aware that one result of this policy could be the strengthening of social-imperialist influence on the governmental level in Norway.

**E.** What are Western Revisionist parties really saying when they call the CPSU their «sister party» and refer to persons like Brezhnev and Kosygin as «communists» and «comrades»? It means that they express their allegiance to persons who perpetuate the dictatorship of monopoly capitalism and fascism, and who are practising their policy of international exploitation and aggression outside the borders of the Soviet Union. They are paying their respects to persons who have changed the CPSU into a bourgeois and fascist party.

But there is more to it than that. Western revisionists apply the word «communist» to denote the very persons who are the most implacable enemies of communism. Actually, Soviet party leaders have inherited the role of Mussolini, Hitler and Foster Dulles as the leading international anti-communist propagandist of their time.

The three former gentlemen combined their fascist

domestic policy with the propagation of gross lies about communism in international contexts, and they regarded it as their special task to »stop communism everywhere«. They veiled their aggressive imperialist intentions by talking about »communist aggression and infiltration«, the reason being their awareness of the fact that communists are the worst enemies of imperialism and reaction.

Today this part is played by the Soviet leaders, who call themselves »communists.« They have slandered striking workers, revolutionaries and liberation movements in many countries and called them »terrorists« and »reactionaries«. They regard the real communists of all countries as their special enemies and attack them violently, while at the same time calling reactionary imperialist politicians »realists« and »friends of peace«.

During the thirties Fascists and Trotskyites were the most eager to talk disparagingly about the Soviet Union. They used the word »rule of terror« about socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and described Stalin as a monster. During the fifties and sixties the Soviet prime minister Khrushchev was the one who played their part, and said the same things about the socialist Soviet Union and Stalin as the fascists had said before him.

The progress of socialist states has gradually become known to people throughout the world. Even many bourgeois heads of state have been forced to acknowledge the great steps forward in countries like Albania, China, The Democratic People's Republic of Korea and The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. In 1974 there is no major state that excels the Soviet Union in hateful propaganda against Albania and

China. For instance the gross lies about China in official Soviet publications find their equal in only a very few Western newspapers. At the 25th anniversary of the People's Republic, Soviet publications issued in Norway gave the impression that living conditions in China in 1974 were just as bad as under Chiang Kai-chek! China is described as an aggressive military dictatorship that wishes nuclear war, and as the enemy of all peoples. There is really no difference between the description of People's China given by Moscow and that given by the Taiwan Fascist clique. This is exactly the old method of combining a fascist domestic policy and aggressive imperialism in one's foreign policy with mention of »the international communist threat».

Revisionists in Western countries like Norway sometimes give the impression that they are more or less »independent». They sometimes claim that they are »radical» and that they »criticize some aspects of the development in the Soviet Union». But as long as they still keep up their relations with the Soviet leaders and defend them, we must never forget that they voluntarily ally themselves with the blackest and most reactionary forces of our time: with the fascist and anti-communist rulers of an extremely dangerous imperialist superpower.

## **8. COMBAT BOTH THE IMPERIALIST SUPERPOWERS – FORWARD THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**

**A.** The Norwegian monopoly bourgeoisie regards the national sovereignty and interests of Norway merely as merchandise to be freely bought and sold. The Norwegian monopolies are imperialists themselves, and take interest in subordinating themselves to bigger imperialist countries. We can never expect the ruling class in Norway to make any stand imperialism.

The working class and the people of Norway wish to live and work in peace in an independent country. The working class and the people wish to put an end to the class oppression and exploitation of capitalism and introduce socialism. But as long as imperialism exists, so does the threat of war, occupation and national oppression. Imperialism can only be overthrown if all the peoples of the world make revolution and take power into their own hands. Imperialism in Norway can only be thrown overboard if the working class and the people of Norway make revolution and establish socialism.

**B.** However, one has to struggle against imperialism and to protect national sovereignty even before revolution is the order of the day. The war against imperialism must be waged on many fronts. We must fight to defend the national interests of Norway against foreign imperialists. This is very important, but not sufficient in itself. We also have to fight to prevent Norway

from supporting the big imperialist powers. We must support the peoples of other countries when they are being exploited by Norwegian imperialism.

We must develop a wide and powerful movement of solidarity with liberation movements and all peoples who are being oppressed by imperialism. We must support the countries where the people themselves have seized power and imperialist power has been defeated — the socialist states of The People's Republic of Albania, The People's Republic of China, The Democratic People's Republic of Korea and The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The Norwegian working class has shown that proletarian internationalism is to be found among its best traditions. Active struggle against imperialism, support to liberation movements, all oppressed peoples and all socialist countries: these are all acts of duty not only to communists, but to all working people and all honest persons who detest the crimes of imperialism.

C. The revolutionaries, the working class and the working people must not degenerate into becoming the supporters of any imperialist power. Fighting and conquering imperialism by supporting one imperialist power against another is impossible. The working class must fight all imperialism.

That is why it is particularly important to intensify the struggle against *both* the superpowers. It must be made clear to everybody that supporting one of them is no more »progressive» than supporting the other. Backing up social-imperialism must be considered a parallel to supporting US imperialism. Both are the worst enemies of the peoples of the world. No matter

whether one supports one or the other, it is a reactionary act contrary to the interests of the Norwegian people and of all the peoples who are being oppressed by the superpowers.

**D.** Struggle against *both* superpowers does not imply struggle against those two *only*. *All* imperialism has to be fought, whether it originates in the US or the Soviet Union, or in smaller imperialist powers like Japan, England, Western Germany or Portugal. We must also fight Norwegian imperialist exploitation abroad. To struggle against the international imperialist communities is also a matter of necessity, this goes for NATO, The Warsaw Pact, the all European security system, the COMECON or the EEC of the minor European imperialist states. The point is that the *whole* imperialist world system has to be fought and crushed so that the people can achieve complete liberation.

Still, the part played by each imperialist power is not always of the same importance. Today, the two superpowers form the leadership and basis of the total imperialist world system. They are much more dangerous to all the peoples of the world than the lesser imperialists.

Modern revisionists try to make people believe that small and big imperialists are all equally important, saying that »all imperialists represent the same danger». It goes without saying that, say, Japan or England cannot possibly be as big a threat as the two superpowers; not because imperialists in these countries are »kinder» than the superpowers, but simply because they do not possess instruments of power equal to those of the United States and the

**Soviet Union.** The revisionist propoganda is a reactionary manoeuvre intended to make people inattentive and make them ignore the most dangerous imperialists – the superpowers.

