

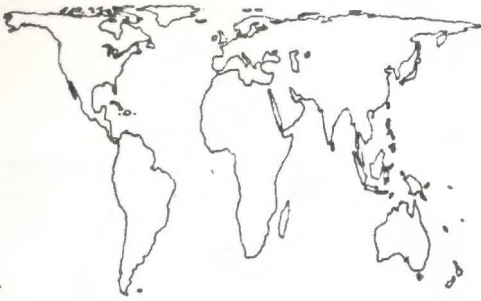
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INTERNATIONAL REVIEW



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of

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INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

No. 7 Spring 1990

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This is the seventh of an internal bulletin designed to circulate information on the international communist movement, and the analysis and developments within fraternal organisations.

There may be unacknowledged disagreements and these articles should not be taken as representing official R.C.L. positions.

COMMENTS ON THE PTB DOCUMENT (EUROPE WITHOUT BOUNDARIES) AND THE JOINT STATEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN M-L PARTIES AND ORGANISATIONS

The PTB document is much to be welcomed. Its general approach coincides with the position we have been developing independently, and also that put forward in the migrant workers/1992 conference.

It correctly reflects the interpenetration and collusion between the monopolies in different parts of the imperialist world, as well as the aspect of confrontation between the big economic blocs in formation. Most important it correctly states the importance of the "external and internal enemy" in the formation of European identity, as well as the importance of the massive net transfer of capital from the oppressed to the industrialised nations. It highlights the crucial importance of European chauvinism, racism and fascism. Our only significant criticism under this heading is that it fails to highlight the structural changes in the labour process which tend to bypass the traditional industrial sectors and move a considerable extra burden of exploitation onto women and oppressed nationalities.

On the whole we would be happy to subscribe to this document, except for a major difference on the question of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In our opinion it is simply wishful thinking to say that there is a situation where, in European terms, we can see on the one hand the crisis of capitalism and on the other the vitality of Marxism-Leninism. In fact we believe that the Soviet leadership is capitulating to capitalism both economically within Europe and politically on a world scale. In fact Gorbachev has bargained with the USA by selling out the liberation movements in turn for significant economic concessions with regard to the terms on which the USSR will be integrated into the world capitalist system.

Turning to the other document, superficially it might seem to agree with the PTB, in that we are not dealing with an obvious 'line-struggle' between one text which supports the actual process of European integration and another which doesn't. However, in our opinion the joint statement differs fundamentally, and in substance it does thus represent a different line - unless that is we consider the issue of racism to be insignificant.

The authors apparently consider that the question of the Soviet Union is the principal difference between the two texts, but this is not how we see it. In fact, both sides start from the same premise, even though they arrive at diametrically opposite conclusions! Both fail to understand the mechanisms of the Soviet integration into the world capitalist economy. On this issue, we have contradictions with both documents, and although it appears to be a secondary question at the moment, it will

increasingly become central to the whole process of European integration. In fact, Gorbachev's "common home" idea has a racist dimension. The western European capitalists are being encouraged to turn to Eastern Europe as an alternative to building up any more newly industrialising countries in the third world.

However, our main difference with the joint statement is very definitely on the score that it marginalises the racist dimension to the formation of the so-called European identity even in current terms. In our view the demands of national minorities must be upheld in their right, instead of just treating racism as an issue dividing the working class. Moreover, more important than the issue of dividing the working class is the role of racism in 'integrating' the working class, into a sense of identity with the system. Finally, the minorities are the front line in the struggle for the overall defence of democratic rights.

It is simply unbelievable that this document can take a triumphalist tone in upholding the wave of strikes in France, a country which has seen a horrendous growth of open fascist forces which collude with the state in a reign of terror against black people while also building a mass base in some areas, and enjoying respectability within the political establishment. We consider this a central issue in the contemporary evolution of Europe.

This document is thus fundamentally opportunist, and the RCL could not in any way support it.

The main ideas put forward in the above presentation were unanimously supported by the CC, although it was not voted on as a text. It was decided that it be published in International Review together with the two texts in question, and used as a basis in discussions with other organisations until we arrive at a fuller line in the process of our programmatic work.

