



WORKERS AND OPPRESSED OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

## CLASS STRUGGLE

## AKP(m-l) adopts new Military Programme

In september this year, AKP(m-l)'s new military program was published. The party line on military questions was adopted at a national party conference in late spring 1979 after internal party discussions for one year.

The new military program entails some changes in AKP(m-l)'s military policy on certain points.

Contrary to the principle program adopted at the second national party convention in 1976, the new military program goes AGAINST the slogan (Not one øre to the bourgeois military apparatus) and propagates funds for enterprises that enable Norway to resist aggression. The military program also propagates conscription for women, which is a change from the earlier party line.

### A people's war is the main strategy

AKP(m-l)'s new military program confirms that in the event of a Soviet occupation, a people's war is the main strategy for the Norwegian people. The program says: «A people's war against a Soviet army of invasion and occupation will be a great war of resistance for all patriotic forces resisting social imperialist slavery.»

In order to lead such a war, the people's own armed forces must be built up. It is an illusion to believe that the bourgeois armed forces can be «transformed» into such forces.

The working class must take the leadership for the people's armed forces in the event of a war of liberation.

### Criticism of the General Staff

The fact that AKP(m-l) changes

its warlier principle of no grants to the bourgeois military apparatus by no means signifies that the party will support all grants from now on. In a comment to Klassekampen, the party chairman, Pål Steigan, says that AKP(m-l) will work towards an alteration of the present plans for national defence. He is of the opinion that the Norwegian military doctrine of strategic air field defence must be changed into one stressing mobile warfare.

— The logic consequence of the government's defence policy is the establishment of NATO bases on Norwegian soil in peace-time. This military doctrine puts the country's fate into the hands of military leaders in the Pentagon and at the NATO Headquarters in Brussels, Pål Steigan concludes. He hopes for a debate on the military program and constructive criticism in the times ahead.

## AKP(m-l) on NATO

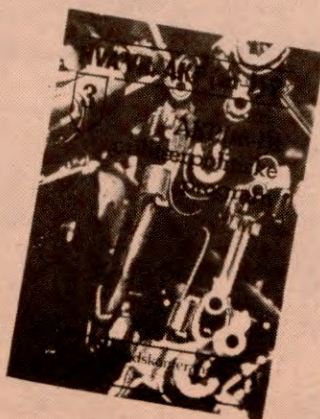
For reasons of principle, AKP(m-l) is against NATO. The alliance was established on a basis of inequality. Within NATO, all the other states are under dominance of the imperialist super-power USA.

If it ever becomes possible to choose in the present situation or under capitalism, the Norwegian communists would prefer a national defense — independent of super-powers — to a NATO defense.

At the same time, our policy must be based on the fact that the Soviet Union is the biggest and most dangerous aggressor today. The Soviet Union is the greatest military threat to Norway and Norwegian sovereignty today, not USA and NATO.

If Norway leaves NATO and at the same time expresses a firm political willingness to resist social imperialist expansion and prepare the Norwegian armed forces for a Soviet attack, this would be an improvement. Such a withdrawal would gain our support.

But if Norway decides to leave NATO on conditions set by the Soviet Union and slackens the Norwegian armed forces' preparedness for a military attack, this would be a worsening. It might lead Norway into position similar to Finland's and increase the danger of Soviet occupation. If this was the alternative, Norwegian communists would say that staying within NATO would be the lesser evil.



# KLASSEKAMPEN ON TRIAL

In early September this year, Finn Sjøe, the former editor of «Klassekampen» and presently an official spokesman for the Central Committee of AKP(m-l), was on trial in Oslo, charged with printing secret telegrams from NATO Operation

«Teamwork». The telegrams proved that NATO exercises atomic warfare on Norwegian soil. They were reprinted in «Klassekampen» January 11th, 1977.

### PROSECUTOR REQUESTS 6 MONTHS IN PRISON

The prosecutor wanted to turn the case into a matter of espionage, and he succeeded in making parts of the trial to be held in secret. Despite the fact that the Teamwork telegrams had been read by tens of thousands «Klassekampen» readers already, Sjøe was not allowed to quote from the newspaper during this testimony — for security reasons!

\* But the prosecutor didn't manage to brand Sjøe as a traitor and prosecute him under the Espionage Act. With massive support from Norwegian press colleagues, Sjøe stressed the Press' rights to consider printing secret documents without obtaining permission on beforehand.

— Official authorities may call documents «classified» in order to cover up for themselves, says Sjøe. — The fact that a document is «classified» does not necessarily mean that it contains important secrets. It may as well contain information which is unpleasant for the rulers, but important to the people. \* The verdict was a defeat for both the prosecutor and the High Command of the Norwegian Armed Forces. Sjøe was sentenced to pay a fine of 2.500 kr. and 1.000 kr. in court costs. Sjøe and



Finn Sjøe, official spokesman for the CC of AKP(m-l) and former editor of Klassekampen in court.

«Klassekampen» immediately decided to appeal the verdict to a higher court of law, not because of the amounts, but as a mat-

ter of principle and in order to defend the right to free speech. At the same time, he stressed that the verdict, which was un-

animous, refers to AKP's and «Klassekampen»'s evident anti-Soviet Union attitudes.

## Chairman Pål Steigan: Telex hunt instead of a debate on national defence

— It was quite correct and necessary for our party newspaper to print the telegrams from Operation Teamwork. But instead of joining the debate on Norwegian defense policy, which ought to have followed the military lea-

ders and the press focused their attention on the «telex phantom» hunt, says Pål Steigan, chairman of the Workers' Communist Party (marxist-leninists).

— I believed that the nuclear disclosures would lead to a con-

structive debate on vital military-political questions. It certainly isn't our party's fault that this only happened to a small degree. Nevertheless, we are happy that this debate has come — apparently, it took the officers two years to stomach the chock, Steigan says.

— AKP(m-l) is of the opinion that NATO bases its plans for defence on several dangerous illusions. People are never allowed to talk about these matters, and information is scarce. We are of the opinion that it is of vital importance to focus upon these serious questions, and the Teamwork telegrams lifted just one corner of the carpet.

The telegrams reveal how NATO will react in a wartime situa-

tion, when the enemy already is in the middle of Norway. I see the plans to respond to this by using atomic weapons as a desperate draw from NATO, a draw in opposition to the interests of the Norwegian people. Neither of the two super powers cares about the fact that civilians will fall victims of a nuclear war. Now, we need an open, democratic discussion on these issues, says Steigan.

He points to the fact that the balance of power in Europe has changed so much that the Soviet leaders evidently prepare for a direct attack on Southern Norway and Oslo in the event of a war. This is a new situation, and NATO certainly does not know how to handle it, he said.

## Klassekampen saved as a daily paper

For more than one year, Klassekampen, AKP(m-l)'s daily newspaper, has been ridden by a number of economic problems, and the question whether the paper would survive as a daily newspaper has been an open one.

Production costs for a daily newspaper are high in Norway. The party summed up earlier that too few concrete, thorough discussions had been held before Klassekampen was published daily. Among other things, the newspaper refused to accept state support in the form of adverts and production cost refunds from the beginning.

### KLASSEKAMPEN ACCEPTS STATE SUPPORT

This old resolution was abandoned at a national party convention in the spring this year. Klassekampen applied for state sup-

port on the same basis as other Norwegian daily papers. This was granted, and from September, Klassekampen has printed state adverts.

### FUND RAISING DRIVE

At the same time, a new fund raising drive has brought more than one million kr to Klassekampen and RV. The daily circulation has gone up by 30% in the first half of 1979. This is a result of good, intensive campaign work from members and sympathisers of AKP(m-l). The editorial guide-lines reach out better than before. By increasing sales, subscriptions, the fund raising drive and state support, Klassekampen is rescued as a daily newspaper.

This news was well received not only by the readers, but in press circles in Norway as well.

## CIVIL DEFENCE IN OSLO:

### Minimal Protection in Emergency Situations

Debate on civil defence becomes more and more important. RV and AKP(m-l) have many times demonstrated how preparations for a war situation are insufficient, and demanded the building of more fallout shelters and better information to the civilian population all over the country.

An article in Klassekampen, October 5th, demonstrates that the possibilities for effective protection against bombings are bad for the civilians.

### 100.000 WITH NO SHELTER

In the event of an emergency situation, 100.000 people will be without shelter. The situation is especially bad in the older working-class parts of town. Only few of the shelters give protection against atomic, bacteriological or chemical warfare. There is no definite plans for provision of food for the Oslo population under war-time conditions. Nor is there any available information on what people are to do in the event of a surprise attack.



What kind of protection will this fall-out shelter offer the population in Oslo in case of nuclear attack?

# MUNICIPAL AND COUNTY ELECTIONS IN NORWAY



Celebrating the success of Rød Valgallianse in Odda, where the alliance gained three seats, and more than 7 percent of the votes.

On September 15th and 16th, municipal and county elections were held in Norway. Norway is divided into 439 municipalities and 19 counties. The capital, Oslo, is a so-called county municipality, so elections were not divided into two here as in the rest of the country.

Before the elections, there was a 6-8 week long political campaign, which was followed with great interest by the press and other mass media.

AKP(m-l) and independent socialists participated in the elections under the name «Rød Valgallianse» (Red Election

Alliance), like the Party has done in municipal and parliamentary elections since 1973.

RV had candidates in 32 municipalities and in 14 out of the 18 counties where county elections were held.

## Important progress for the revolutionaries

The RV results showed that political life in Norway is not ENTIRELY marked by the rightist wave. The election alliance multiplied its number of representatives by five compared to the last municipal elections, and compared to the number of votes cast in the parliamentary election in 1977, the increase was almost 30 percent.

Pål Steigan, the chairman of AKP(m-l), characterises the success as a «working victory». In an interview with KLASSEKAMPEN, he focuses the attention on the results in municipalities where we have done good election work.

In an important industrial settlement, Odda, RV won 7,3% of the votes and 3 seats in the local council.

### RV HAS BECOME A POLITICAL POWER

RV has representatives in local councils all over the country. Pål Steigan comments the successful election thus:

— We must see the political results we have accomplished in the light of the very good results in the municipalities where we have participated in the elections. We have accomplished things that we hardly dared to dream of before the elections. 7,3% and 3 representatives in Odda is, for instance, far more than what our most optimistic people hoped for. We see the same tendency in municipality after municipality. In these municipalities, we are a political power to be reckoned with. And we have accomplished this by presenting a good, current policy for the class struggle in Norway.

Rød Valgallianse has fostered strong local politicians with well-founded standpoints. RV

has acquired concrete knowledge and set forth facts in a way which inspires confidence much better than before. All this goes to show that it is possible to fight for a revolutionary working-class policy founded on Norwegian conditions, says Steigan.

Pål Steigan also points out one of the weak features in the election campaign work: RV stood for election in too few municipalities.

— All in all, the election results show that we must be more daring when it comes to decide where to stand for election. Many revolutionaries view standing for election in the municipal and county elections as a heavy burden, as an evil. But for good or bad: the election campaigns are a comprehensive kind of class struggle, and we cannot stand aloof of them. We can accomplish formidable results on the basis of our own policy.

be trustworthy spokesmen for our voters is a binding one. This is why the RV representatives need support from a permanent organization».

The final organizational structure for RV is not established yet. For a period up till the next national convention, the alliance will try out various organizational structures before permanent resolutions are passed on the question.

Hilde Haugsgjerd was elected new leader after Pål Steigan had rejected re-election. This is how she states the reasons for this establishment: «The promise to



Leaders of Rød Valgallianse in Oslo following the results in the broadcasting election centre.

## Rightist wave and deep crisis for the socialdemocracy

The election results were unambiguous proofs that DNA, the Norwegian Labour Party, is in a profound political crisis. Its number of voters has not been lower since the party first was in the governmental position permanently in 1935. As a demonstration against DNA's anti working-class policy, many of its traditional supporters voted with the conservative party, Høyre, which undoubtedly was the victor in the elections.

Pål Steigan sums up the elections for Klassekampen's readers thus:

— When Høyre gets such formidable results, this is undoubtedly a rightist wave. Even more serious is the fact that such an arch reactionary party as Fremskrittspartiet (The Progress Party) would have had parliamentary representatives with a result like this. Høyre won votes because of some popular issues, not just because of a reactionary wave. Høyre got a lot of protest votes against the DNA crisis policy, even though Høyre would have carried out a similar, perhaps even worse crisis policy.

But we have other waves, too. We have a green wave. It is no

coincidence Venstre (the Social Liberal Party) won new votes — due to almost only progressive standpoints: environmental issues, opposition against the Alta/Kautokeino development. They have gathered votes against ruthless capitalist exploitation of natural resources. This is no rightist wave. And besides, Høyre does not mean the same as Margaret Thatcher, with her overt reactionary profile on social questions.

The, Fremskrittspartiet's success is a proof of a real rightist wave. This party wants drastic cuts in the social sector, and its trade marks are a policy against young people and immigrants. Their success is real bad news!



Propagating for Rød Valgallianse and for lower bus fares, activists in Haugesund (a middle town in western Norway), put up this bus, offering free rides.

## Continued setbacks for the revisionists

To the Euro-revisionist party in Norway, SV (The Socialist Left Party), the municipal elections were an affirmation of the party's set-backs. Compared to the 1975 elections, the party lost 144 seats in the municipal and 16 seats in the county councils. The set-back from the parliamentary election in 1977 is as much as 5 percent, despite the fact that SV was in the dumps that year compared to earlier years. The marked set-back this year has speeded up inner party factionism and rivalry.