The working class and the people of all countries must be able to fight the superpowers as well as the lesser imperialists at the same time. In this struggle they must be aware of the revisionist trap, single out the most important enemies, and concentrate on the two superpowers and their attempts at gaining world supremacy.

**E.** The fight of Norwegian working people and revolutionaries against both the superpowers and any other imperialism is not hopeless. In this struggle we have common interests with the peoples of the whole world. We have common interests with the peoples of the Third World, who are oppressed by imperialism. We have common interests with the socialist countries. We also have common interests with the working class and the working people of the industrialized capitalist countries – including the working masses of the two imperialist superpowers.

When we launch the fight against the imperialist superpowers and all imperialism, then, we do not do so alone. We do so as the soldiers of a huge international army consisting of the working and oppressed of all countries. This army is the superior of all imperialist states and all imperialist armies. Revisionists and opportunists try to create despondency and exaggerate the strength of imperialism. We must not underestimate the enemy, but we ought to fight these and similar ideas that actually serve the interests of the enemy. For it is the people all over the

world who have the real strength, and who will be victorious.

F. The events of the last few years show that the peoples of an increasing number of countries get together in a wide international front against the two superpowers. This is an expression of the interests of the vast majority of the peoples of the world, and it means that the final victory over all imperialism is getting closer.

The liberation movements waging people's war and the socialist countries have been leading the way. The front has gradually been extended to comprise the governments of many small and medium-sized countries that have taken a common stand against the interests of the two imperialist superpowers.

The socialist countries China and Albania and many countries of the Third World have been the most consistent and zealous advocates of such a united front between the states. In some singular issues the unity has also included some small and medium-sized imperialist countries.

All real anti-imperialist welcome this development. We do so without any vain hopes that diplomatic action by countries with different forms of government – including regimes with reactionary domestic policies and imperialist countries – can possibly replace people's war as a means to defeat the superpowers.

However, the united front of states is not opposed to the struggle for revolution. Because if as many as possible of the world's countries oppose the imperialist superpowers, then this will limit their scope of action and weaken them. This again strengthens those

forces waging wars of independence and the masses fighting for revolution. It is irrelevant whether some governments at the same time represent a reactionary policy and are extremely unreliable allies. As long as they for some reason or other oppose the superpowers, this objectively weakens the superpowers and objectively strengthens the peoples' united front against imperialism.

Working people and revolutionaries in Norway must fight to support the front of the Third World against the superpowers. The peoples of the Third World opposing the two superpowers are very reliable supporters of the Norwegian people's struggle for national sovereignty, a 50 mile fishing limit, sovereignty over the Svalbard Islands, the continental shelf and so forth. Norwegian government policy directed against the front of the Third World is a blow against the interests of the oppressed countries as well as Norway's own national interests in the struggle against the Soviet Union, the US and the smaller European imperialist states.

Both the Western monopoly bourgeoisie and Soviet revisionists do everything they can to slander the front of the Third World. When the peoples of the Third World get together at conferences and denounce the exploitation of poor countries by rich imperialist countries, the revisionists talk about »the reactionary leaders in the underdeveloped countries: When the USA is voted down in the U.N., they talk about »the unacceptable majority dictatorship of extremists that will destroy the world organization». They call Chinese and Albanian support to the peoples of the third world »opportunism», and they say that China is practising a »nationalistic great power policy». This

shows that the peoples of the Third World are heading in the right direction. It shows that the foreign policy of China and Albania is a consistent and principled anti-imperialist foreign policy, hitting the superpowers where it hurts the most. Real anti-imperialists ought to fight the hateful propaganda against the front of the Third World and support the correct foreign policy of China and Albania, the most unfaltering support given by any government to fight against imperialism.

G. In the highly developed capitalist countries – including the two superpowers – the working class and the people are fighting against monopoly capital in their own countries, against imperialism and for socialism. This fight is an important force in the front of struggle against the two superpowers.

In the »old» capitalist world the era of relative stability in capitalism has come to an end. The crisis is being intensified and the working people must bear its burdens. Ever increasing strikes and other kinds of protest are the working class's way of responding. The growth of class struggle is shaking the very foundations of capitalist society, as in France in May 1968. Revisionists and social-democrats try to make use of the increasing mass unrest to consolidate their influence and promote the interests of social imperialism and the bourgeoisie. They try to guide the struggle along parliamentary lines. At the same time, however, the Marxist-Leninist parties are growing. These are the only parties to be found in the West which fight against both superpowers and all imperialism and for the socialist revolution. Many of them have already achieved an important position in the mass movement of their

country. The future of the working class and the people depends on them.

working class and the people depends on them.

In the »new» state capitalist countries of Eastern Europe the working class fights against oppression, defying the fascist terror against all revolutionary opposition. The masses cry out against exploitation, the lack of democratic rights and social-imperialist oppression of nations. The large-scale protests against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the insurrection in Poland in 1970 etc. show that the prospects of social-imperialism are precarious indeed. There are also new Marxist-Leninist parties and factions in East Europe. In spite of violent persecution, they are gaining ground and increasing their activity. The development of solidarity with the fighting working class of both Western and Eastern capitalist countries, and linking this struggle with that of the peoples of the Third World, is of primary importance in our struggle against the superpowers in Norway.

**H.** The cultural revolution of China and the revolutionization campaign of Albania represent a massive support in the struggle against the two imperialist superpowers. The bourgeoisie tries to create despondency among the working classes by drawing attention to the development in the Soviet Union and other previously socialist countries where socialism has been vanquished and capitalism restored. Struggles carried out in China and Albania following the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union have shown that this kind of development is not unavoidable. With a correct political line, the working class and

its party can strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent the bourgeoisie from reintroducing their kind of dictatorship and bring socialism forward by leaps and bounds. The cultural revolution of China and the revolutionization campaign of Albania have also secured these countries as base areas of the international struggle for socialism and the struggle against the two imperialist superpowers. The experience summed up in these struggles and the struggle of the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labour against modern revisionism, have developed Marxism-Leninism, made the analysis of the present world situation more profound and brought the theories on how to secure and build socialism on to a higher level. This experience is of inestimable importance to the communists and the working classes of all countries, and constitutes a sharp weapon in their struggle against the superpowers.