GROUP MARXISTS-LENINISTS NETHERLANDS (GML)
COMMUNIST ORGANISATION OF LUXEMBOURG (KOL)
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE WORKERS OF NORWAY / MARXIST-LENINIST (AKP/ML)
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE / MARXIST-LENINIST KPG/ML)
MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY OF GERMANY (MLPD)
SWEDISH COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY (SKA)

Joint statement of European Marxist Leninist parties and organisations

AGAINST THE EUROPE OF THE MONOPOLIES-FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' SOLIDARITY AND FRIENDSHIP AMONG PEOPLES

Workers, employees, pupils and students of Europe !

On the occasion of the European elections, governments and mass media claim that a new era of a "social and peaceful Europe" is beginning with the, for 1992 aspired, domestic market of the European Community. But most working people oppose the monopolies' plans for Europe or are extremely skeptical about them; and they have good cause for this. What the international monopolies really mean by the catchword "harmonisation" is the more rapid dismantling of the social and political rights of the working people. Their plan is to lower wages and social benefits, weaken existing protective regulations and flexibilise working hours. Feverish mergings and intensified rationalisation of production through micro-electronics and automation, as well as the ruination of hundreds of thousands of small and middle-sized farmers, will lead to a further rise in mass unemployment. The conditions under which the working, learning and studying youth are educated and trained will be worsened.

The working class's right to strike, the right to demonstrate and the right of assembly, as well as the right of asylum for those pursued in their struggle against military dictatorship and fascism, are to be further restricted on a European-wide scale. Parallel to this, undercover informancy is being organised European-wide. Attempts to form a European police force serve the preparation of the suppression of workers' struggles and the resistance of the peoples. In face of the working people's lack of trust in the bourgeois parties, neo-fascist forces are being bolstered up in France, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and West Germany.

STOP THE DISMANTLING OF THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF "EUROPEAN CONFORMANCY" !

By means of the European domestic market, the European imperialists are trying to expand their influence upon the underdeveloped countries and intensify their neo-colonial exploitation and suppression.

Contrary to the interests and the will of the working class, of the masses of the working people, as well as of the oppressed peoples, the largest European countries are aspiring, with their "unification", to rise up as a new power between the superpowers USA and Soviet Union. They dream of a European superpower. But this demands the subordination of one imperialist to the other and will sharpen the contradictions within the European Community.

Inspite of all promises of peace, military rearmament is being speeded up with projects like the reactivation and expansion of the WEU, the building of new atomic missiles and bombers and the formation of German-French brigades. The struggle for the redivision of the world will intensify the general threat of war inspite of the temporary relative detente between the USA and the Soviet Union.

FOR THE DISBANDMENT OF THE NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT !

Resistance against the various effects of this reactionary course is growing.

Expression of this were the general strikes in Spain, Portugal and Greece. France experienced its biggest wave of strikes in 10 years, and 150 000 working people demonstrated in Amsterdam against inhumane government politics. In West Germany, as well as in other countries, the anti-military, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist movements are experiencing an upsurge. In Austria, Norway, Sweden and Turkey, resistance is growing against the annexation to the EC aspired by the monopolies.

Reformist forces, on the other hand, are attempting to divert the resistance toward demanding "social minimum standards" and co-determination "within the EC". In the six EFTA countries they are aiming at a joint annexation to the European Community by building up a "European economic area" in order to undermine resistance.

There are only two possible positions : either support of this reactionary European project or a categorical "NO" and resistance!

DEFEAT THE REACTIONARY DREAM OF A "UNITED STATES OF EUROPE" AND THE GOALS TO BUILD UP A GREAT POWER WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK !

The evident bankruptcy of bureaucratic capitalism in the Soviet Union and other Comecon countries, as well as Gorbachev's fraud called the "Common European House", are used by monopoly bourgeoisie in order to applaud capitalism as the supposedly best and most stabile of all social systems. Working people want scientific-technical progress to be applied to satisfy more and more their material and cultural needs. All necessary material preconditions for eliminating world-wide poverty and hunger are existent. But the fetters of the law of profit transform technical progress into a force of destruction. The greed for profits is bringing on a global environmental crisis. This system offers youth no future. It is becoming more and more evident that the capitalist social system is rapt by incurable stagnation and decay and that the existence of mankind is endangered. As Marxists-Leninists we therefore turn to the working people of Europe and declare with emphasis, that the only way out of the general crisis of capitalism is socialism.