The extreme Moscow-oriented party «NKP», had the worst municipal election results since the party was founded in 1923. It is wiped out entirely in counties where the Breshnevists are traditionally strong. Still, the party chairman, Martin G. Knutsen, said that the results were «encouraging». The same party chairman managed to create a stir when he left the studio during an election program on radio because the reporter dared to ask questions on the «NKP» — Soviet relationship.

## What is RV?

Rød Valgallianse has — after 4 years' experience in parliamentary work in four local councils — proven to be a real revolutionary opposition to the open rightist forces, the Norwegian social democrats and the revisionists. This line was strengthened during this year's election campaigns, where RV has managed to a greater extent than before to develop a concrete policy on important class struggle questions.

### «OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO HAVE A POLICY FOR THE NORWEGIAN REALITY»

In an interview with Klassekampen just before the elections, Pål Steigan, chairman of AKP(m-l), and leader of RV until the elections, said: «What we have learnt from the election campaign is that the revolutionary movement in Norway can only progress by studying concrete class struggle questions. This is how we win support. This is the only way to plan a tactic for class struggle in Norway. Through the election campaign, we have revealed oppression in Norway, focused upon the question: who has political power? By such work, the need for socialism becomes more evident than through many statements.»

### RV — A GENUINE ALLIANCE

The election campaign was an important task for all members of AKP(m-l), but it was also carried through by a number of independent socialists who agree with the RV program and guidelines and want to fight side by side with the Marxist-Leninists in the daily struggle.

An important step forward compared to previous years, was the national convention of the RV in May, 1979. Elected delegates and observers from all over Norway discussed and deci-

ded the guide-lines and methods in the election work.

A profusion of experiences from local work came to the surface, and these were of great importance to the many RV groups that were established.

### WHAT DOES RV WANT?

During the election campaign, the most important issues for RV were: The struggle to maintain present employment, the struggle against the Norwegian social democratic government's drastic cuts in health and social welfare budgets, the struggle for kindergartens in all parts of the country, the right to reasonable accommodation for ordinary citizens, etc.

The fight for conservationist issues were in a rather special position, especially in connection with the Alta/Kautokeino water-course struggle (see articles elsewhere in this issue).

When it came to foreign policy, RV was clearly against the two imperialist super-powers, but the struggle was focused mainly on Soviet social imperialism. This was especially important in the northern parts of Norway, where social imperialism is not only a marked military threat, but also a daily threat to people's subsistence — the fisheries off the North Norway coast. There was a marked agreement on the socialist revolution in Norway as the strategic aim for the alliance.

## Rød Valgallianse a permanent organization

In the middle of October this year, the national convention of RV met in order to discuss how to carry on the work of the alliance. At the convention, it was decided to establish RV as a permanent, nation-wide organization.

Hilde Haugsgjerd was elected new leader after Pål Steigan had rejected re-election. This is how she states the reasons for this establishment: «The promise to

# Norwegian revisionists with unabashed support to vietnamese occupation

The Euro revisionists, SV, and the Moscowites, «NKP», are the only ones today who defend the export of people from Viet-Nam and blame China and the U.S.A. In an editorial, Klassekampen answers:

## The SV Editor and Viet-Nam

«Are the Jews fleeing Germany because they otherwise would have been terrorized, killed or put into camps? Or are they fleeing because their economic privileges and life-style have been taken from them, not necessarily as exploiting capitalists, but as members of the group of people who used to run private trade on a small or big scale, and who had their activities curtailed last year, because the government wanted a better distribution of benefits in the extremely crisis-ridden Germany?»

«The whole world presents it as if the reasons for the escape were terror — not economy. The result is that Germany will be more isolated, and what little help has been given, will be taken away entirely. What does this mean? Probably more refugees. The usual, Western way of explanation — which Dagbladet devours raw — therefore ultimately becomes a heartless form of cynicism.»

This is *not* a direct quotation from Steinar Hansson's letter to Dagbladet, which was reprinted yesterday. But we have not made any major alterations in this epistle from the editor of Ny Tid. We have changed Viet-Nam to Germany and the ethnic Chinese into Jews. (Ny Tid is the SV newspaper)

Hansson's arguments could be used to defend all kinds of acts of tyranny. His arguments are time-less: Do not try to isolate the ones who are persecuting others. Because then, the persecution will only become more severe. What did one call such people in the 'thirties'? Henchmen of fascism and racism. What are we to call them today? (Klassekampen, 25th July, 1979)

## No limits?

Right from the Vietnamese invasion into Democratic Kampuchea, the Norwegian revisionists have been the occupants' sole source of political support in Norway. Both the ultra-Breshjnevist «NKP» and the Euro-revisionist SV have openly supported the occupants, and, among other things, attacked the Norwegian government because it won't abandon its policy of recognizing the Pol Pot government as Kampuchea's sole legitimate representatives in the U.N.

This comment on the «Refugee 79» collection in «Ny Tid» (New Times), the SV weekly paper, was especially grotesque:

## Hunger catastrophe as occupant propaganda

«They won't have any objections against the fact that Norway supported the previous Pol Pot regime as Kampuchea's rightful government in the U.N. just a short time ago. This regime has killed between two and three million people in 3½ years. The compact Western resistance against recognizing the new government in the country is today's biggest obstacle against effective relief to all of Sonja's children. How many dead is the Norwegian USA policy responsible for here?»

Kampuchean refugees in Thailand, as the Klassekampen team met them in October 1979. In their unabashed support to Viet-nam, Norwegian revisionists exploit their tragedy, using the hunger catastrophe as occupant propaganda.

By the expression «Sonja's children», «Ny Tid» hints at Crown Princess Sonja's visit to Kampuchean refugee camps in Thailand recently. When she came back to Norway, she expressed revulsion of what she had seen there.

In a comment on this, Klassekampen writes:

«It is not 'Sonja's children' whose lives are in danger. It is Kampuchea's children who die in the refugee camps, who are massacred by Vietnamese occupation soldiers, who starve to death in their own villages because the country is being raped by a power refusing to plant rice.»

Klassekampen also asks «Ny Tid» if they are able to document that hunger existed in Kampuchea during Pol Pot's government.

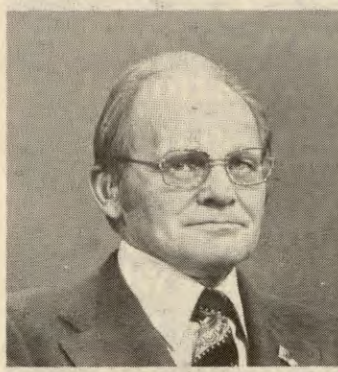
## Soviet policy

... «How many dead is the Norwegian USA policy responsible for here?» asks «Ny Tid».

In its comment, Klassekampen proves that this way of putting the question is impossible, and it ascertains that the Soviet and Vietnam spokesmen are active defenders of occupation and genocide, preferably in 'socialist' drapery. «Ny Tid» ascertains that SV once again belongs to the ultra-reactionary wing in the most important political question in the world right now, Klassekampen concludes.



The SV Editor, Steinar Hansson: His arguments could be to defend any kind of tyranny.



«NKP» chairman Martin Gunnar Knutsen: Figurehead for the blackest reaction in Norway today.

## Spokesmen for fascism and oppression

«Friheten» (Liberty), the «NKP» newspaper, has launched a formidable campaign to defend Viet-Nam. The country that has driven hundreds of thousands into death at sea, is depicted as the last outpost of humanism in this world. A co-

untry which, admittedly, has problems, but only problems inflicted by other countries. The internal conditions are idyllic, if we are to believe «Friheten».

Klassekampen's view on Viet-Nam ought to be clear. Viet-Nam is a fascist dictatorship. Viet-Nam is Soviet's Cuba in Asia. A country which occupies its neighbour countries and forces its own inhabitants to move into these countries in order to create more Viet-Nams.

«NKP» puts itself into the position of defending this Viet-Nam. At the same time, this branch of the Soviet Union in Norway keeps silent about the Soviet napalm bombings of the liberation movements in Eritrea and the population there, as well as the Soviet napalm bombings against the guerrilla in Afghanistan. Only to mention two things. The list could be made much longer.

There is a black thread in this. «NKP» defends everything the Soviet Union does all over the world — without reservations. «NKP» defends everything the Soviet's satellite states do all over the world — without reservations. «NKP» has put itself into the position of a spokesman for mass murder, terrorism, torture, oppression and occupation.

The Soviet Union's progress around the world seems to continue. And «NKP» obediently trots in the footsteps of its big brother. This development forces «NKP» into becoming an even blacker party than it is today. By way of necessity, the party will become a spokesman for fascism. Fascism of the type which the Soviet Union has developed at home and in all the countries where this super-power gains a foothold.

To form alliances and cooperate with this party should be banned. The party should be isolated and driven into the blackest darkness. That is where «NKP» belongs today.

## Aid to Vietnam go up

Aid to Vietnam will go up from 35 million to 50 million kr in 1980. 45 million kr will go to patriation of Vietnamese refugees in Norway. Some of the 19,9 million kr that go to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees will probably go to the same task.

U.N. organizations will receive 18,5 million kr for work among Palestine refugees. Refugees from the Southern parts of Africa will receive 13,2 million kr.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs expects to continue sending Norwegian soldiers to the U.N. forces in Lebanon. In addition, 8,5 million kr. is ear-marked for U.N. peace-keeping operations.

Last year, support to liberation movements in the Southern parts of Africa went up from 22 to 30 million kr. Despite increased war operations against the liberation movements in Namibia and Zimbabwe, support will be kept at 30 million kr in 1980, too.

The largest post in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1980 budget is aid to developing countries and humanitarian aid: 2,5 billion kr. Of these, 750 million will go to 19 countries in direct aid — Vietnam lies well above the average level.

# THE NATIONAL BUDGET

The Norwegian government estimates an increase of 4,5% in the creation of values. That means 8,6 billion kr more to distribute next year – in stable prices.

In addition to increased creation of values, export industries rise their prices. From '79 to '80, the estimated rise in prices is 12,3%. This happens while export grows.

When increased creation of values and higher export prices are taken into account, we find «Norway's real income at hand». This income increased by 4,1% from '78 to '79. It will increase by 5,8% from '79 to '80. In 1979 prices, this equals 10,6 billion kr (see figure.) At the same time, the average union member's wages will have gone DOWN by about the same rate.

Owners' income in oil exploitation and pipe-line transport will have an estimated 9,5 billion increase – in current prices – from 1979 to 1980. This is an increase by 73,1%. State income «at hand» will increase by 8 billion or 33,9%. (National Budget, yellow paper, table 6).

Apart from these figures, nothing is said on who is supposed to have this money at their disposal. But export industries will have a significant increase in owner's incomes. Even home market industries will have a certain increase – while the union members are still supposed to cut down their expenses!

After the National Budget:



**This will be more expensive**

#### PETROL

Taxes will be higher. 93 octane petrol or lower will go up by 12 øre/litre, high octane petrol by 24 øre.

#### USED AND NEW CARS

Motor vehicles taxes go up from 300 to 400 kr. Second-hand cars will go up, too, because of a 15% increase in re-registration fees.

#### KILOMETRE TAX

Diesel car kilometre taxes will go up by 10%. This means higher transportation costs.

#### FUEL OIL

Doubled taxes on mineral oil. Fuel oil more expensive.

#### POSTAGE

for ordinary letters to Scandinavian and Norwegian destinations up by 5 øre. Higher postage for printed matter, parcels and special class printed matter.

#### FERRIES – PLANES – TRAINS

The train fare will go up by 8%. The same goes for ferry and air tickets.

#### ELECTRICITY

will go up by at least 20%. VAT introduced on electricity for household use.

#### ONE BILLION TO THE STATE

In all, higher taxes, fees and prices will give the State more than one billion kr. in additional income.

## Tax pressure INCREASES

- \* Child support payment up to 420 million kr.
- \* No change in tax progression rates.
- \* Tax pressure increases for the large majority.

The minimum reduction will go up by 500 kr. in tax class 1 and 1000 kr. in class 2. This means 137 and 274 kr. less tax respectively. These changes will mean more tax, not less.

Since progression rates won't be changed, the reductions will «be eaten up» by the expected 7% price increases. If you manage to obtain a 7% wage increase, the unchanged progression rates ensure you a worse net result in

1980 than in 1979.

Under these conditions, a single person (class 1) earning 70 000 kr. in 1979 will have a 690 kr. reduction in net wages.

A married couple with one bread-winner, no children and a wage of 70 000 will have a 506 kr. reduction.

If this family had two children, net wages would go up by 8 – eight! kr. in 1980.

#### CHILD SUPPORT PAYMENT UP

by 33 kr. per month per child, i.e. 396 kr. per annum. This is why the family above gets a 8 kr. «increase».

Without increased child support payment, this family would have had a 784 kr. reduction.

The state expects a wage/assets tax increase of 11,8%. This means a net increase of 5,3% – or 530 mill. kr.

## But not for stock exchange speculators.

\* 300 million kr. deduction when investment taxes for production equipment was abolished September 1st.

\* Taxfree stock dividends up from 500 to 1000 kr.

\* Limit for taxation of shares reduced from five to two years,

\* Reductions in forced

emergency fund raising compared to dividends.