The socialist countries of The People's Republic of China, The People's Republic of Albania, The Democratic People's Republic of Korea and The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are permanent base areas in the struggle against imperialism and the superpowers. Their struggles to obtain independence and defend it against imperialism and their achievements in building socialism, prove that seemingly small or weak countries are quite capable of defeating a powerful enemy, provided they take up arms and rally the masses in people's war. Experience gained in these countries is the best proof that the policy preached by the social-imperialists and the revisionist parties is wrong. As part of the struggle against the superpowers an important task lies in the develop-

ment of friendly relations between our own people and the peoples of the socialist countries, and in showing the Norwegian working class what real socialism is by spreading knowledge about these countries.

I. The Norwegian Labour Party and The Socialist Electoral Alliance both call themselves »socialist parties». Real socialists are the most consistent enemies of all imperialism. Let us have a look, then, at the actual »anti-imperialism» of these two parties.

The leaders of the NLP show their real class stand precisely by supporting an alliance with one of the imperialist superpowers – the United States. Time and again, the NLP government has shown itself as the humble servant of imperialism. It made Norway join NATO in 1949, and led the way in the Common Market crusade. It claims that »contacts with the West» are indispensable in protecting Norway against the other superpower, the Soviet Union. Actually, it does not fight social-imperialism, either. At the time when the socialist Soviet Union did not represent any threat against Norway, the NLP leaders said that the Soviet Union was »threatening Norway». In 1974, however, when the Soviet Union really has become a military threat at the Northern border of Norway and actively undermines national sovereignty of the sea, the NLP leaders say that »our relationship with the Soviet Union has always been good». The top NLP representatives are loyal towards US imperialism and also incapable of resistance against social-imperialism.

The bourgeois nature of the SEA leadership is seen in the fact that their policy is identical to that of the NLP, only in the »other direction». They criticize

the US *only*, are reluctant to say anything about the Soviet Union, and stubbornly refuse to equate the two. This actually means that they want to talk people into supporting the Soviet Union as a »friend» against US imperialism. In the same way as the leaders of the NLP, their opposition against the *other* superpower is steadily declining. The SEA leadership are quite capable of *talking* critically about US imperialism, but their practice has degenerated into a *sabotage* of all efforts directed against US imperialism during recent years.

They have been opposed to nearly all the Viet Nam marches and rallies and other forms of protest against the US in recent years, trying to prevent them from gaining support. Consequently, the SEA leadership only mentions »Struggle against US imperialism» to attack those who are fighting social-imperialism. They favour close co-operation with NLP bosses, ignoring the fact that they have been the best tool of US imperialism in Norway ever since World War Two. Loyalty towards social-imperialism and neglect of the struggle against US imperialism have become the policy of the SEA leadership.

The NLP and the SEA are obviously becoming more and more alike – a couple of bourgeois »socialist» parties, »anti-imperialists» both relying on a superpower.

J. This shows that the Workers' Communist Party (M-L) is the *only* party capable of initiating and leading the struggle against *both* the superpowers. We do not mind being followed by other parties, but today none seem willing to take on this task.

Some groups within the SEA have tried to veil their

own difficulties by questioning the consistency of the anti-imperialist stand of the WCP(M-L). But we have proved our stand. We are against *both* superpowers.

We are against social-imperialism. We are the only party who care to support the people of Czechoslovakia six years after the occupation. Our party is the only one telling the working classes of Norway that Eastern Europe is ruled by capitalism and imperialism, not by socialism. We are the only party to call Soviet threats and pressure against Norway by the name of social-imperialism.

For a number of years we, the Marxist-Leninists, have contributed more to the struggle against US imperialism in Norway, to the Indo-China solidarity movement, to the disclosure of NATO activities etc. than all our critics. People who boycotted the demonstrations when Kissinger and Sato received the Nobel «peace» prize claim that *we* are not against US imperialism! We fought against Norwegian membership in the Common Market and we still oppose it. We also fight the NATO, the Warsaw pact, the COMECON and the «European security pacts». We support the liberation movements, we support the socialist states of China, Albania, Viet Nam and Korea, and we fight to make Norway join forces with the peoples of the Third World. We oppose Norwegian imperialism.

When fighting all imperialism, we distinguish between the biggest and most dangerous imperialists – the Soviet Union and the United States – and the rest, and intensify our attacks against them in particular. Today, a Soviet or US attack on a minor imperialist state is not unlikely. We reserve ourselves to support such a state against attack.

We are also the only Norwegian party that shows how to put a final end to *all* imperialist influence in Norway: through the downfall of the dictatorship of monopoly capital and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the replacement of capitalism by socialism by means of a revolution by the working class and the working people.

This ought to prove that the anti-imperialism of the WCP(M-L) is consistent and reliable, and that those who question it are swindlers. We challenge these critics to prove that *any* other Norwegian party represents a consistent anti-imperialist policy comparable to that of the WCP(M-L), in party programmes and declarations as well as in practice.

**K.** But the basis of a front against the two superpowers cannot be limited to the supporters of the WCP(M-L). A front against the superpowers would serve the interests of the Norwegian people. We also know that there is widespread opposition against the two among the working classes, among progressive students, in mass organisations etc. and even among wide circles of sincere anti-imperialists in the various Norwegian parties. Thus both an objective and a subjective basis of a front against the two imperialist superpowers are present in Norway today. The WCP(M-L) will support the establishment of such a front.

## **9. HOW SHOULD WE CONDUCT THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM IN NORWAY?**

**A.** It is not enough to oppose the two imperialist superpowers. It is also necessary to develop the struggle against them. Many have already participated in the struggle against US imperialism, one of the two main enemies. It is now time to engage even more people in the struggle against the other main enemy also, social-imperialism.

Valuable experience has already been drawn from the struggle against the USA and other imperialist powers. It shows that when anti-imperialists unite and strike the enemy at a weak point they can deliver imperialism a crushing defeat. Even though the US is still a strong power in Norway, they have suffered defeats, among other things, because the people has protested against the Indo-China war and forced the recognition of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. This is a result of the mass of the people turning against US imperialism which is left with fewer and fewer friends as the years pass. The struggle against the other superpower must now be developed in the same manner, in that we strike at its weak points and isolate it from the mass of the people.