FOR WORK, PEACE- SOCIALISM !

SUPPORT THE BUILDING UP OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY IN EACH AND EVERY COUNTRY !

Today, it is not enough for the working class and other working strata to fight against single economic and political effects of inhumane profit- and power politics without opposing the imperialist course as a whole.

The international monopolies are attempting to split the working class and play them off against each other . Ultra-reactionary and neo-fascist forces are spreading racism and hatred among peoples. International workers' solidarity must overcome all division among the working people of the various countries. Our solidarity belongs to the struggle against neo-colonial exploitation and oppression in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

LET US BUILD UP THE FIGHTING UNITY AGAINST THE EUROPEAN PLANS OF THE MONOPOLIES !

SOLIDARITY WITHOUT BOUNDARIES

General Outline

1. No to a Europe of the monopolies
- 1.1 The European bourgeoisie takes advantage of the European elections to drum up the myth of "Europe 1992".

Europe shall bring welfare and employment, shall become a bastion of peace and democracy. Europe shall become a model democracy. "1992 is the magic formula which all social forces should use for a common objective.

The Christian-democrats, liberal and social-democratic parties have made "sacred pact for Europe", wherein the central codeword is: to increase the competitive capacity of the European industry.

- 1.2 "1992" is a creation of the European monopoly capital.

The intensifying crisis and the turbulent development of technology have brought the trend of the world markets on a new scale. The increasing internationalization of the economy takes two form:

1. European, Japanese and American monopolies and banks forge alliances among each other and establish world-encompassing networks. They spread out their production machinery all over the world and attempt to incite the workers against each other in order to intensify exploitation. They have common, imperialist objectives with regards to the Third World, push the prices of raw materials down, profit from the debt burden, back up dictatorial regimes which promote their interests.
2. European, Japanese and American monopolies support each other in the world markets. They form regional blocks to strengthen their "homebase". "1992" is the answer of the European big capital to this growing competition-war. It is an alarm-plan by which the European big capital, in the first place, want to improve her competitive position vis-a-vis the big Japanese and American rivals. This is possible by creating a European free trade zone, wherein the capitalist profit-hunting can intensify without control.
- 1.3 The "European common market" shall also go beyond further than the free circulation of persons, goods, services and capital.

1992 signifies:

1. It shall hasten the formation of European monopoly. The unified market is a blessing for the biggest, the financially strongest and the geographically most branched-out (expanded) groups. The fusion and the concentrated movement in Europe shall reach unimaginable heights. This would mean an unprecedented concentration of power and wealth in the hands of the few.
2. A frontal offensive is being planned against the working class and the entire people. The wild reorganization scheme of the

monopolies and and equalization pressure coming from the existing European structures bring about a spiral process of destruction threatening the social interactions, the working conditions, the wages, the public services, and the democratic and syndical (civil) liberties.

There is an effort to establish a European state apparatus which shall promote the interests and impliment the dictatorship of the monopolies. The "unified market" guarantees that the supranational decision-making power of the European bourgeoisie shall be strengthened. The workers shall be oppressed by a European repressive machinery which assures that the economic demands of the big capital will be satisfied and the social standards pushed down. The bourgeoisie is working on expanding the European repression apparatus.

They want to arrive at a European lawmaking (body) which shall specifically take up the struggle against the "internal enemy" - the progressive and workers movement. Essentially, the internal and external enemy consist of the progressive countries of the Third World and the political refugees. Under the cover of struggle against terrorism, the European unification looks into the harmonization (synchronization) of lowering down the democratic lawmaking process. This means that they are moving towards the most repressive lawmaking system which one can find today in West Germany.

The European unification also signify the closing of external borders. In the Europe of tomorrow, the hunt for "clandestine" immigrants and political refugees shall be intensified.

In order to adapt this law, they are establishing a Europe made up of spies and police forces, which nobody can oversee but that which control the entire population.