These are some of the elements in the government's projects to make life easier for stock exchange speculators. Today, tax is 50% on share sales profits if one has owned the shares for less than five years. Now, the limit is reduced to two years. While share-holders were forced to put some part of the dividends into emergency funds, it is going

to be easier to have more dividends paid directly. This is in direct opposition to trade union demands for a ban on the paying out of dividends.

There is no survey on how much coupon cutters are able to get out of these changes. But the point is obvious enough: Being a share-holder is going to be more tempting and profitable, whereas the situation for the ordinary breadwinner is going to be worse.



Former Minister of Finance Per Kleppe.

**GET 1980****Norway gets richer —  
you get poorer**

# Norwegian employers' association (NAF) statistics 1978/79

## Prices increased 3% more than wages

From second quarter 1978 to second quarter 1979, prices increased more than wages, according to NAF wage statistics.

Wages increased by 4,5 % for men and 4,4 % for women. Of the total wage increases, sliding wages catered for 4 % both for men and women, whereas the average tariff wage increase is estimated at 0,4 % and 0,1 % respectively.

Consumers' price index rose by 7,2 points during the same time-span. This means a price increase by 5,1 %, which means that the real wages went down by approximately 0,6 % for men

and 0,7 % for women. Changes in taxes, duty and subsidies are not taken into consideration here.

The estimates include some 205,000 employees in building, industry, mining, transport and various other branches. The statistics register increasing hourly wages. The hourly wage, including special additions, was kr. 38.96 for men and kr. 30.08 for women by the end of the second quarter.

The sliding wages increase of 4 % during this period was approximately the same as during the previous period, i.e. from first quarter 1978 to first quarter 1979.

— As a result of the governmental introduction of a wage freeze in September 1978, one expected sliding wages to be considerably reduced from the end of 1978 and through 1979, says NAF.

## Electricity bills up by 20—30%

From July 1st, 1980, Norwegians must expect to pay 20—30% more for their electricity. In a cold country with traditionally cheap electricity, a lot of flats and hou-

ses use electricity for heating as well as cooking. Now, people living in such places will have slimmer wallets and probably thicker sweaters.

## 4.000 ship-building workers will get the sack

«With the proposed 1980 subsidies, one has to expect that the number of employees in ship-building industries will go down to 10 000 by the end of 1980.»

This one sentence from the national budget says almost all there is to say of the government's plans for ship-building activities in Norway: In one year, 4000 shipyard workers will get the sack.

The recipe is «Finn Lied Special» — do away with or reduce

price subsidies to Norwegian ship owners building in Norway, subsidies on interest on loans from developing country ship owners building in Norway, subsidies to so-called «exposed industries».

Selective support to the shipyards go down by 1,3 billion kr from 1979 to 1980. Instead, money goes to efforts in moving people to more profitable industries and support the strongest industries.



# Stop Norsk Hydro's Thailand project!

Norsk Hydro A/S is Norway's biggest industrial corporation. It produces nitrogens, aluminium, magnesium, electric power, oil and petro-chemical products. The Norwegian government controls 51,3 % of the stocks, and for many years, top people from LO and DNA have been members of Norsk Hydro's board of directors.

In October, Norsk Hydro's Thailand project was made public. Klassekampen wrote this comment on the news:

The daily wages for industrial workers in Thailand is 12 kr. Not the hourly wages, but the daily wages. Under General Kriangsak's régime, Thailand is in a state of emergency and martial law. Strikes are banned. Trade unions who fight are banned.

Foreign companies are granted wide privileges upon establishing in Thailand. During the 1970'ies some 250—300 million kr. have been invested by foreign companies, mainly U.S., every year. In 1978, the World Bank borrowed Thailand 1,8 billion kr. The money was mainly spent on the building of roads and hydro-electric plants.

### Crisis

Thai economy has been in crisis since 40 000 U.S. soldiers were withdrawn from the country by the end of the Vietnam War. Then the bottom fell out of the

capitalist sector of the country's economy. This sector is mainly situated in and around Bangkok. 87 % out of the 40 million population still live under feudal conditions in the rural parts. Since Thailand never was a Western colony, the poverty in rural areas is not quite as bad as for instance in India. Thailand exports rice.

The régime has tried to patch up the economy by mass tourism, foreign investment and creating an infrastructure. The latter means that docks, railroads and other communications are developed by expensive loans in order to draw more capital into the country.

### Vicious circle

Unemployment, foreign trade deficit and inflation increase. Thailand has entered the same vicious circle as most other de-

veloping countries. During World War II, the local ruling class joined forces with the Japanese fascists, after the war, with the American imperialists. Now, the door is wide open to capitalist projects, which does not deserve to be branded anything else than neo-colonialism. In Thailand, one has found yet another backyard in the East, where it may be profitable to squeeze out profits from cheap labour, bribe some corrupt generals — and call it «aid», «assistance», or something else which sounds nicer than «hard-hearted business».

### Guerrilla

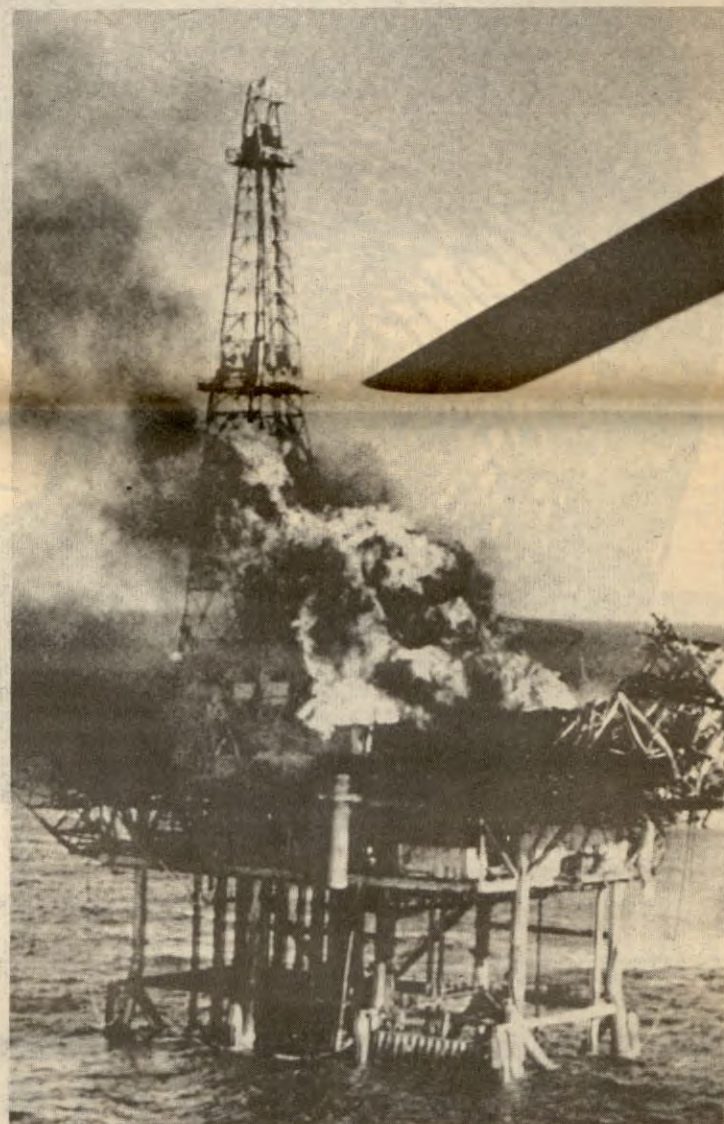
Thai border areas are under bombardment from the Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea. War threatens. In the mountains and jungle areas in the North-East, guerrilla forces fight the Bangkok régime. Reports indicate that the guerrilla is divided into a main force still willing to fight the oppressors within the country, but also willing to join a Popular Front in the event of a foreign invasion, and a dissenting group which supports the Hanoi plans for South-East Asia nowadays.

### Innocent?

It is against this background one must see the Norsk Hydro project. It may seem innocent to produce fertilizers for sale in a peasant country. But facts are different. The most important motive for Norsk Hydro is profit-hunting. Gigantic investments from Norsk Hydro will indirectly serve to keep the Thai rulers in power. There are no analyses to show us how increased production of fertilizers will manifest itself in Thai agriculture. Experience from other Third World countries with similar power structures shows that spreading expensive fertilizers over the fields and paddies only serves to make the rich farmers richer and the poor ones poorer. In Thailand, production of fruit (especially pineapples) for export is on the increase. Norsk Hydro delivers fertilizers for fruit growing. Pineapples destined for the Western World markets does not feed the hungry mouths of Thailand.

Stop Norsk Hydro's Thailand project!

# LESS MONEY FOR OIL PROTECTION



Having learnt nothing from the blow-out in Mexico, Norwegian authorities allocate less money for oil protection.

In 1980, the government plans to spend 31,3 million kr. on preparations for emergency situations and drilling accidents in the oil industries. In 1979, the sum was 33,7 million. Preventive equipment grants go down from 6,3 to 5,6 million kr, funds for research on possible ways to prevent oil industry accidents and limit damages if accidents do happen, go down from 11,4 to 9,6 million kr. These figures are sensational, especially in the light of the Gulf of Mexico blow-out this year and the government's plans for oil exploring North of the 62nd parallel next year.

The Norwegian State expects to receive 10,1 billion kr in fees and taxes from oil activities in the North Sea in 1980. Of this, 0,31% goes to oil protection!

The gross production value of the oil activities is estimated to be 22 billion kr. Due to higher crude oil prices on the world market, the State wins 1,5 billion kr more than expected.

# One Year of Wage



Under the thumb of the Trade Union opposition: TUC leader Tor Halvorsen.

## STATE EMPLOYED OFFICE ASSISTANT:

# Loses 4.000 kr. from 1977 to 1980

A state employed office assistant earning 60,000 kr. per year will lose 4,200 kr. in buying power from December 31st 1977 to April 30th, 1980.

A department engineer earning 68,000 kr. per year must have a 14,5 % wage increase in order to have the same buying power in 1980 as she had in 1977.

These are two examples documented by tax office employees in Bergen, taken from discussion papers on the wage negotiations for state employees in the local NTL (National Public Servants' Union) branch.

Helge Rasmussen and Th. Jarle Folkedahl from the Bergen Tax Office and Directory of Residents wish to reach a broader audience with their estimates. Here, we present some of their results. Several first secretaries at the Tax Office have controlled the figures, and Folkedahl guarantees the correctness of the calculations. The suggested demands are made by Helge Rasmussen. He is a study leader of NTL 107/15.

Rasmussen's point of departure is to be found in a pamphlet distributed by the State Employed Public Servants' Cartel on the 1978 wage negotiations. One of the Cartel's conditions during these negotiations was that the 1977 buying power must be maintained. This coincides with stated TUC Board of Representative aims, as well as organizations and authorities when the wage freeze was put into effect September 12th, 1978.

With this starting point, Helge Rasmussen claims that the most unifying, realistic slogan before the 1980 wage negotiations will be *Fulfill the promises — maintain the 1977 buying power!* He stresses the fact that this is a distinctly more defensive slogan than previous ones.

How much will state employees have lost from the end of '77 to

April 30th, 1980? Rasmussen has chosen 4 wage rate groups from the state wage scale, ranging from 59,850 to 91,439 kr. per year. The table shows the decline in employees' buying power from January 31st, 1979 to April 30th, 1980 for these groups, tax classes 1 and 2 respectively.

### To whom do these calculations apply?

Wage rate 11 means 59,850 kr. a

### Decreased buying power

	Class 1	Class 2
Wage rate 11 .....	4,200	2,817
Wage rate 14 .....	4,711	3,350
Wage rate 17 .....	5,415	4,125
Wage rate 20 .....	6,235	5,057

### What kind of demands?

— In order to compensate for lost buying power, people in wage rate 20 need a raise of ca 17,000 kr. (18,5 %), whereas one needs 10,000 (14,5 %) in wage rate 14, writes Rasmussen. He continues:

— With the considerable differentiation in our members' wages, and with 2 classes of taxation, it is almost impossible to raise one single demand, either in kr. or per cent, if the goal is to maintain the buying power of all.

Rasmussen is of the opinion that both even monetary and even percently additions will give a biased result.

year. Here, we find state employed office assistants. Wage rate 11 is near top wages for this group.

Wage rate 14 means 68,602 kr. a year. This is the lowest salary for first directors, and in this group, we find department engineers and telecommunications engineers.

Wage rate 17 is 78,197 kr. a year. Here, we find the top salaried engineers in various branches.

Wage rate 20 is 91,439 kr. a year. Here, we find many consultants.

The wage rates from 11 to 20 apply to the vast majority of the many hundred thousand state employees on the threshold of new wages negotiations.

If one picks monetary additions, one ought to have the paying power of rather well-salaried people, in rate 23—24, for instance, as a point of departure. If one chooses to maintain their buying power and give the same sum to all, this would mean a greatly enforced buying power in the lower rate groups, he says.

Because of the taxation regulations, a combined monetary/percently addition will give the best results, Rasmussen writes, and suggests the following demands for state employees:

*10 % wage increase plus 5,000 kr. in all wage rate groups.* This entails a strengthened buying power for the low-income groups and a maintenance of it for most of the others.