**B.** A necessary condition and an important first phase in the struggle is that the information work continues. Every year US imperialism is more thoroughly and comprehensively disclosed through

books, articles, speeches etc. This means that a great number of progressives and anti-imperialists are becoming aware of many concrete facts about US imperialism, and this makes it easier to create a broad public opinion against US imperialism and organise struggles against it. Social-imperialism must be disclosed in the same manner, and just as thoroughly. It is not enough with one or two books which explain in general terms that the USSR today is capitalistic and imperialistic. What is needed is a constant stream of information about the internal and external politics of social-imperialism, which deals with economics, internal oppression, culture, foreign policy, the preparation for war etc. A great and convincing mass of information must be made available in this fashion so that it is impossible for anyone in an honest discussion to assert that the Soviet Union is *anything but* capitalist and imperialist.

The distribution of knowledge about US imperialism has created an »attitude front» against the USA among many people. Not only do they repudiate the individual deeds of the US government, such as the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. They understand that the US is basically a dangerous imperialist superpower, and they continue to oppose US policy in all fields *even though* the US President for example stops the bombing of the DRV. Similarly information must create an »attitude front» against social-imperialism, consisting of people who have realized the dangerous, imperialist and aggressive character of the Soviet superpower, and therefore not *only* protest against »single acts», such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia, but who constantly struggle against social-imperialism on all fronts.

C. It is very important to constantly supply facts about what social-imperialism does. Knowledge of its action will convince many honest people how dangerous it is. This is of particular importance because the Norwegian bourgeois pro-Western press usually does *not* give reports about the class dictatorship in the revisionist controlled countries, Soviet infiltration, social-imperialist export of capital etc. The task of spreading this information can only be solved by those who oppose *both* the superpowers.

But information about their activities is not enough. It is also necessary to spread an *analysis* of social-imperialism. We must explain why the social-imperialists *must* exploit and oppress at home and abroad, why they *must* be aggressive and prepare for war. It is necessary to continue analysing the state monopoly capitalism in the Soviet Union, how it is developing in internationally, the development of classes in the, Soviet Union etc.

It is necessary to explain why and how the socialist Soviet Union degenerated into the capitalist and imperialist Soviet Union. We must be able to explain that this degeneration does not necessarily *have* to happen. Combined with this it is important to extend the understanding of the development in the truly socialist countries. We must show how countries like Albania and China struggle against the bourgeoisie through revolutionary mass campaigns, such as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China and the Revolutionization campaign in Albania.

Social-imperialists differ from all other imperialists in that they attempt to defend their policy by calling themselves Marxist-Leninists. They try to exploit the proud history of the Soviet Union under socialism

and the confidence the Soviet Union had won among workers, to win support for the present aggressive, imperialist policy. We communists have a special task in revealing the false »Marxism-Leninism« spread from Moscow today, and show that this has nothing in common with what Marx and Lenin really meant. We must defend the proud history of the USSR under Lenin and Stalin, and show that the socialism of those days was the direct opposite of the black reaction that rules now.

The bourgeoisie attempt to use the development in Soviet Union and the states under Soviet control to make workers turn away from socialism. They know that Norwegian workers are aware of the repression in Eastern Europe through examples such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the use of tanks against striking workers in Poland in 1970. Therefore the bourgeoisie attempt to present social-imperialism as socialism, and they present socialism as always oppressing the working class. By calling Eastern Europe socialist the bourgeois politicians hope to turn Norwegian workers away from socialism into supporting Western capitalism instead. Just this makes it especially important to show what *real* socialism is like, and to reveal social-imperialism through thorough analysis which show that the monopoly capitalism and facisism in the Soviet controlled countries have *nothing to do with socialism. Without this struggle it will be impossible to win support for socialism among Norwegian workers.*

**D. Solidarity with the people living under social-imperialist dictatorship!**

Because social-imperialism is so hated in those

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countries where it rules, it dares not react other than violently and swiftly against all forms of open resistance, such as strikes, demonstrations and protests, propaganda from secret revolutionary groups etc. This means that if international solidarity is to have any effect it must always come *quickly*.

It is an internationalist duty for workers, anti-imperialists and anti-fascist in the West to manifest solidarity with those suffering directly under social-imperialist exploitation and repression. News about repression must be spread. New struggles like Czechoslovakia 1968 and Poland 1970 must not remain without support. As soon as large and important strikes, demonstrations, and protests by workers, farmers and repressed minorities, revolts etc. take place, Norwegian revolutionaries and progressives must mobilise and show their support. As long as Czechoslovakia is occupied we must continue our support for the Czechoslovakian people, and not allow Czechoslovakia's fate to be forgotten.

The future development of Social-imperialism must inevitably lead to new »Czechoslovakia invasions« and to new strikes, demonstrations and revolts. By attacking US imperialism when they attack the people of Indo-China, Chile, the Negroes in the US etc. we have delivered defeats to US imperialism and isolated it. By mobilising broad support for popular struggles and attacking social-imperialism in cases like Czechoslovakia 1968 and Poland 1970, we will defeat and isolate it.

*E. Solidarity with all those pressed, infiltrated and threatened by social-imperialism.*

Anti-imperialists in Norway have spread infor-

mation about many countries who are victims of US imperialism, and given them support. It is necessary to do the same for the victims of social-imperialism. We must spread information about how the Soviet Union attempts to dominate and control countries like Finland and India, how it plunders Third World countries through trade and export of capital, infiltrates with its intelligence services and its new-colonial politicians, threatens its neighbours militarily etc. We must expose their sabotage of liberation movements (as in Cambodia) and how they encourage aggressive wars and occupations (as in their support to India's occupation of East Bengal in 1971 and Sikkim in 1973).

Anti-imperialists in Norway must support peoples struggling against social-imperialism and its lackeys, just as we support those struggling against the USA and its lackeys.

#### *F. Support China and Albania against social-imperialism.*

The Soviet leaders will never forgive the socialist countries China and Albania for being the first to expose revisionism, capitalism and social-imperialism in the USSR. The social-imperialists will always regard those countries which promote real socialism and Marxism-Leninism in opposition to their false socialism and Marxism-Leninism as a deadly threat. Therefore the Kremlin-masters will *never give up the hope of crushing socialism in China and Albania by war*, as they planned for instance in 1968–69.

The threat will sometimes be greater, sometimes less; depending amongst other things, on the strength of China and Albania, on the problems facing the

Soviet Union in other areas etc. The moment the social-imperialists think they can succeed they will attack.

Therefore it is important to explain that social-imperialism, just like US imperialism, is not unlikely to attack China and Albania. Work to develop support of and friendship with Albania and China is important because it spreads knowledge of real socialism and discloses the false socialism. At the same time it is also important because it creates a public opinion which will support these socialist countries against social-imperialist aggression.