There exists an alarming stream to push the European residents, originally coming from the Third World to a definite second-class citizens status. Three interwoven ideologies are rising anew: racism, European chauvinism and fascism. Subjects propagated by the extreme-rightists are taken up in the programs and the political practice of big civilian parties.

Europe shall confront the Third World as a strengthened imperialist block. The free circulation of persons within Europe does not include migrants from the Third World and the barriers for new economic and political refugees would be built higher.

The European joint search for new production procedures and materials, pushes the Third World further in an marginal industrial and technological position. The technological gap will become bigger, the present international division of workers will become sharper: the Third World will remains the supplier of cheap raw materials and cheap industrial labor force.

The mountain of debt guarantees a permanent subservience of the Third World. The net capital flow from South to North amounted to US\$35 B in 1987 and US\$43 B in 1988. European banks and states swallowed a big chunk from these. The debt burden, is an instrument of permanent blackmail.

The unification strengthens the power position of the European countries vis-a-vis the Third World.

Europe shall become a springboard in undermining socialism. Economically, the East block countries and China offer a potent-

ial disposal market for the world capitalism in crisis. The European big capital carries out an intensive search for new markets and through this manipulates the East block countries against each other.

The economic infiltration goes side by side with the political offensive against communism and the struggle for the civilian democratic model. The United States supports especially this political dimension of the European unification and pushes the European countries to conduct undermining activities.

7. The economic and political unification of Europe heralds a unified military attitude. This attitude directs itself against socialism, against the Third World and against the "internal enemy". The European bourgeoisie wants to build a more solid pillar within NATO-concerns. This is in line with American expectation: USA expects a greater participation of NATO partners. A new "task division" shaping up inside NATO, wherein Europe will be taking up bigger part of the military burden.

4. The European social-democracy marches side-by-side with Christian-democracy as the most important political force in the establishment of a Europe of the big capital.

Social-democracy supports the principles of the "Europe-1992" project. She wants a strong European industry, with a better competitive position against the rivals from Japan, United States and the "new industrialized countries" of the Third World. With this, she creates an image of European model democracy, which protects the interests of "all citizens". She arouses the euro-nationalism and eurochauvinism by campaigning for the "European idea", the "European symbols", the "European culture". She is the promotor of expanding the supra-national decision-making powers, extending to foreign relations and military policy. Regarding these issues, she follows a course of fundamental loyalty to the NATO alliance, with more European saying power.

Social-democracy introduces herself further as the mouthpiece of a "social Europe". With this, she is fulfilling a key function for the big capital: to pin the workers' movement down to a "realism", that stresses even more rigid rules for implementation on a European level than on the national level. The latter is possible by means of proclamations which range from vague to non-binding Charters, which should hinder the exact demands for the harmonization of the social rights with the upper level. After 15 years of "national" realism, the European realism of social-democracy has pushed the workers' movement further in a downward spiral.

5. The misleading Euro-phoria

The objective of "1992" is imprinted in huge advertisement campaigns as the biggest way out of the crisis. The Cecchini report brings to the public opinion the image of the "new welfare" and the "new job opportunity".

Usual forecasts consider Europe as an island not heavily exposed to what is going on in the rest of the world. However, Europe 1992 shall contribute to the sharpening of the old threads confronting the world.

- The Third World would sink further in the marshland of debt, hunger/famine and economic plunder.
- The European block-formation shall encounter a more aggressive attitude of its Japanese and American rivals. A period of intensive trade wars, reprisal measures, monetary and financial turbulences are probable.
- Within Europe itself, the optimistic prospects are especially designed only for the bourgeoisie. The competition between the monopolies would be intense but more under control, the rationalizations would be improved. With all the consequences for job and purchasing power.

In order to definitely get rid of exploitation and oppression in the world, the national democratic revolution of the Third World countries and the socialist revolution in the imperialist countries should be advanced to victory.

FVDA : Solidarity without boundaries

1 The struggle for socialism is more than ever the present task.

The present technological development has never witnessed so good a chance for the resolution of the big world problems. It offers the possibility to make a giant leap to a new world order.