Norwegian trade union members have experienced reduced or stagnated buying power over the last few years. The right to negotiate has gradually been curtailed, until it was taken away entirely during the wage freeze. The co-ordinated, combined wage negotiations were supposed to have a «low-income profile», but the distance between top and bottom of the wage scale has only increased. In order to counter this development, we will come with the following demands at the wage negotiations in 1980:

\*\*\* Free, union-wise negotiations without Government-imposed restrictions!

\*\*\* Continued right to local wage negotiations. No restrictions on sliding wages!

\*\*\* The buying power must be maintained. Minimum full compensation for losses during the tariff period 1978—80!

\*\*\* Union-wise guarantees must be given to the low-income workers, so all workers will — over a certain period — earn at

## Call about the wage negotiations 1980



From a conference in Oslo september 1979 discussing the call about the wage negotiations.

least 90 % of the average industrial wages!

\*\*\* Automatic index regulations with full compensation and low fluctuation limits!

We want to encourage clubs, unions and organized workers to support this call. In addition, the workers must of course raise local and branch demands in detail. The five demands above are only

some of the important claims around which the trade union members must unite around in order to have reasonable wage negotiations next year.

By November, more than thirty clubs and unions had joined this call, which was initiated by three local trade union boards.

## TUC LEADERS IN TROUBLE

The effects of the wage freeze are to be maintained. Development of wages is to be kept at about the same level as in 1979. In other words — continued decline in buying power.

Instead of a wage freeze act — Tor Halvorsen, the chairman of the Norwegian TUC, is to do the job for the government and the capitalists.

The wage negotiations in 1980 will be a central touch-stone of whether government will get its way or not.

The TUC leaders have accepted government's universal go-

al: «The discussions between the employers' and employees' organisations ... have shown that the two parties agree that the relatively slow growth in costs and prices in 1979 is to be maintained in 1980 and the years ahead.» These lines are taken from a press release on the national budget from the Ministry of Finance.

### THE LEADERS IN TROUBLE

To date, national conventions and union meetings represent-

ing some 250 000 union members have said they are in favour of union-wise negotiations. This is more than half of the TUC members in private enterprise — the area where the form of negotiations are up for discussion. Two national conventions have voted down Tor Halvorsen's proposal for co-ordinated, combined negotiations in just as many weeks. He has not succeeded in persuading these congregations. Some feat for the top TUC spokesman! Now that the national budget has been published, his task is not the least easier!

# Freeze: Decrease of wages Increase of prices



## 85 on strike

85 workers have been on strike at Hamax Industri, Norway's 6th largest commercial corporation, Harald A. Møller A/S, decided to close down the factory. Now, these plans have been fought back.

Gross turn-over for the Møller corporation was one billion kr. in 1978, and two of the corporation's managing directors have a personal fortune much higher than the annual gross turn-over for Hamax. There's enough capital, and the workers have an alternative for continued production. When the Møller corporation wants to close Hamax down, it is obviously because it wants higher rates of profit. The idea was to sack the workers and transfer production and equipment to another Møller plant, Plast & Form on Kråkerøy.

The Hamax workers were fighting against a social crime: Affluent private capitalists wanted to give workers the sack after they had brought in money for lousy wages for 20 years, just because these capitalists' bank accounts were not getting big enough.

After a 3 week strike, the workers won a 50% victory. The workers' alternative for continued production is to be followed

until April 1st, 1980 — admittedly with only 49 workers and reduced productivity. Then, new negotiations are to be held. No production equipment is to be moved to Plast & Form without the workers' consent. Nobody is to be sacked. The reduced workforce is partly due to the workers' age, partly because the workers have sought new employment elsewhere.

By the end of the strike, the workers' representatives say that they have learnt that saying no in a polite manner just isn't enough.

— If we are going to win, we can't just smile and bow politely and hope. We have to pound the table. Workers have been treated unjustly, and they have stomachs full of solidarity among the workers here as well as from fellow workers all over the country, who have given us both moral and economic support.



On the picket line outside Hamax industries.

## Tram drivers have lost 5000 kr. since 1978

The buying power of large groups in Oslo Sporveier (the tram company) will be reduced by 4-5,000 kr. during the tariff period from May 1978 to May 1980.

If the Government and LO (Trade Union Congress) promises of maintained buying power are to be kept, claims of a 14% compensations must be raised.

### Price increase

From the beginning of the tariff period, May 1978, to May 1979, prices went up by 5.2%. How much the prices will rise until the end of the period, May 1980, is impossible to say today. But if we say that the total price increase will be 10% for the entire tariff period, we are not exaggerating.

During this period, the employees of Oslo Sporveier have had no sliding wages. The buying power has therefore gone down by at least 10%.

### Taxes

In addition, the tax pressure has increased somewhat from 1978

to 1979, so the same wages give a lower net income in 1979. When we estimate how much higher wages employees must have if the buying power is to be kept, we must take the graduated system of taxation into consideration. Therefore, a 10% increase in the brutto wages will still give a lower net income. For the personnel we have estimated, claims of 14% must be raised if we are to obtain a 10% increase in net wages.

The figures are, as mentioned, not quite exact, but the claim is at least not too low. With a 14% claim, most of the workers will be compensated for the reduction.

Taxation tables for 1980 are not available, so we have relied upon tables from 1979. We have used Statistisk Sentralbyrå's (Central Bureau of Statistics) taxation tables for full year's wages. Since pay additions are given in May instead of January, this may entail some lesser inaccuracies.

### Standard wages

We have used the top standard wages for a driver of a two-person tram and the standard wages of a beginning conductor. Additional pay for uncomfortable working hours etc. is not included, but the claims would not have been lower if these were included.

#### Driver of a two-person tram, top standard wages, kr. 62,657. —

Tax class	Reduced buying power	New standard wages	Claims in %
Single	4,300	71,700	14.5
Married	4,700	71,300	14.0
Married, 2 children	5,100	70,900	13.0

#### Conductor, standard wages, kr. 52,605. —

Tax class	Reduced buying power	New standard wages	Claims in %
Single	3,750	59,850	14.0
Married	4,050	59,400	13.0
Married, 2 children	4,450	58,900	12.0

# Into the 80'ies with Lied on our backs

An open, unmasked proposal for a reduced standard of living.

- \* The Lied committee's policy of higher mobility, more commuting plus a more flexible industry are integrated parts more of the suggested national budget. But the Lied committee's conclusions have not been discussed in official political fora yet.
- \* A proposal for keeping official unemployment rates at the 1979 level — but increasing the real unemployment rates. A proposal for massive unemployment in the fisheries, textile industries and ship-building.

These are three main features of the national budget 1980.

prices and higher demand in international trade.»

### RE-DISTRIBUTION

The following-up of the 1978 policy is really a re-distribution of values — from the working class to the capitalists. The official justification for this is «the necessity to strengthen industry in or-

der to meet the tougher economic climate in international trade.»

### THE LIED MODEL

The government puts its hopes in a policy for «further improvements in Norwegian competitiveness», because «growth may be small and competition very hard.» the official version goes.

### Move. Then move. Then move again.

The government guide-lines on paying per diem money during periods of unemployment could have been worked out by Finn Lied himself:

- \* The entire country is considered one employment market.
- \* If there is no employment to be found where you live, your per diem money is taken away if you don't accept employment offers in other places, be it in Kristiansand in the South or Kirkenes in the North.
- \* The legal demand for full «geographical mobility» is to be followed «to the letter».

In order to increase «mobility» even more, the government has established something they call «mobility-encouraging» subsidies. If you live in Kirkenes and get a job in Kristiansand, you are entitled to subsidies to cover expenses in connection with travel, furniture removal and food/accommodation while travelling according to «specified regulations». This is one of the crucial parts of the government emergency plan for employment market enterprises next year. The funds granted for this emergency plan have gone down by 50 million kr this year.

— Initiatives for enhancing labour mobility.

### GROWING EXPORTS

— Increased investments while other economical demands are suppressed and/or reduced.

— Abolition of the last Keynesian remnants. Introduction of a new industrial policy of «stimulating potentials for growth and innovations».

These ingredients may seem puzzling, because economic conditions for Norwegian industry have improved. Export industry growth is «very strong» (according to the national budget), but «this is largely due to «better

- A further development of the policy for wage reductions.
- Unemployment to be kept at the same high level as in '79.
- Higher industrial productivity.

# THIS RIVER SH

If one should point to one issue that has marked Norwegian political debate during the Summer and Autumn of '79, the obvious choice is the struggle to defend the Alta/Kautokeino water-course against governmental plans for hydro-electric development.

This struggle has mobilized thousands of activists all through the country. From June to October, a protest camp was established in the area where the construction work was to be done, in order to physically prevent the progress of the construction work. In these months, more than a thousand conservationists from Norway and abroad, stayed in the camp.

The camp caused a lot of interest and was an effective instrument in mobilizing political opinion against the development. Even more effective was another camp: In the beginning of

October, seven Samis put up a lávvo (a Sami type of tent) in Eidsvoll Square right in the front of the Norwegian Parliament. In order to demonstrate their firm resolution to protect the last remnants of their traditional areas, they went on a hunger strike.

By this action, attention was focused on the crux of the matter: The Sami people's rights in a part of Norway where the central government has chased and oppressed the people by a systematic colony policy for centuries.





# ALL LIVE!



# Alta Con- cerns All of Us

The struggle to protect some parts of the rich nature in Norway against industrial and other social interference, has proud traditions. This year, the struggle against the hydro-electric development of the Alta/Kautokeino watercourse is in focus.

The Norwegian Parliament has passed a resolution for this development, against protests from both local authorities and the conservationist organizations. But the most serious infringement is against the Sami people, the largest national minority group in Norway.

The areas which will be flooded, are among their most important reindeer grazing-grounds, and the river, which will be led in pipelines, is one of their richest fisheries. Today, the Sami people is organizing for struggle against this development in their territory — in order to defend their national and cultural rights.

Klassekampen's editorial, June 9th, goes:

«For ten years, the people along the Alta-Kautokeino watercourse has fought to defend their river. Without their unique and die-hard efforts, there would have been a gigantic power plant in the heart of the Sami territory today, a power plant which would have flooded Masi, a Sami settlement, and threate-

ned subsistence for small farmers along the river down in Alta. It would have destroyed the best salmon river in Northern Europe and levelled vast calving and grazing-grounds for the reindeer farmers.

The Parliamentary Act which was passed in the autumn of 1978 and sanctioned in June 1979, was a defeat for the opponents of this development.



All during the summer, thousands of demonstrators spent their summer vacations in a demonstration camp at the construction site. Conservationists from all over the country, and from a number of European countries as well, put their foot down and their tents up to defend what is known as one of the finest rivers in all Europe.

On election day, September 17th, the authorities in Oslo wanted to put an end to this «intolerable» extra-parliamentary activity, and had the police sent to the camp. Little use. On the next day, new tents were erected, new demonstrators mobilized.

But the fight is by no means fought — even though The Norwegian Watercourse and Electricity Authority (NVE) has managed to build some hundred meters of road for the works.

To stop the construction works on the physical level, is, in the long run, problematic. Nor is this the goal of *Folkeaksjonen* (the People's Action) and *Altautvalget* (the Alta Committee). For the time being, the most important task is to gain time, stop the construction work now, and let public opinion —

both in Norway and abroad — make it politically impossible to maintain the resolution for development.

Time is on the opponents' side. More and more people begin to realize what an outrageous injustice is taking place. The resolution in favour of development was passed on a basis of false premises. Local democracy has been brushed aside. The rights of the Sami nation have been ruthlessly trampled upon. And on top of all, the need for the power from the planned hydro-

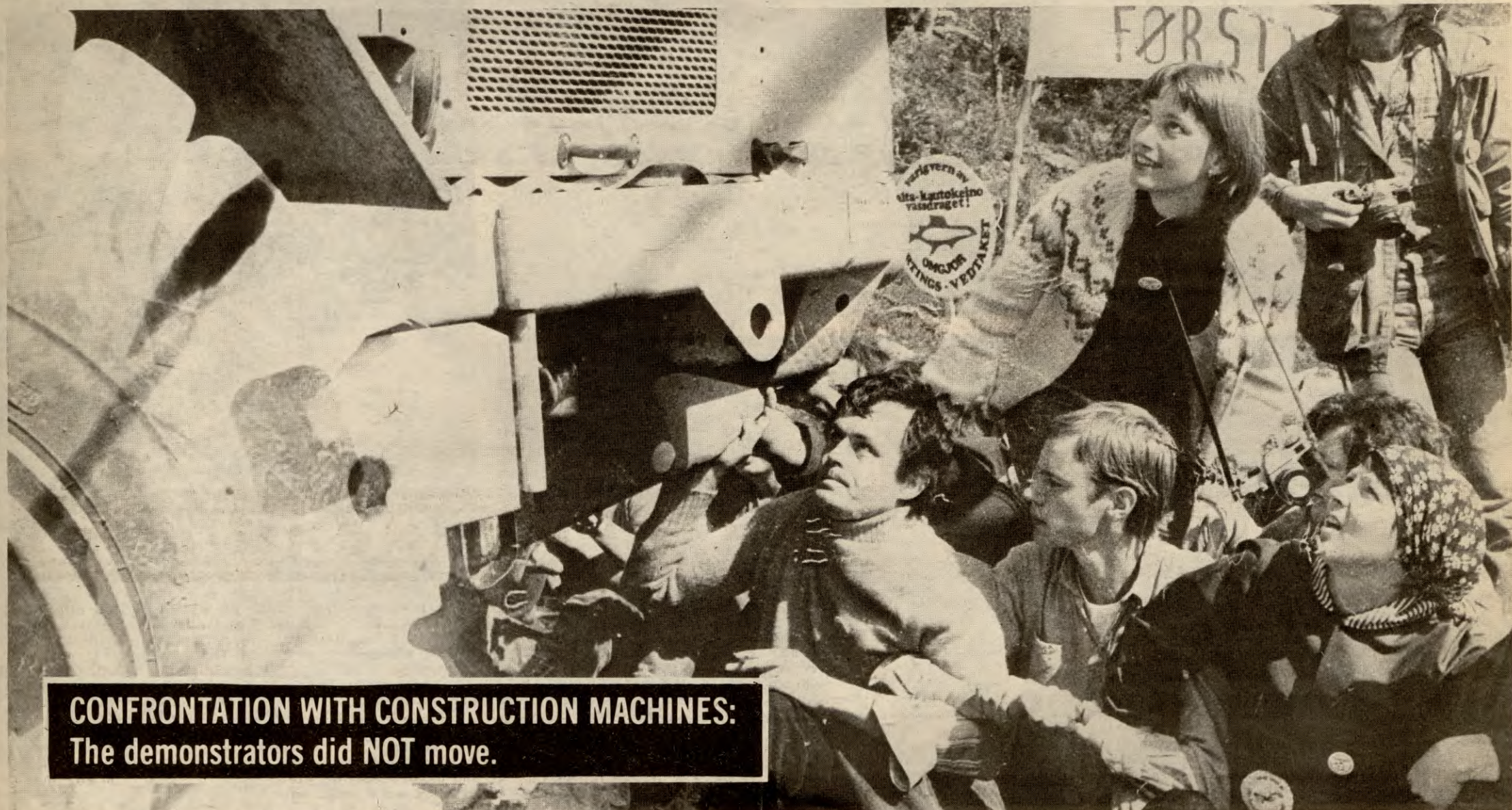
electric plant has not even been demonstrated.