***G. We must explain the danger of war and expose the social-imperialist threat to Western Europe!***

We have stated that there is no real »detente«, that the struggle between the superpowers is being intensified, and that it is even likely to lead to a world war.

If the world war breaks out, it will also involve the most important areas that the superpowers are fighting about: Europe and the inner Mediterranean/Middle East. The armies, planes and tanks of the superpowers will go into combat on European ground and use European workers, farmers and other working people as cannon-fodder. A new world war, triggered by the two superpowers, can lead to much greater sorrow and heavier burdens for the Norwegian people than even the five years of nazi occupation.

Today (autumn, 1974) the possibility of war is still hardly recognised by Norwegian workers and progressives. Neither the pro-West bourgeoisie nor the revisionists are willing to acknowledge that there exist any danger of a war, and they consequently don't talk about the possibility of a world war. It is a large

and important task to break through the illusions about »longterm peace and detente» and explain that war is both possible and probable. Because if the Norwegian people once again gets thrown into a world war unprepared, then the masses will neither have the chance to protect or defend themselves and the losses will be all the greater.

US imperialism is present in Western Europe. As long as it is here it will of course represent a danger that must be fought. But it is also a *fact* that the Soviet Union is undertaking a tremendous arms expansion at the borders of Western Europe. Anyone that studies the problem will necessarily understand that these enormous forces can not have any other intentions than being used in an *offensive* against the West. Why, otherwise, would the Soviet Union try to attain such a crushing superiority of forces on all Western fronts? It is time that anti-imperialists clearly and openly point out that there isn't only an threat from USA there is also an increasing threat of a Soviet military assault.

There is also a threat of other forms of war than a world war. The last few years have shown that the imperialists still use the methods of limited military operations against one country, start local wars, occupy, organize coups and so on. We must of course warn the masses against this too, and warn them that military power is being used to exert pressure on governments of other countries in times of peace without things going so far that tanks start to roll.

We must show how false agreements about »detente» like e.g. a possible all-European security pact create the very *conditions* for this type of »limited operations», for the big and the strong to be able to press and intervene against the small and the weak. In

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the long run this type of »peace»-politics really  
increases the possibility of a world war.

In Norway we must not relax our vigilance against our imperialist »allies» in the West. The Trædal-Wintex-case shows that in a tense situation the only »help» we can get from these is *fascism*, a *coup* and *occupation*. But we must also explain the military danger represented by the social-imperialist threat – a power that is violent and aggressive, that has shown in practice that it has no scruples about trampling down a little people, and that has the military means to carry out large attacks and conquests.

**H. Defend Norway against the pressure of social-imperialism! Struggle to keep the ocean and Svalbard!**

Today's mass-movement for a 50 and 200 mile fishing limit and economic zone clashes openly with the interests of social-imperialism. The struggle for the natural resources in the ocean surrounding Norway concerns, the livelihood of hundreds of thousands of working people. It is an important, defensive struggle for the whole Norwegian nation. It is a support to the struggle waged by the peoples in the Third World to control their own resources, against imperialism. Social-imperialism put its profit interests over the vital interests of the Norwegian working people. This is why the Soviet government refuses to accept any treaties that can secure the stocks of fish in the North Atlantic. And this is why the Soviet government is the strongest opponent that Norway has to fight for the extension of its territorial waters.

Western imperialists like West Germany, France,

England and the USA also oppose the interests of Norway. As a tactical manoeuvre against them the Kremlin rulers sometimes try to act as Norway's »friend» in questions of international maritime law. But the truth is that social-imperialism is continuing to fight to win control over Norwegian sea-areas because of both economic and military interests. If it does make a »concession» to Norway then it does so only to demand even greater advantages in return.

The Soviet Union is not only struggling over fish and over the fishery limit. Social-imperialism also exerts pressure in an attempt to secure Norway's sea-bed in the Barents Sea in order to exploit the oil there. The Soviet Union desires control over the ocean in the North so as to maintain full freedom of movement for its large North Atlantic fleet. The social-imperialists have exerted pressure to gain influence over Svalbard and they will make new drives when they think the situation is convenient. The interests of social-imperialism clash with the interests of the Norwegian people in many decisive matters, concerning both the sea bed and land areas.

The struggle against the EEC concerned the vital interests of the Norwegian working masses. The struggle against the social-imperialists in the North also concerns the vital interests of the working people. Just as we defended the people's right to live and work in the North against EEC-imperialism we must now defend the people's right against social-imperialism and the other countries that would deny us a 50 and 200 mile limit. During the EEC struggle the NLP-government represented Brussels. Now the government is talking about compromises with the Soviet Union. Just as during the EEC struggle, only

the progressives, anti-imperialists and the broad masses of the working people can defend Norway against imperialism.

We must demand that the government extends the sea limit to 50 and 200 miles and does not give way to imperialists in the West and East. We must also demand that it does not give away any of the sea bed in the Barents Sea, and that it stands firmly on the position that the Svalbard Islands are Norwegian territory.

I. The social-imperialists are very active in establishing contacts between organisations in Norway and organisations and authorities in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. This is a matter of importance. We will understand their intentions better if we learn from the tactics of US imperialism, after the Second World War.

In the 40's and 50's US imperialism used a lot of money to develop contact and exchange with all types of Norwegian organisations. A stream of delegations, individuals and so on were invited to the USA. The intention was to influence Norwegian organisations. Key-persons were won over to US imperialism. Its agents had high positions in Norwegian organisations, like for instance CIA's man, the NLP-secretary Haakon Lie. Organisations that became obedient tools of US imperialism received all types of support, notably financial support. Leading members of the Workers' Youth League (WYL – an NLP-organization) revealed in the 60s that the WYL had received money from the USA. The whole tactics of »delegationism» can be summed up as follows:

**Imperialist infiltration in Norway by gaining influence in Norwegian organisations.**

The Soviet Union today uses the same means as the USA, and with precisely the same intentions. They invite a whole lot of delegations from all types of organisations and politicians from the whole spectrum of the bourgeoisie in order to gain sympathy for their line and to make ties with key-persons. Anti-imperialists have learned to refuse offers concerning exchanges from US imperialism. The anti-imperialists must also take up a struggle for the rejection of exchanges with social-imperialist organisations.