Poverty, hunger and underdevelopment can be erased on the face of the world by using the existing technical means and the present economic management methods. Huge investments are allocated for research of new weapons or of luxurious gadgets but not for the solution of the problems of the Third World.

Unemployment is a mass and permanent wastage of human capacity, which could have been used to lighten up vital needs. In the US, with all its overwhelming technological realizations, poverty intensifies rapidly, and there are 3.5 million homeless. There is no lack of capital but the system sees to it that all of them are invested where bigger profits can be gained.

The technical possibilities for knowledge transfer, participation in the decision-making, and democracy become still greater. However, technological knowledge is used as a weapon to keep the Third World dependent, to control the working class better both in their working places and in their private lives.

The ever threatening environmental catastrophes indicate that the technological advancement under capitalism, is leading towards nature's destruction instead of ensuring man's greater control of nature.

Lastly, under capitalism, the most advanced technology is the twin brother of military industry and war-preparation.

The technology develops rapidly but its application to the general welfare is prevented by the ratio of production, by the private ownership of the means of production. The entire economy functions in the service of profit and not in the service of the harmonious development of social progress for everyone.

The production becomes nevertheless more and more a social activity, by which the links of the chain are distributed all over the world. Quick communication systems allow companies like Siemens, Philips, IBM or General Motors to coordinate hundreds of thousands of labor force on world level. This proves that economic planning on world level is perfectly realizable. However the economic world order becomes more and more determined by the struggle of life and death between a few hundred powerful banks and industry monopolies. A struggle that is fought on top of the backs of the Third World and working people of the OESD(?) countries. Workers from the Third World, from Europe, the United States and Japan work for the same transnational groups. The 200 biggest multinational corporations witnessed in the last 20 years the increase of their control over the world BNP(?) (excluding socialist countries) from 18 to 29%.

Under the present production relations, technology has become an instrument of enriching a minority.

The opening of the boundaries solely takes effect in order to form a strong imperialist block that aims for world hegemony together with the US and Japan, that stands up against socialism (politically, militarily and economically) and against the Third World.

Socialism is the only answer to the threatening world catastrophes. Socialism is possible and is life necessity to guarantee the survival of humanity. The financial and industrial monopolies should be expropriated and the capitalist state machinery should be dismantled.

The socialist countries of today are undergoing big changes. The unmistakable economic problems of the Soviet Union and the East European countries are not the consequences of socialism. They are in the first place the result of objective circumstances; these countries began to build socialism from a very backward basis; they could not rely on the exploitation of other countries like what the capitalist countries do; they have to contend with a permanent economic and political pressure of imperialism. However, there were also errors committed and there are serious symptoms of degeneration identified. Corruption, authoritarian tendencies and inefficiency were able to develop. The policy of heavy armament, the invasion of Afghanistan have depleted the Soviet economy. Under Gorbachev, the Soviet Union has started a critical evaluation of the mistakes and serious errors committed during the socialist construction in order to improve the application of socialist principles. The Soviet Union stands only at the beginning of a long process of struggle for the restoration of the Leninistic principles.

Instead of showing the bankruptcy of socialism, this turn of event manifests the vitality of Marxism-Leninism.

Capitalism on the contrary, is not able to radically change in order to prevent world catastrophes it has itself caused.

Socialist China has convincingly proved with her billions of people that socialism is the only solution for the hundreds of millions of oppressed people in the Third World.

2 The power relations can be reversed

1992 signals a patterned offensive in all fronts. The organized opposition power is weak. The bourgeoisie launches a campaign

around the so-called "social Europe" to appease labor union leaderships and to turn-coat. With vague principle declarations the illusion of social protection is blown away. This only serves to receive eventual explosions better using the labor union leadership as buffer.

The response to this is: no to bureaucratic Europe consisting of labor union leadership inside "European forum organs". But a Europe of the real-action solidarity, in line with class struggle. No to bureaucratic front around vague principle declarations and privileges but for building a labor union front based on specific demands.

Based on this point of view the internationalization of the economy and the "1992" project offer great chances for the workers' struggle.

The internationalization of production brings the workers and peoples of the world closer together against a common enemy, the multinational financial and industrial groups. The conditions for socialist revolution is ripening in the international scale.