Of course, the parliamentary majority which betrayed the people of Alta and Kautokeino, know this. And they are beginning to realize that this issue is about to give them a loss of face which will cause international interest. That is why they want the development to take place with a minimum of fuss.

A gigantic demonstration in Alta — a camp of thousands of demonstrators — is just about the worst thing that they can

conceive. If they try to drive the demonstrators away, their own case will be even weaker. The *Høyre* (conservative) and *DNB* (social democrats) politicians know that there are limits — even for them. They will keep their eyes and ears wide and consider the situation every day.

The struggle ahead will give them some answers. We urge all opponents of the development of the Alta/Kautokeino to go to Alta this summer. The activities against the development concerns all of us.»



**CONFRONTATION WITH CONSTRUCTION MACHINES:**  
The demonstrators did NOT move.

# WE ARE WILLING TO DIE IN THIS STRUGGLE

After having tried negotiations with the Norwegian Government in order to have a court verdict on the Sami people's rights in connection with the Alta/Kautokeino development, a group of 7 Samis took a drastic, and within a Norwegian context, unusual step: On October 9th, they put up a lávvo on Eidsvoll Square in front of the Norwegian Parliament and declared: "We are willing to die of starvation in order to stop the development!"

## Enormous, spontaneous support

Right from the start, support for the seven was enormous. Petitions were signed by thousands and thousands, and many people spontaneously sat down in front of the tent to protect the demonstrators from police attacks. The action created a stir, not only in Norway, but abroad as well. It immediately gained support from various groups, for instance organizations defending the rights of the aboriginal peoples. In spite of feverish efforts from the top people in DNA, the social democratic government party, in order to split the trade union movement from the demonstrators, many local clubs sent their support immediately.

## Police attacks

Twice, police troops were ordered to march on the protest camp in Oslo. Stein Ørnhoi, a MP for SV (one of the revisionist parties in Norway), and Finn Sjøe, official spokesman for the CC of AKP (m-l), were immediately arrested. But the police action only increased popular support for the Sami people, and on the very night that the police cleared the Square, hundreds of demonstrators formed a circle around the tent to protect it.

Early in the morning the police arrived, with more officers this time, and cleared the Square again. This time, 2-300 were arrested, and the tent was destroyed.

## An iron circle around the Parliament

In order to prevent the action from continuing in its previous form, the police closed the entire

area in front of the Parliament. But the Sami demonstrators

continued their action a few meters away and declared that de-

spite physical exhaustion, they would continue their hunger strike until the government gave in.

## The first Sami victory

The pressure on the Norwegian government was by and by getting very heavy. Several oppositional parties in Parliament demanded a new procedure in the

development case, spokesmen from the Norwegian Church demanded that the Sami claims must be heard. One week after the Sami actionists started their hunger strike, the government made an unconditional retreat: In a short statement, it said that the entire question on development of the Alta/Kautokeino wa-

tercourse was to be taken up by parliamentary discussions again, that Sami rights were to be taken into consideration and that all construction work was to be upheld for 6 weeks.



## The Sami people — an oppressed nation in Norway

The Sami people is the aboriginal people in the middle and northern parts of Norway. It is a nation living within the boundaries of four states today: Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Soviet Union.

Only one of the Norwegian political parties has claimed that the Sami people constitute an oppressed nation: AKP (m-l). A separate Sami political programme was adopted at the first national party convention in 1973. Later, this programme has been translated into the Sami language.

Among other things, this programme says:

"For many hundreds of years, the Sami people in Norway has been oppressed by the Norwegian state and its representatives. The same state oppresses the Norwegian people. Norwegian and foreign capitalists have stolen the natural resources and the result of the Sami people's toil and work."

This programme is to be revised at the party convention next year. AKP (m-l) also publishes a newspaper — Sámiid Hilat — in the Sami and Norwegian languages.



(above) Exhausted after one week of hunger strike, during which they were arrested twice, one of the samis expresses his gratitude for the enormous support shown by ordinary people all over the country.

(left) Famous Norwegian explorer Helge Ingstad (80), an international authority on indigenous peoples, taking part in the demonstration camp outside the parliament.

# We support the Sami hunger strikers

## When the Sami seven started their hunger strike, AKP (m-l) sent this statement of support:

The Sami hunger strike in front of the Parliament is a quiet and at the same time a dramatic action against the resolution on the development of the Alta/Kautokeino watercourse. A new front has been established far to the south of Stilla. We support the

hunger striking Sami seven and are of the opinion that their action is of decisive importance.

By just one blow, they have made it crystal clear what the issue is all about: who is to decide what is to be done in the Sami territories? The Sami people have historic rights to land and natural resources at Finnmarksvidda. The new U.N. Convention on Racial Discrimination underlines the aboriginal peoples'

rights to soil, water and natural resources in their territories.

The Norwegian government has ratified this convention, and the Norwegian minister of Defence, Thorvald Stoltenberg, was one of its architects at the U. N. Conference. But up to now, the government's friendliness has only been empty phrases aimed at an international audience. The resolution on development of the Alta River, against

the Sami and other local population's protests, is just another proof of what the State in fact does, is colonialism.

The hunger demonstration in front of the Parliament is a courageous demonstration against this. It has gained spontaneous support both from the Oslo population and various political parties. Today, this support will be followed by demonstrations and popular rallies all over the country.

But the hunger strike will also gain international attention and give proof to the Norwegian government's colonial policy all over the world.

Nobody has any illusions that the government and parliamentary majority are in favour of changing their opinion. But even they fear popular condemnation. If it had not been for the effective and broad resistance work, construction work would have

been started in Alta already. The postponement proves that the government is politically weak. Therefore, they try to gain time. Instead, they will see that the strength of the resistance movement will grow. The hunger strike in front of the Parliament is an important proof of this.

The working committee of AKP (m-l)



Friends of Java Maria (inserted) burying Norwegian justice in a demonstration in Bergen.

# Official Norwegian racism

Abeba Tesfamichael, Goitom Tesfagiorgis Tekle and Wahidul and Shahidul Alam are names one has seen rather frequently in the Norwegian press during the last half year.

These four people have two things in common: They come from third world countries, and they have fallen victims of official Norwegian racism.

Abeba Tesfamichael lived underground in Norway from May to October. Then she gave up and fled to Sweden. She applied for political asylum here, because she had to flee from Eritrea, a country in a state of war. The immigration officers' answer was:

— No, you come from the Sudan, and you have nothing to fear from Sudanese authorities.

Of course, one must not forget these people's ignorance: They didn't know that Ethiopian agents infiltrate Sudanese refugee camps. And anyway: The safe thing is to stick to "the letter of the law". Then, responsibility evaporates.

Goitom Tesfagiorgis Tekle was in a similar situation. This Eritrean ELF member managed to escape to Marseilles as a stow-away passenger. There, he bought a Norwegian passport — illegally, of course. *Jus necessitatis*? Of course not! After a while, he travelled to Helsinki, Finland, where he was caught in a passport control, sent to Norway because of the fake passport. And there you go...

Java Maria from Sri Lanka and the Alam brothers from Bangla Desh were accepted as students at Norwegian «people's colleges», where they would have had very good opportunities to learn the Norwegian language. An innocent enough endeavour. But not to Norwegian immigration officers. The Alam brothers are here to seek employment, they say. And if officials say so, it does not help what the brothers themselves explain. They want to learn Norwegian in order to study

mechanics, so they can contribute to their mother country's progress. In order not to be deported, they had to go into hiding on board M/V Aksnes, a Panama-registered «slave ship» under repair in one of the Norwegian fjords. While working there,

they heard that they had to apply for a residence permit from a Norwegian embassy or legation outside of Scandinavia. Therefore, they had to leave for Hamburg in Western Germany. For months they have been kept waiting for an answer there, staying

in friends' rooms and spending their hard-earned money. A nice Norwegian contribution to broader understanding between different races and cultures indeed!

Java Maria is stateless. She risks being put into prison in Sri Lanka. In Norway,

people have guaranteed economic support. She had started education. Nevertheless, she was almost kicked out of the country. Fortunately enough, her fellow pupils gathered more than 12,000 signatures from supporters and put pressure on the «Department

of Justice». Finally, she was allowed to stay here. Of course these cases put the government's immigration policy in a bad light, and protest against it is growing everyday.

## Norwegian protests against the Prague verdicts

When 6 well-known Czechoslovakian dissenters were sentenced to hard prison punishment for «subversive activities» and «slander of the State», the newly-founded August 21st Committee in Oslo reacted by writing a harsh letter of condemnation to the Czechoslovakian President, Gustav Husak.

The August 21st Committee has a number of personal members. It was established in connection with the protest demonstrations in Norway on the anni-

versary of the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia. The Committee does not want to limit its solidarity with the Czechoslovakian people to this one day; it will follow the development in that country closely all year round.

### «WE KNOW WHY YOU HAVE COME»

When 3 representatives of the August 21st Committee visited the Czechoslovakian Embassy in Oslo on October 25th in order to hand over the letter of protest, they were rejected by embassy personnel. «We know why you have come.» was the only answer they got. Then the embassy door was shut and locked by several safety locks! «Send the letter by mail.» was the embassy personnel's advice to the Committee — which was exactly what they did. The letter to Husak was re-printed in the form of a hand-bill and distributed on a mass basis in the streets of Oslo the following days, with an appeal to forward it to President Husak.



Representatives of the August 21. committee at the Czech embassy in Oslo.

## Norwegian professor beat up and arrested in Prague

A well-known Norwegian professor, Thorolf Rafto, who for several years has worked for the democratic opposition in Czechoslovakia and who has many personal ties to well-known oppositionals, visited Prague in order to hold lectures for Czechoslovakian academicians and visit friends.

The Norwegian professor was arrested in company with several Czechoslovakian intellectuals and beat up in the Prague streets by the Special Service.

After being arrested and interrogated, professor Rafto was put on the train to Eastern Germany. According to Czechoslovakian authorities, his residence permit had «expired»...

## Scandalous Mother Tongue Education

Let's call him Asmet. He's 10 years old. Suddenly, he's told that every Friday, he has to travel for two hours in order to have a two-hour lesson in Urdu.

Or little Francesco, who usually has only a five minutes' walk to school — and now he must travel for an hour in order to learn Italian, which he is entitled to, according to Norwegian law.

It is essential to a person's mental development that the formation of concepts etc. — which is very intensive in elementary school — takes place in the per-

son's mother tongue. Every child in Norway is entitled to have his education in the mother tongue. But in practice, only Norwegian children can take

this right for granted.

If a child has another language as its mother tongue, practical obstacles might be very hard to overcome. Since Norway traditionally has been a very homogeneous country — with very few immigrants, national minorities and «foreign workers» — this has been a rather small problem, although the right to education in the mother tongue had to be fought hard for.

Oslo is one of the very few places in Norway with many ethnic minority groups. Therefore, pro-

blems are very acute there. Up till now, mother tongue education has been given in the child's own school. But in order to save a few kroner, local authorities have centralized this education. To school bureaucrats, it is much easier to send small children here and there all over town than employing a sufficient number of teachers.

Both children, parents and teachers have reacted very sharply against this new policy of discrimination.

# International conference on Kampuchea in Stockholm in november

Friends of Democratic Kampuchea from most countries in Europe as well as the USA and Canada held a conference on Kampuchea in Paris by the end of June and the beginning of July this summer. The conference decided to hold a big, international conference in Stockholm in November in order to support the resistance movement inside Kampuchea. The Stockholm conference will be an important event in the struggle to gain support for the Kampuchean people in their struggle against the Vietnamese occupiers. The Kampuchean people now fight a bitter struggle for survival as an independent nation.