The US imperialists have established various international organisations for youth, students and so on, which they have used to make ties with other organisations. The social-imperialists have seized power in international organisations such as the »Federation of World Youth», »International Union of Students» and so on, and use them in exactly the same way as the US imperialists. Anti-imperialists and progressives must fight to get Norwegian organisations to sever all ties with and *stay out of* the pro-social-imperialistic organisations just like they have *severed the connections with and stay out of* the pro-US-imperialistic ones.

We are not against people travelling in Eastern-Europe, studying the conditions there, talking with people and so on. Travelling as a tourist to the Soviet Union or the USA is one thing. But, it is a completely different matter if a Norwegian organisation travels to the US superpowers *at the invitation of Johnson, Nixon or Ford* and is *presented as a friend of US imperialism and a supporter of its government*. To an

even larger extent, this is valid for political organisations that of their own accord accept invitations from Breznev and travel around in Eastern Europe, when propaganda both there and here is used to show that social-imperialism has »many friends». We therefore say: combat the »delegationism» of the super-powers no matter whether it is the Soviet Union or the USA that is backing it up!

J. The Soviet leaders are specially emphasising the development of »delegationism» and exchanges with trade unions. Tor Aspengren, chairman of the National Trade Union (NTU) and a right-winged social-democrat, has occupied a key-position in the »East-West-cooperation» between trade unions at European level. He participated in the establishment of a »committee for cooperation» between the Western national trade unions under right-wing social-democratic leadership and the social-imperialist national trade unions in Eastern Europe. Official delegations are being exchanged between the Norwegian and the Soviet NTU. The trade union cooperation is being approved of both in the bourgeois Norwegian press and in the Soviet press. At the same time the Soviet Union and Soviet-controlled trade unions are inviting hundreds of trade unions representatives at all levels and ordinary trade union members to the East every year to various congresses, meetings combined with a holliday (such as the Baltic Sea Week in the DDR) and so on. Both the N.L.P. and the S.E.A. support this exchange policy and take an active part in it.

This is another example showing that the social-imperialists are using the same tactics as the USA. It

has been proved that, for CIA-money, the reactionary American trade unions developed world-wide activities in the service of US imperialism using CIA-funds. In this way US imperialism was able to make ties with reactionary trade union leaders in other countries and even give them payment camouflaged as »support from the American trade union movement». We are against the policy of today's NTU-leaders. We oppose the NTU being a member of the »Internationale of Free Trade-Unions» of US imperialism and we will continue the struggle against the representatives of US imperialism in the Norwegian trade union movement. But now we must also take up the struggle against social-imperialism, which uses US-type methods and tries to gain the influence over the trade unions once held by the USA.

The social-imperialist trade unions are completely controlled by the fascist state power. The trade union representatives that come from these countries do not represent the workers, they represent the government and the capitalists. Even though the NTU-leadership in Norway is bourgeois, the workers, still have a certain possibility of defeating bourgeois representatives and electing class-fighters instead in the Norwegian trade unions. The state cannot dictate the choice of representatives. If a Norwegian trade union delegation meets with a delegation from for example England, then either opportunists or class-fighters have been elected, but the delegations are in any case not pointed out by the government in the two countries and they do not *have* to defend the government policy. But if a Norwegian trade union delegation meets with the official »trade-union-movement» from Franco's Spain, then the Spanish

delegation must necessarily consist of fascists, that cannot do anything but represent the interests of the fascist government. In the same way it is *impossible* for a Soviet or Soviet-controlled trade union delegation to represent the workers. It comes from a »trade union« that does not even formally have the right to defend its members against exploitation, a trade union without the right to strike and without the real right to negotiate. The delegates are approved of by the bourgeois government and cannot but represent the policy of the new bourgeoisie. That type of »trade union cooperation« legitimates the false, social-imperialist trade union, which in reality represents no one but the bureaucrats. Therefore, contacts with the official trade union in these countries should be *boycotted*, just as the trade-union boycotts the government-controlled »trade unions« in e.g. Franco's Spain.

The working class in Norway has proud traditions in supporting and uniting with workers in other countries. The revisionists try to exploit proletarian internationalism to defend trade union contacts with »trade union-colleagues« in the Soviet-controlled countries. But Norwegian workers do *not* support Czechoslovak workers by having contact with an official trade union supporting the Soviet occupant. Norwegian workers do *not* support Polish workers by having contact with a trade union that took the side of the police and the tanks against the workers' uprising in 1970. They do *not* support Soviet workers by having contact with an official trade union led by Brezhnev-type imperialists, that oppress and exploit the Soviet workers.

The trade union is the most important mass-

organisation of the working class. The course it follows is a matter of importance. We support the course that has developed in which Norwegian trade unions take a stand against imperialism. A great many trade unions have condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia, the US war in Indo-China, the coup d'état in Chile, England's fishing war against Iceland, the prosecution of Trædal and the Wintex-exercises. During the last years more and more have defied the reactionary public opinion supporting Israel, denounced the aggressor-state Israel and supported the Palestinians. We want the Norwegian trade union to continue farther along this line towards a clear denunciation of both the imperialist superpowers.

We therefore raise the slogans: Workers in Norway – show solidarity with the oppressed workers in the Soviet Union and Soviet-controlled countries! Withdraw the trade unions from the »Norwegian-Soviet Association«! Reject exchange and contact with the state-controlled trade-unions in the Soviet-controlled countries! Fight to get the NTU out of the »Internationale of Free Trade-Unions« and »International Labour Organisation« – but fight also to get the NTU out of Aspengren's »cooperation committee« with the official social-imperialist trade-unions!

**K.** The great majority of Norwegian working people are today (autumn 1974) critical of Soviet policy. Even though it is not clear to most of them that it is a matter of capitalism and imperialism, most working people know that there are rich and poor in the Soviet Union. They know about the oppression and the lack of democratic rights. And they repudiate the aggressive and brutal foreign policy of the Soviet

Union. Even though the bourgeois papers are silent, the Norwegian workers have not forgotten Czechoslovakia.

There's only a small minority in the working class in Norway today that support and defend Soviet policies. But also within this minority it is necessary to discriminate between many people – among others some older workers – that have not seen through the nature of social-imperialism, and the very few true agents of social-imperialism. Most of them have not seen through the nature of social-imperialism because they have been deceived by revisionist propaganda. They do not at all wish to support capitalism, imperialism and fascism, and they are not agents for any imperialist superpower. But they have not understood that the Soviet Union has changed its colour and can therefore be fooled into supporting reactionary issues. We must tell these people the truth and struggle with them politically. But it is completely wrong to call them representatives of imperialism and reaction. On the contrary we must struggle to sever this majority of honest people from the real agents of social-imperialism.