This offers new perspectives for active international solidarity: between the peoples of Europe and the Third World, between the workers from all parts of the world who work for the same multinationals, between European syndicalists and syndicalists from the Third World, between the workers of the European Community countries.

The active solidarity with the liberation movements over the whole world, the unity of the revolutionary movement, the unity of the European syndicalism struggle, the unity of the progressive and peace movement -- would receive a new impulse.

For a socialist Belgium. For a socialist Europe. For the world socialism.

GDR: People's Movement Wins Democratic Rights

Statement of the Central Committee of MLPD

What years of appeals and external pressure on leadership of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) couldn't do, the people have accomplished in only a few weeks. They gained the freedom to travel, putting an end to the unnatural reparation of millions of families in the GDR und FRG; the right to demonstrate and to form opposition groups. "We are the people," is the defiant call hurled at SED bureaucrats in mass demonstrations. The bureaucratic ruler appeared so sure of themselves a few weeks earlier, but the dismissal of the Politburo and the Council of Ministers and the open oppression of opinion in newspapers, radio and television show how weak bureaucratic rule is when a people becomes conscious of its power. It disproves the widely held view in East and West that common people are powerless and things never change.

The gaining of bourgeois-democratic rights can only be the beginning, however. Bureaucratic rule cannot be abolished by a "peaceful revolution" such as Berlin's mayor Walter Momper has proclaimed. The SED rulers won't peacefully relinquish their tools of power, the economic, military and state apparatus.

The hopes connected with the construction of an antifascist, democratic order in the GDR after World War II and the appropriation of the big concerns and the landed property of the former Nazis and war criminals were dashed by the bureaucratization of the SED in the 1950's. Vigilance and supervision from below, by the people, were not developed enough to prevent the SED leadership degenerating to a new ruling class, who, like typical capitalists systematically attended their privileges after 1956 and used the state security organization against the people. Their socialist phraseology served to deceive the people and justify their rule.

To achieve revolutionary goals the working people in the GDR need more than free elections and the rights which the SED leaders have conceded thus far.

* The workers need the right to strike (a constitutional right in the GDR until 1968!)

* Freedom of association and assembly is necessary to build up revolutionary organizations.

* The Soviet occupation troops must be expelled from the GDR.

Not only the rulers in the East, but also the West German

industrialists and bankers are greatly concerned that the workers and the people of the GDR will march in this direction. They uneasily note the big applause for demands for the elimination of officials' privileges and the "prosecution of all those who have enriched themselves at the expense of the people." The people are the element of uncertainty in their plans, not the SED leaders, who increasingly knuckle under to the West German concerns.

The opening of the boarders made for euphoria on the West German stock markets. The IG Farben liquidation certificates were the big trader, posting a 10 percent gain. The chemicals syndicate played a major role in preparing World War II. It put Hitler into power and profited to the tune of billions through the war and the millions of dead in concentration camps. It wasn't liquidated "in the hopes of returning to the rightful owners" the Eastern assets, the old chemical plants in what is now the GDR, "as soon as possible after the reunification of Germany" (quoted from W. O. Reichelt: The Heirs of IG Farben).

Thyssen steel boss Spethmann has already brazenly announced the establishment of subsidiaries in the GDR and called on Egon Krenz to provide land. VW shares rose in expectation of future participation in modernizing East German car production. AEG plans to cooperate more closely with the former AEG factories in the GDR. The financing for this capital investment offensive is to be squeezed out of the West German population. Bank managers and ex-chancellor Schmidt have begun talk of a "special GDR tax."

This open interference in the internal affairs of the people of the GDR is intended to soften them up for the reincorporation of the GDR, for words like "democracy", "freedom" and "construction aid" used in the public discussion today only serve to mask German monopoly capital's greed for power, the plans for which have been hammered out in hundreds of consultations in the highest echelon of government and industry.

As intermediate goal on the way to a European great power under the leadership of a Greater Germany, a confederation between GDR und FRG within the European Community is envisaged. Direct reunification would "in the eyes of our neighbours create a colossus in the heart of Europe whose unpredictability is a historic fact". (G. von Schenck, advisor to the executive committee of the SPD).