The initiative for the Paris meeting came from famous authors as Han Suyin, Jan Myrdal and Alan Bouc. The fourth person to take this initiative was Dr. Robert Andrei, former leader of the French Viet-Nam Committee. Representatives from countries, as for instance Bangladesh and the Dominican Republic, also participated in the Paris meeting, along with members of the Organisation of Democratic Kampuchean in Paris. Independent intellectuals and members of the clergy also attended. It is the intention of the arranging committee to invite a number of internationally

famous persons who support Kampuchea's right to national independence to the Stockholm conference. Despite different opinions on various international questions, the participants of the Paris meeting agreed on presenting an appeal for having a conference in Stockholm. This appeal is the political foundation for the conference. Work is now in progress in many countries in order to get people to sign this appeal. In Sweden, the Swedish-Cambodian Friendship Society will be the arrangers of the conference. The author and journalist Jon Michelet was the Norwegian delegate in Paris.

## — What is happening in Norway?

The International Conference on Kampuchea in Stockholm, Sweden, November 17th - 18th, was, as many of the readers will know, prepared in many countries in Europe and the third world long time before the Conference started. In the beginning of September, a Working Committee for the Conference on Kampuchea was established in Norway. This committee has worked to create as much support as possible for the Conference in Norway. Its work has mainly been centred on two tasks: to find as many supporters of the Conference as possible. In this, the committee stressed the work to persuade well-known people to sign an appeal on the Conference. The other task has been collecting money to support the Conference in Stockholm. Now, the list of signatures contains the names of many well-known Norwegians. Among these are the pianist, Kjell Bækkelund; the author, Inger Hagerup; Pål Hougen, curator in Oslo and MC in a popular TV program; the editor, Egil Ulateig; and two leading members of the youth organization of Kr. F. (the

Christian Democratic Party). Besides, well-known Norwegian actors, authors, university people and trade union leaders have signed the appeal. The Norwegian «Free Cambodia Committee», which in April last year organized an international hearing in Oslo to denounce Democratic Kampuchea, has also strongly opposed the Vietnamese invasion. In a letter to the Stockholm conference, this committee expresses that it agrees with the conference inasmuch as it condemns the Vietnamese invasion and demands an immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops. The working committee set itself the goal of collecting 10 000 kr for the conference. This amount was reached about one week before the conference. At the moment of writing, it is impossible to say how much has been collected in all, because money keeps pouring in. Right now, the sum is approximately 15 000 kr. Work in connection with the Stockholm Conference has shown that many support the demand for Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea and the demand that the Khmer people

is to rule its own country. This brings promises for work after the Conference. It is the first step on the road to create a world-wide opinion against the barbaric Vietnamese warfare in Kampuchea. In Norway — as in all other countries — a most important task will be to carry out the aims of the Conference. Solidarity must be steeped up, it must not cease on November 18th. Work has not been easy all the way. On Norwegian TV, several pro-Vietnamese programs have been shown, and many bourgeois newspapers have held campaigns for slandering the Pol Pot government. The SV revisionists are among the worst supporters of Vietnam, and they say, among other things, that no one helps Kampuchea more than Vietnam. The bourgeois newspapers have had no wish to print news about the Conference, and this has made propaganda work difficult. But — all in all — the situation is much brighter now than it was when work started. By and by, a strong movement of support for Kampuchea's struggle will grow forth in Norway.

## Stop Norway's development aid to Vietnam

Rød Valgallianse has published a pamphlet where the following claims have been made:

- \* Norway must take in more refugees and give them political asylum.
- \* Norway must demand that Viet-Nam withdraws its troops from Cambodia immediately.
- \* Norwegian development aid to Viet-Nam must be stopped immediately, and new aid must not be given until Viet-Nam has stopped the persecution of the Chinese in Viet-Nam and other national minorities and withdrawn from Cambodia.

vernment has granted 35 million kroner to Viet-Nam. This «development aid» makes it easier for Viet-Nam to persecute Vietnamese of Chinese origin and to continue the warfare in Cambodia. Rød Valgallianse demands that the Norwegian government stops all aid to Viet-Nam until Viet-Nam puts an end to the persecution of Vietnamese of Chinese origin and other national minorities and withdraws its troops from Cambodia.

For a long time, there have been negotiations between the governments of Iceland and Norway on the fishing limit around Jan Mayen, which is a Norwegian island. Norway claims that it has a right to a 200 mile zone around this island, whereas Iceland does not accept this. While these negotiations take place, a major Soviet fishing fleet has the opportunity to fish without restrictions in the area. WCP(m-l) and Icelandic communists recently adopted this joint statement, which was reprinted in Klassekampen, the 19th of June 1979, in which also the fishing limit around Jan Mayen is mentioned:

### An agreement between the Norwegian and Icelandic governments on the fishing limit around Jan Mayen serves the front against Soviet expansionism!

The Median Line Should Not be Adopted Near Jan Mayen

#### Joint statement between EIK(m-l) and AKP(m-l)

Representatives from EIK(m-l) and AKP(m-l) have just finished discussions on questions of common interest. The situation in Norway and in Iceland were discussed, in particular the effects of the economic crisis. The representatives also discussed the international situation, and there was a high degree



of agreement over the interpretations of the situation. Of the two super powers, the Soviet Union is the most dangerous and aggressive. The Soviet Union is the most likely cause of a new world war today. There was common agreement that the Chinese counter-attack on Viet-Nam was a necessary and just action and that this was an important blow against social imperialist expansionism. Both parties stressed the importance of increasing political

and economic aid and assistance to the struggling Kampuchean people. In the question on the fishing limit around Jan Mayen, EIK(m-l) and WCP(m-l) have the joint statement of 1978 as the basis of their view. In the statement, it is stressed that the median line is the main principle for dividing ocean areas between two neighbouring countries. Between Norway and Iceland, the respective 200 mile limits will cross each other, and an area of ca. 30 000 sq. kms will be contained by both. This area is of vital economic interest to Iceland. Therefore, EIK(m-l) and WCP(m-l) want to state that the median line principle ought not to be adhered to in this case, but that Iceland should have full disposal of the area within its 200 mile fishing limit. The relations between EIK(m-l) and WCP(m-l) are based upon proletarian internationalism and the long-time friendship between the Icelandic and Norwegian peoples. The organizations agree on strengthening their mutual relations. EIK(m-l) WCP(m-l)

### Joint statement between The Peruvian Communist Party (Patria Roja) and AKP(m-l)

Contact between the Peruvian Communist Party (PC del Peru - Patria Roja) and AKP(m-l) has been strengthened through several bi-lateral meetings. In September this year, a joint statement between the two parties was printed in Klassekampen. The statement especially stresses both parties' support to the theory of the three worlds, and to the struggle Democratic Kampuchea fights against Viet-

nam and the Soviet Union. It is also stressed that PC del Peru fights US imperialism. The USA is the most important of the two super-powers in Peru. At the same time, it is underlined that the Soviet Union tries to gain an economic as well as a political foothold in Latin America, and especially that Cuba represents a possible military threat to the continent.

### Joint statement between PC(m-l) Portugal and AKP(m-l)

Through many bi-lateral meetings in Norway and Portugal, the PC(m-l) Portugal and AKP(m-l) have exchanged experiences and held political discussions. As a result of these discussions, a joint statement from these parties was issued. Even this joint statement underlines the two parties' support of the theory of the three worlds and Mao Zedong thought. PC

(m-l)P stressed the necessary task of stopping the reactionaries' offensive in Portugal and struggle to secure the working-class victories from the anti fascist struggle in the country. The two parties also stressed their common willingness to contribute to the international solidarity movement for Democratic Kampuchea.

### AKP(m-l) greets the People's Republic of China on its thirtieth anniversary

On the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary for the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the Central Committee of AKP(m-l) sent their greetings to the Central Committee of CPC and the Chinese government. In the greeting, it is said, among other things, that China has experienced profound changes since liberation. Further, it says: «Not only has the last 30 years' development given the Chinese people a new life. Oppressed peoples and nations regard the People's Republic of China a continued source of inspiration in their struggle for national as well as social justice and a consequent supporter in the world-wide struggle against

imperialism. To revolutionaries, the working class and peoples all over the world, the experiences of the CPC is a rich source in their own endeavours.» Furthermore, the greeting stresses the importance of China's revolutionary foreign policy, and says: «The consequent task of creating a front as broad as possible against the greatest oppressor and most dangerous super-power today, the Soviet social imperialism, is of inestimable importance to the peoples of the world.» In the greeting, AKP(m-l) takes the opportunity to honor the memory of Comrade Mao Zedong, and says: «With his enormous contributions, both in the

practical and the theoretical fields, Comrade Mao Zedong enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism and played a decisive role in re-creating a genuine communist world movement.» To conclude, the greeting says: «Now, the People's Republic of China, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese masses face new, great goals. The bold task to turn China into a modern socialist industrial state by the year 2000 will demand great, well-planned efforts for a long period ahead in order to strengthen socialism and demonstrate on the practical levels how socialism surpasses the other known social systems.»

### AKP(m-l) greets the Communist Party of Kampuchea

On occasion of the Communist Party of Kampuchea's 19th anniversary, the Central Committee of AKP(m-l) sent its warmest greetings to Kampuchean comrades. The message of greeting underlines the fact that during the four years after the liberation from the US puppet regime of Lon Nol, the material demands

of the Kampuchean people were safeguarded through the reconstruction of the country under the leadership of CPK. The message states that the Vietnamese occupiers are ready to exterminate the Khmer people, and that they are responsible for the severe hunger catastrophe in Kampuchea. The message expresses a firm

conviction that the Kampuchean liberation struggle will be victorious, even if the enemy is strong. «In alliance with peace-loving peoples all over the world, we will join forces to isolate the Hanoi junta and do what we can to contribute to their final defeat», the message of greeting concludes.

### TRADING IN HUMANS - A WAY TO FINANCE WARS

3000 dollars — in gold — is the sum every refugee must pay the government. Human beings has become the most important export item. This trade in humans is a means to finance another genocide — committed by 140 000 Vietnamese invading soldiers in Cambodia. Soviet arms are being paid for by the refugees' last money. Hanna Kvanmo (SV) exhibits an unbelievable cynicism when she defends the stream of refugees by pointing to the fact that the U.S. government has not paid the reparations for the war. U.S. atrocities and war crimes do not justify Viet Nam's pogroms. Nor do they justify driving hundreds of thousands into death at sea. They do not give Viet-Nam the right to occupy its neighbouring countries and slaughter their peoples. STOP NORWEGIAN DEVELOPMENT AID TO VIET-NAM This year, the Norwegian go-

**AKP(m-l):****COMMENTS**

on the open «Letter of the CC of PLA and the Government of Albania to the CC of the CPC on the Government of China». (PARTS 8-9)

**INTRODUCTION**

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

Part 1 to 4 of the comments of AKP(m-l) were printed in Class Struggle no 1/78, parts 5 to 7 in C.S. no 1/79. In this issue, we print the remaining comments.

**AN ANTI-MARXIST METHOD**

The «open letter» from the Albanian leaders contain fantastic lies about The People's Republic of China, the CPC and Mao Zedong. But the question is whether the point we repeat today does not beat all previous records. In contrast to the Marxist-Leninist method — to seek truth from the facts — the Albanian leaders spread accusations and grave slander. They have not left out one

single of the propaganda lies from the arsenal of social imperialism. One would have thought that people who think of themselves as «firm defenders of Marxist-Leninist principles» and «leaders of the world's proletariat» would use at least a couple of facts to support their claims. One would have thought that they would have presented material to prove their claims on the revolutionary situation in Europe and that the threat from social imperialism is a lie. But no. Unlike the thorough documentation the CPC always uses to support their standpoints, we find nothing of the kind in the Albanian letter. It does not rise above Krutchev's «open letter» of 1963, neither in form nor in content.

**THE THREAT FROM THE SOVIET UNION A BLUFF?**

«Because of the bluff about defending national independence against Soviet imperialism, which they consider the only danger and threat today, China demands that all peoples forsake their fight for national, economic and social liberation and put themselves under US imperialism and the capitalist powers in the West, the late colonial powers», the Albanian leaders write.

Do they consider the CPC to be swindling when they talk about the threat from the Soviet Union? Or do they consider it a swindle to defend national independence against the Soviet Union? Whether they mean the former or the latter, it is a calamitous distortion of the situation in the world.

On October 3rd, 1974, Enver Hoxha declared: «Look out! US imperialism and Russian imperialism are leading the world into a new world war, more terrible than the two first!» And he compared the Soviet Union to the most aggressive imperialist power during the 2nd World War, Nazi Germany: «The Kremlin suppresses and threatens them: — either you do

what I want and command, or I invade you and keep you down, as I did with Czechoslovakia. — This was Hitler's road. He started with Austria and moved on to Czechoslovakia and the other countries. Soviet social imperialism started in the same way and will end in the same way». (E. Hoxha: Our Policy is an Open Policy.)

The super-powers are leading the world into a new war, and the Soviet Union is following in Hitler Germany's footsteps, such as Hoxha's analysis in 1974. In 1978, the threat from the Soviet Union is a «swindle». Either the Albanian leaders' accusation of a swindle hit Hoxha with full force, or the situation in the world has entirely changed since 1974.