At the same time we must not hide that there also *are* real political agents of social-imperialism in Norway. These are people who automatically and consciously support everything that the Soviet Union does and defend social-imperialist policy and actions on all fronts, without considering how openly reactionary it is and what sorrow it creates. These people are well acquainted with Soviet policy, they have good contacts in the East and they are familiar with the conditions in Eastern Europe. They cannot excuse themselves with being fooled, because they

know what they are doing and they do it with open eyes.

Who are these people? They are a handful of professional politicians and a few others in various parties and organisations. We do not count the majority of the supporters of the Norwegian »Communist» Party and »Communist» Youth among the agents of imperialism, even though these organisations in practice support the interests of social-imperialism. But we count parts of the *leadership* in the NCP and the CY as being agents. Besides such »Brezhnevites» that slavishly follow the Soviet leadership, there are also people that appear to be »critical» of the Soviet Union under the cover of »anti-Stalinism» and semi-Trotskyism, but who actually pursue a hard and conscious policy to support the policy of the Soviet leaders of today. These people talk about the »struggle for socialism», and give oral support to some progressive slogans and so on. But in reality they have nothing to do with the progressive movement at all. They represent the blackest reaction. They sabotage the struggle against social-imperialism and are trying to lull people into a false feeling of security through talking about the »peace and detente policy» of the Soviet Union. At the same time they actively obstruct demonstrations against US imperialism, sabotage strikes, and want to destroy all united fronts etc.

US imperialism has also this type of supporters in Norway. There are both the open clumsy lackeys that are detested by everybody, such as the »Ky-boys», those among the members of the Young Conservatives that defend Thieu in South Viet Nam and so on. They can also be found among people in high

by the AKP Archive Project ([www.akp.no/ml-historie/pdf](http://www.akp.no/ml-historie/pdf))  
positions in the state, the army, the press and in the business world working silently and loyally for the interests of the USA. Some of them are even on the payroll of the CIA. These people are worse than other bourgeois reactionaries, because they are already now conscious Quislings in the service of US imperialism. The anti-imperialists in Norway have treated such people as *scum* that must be isolated from everything and everybody. The consequence of this is that there are many places where the open hirelings of the USA no more can gain the least bit of support. The small minority of hardcore political agents of social-imperialism should be *rejected* by all workers, progressives and anti-imperialists, just as the »Ky-boys» and Haakon Lie-type US-lackeys. The anti-imperialists must show that their policy has nothing to do with the progressive movement, but that they are *reactionaries* trying to gain support among working people by *using radical cliches*. We must fight to *unveil and isolate* the representatives of the superpowers, so that it will be impossible for them to gain support among working people, no matter whether it is US or Soviet »merchandise» they want to »sell».

L. An assault from social-imperialism is a possibility. An occupation or a coup d'état by US imperialism is also possible. War between the superpowers on Norwegian soil is also possible.

The Norwegian people can defend itself against assaults from either US imperialism or social-imperialism. Viet Nam, Cambodia and many other small countries have shown how the small can defeat

the large and the weak can defeat the strong: by people's war.

But if the people is to be able to defend itself, it must be prepared. Therefore revolutionaries and anti-imperialists must now start propagating that a superpower that attacks Norway must be met with people's war.

Such a people's war cannot be based on or expect support from one of the superpowers against the other, it cannot be waged with the backing of NATO against the Soviet Union or with the backing of the Soviet Unions against NATO. The reason is that the superpowers are only interested in oppressing and plundering Norway themselves, and choosing between them is like choosing between the plague and cholera. Preparation for a real people's war against an aggressor is to get NATO OUT OF NORWAY. NATO is not preparing to defend Norway against social-imperialism, but to butcher Norwegian workers, students and communists and other progressives, and to protect the interests of the USA in the struggle between the superpowers.

Neither can the people rely on the army of Norwegian monopoly-capital. Because the army is not only connected to NATO and US imperialism, it is also prepared precisely for struggling to oppress the Norwegian people. The army leadership represents the monopoly-capital, and monopoly-capital does not care to sacrifice anything for the defence of our country against any superior imperialists. Just as the bourgeoisie and army leadership betrayed during the Nazi invasion in 1940, the bourgeoisie and army leadership will betray again. The reactionary Nor-

wegian officers are not prepared to die defending the country and the people against the superpowers.

The only force capable of struggling against an attack from a superpower against Norway is *the workers, farmers, fishermen*, the large mass of *pupils and students, progressive intellectuals* and other working people – that is: the great masses of the Norwegian people. If the Norwegian people is mobilised and armed, it will struggle against aggression. Therefore an *armed people* is the best form of military defence against an attack from a superpower against Norway.

Monopoly capital and reaction are trying to make working people believe that it is impossible for working people to defend Norway. But if the people is armed and is willing to fight, then the position is not at all hopeless. It is an important task, especially for us communists, able to draw from the rich experience of people's wars summed up in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung's thought, to patiently explain time and time again that a defensive struggle is possible, and by propaganda prepare the people politically for a defensive war.

**M.** Just like the struggle against US imperialism the struggle against social-imperialism is not only the task of the communists. It is in the interest of all working people, and only the class enemy will profit by having the participants in the struggle limited to the supporters of our party. As members of the WCP(M-L) we must consider it our duty to enable as many people as possible outside our own ranks to participate, and we must actively rally them to this struggle.

At the same time we must never forget that we are

struggling against *both* superpowers and *all* imperialism. There are people that »protest» against Soviet policy in order to support the interests of the USA or to get a chance to spread reactionary propaganda against socialism. *We will not allow any unity with such people.* We march without them and against them, like we did after the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, and as we have *always* done since. The revisionists who themselves covertly and sometimes even overtly barter with the right, may gladly state that »the Marxist-Leninists cooperate with the right». Those who *study* what we do can see that this is a *lie*, and that the WCP(M-L) keeps a clear front against all reaction.

But we offer to *cooperate* with true anti-imperialists that have *not* tied themselves to a superpower, against social-imperialism, and disregarding differences of opinion in other areas. There has always been such cooperation, among other things in protest against the occupation of Czechoslovakia and in the struggle for the control of the sea.

In the struggle which must now be risen against social-imperialism there is much to learn from the struggle that has been waged against US imperialism. When the struggle against US imperialism was started in the 60s, there were only a very few who wanted to struggle consistently.

The forces that wanted to justify US warfare in Viet Nam were strong. And also among those opposing the warfare there were influential groups that opposed raising the struggle against US *imperialism* in the mass movement. The supporters of the USA have nevertheless been defeated. The result of

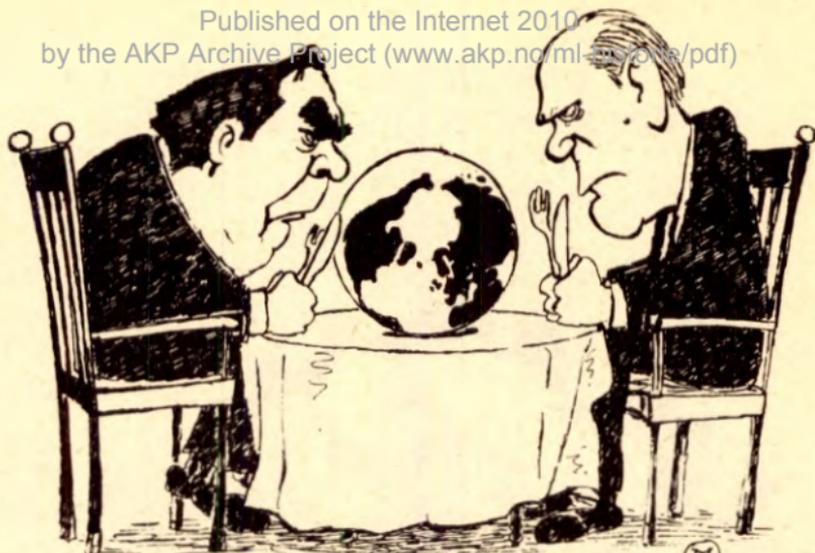
the struggle shames all fear that propaganda against US imperialism would serve to split the movement. Experience shows that a just cause wins victories and that an unjust cause loses, even if those raising the struggle seem at first glance to be few and weak.

The struggle to create a broad movement with fighting spirit and a broad public opinion against Soviet social-imperialism will likewise lead to victory. The movement leading this struggle today is far stronger and larger than the one that took up the struggle against US imperialism in the 60s. It is struggling for a just cause – as it did then, while its opponents only have an unjust cause to support. Social-imperialism is forced to struggle to defend and expend its interests at home and abroad. In this struggle it is doomed to take actions that will make things worse for itself and for everybody else denying the character of the Soviet state today. The defence of social-imperialism will no doubt meet with defeat. Those who combat it have everything to win and nothing to lose.

## CARTOONS FROM KLASSEKAMPEN (The Class Struggle)



Brezhnev: »Freedom for the people of Czechoslovakia?«

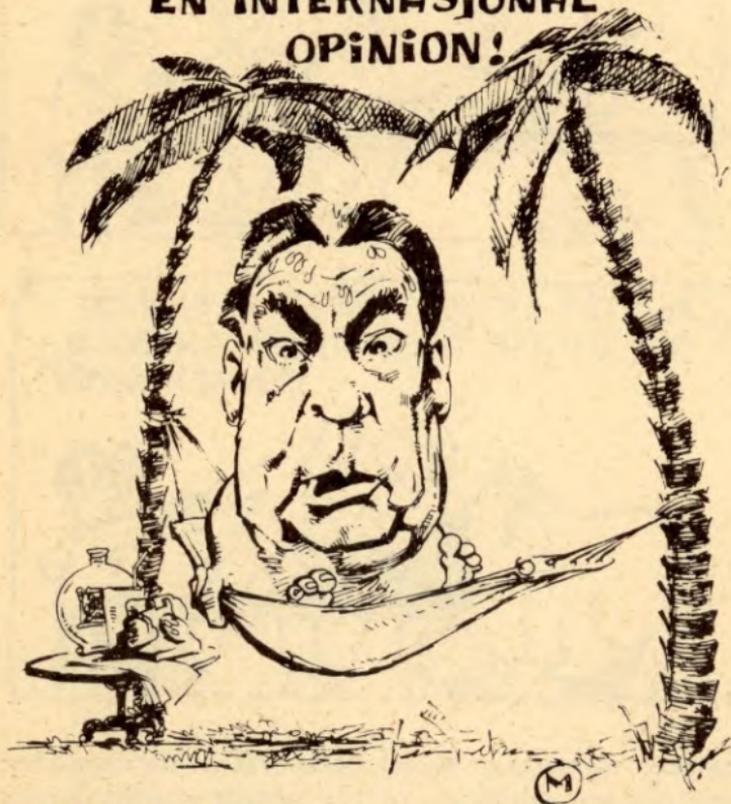


Summit US-Soviet talks: Brezhnev and Ford preparing to redivide the world. (M)



The living standard in the Soviet Union is increasing. You can see it by the way people dress.

**OMSKOLERING AV  
DEGENERERTE  
BYRÅKRATER ? NEI  
HER MÅ DET SKAPES  
EN INTERNASJONAL  
OPINION!**



Brezhnev embarrassed by the criticism of modern revisionism by the Chinese communists: »Reeducation of degenerated bureaucrats? No, we must create an international opinion against it! »



Bratteli, Norwegian social democrat prime minister, checking the militancy of the people against Soviet plundering of fish resources in the North Atlantic: »— I admit it's regretable that he's taking that much . . . fish . . . but it's better not to say anything to it until we have negotiated about the seats.»



Norway in the fire-line between the two superpowers.



Portugal: The revisionist party, loyal to social-imperialism, is trying to control and suppress revolutionary struggle, to the great pleasure of fascism.

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**RESOLUTION ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST  
SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM FROM THE NATIONAL  
CONFERENCE OF THE WORKERS' COMMUNIST  
PARTY (M-L), NORWAY**

– November 1974 –

- Communists sharpen the struggle against Social-imperialism.
- The once socialist Soviet Union has become an imperialist superpower.
- The Soviet Union today is a new type of state monopoly capitalist society.
- The new rulers in Kremlin are practising a fascist dictatorship.
- The Social-imperialists are international exploiters.
- The two superpowers – the USA and the Soviet Union – compete to gain world hegemony.
- The two superpowers conceal their preparations for war under false talk of »detente» and »peace».
- The revisionist parties of the West are pawns in the imperialist game of the Soviet Union.
- Combat both the imperialist superpowers – forward the socialist revolution.
- How should we conduct the struggle against Social-imperialism in Norway?