**THE DANGER OF WAR IS INCREASING**

Since 1974, the Soviet Union has won a temporary victory in the colonial war in Angola. They have sent over 50 000 Cuban mercenary soldiers to Africa and waged war in Ogaden and Eritrea. They have stood behind the coup or attempted coup in Afghanistan, Iraq, the Sudan, Somalia, South and North Yemen. They have provoked a short war between Libya and Egypt. They have directed Vietnam in attacking Kampuchea. In addition, they have violated borders and held military manoeuvres against a great number of countries all over the world. Time has not invalidated Hoxha's description of the Soviet Union. The comparison with Hitler Germany is still pertinent, and the peoples of the world should really «look out» and not lend an ear to those who call black white and the threat from the Soviet Union a «swindle».

The Albanian leaders accuse China of allying herself with US imperialism, and they say that the CPC «demands» that the peoples of the world put themselves under US imperialism. If they are so very sure of themselves, why don't

they use one line quotation from what the CPC writes to prove what they say? Because it is impossible to prove a lie. Why don't the Albanian leaders mention that Mao's theory of the three worlds says that there are TWO imperialistic super-powers, that the peoples of the world must fight imperialism, that the rivalry between the Soviet Union and the USA will end in war, and that the Soviet Union is the one on the offensive? They cannot do this because this is the truth, such as peoples all over the world experience it.

The Albanian leaders no longer talk about the danger of war; instead they call it a «swindle». But they do talk about two imperialist super-powers and call themselves Leninists.

Lenin proved that THE RELATION OF POWER BETWEEN THE GREATEST IMPERIALIST POWERS CAN ONLY BE SOLVED THROUGH WAR. As long as we have two imperialist super-powers, it is elementary Leninism that it MUST come to a war of re-distribution between them. This is also what the CPC asserts. This makes Pravda call China a «warmonger», and now the Albanian leaders repeat the same story. Their fury is turned against those who expose the reasons for war, not those who prepare the way for it. This is a deeply counter-revolutionary logic, and the Albanian leaders' new attitude to this question is tragic for the Albanian people.

**AGAINST THE VICTIMS OF AGGRESSION**

According to the Albanian leaders, it is a «swindle» to defend independence against social imperialism. They especially attack the victims of social imperialist aggression, such as Zaire's Mobutu. Twice Zaire has been invaded by Soviet mercenaries, but according to the Albanian leaders, it is a crime to support



In 1974, Enver Hoxha stated that the Soviet Union was following in Hitler Germany's footsteps. In 1978, the threat from the Soviet Union is a swindle.

Picture shows the «Neman» military exercises held in July 1979 in the territory of the Soviet Baltic Republics.

Zaire against invasion, for Mobutu is a «criminal». In their wild attacks against China, they so completely lose control that they attack China twice in the same sentence for supporting kings. But if it is reactionary to support kings, it must be just as bad to support emperors. Consequently, the Albanian leaders must review Stalin's and Mao's support of EMPEROR Haile Selassie in the war against Mussolini, at once and criticise themselves for supporting PRINCE Sihanouk in Kampuchea and PRINCE Souvannahong in Laos against US imperialism. In their moralistic attacks on China, the Albanian leaders completely ignore the fundamental division between the aggressors and the victims, and join forces with the aggressors by concentrating their fire upon the victim. They do not differentiate between just and unjust wars.

The reason why it was correct to support PRINCE Sihanouk against the USA and EMPEROR Haile Selassie against Italy, is that they waged a JUST war. When the Albanian leaders throw this principle to the winds, they not only reject Mao, but also Lenin and Marx, to join with modern revisionism. Krutchev also mocked Mao's support of «princes» and «sovereigns». History has already judged him.

**A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION**

According to the Albanian leaders, the situation in Western Europe is revolutionary, and it is a «betrayal» on the part of China not to agree. The Albanian leaders no doubt know that Lenin defined the term REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION and made quite definite demands before talking about such a situation. Why do they not use Lenin's definition to prove the CPC's mistake? The answer is that it is impossible.

Lenin makes three conditions for speaking of a revolutionary situation: 1) a crisis in the ruling class which makes it unable to rule in the old way any longer, 2) that the oppressed masses no longer will let themselves be ruled in the old way, and 3) an extensive mass movement against the ruling class, a movement that also embraces broad masses of people who are normally passive. Is it possible to say that the ruling class in for instance Norway is no longer able to rule in the old way? Or that we have the extensive mass movement Lenin speaks of? Far from it. To think so is purely wishful thinking. Even though there is a crisis and the ruling class do have certain problems, the situation is far from revolutionary. To point this out is no «betrayal», but an objective

fact. A strategy building on wishful thinking is not revolutionary. The only useful strategy for the working class, is one showing how the fight for revolution is to be waged under conditions that really exist. A strategy for revolution in 1978 must, among other things, take into consideration that the danger of war in most countries is increasing more rapidly than the possibility for revolution.

**MAO'S THEORY OF THE THREE WORLDS**

The Albanian leaders say that it is not Mao who developed the theory of the three worlds, but «world reaction», the «imperialists» and the «social imperialists».

As far as we can see, they build this on the fact that the term «third world» was launched long before Mao took it up, amongst other by bourgeois sociologists. But this is no argument against Mao's theory. The Albanian leaders forget that all of the Marxist classics have used the works of bourgeois scientists. Did not Marx use Ricardo's works even though he criticised it? Was not Morgan's studies of the Iroquois decisive for Engels' theory on primitive communism and the origin of private property? Did not Lenin use the works of the liberal Hobson to develop his theory of imperialism? Did not Lenin use the German bourgeois military theorist von Clausewitz to explain the relation between war and politics?

There are lots of similar examples. Does this mean that Marxist classics echo the opinions of liberals and militarists? No, on the contrary; it is proof of their scientific and analytic attitude. They made use of the most advanced material in bourgeois science, cleaned out mistakes and used it in a Marxist analysis. This is also the case with Mao's theory of the three worlds.

When the bourgeois sociologists, og politicians spoke of THE THIRD WORLD, this reflected something that existed in reality. In the 50's and early 60's, this term was used of the suppressed countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These countries did not belong to the imperialist camp, nor to the socialist, and they had a great number of common features.

After the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union and a great number of previously socialist countries, the socialist camp broke up. In this situation, Mao showed that there had developed a new division of the world. He held on to the FUNDAMENTAL DIVISION BETWEEN OPPRESSORS AND THE OPPRESSED drawn up by Lenin. He divided the imperialist countries

into two; the super-powers USA and the Soviet Union are imperialist powers capable of oppression and pursue aggression all over the world, even in relation to smaller imperialist powers. In this fashion we get a division into three, expressing the fundamental tendency in the world situation.

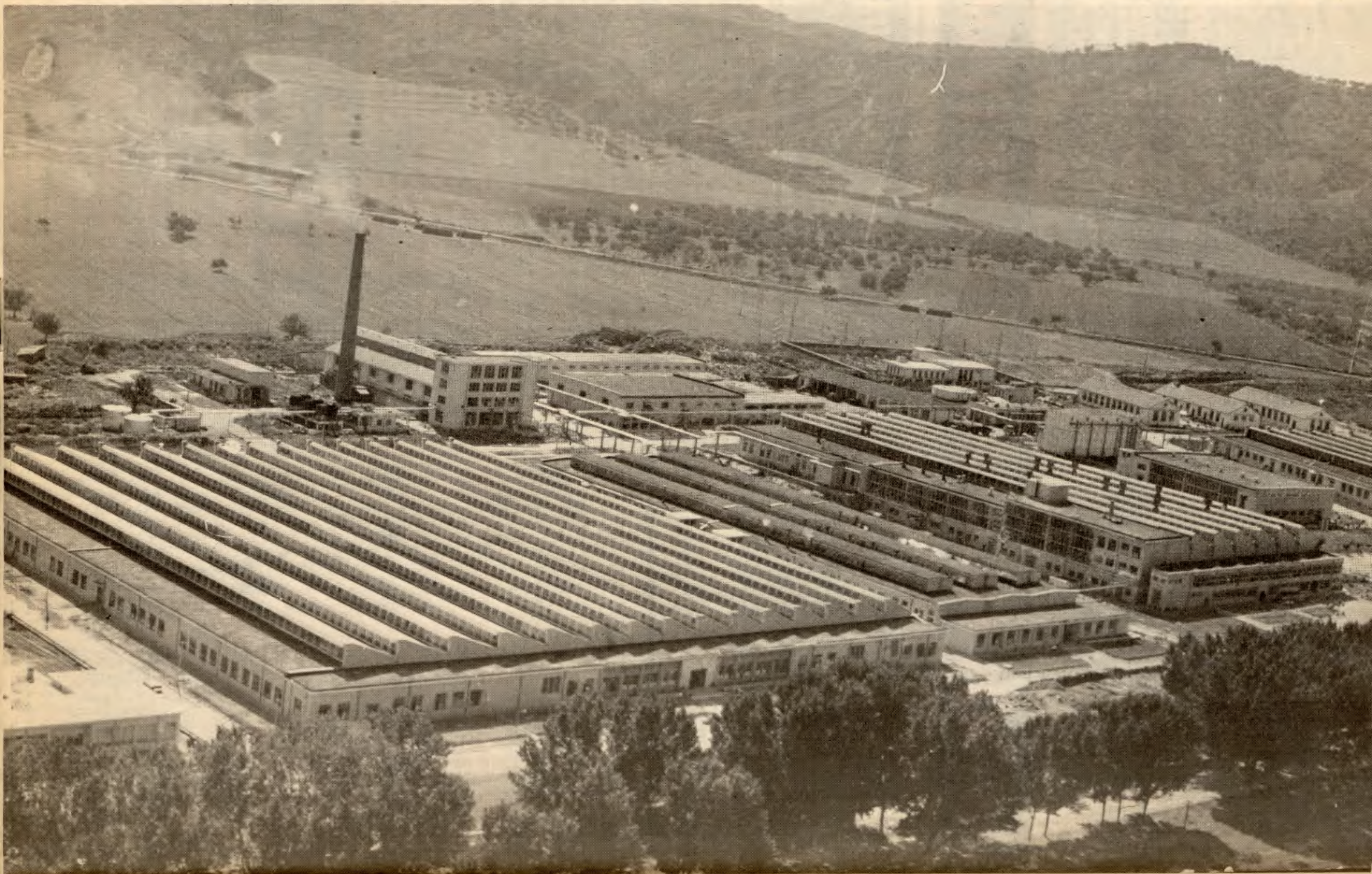
Facts from the past ten years and more show that the countries in the third world hit imperialism, and especially the super-powers, the hardest, while the countries in the second world are both oppressors and oppressed. Mao's theory makes these tendencies clear, and becomes a material force in itself as soon as the peoples of the world grasp it, strengthen the third world and begin breaking the second world away from the super-powers. According to the Albanian leaders, this tendency is negative. It is supposed to «prevent» liberation and «stir up imperialist world war».

This is to oppose the greatest antiimperialist movement in our time.

**DOES CHINA INTERFERE?**

According to the Albanian leaders, the greatest threat to the Balkan peoples at present is «China's intrigues». The reason is that China is supposed to try to create «sinister alliances». These are fantastic claims. China has not one soldier in the Balkans or any other place outside her own borders. How can China threaten the Balkan peoples? And against whom does China want the Balkan peoples to ally? The super-powers, and especially the Soviet Union. For whom is this «sinister»? For the super-powers, and especially the Soviet Union, because even if the Albanian leaders omit to mention it, unlike China, the Soviet Union DOES HAVE military forces in the Balkans. They have forces in Bulgaria and Hungary. They send their navy through the Bosphorus (the straits between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, ed.) and patrol the Mediterranean and the Adriatic. They have agents all over the Balkans who work to destroy the Balkan countries' resistance from within. This is the real threat to the Balkans. When China encourages the Balkan countries to join forces against this threat, this is in the Balkan countries' own interest.

Once again, the Albanian leaders contradict themselves. Not only China has stressed the importance of the Balkan peoples standing to-



The former Mao Tsetung textile combine in Albania, an example of the vast economic aid given by the People's Republic of China. In their campaign against the CPC, the leaders of the PLA now denies the importance of this help.

gether against aggression. In his speech of October 3rd, 1974, Hoxha said: «But the Balkan people have learnt from this (the undermining of the imperialists, ed.), and even if we disagree on many questions, we have found and will continue to find a common language to resist the common danger». Now, the Albanian leaders declare that any attempt to unite the Balkan peoples against a common danger is a «threat» against peace. The only thing the Balkan peoples can threaten by standing together against a common danger is, of course, the Soviet plan of gaining domination over the Balkans. They can oppose the Soviet troops in the Balkans and stop Soviet from playing the different countries of the Balkans against each other. Whoever considers this negative, places himself on the side of the social imperialists.

The Albanian leaders claim that China is becoming a super-power, and that her strategy for this is to co-operate with the USA and the Soviet Union in order to get help to become a «third super-power». According to the Albanian leaders, the two superpowers who today are already rivals to the bitter end in the fight for world domination, happily wish a «super-power rival» welcome, and even help it on! Apart from the fact that they naturally do not put forward one single proof that China is imperialistic, the thought of how a super-power develops is so far from anything called Leninism and common sense that it characterises itself.

The Communist Party of China is supposed to have «pressured» other parties to support their theory of the three worlds, and even to have put pressure on them to «unite with US imperialism and world reaction». This is a cold blooded lie. Let us take AKP(m-l), who supports Mao's theory of the three worlds: Everyone who bothers to examine the fact will know that we decided to support it after open discussions where thousands of members and sympathisers took part. The party program is formed by discussions at our summer camps and in program discussions. As early as 1974, the party rejected the attack from the revisionists on the theory of the three worlds. It would have been quite impossible for det CPC to meddle in this process even if they wanted to, and they have not done so. Has the theory of the three worlds made us stop fighting the bourgeoisie? Why should the capitalists' main cooperators, the NAF (Norwegian Employees' Association) warn everybody of the AKP(M-L) if we wanted class co-operation? The claim is as nonsensical as it is untrue.

## A COMPLETE BREAK WITH LENINISM

The Albanian attack on Mao's theory of the three worlds is built on lies and distortions. In this fashion, they break with the entire Marxist-Leninist METHOD. They turn their guns against the oppressed nations who fight for national independence from the super-powers, especially from social imperialism. And they break with the Marxist-Leninist POINT OF VIEW. In the concrete war situation the peoples of the world are in, the Albanian leaders use all their energy to hide social imperialism's crimes and deny the Soviet threat. At the same time, they turn their main attack on socialist China and use all their energy to blacken the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and split it away from the peoples all over the world.

In this fashion, the Albanian leaders pursue the logic of all opportunists and render service to the class enemy.

## On the break between the PLA and the CPC.

But first a remark on the meetings the CPC is supposed to have postponed. We do not know why they did this, but we would like to remind people of the fact that the period from 1974 to 1976 was a very difficult one in the history of China. The «gang of four» were doing their sabotage, and they threatened with a counter-revolutionary coup. The great leaders, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, were both very ill, and both died by the end of this period. The Albanian leaders choose high handedly to forget this. We consider it cynical and tasteless of them to pretend to be unaware of these problems. Our own experience tells us that the CPC had difficulties in carrying out discussions at party level in this period. When the AKP(m-l) sent a delegation to China, we knew that Zhou Enlai expressed a wish to meet the

delegation, but that he was unable to do so because of illness, and sent a personal message instead. Not to accept this is unheard of. But the Albanian leaders pretend not to know of these difficulties and are very indignant that China could receive «kings and princes, reactionaries and fascists» during this period and not the delegation from the APA. We do not believe that the Albanian leaders are as stupid as they make out to be. They know perfectly well that these visits of state had a very different character and were far easier to carry out. They also know just as well that an Albanian party delegation in Beijing would have meant long and intense meetings with sharp discussions. Our knowledge of Mao's and Zhou's health during this period tells us that it would have been completely unpardonable to go through such a project at this time. We are shocked that the Albanian leaders refuse to accept this but instead try to score cheap points by playing on the most difficult period in the modern history of China.

## HAVE THE ALBANIAN LEADERS BEHAVED CORRECTLY?

The Albanian leaders try to make the world believe that the CPC first went out and attacked the Albanian party and not the other way round. Lenin once used the expression «third rate petty-fogging» when speaking of cheating that is so difficult to carry out that it exposes itself. The question is whether the Albanian leaders do not qualify for this characterisation when they accuse China of having started the dispute.

October, the Norwegian Marxist-Leninist publishing house, has published Hoxha's report to the 7th party congress. Anyone who wishes, can read many badly camouflaged attacks on the CPC there. It is not written in so many words, but is plain enough for anyone who can read. The report claims that Mao's theory of the three worlds helps to keep the oppressed people down, that it conceals the class struggle and serves imperialism. The fact that the names of neither Mao nor China are mentioned in this context changes nothing. It was quite correct of the CPC to consider this an attack on themselves.

At the moment we shall not consider the question of what happened on and around the

7th congress, but when time comes for this subject to be broached, it will strengthen and not weaken the claim that the congress was an attack on China and Mao Zedong.

The Albanian leaders who are so ready to accuse other countries of interfering, used their own congress to «approve» and «reject» Marxist-Leninist parties in a number of countries. And in the report they are no more modest than that they include some twenty «lines of guidance» for Marxist-Leninist parties in other countries. Seldom the expression «to throw stones when sitting in a glass house» has fit better than when the Albanian leaders accuse the CPC of behaving like a «mother party» towards «daughter parties».

After the 7th congress, the Albanian leaders worked behind the scenes to build up an international fraction of anti-Chinese opportunists. They used people like Ernst Aust in West Germany, whom they knew to be a supporter of the «gang of four», to organise so-called «international meetings». The contents of these meetings were far more open attacks on China than Albania found it opportune to come with. But the meetings got much publicity in Albania, the PLA participated in some of them themselves and some of the counter-revolutionary speeches of some of the parties participating were circulated on a mass basis from Albanian ambassadors all over the world. Now the Albanian leaders try to dress up in their most innocent white and act indignant that China can have imagined the PLA to be attacking China. However, we are, to say the least, very little impressed.

All through the autumn of 1977, the Albanian press was full of indirect attacks on China, and this culminated in an editorial in Zeri i Popullit on July 7th 1977. Oktober has also published this, and everyone can see that this article is an extensive and furious attack on China. The editorial of July 7th is a programmed and revisionist article where the Albanian party organ publicly condemns the most fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. The supporters of the theory of the three worlds are abused as traitors to the revolution, supporters of imperialism, class collaborators etc. Still the Albanian leaders are indignant that the CPC can consider this an attack on China! The editorial also contained something else that has escaped the notice of bourgeois commentators so far. It declared that: «A really socialist country cannot consider itself as belonging to such groups as the so-called 'third world' or 'the unallied states' ...» This is a principle declaration that the Albanian lea-

ders do not consider China a «really socialist country». (Incidentally, this also hits Korea and Kampuchea). The CPC had to consider this attack, and it is rather poor opportunism of the Albanian leaders to pretend that it was nothing of the kind.

It was not until after this attack that China made her first contribution to the debate. This was an editorial from November 1st 1977. Oktober has also published this. Despite the Albanian leaders' provocations, the CPC refrained from characterising those who attacked the theory of the three worlds. They only presented solid documentation of Mao's theory, where they used arguments, statistics and references to Marxist-Leninist theory, instead of the Albanian leaders' abuse. For our part, we have published both the Albanian and the Chinese documents, secure in our conviction that whoever reads them will know who is right and who is wrong. We asked the question: Have the Albanian leaders behaved correctly? Our answer must be: No, they have behaved as great separatists and fractionists.

## SUPPORT TO «THE GANG OF FOUR»

The Albanian leaders claim to have an «opinion on everything and every person or group» in the leadership of the CPC. En passant we must allow ourselves to congratulate the Albanian leaders on having acquired divine powers. To have an opinion on «everything and everybody» without having been able to make thorough investigations is, of course, contrary to everything that has anything to do with marxist materialism, but one must not have SUCH petty considerations.

The Albanian leaders declare that it is untrue that they supported the «gang of four». But in the same breath, they kill this assertion by calling the leadership of the CPC «illegal». This means that in reality they consider that the «gang of four» would have been a «legal» leadership, while it was «illegal» to overthrow them. But why do they try to hide the fact that they support the «gang of four» in this way? They do not dare supporting the «gang of four» openly because their revisionist policy is so thoroughly exposed now, both in China and the rest of the world. An open defence would compromise the Albanian leaders themselves.

The «gang of four» has been exposed through broad mass discussions in China. Their political line has been thoroughly reviewed in all fields, and both communists and the wor-

king masses have studied Marxist-Leninist classics and Chinese reality in order to get to the bottom of the question. It is this settlement the Albanian leaders have the gall to call «illegal». In this fashion they not only support social imperialism on a global scale; they also support the counter-revolutionaries in China who tried to use the «gang of four» to seize power in China and turn it into a fascist dictatorship. The Albanian leaders' standpoint is inconsequent: In the letter where they give indirect support to the «gang of four», they disassociate themselves from Mao Zedong. But the «gang of four» tried to proclaim themselves «Mao's rightful heirs». The whole illusion that the «gang of four», unlike Hua Guofeng, is supposed to be «legal» heirs of Mao, is based on the claim that they «followed Mao's political line». This is the political line the Albanian leaders attack at all points and which they claim led to «the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie» in China from 1971. This is how nonsensical the logic of opportunism is.

## Commentator

### AKP(m-l) breaks with the Party of Labour of Albania

Members of AKP(m-l) have voted on the PLA policy and decided to break with that party.

The leaders of the PLA have supported the Vietnamese occupation of Democratic Kampuchea, supported other social imperialist offensives and dissociated itself from Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong thought. By doing these things, the party has left the communist world movement.

Thus, the break between AKP(m-l) and the PLA is a fact.

The Soviet provocations against Norway continue. In Class Struggle No. 1/78, we had a big article on the «Grey Zone Agreement», which entails Soviet supremacy within Norwegian waters. In the same issue, we also wrote about the Soviet helicopter base on Svalbard, which is clearly against Norwegian laws.

On the 28th of August 1978, a Soviet military aircraft crashed at Hopen, an island to the South-West of Svalbard. The crew of seven was killed. The Soviet government immediately demanded that the remains of the aircraft should be handed over to them, which the Norwegian government accepted to do, apart from the instrument that registers the aircraft's last operations: its speed, direction, altitude etc.

On the 9th of July 1979, Klassekampen could sum up the crash at Hopen:

## Loaded with Machine Guns and Films

The Soviet military aircraft that crashed at Hopen last August, was on a steady course for Svalbard when it hit the Wærenskiold Mountain and exploded.

This crash at Hopen could have been avoided if the aircraft had taken a route four kilometers to the South-West, it is said in the aircraft crash commission's report. The commission claims that the reason that the military Tupolev TU-16 aircraft crashed into the mountainside at Hopen was faulty navigation.

The aircraft flew at an altitude of only a few hundred meters when it came over the island. There is nothing to suggest that the crew of the military aircraft was in any emergency situation. There could not have been fire on board the aircraft before it crashed, either. The compass gave the correct course, and the registering unit had recorded a flight of 86 minutes' length before the aircraft crashed into the

Wærenskiold Mountain at Hopen, and the crash commission supposes that there was a large amount of fuel on board the aircraft.

The faulty navigation that the aircraft crash commission speaks about, was not only of a local character. It is obvious that the aircraft was on a steady course for Svalbard, and that the purpose must have been illegal reconnaissance over Norwegian territory.

The report that the aircraft crash commission has published, contains a preface which states the reasons for the work of the commission. It appears from the report that co-operation with the Soviet Union has been difficult. It has taken a long time to clear up many questions that could have been answered rather quickly. The aircraft crash commission has been forced to find the answers on its own.

## With a Steady Course for Svalbard

## WHAT HAPPENED TO «UTVIK SENIOR»?

On February 17th, 1978, a Norwegian fishing boat, «Utvik Senior» shipwrecked off the North Norwegian coast. 9 fishermen died. This caused a lot of attention in Norway, partly because another fishing boat shipwrecked in the same area the year before.

Since then, the families of the deceased and the people on Senja Island, «Utvik Senior»'s home port, have met resistance from Norwegian authorities in their investigations to find the reasons for these shipwrecks.

### COLLISION WITH AN IRON VESSEL?

Another fishing boat situated quite close to «Utvik Senior» just before the shipwreck, had radar observations of an unknown iron vessel on a colliding course with «Utvik Senior». Wreckage found long time later supports the theory that «Utvik Senior» was rammed by an unknown vessel. Neue Zürcher Zeitung, a Swiss newspaper, published material and analyses to support this theory even more in September 1979. It poses the question about a Soviet submarine which, in fact, disappeared in the same area in the period around the «Utvik Senior» shipwreck.



The aircraft crash happened almost at the same time that the Soviet radar base at Cape Heer was revealed. For many days, the situation was tense. The Soviet Union demanded that the entire aircraft wreck should be handed over, which the Norwegian government granted after the aircraft crash commission had inspected the spot.

The Soviet Union also demanded that the registering unit should be handed over. This demand was rejected.

The Soviet aircraft, TU-16, was well equipped with radars. The aircraft could re-fill fuel

while in air, and the aircraft crash commission found two double machine-guns with 23 mm ammunition in its chambers.

The military aircraft had loads of film on board, and it is obvious that this was a reconnaissance aircraft that would film and take photographs of everything of interest for the Soviet military command.

After the aircraft crash at Hopen last year, it has become obvious that Soviet military aircraft have violated Norwegian airspace territory several times.

### NORWEGIAN DEFENCE AUTHORITIES REJECT THE THEORY

Norwegian authorities categorically refuse to probe the dihard rumours that the ship was sunk by an unidentified — probably Soviet — submarine, that collided and then continued its voyage northwards along the Norwegian coast and later disappeared. The Norwegian authorities do not see any connection between these rumours and an episode in the waters off the Finnmark Coast during the summer of '78: Then, Soviet vessels were taken in Norwegian waters because they violated the territorial borders. Norwegian fishermen filmed how the Soviet vessels lowered some objects up and down the ships' sides.

\* Norwegian authorities accept the Soviet explanations that they were «getting rid of garbage».

\* Neue Zürcher Zeitung claims that these vessels were using submarine cameras, sonar and geigers to search for a shipwrecked atomic submarine.

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# CLASS STRUGGLE

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