With typical German thoroughness German imperialism is preparing to "reorder" Europe for the third time in this century. If the GDR, a pillar of the Soviet-controlled Warsaw Pact, begins to totter, the situation in Central Europe will become explosive and the danger to

world peace will grow. It is in the common interest of the working people of both German states, and lies in both their hands, to firmly oppose this. The stronger the people in the GDR assert themselves in their fight for democratic rights and the more they refuse any Western interference, the greater their contribution to the maintenance of world peace will be. The Paris daily "Liberation" put it in a nutshell: "Basically, what worries everyone is the fact that the people, to use a term that has come out of vogue, are the main agents of the change in the GDR. This is considered dangerous, in the West as in the East."

The MLPD supports the struggle for freedom of the working people in the GDR along antiimperialist lines. At the same time the Party will do all in its power so that people comprehend the imperialistic great-power plans in the FRG. For all the enthusiasm over the courageous struggle of the masses in the GDR and the opening of the borders between the two Germanies, this is also a time for utmost vigilance.

Whether or not the people's movement in the GDR retains its independent character depends above all on a clear understanding that it is dealing with a bureaucratic capitalism in the GDR. Without this understanding the risk is great that the movement will succumb to the massive influence of the Bonn parties and become a pawn in the imperialist game.

The MLPD will do its best so that millions of people in West Germany, too, cry out to the powers that be: "We are the people! We'll have none of your imperialist great-power schemes!"

AKP (m-1)s opinion on the events in China.

Medio may AKP (m-1) resolved their point of view on the mass demonstrations in China. We presented our point of view in mass medias.

We made an energetic protest against the massacre 4.6., and broke off the party connection with those in the leadership in CPC at that time.

We took initiative in organizing demonstrations in Oslo and several other towns in Norway.

When those responsible for the massacre consolidated their position in CPC, and got approval for their behavior from the party institutions, we made it clear that the break off the connections was final.

Here follows a summary of our statements and initiatives. Finally some comments to make some of our statements and evaluations on the development in China clearer. The author of this note is responsible for the details here.

* Statement from the Working Committee in the Central Committee.
published in Klassekampen 20.05.89.:

"The mass demonstrations in China is to the best of the development of socialism.

Claims on greater freedom of speech and openness, will enlarge the peoples control, and sharpen the fight against corruption, and are therefor progressive. This are also true in respect of the anti imperialist claims against Japanese exploitation of China.

This shows that the demonstrators are engaged in the development of socialism and that they want greater responsibility for the development of socitey to the people.

The demonstrations are not against the socialist society. The ways the demonstrations have been carried out up to now, both the peaceful methods the demonstrators have used, and that the authorities have met the demonstrators with dialogue and argumentation, are positive signs.

From our point of view would it be right and important that the chinese government approach this democracy movement.

That would be benefit to socialism in China, and would have positive effects on class struggle all over the world."

* Party leader Siri Jensen and leader of the International comittee Pål Steigan made a public protest when the state of emergency startet 20.05.89.

* Marks after the massacre 4.6.89.:

- Demonstration outside the Chinese embassy in Oslo sunday 4.6. Paticipants also from two minor trotskist groups in Norway and youth movement called Blitz.

- AKP(m-1)s public statement 5.6.89.:

"AKP(m-1) sharply dissociate from the Chinese authorities slaughtering peaceful demonstrators. This are fascist acts against a progressive popular movement for democracy - aganst corruption an misuse of power.

The chinese revolution was the greatest in history of mankind, and it raised hope to suppressed people all over the world. Thats

why it is a deep tragedy that the Peoples Liberation Army is being used to commit massmurder of the people.

AKP(m-1) suspend their party connection with CPC immediately: We can not accept connections with a party wich is gouverned by those responsible of the use of military power against the people.

The development shows that CPC is deeply divided: The clique who has taken power has isolated themself from the people. The Chinese people will not make progress unless this clique are out of power, and other forces who will create a real socialist democracy gain power. The basis for this is present among CPC's 48 million members and in the mass movement."

- Comments from Siri Jensen and Pål Steigan In Klassekampen

5.6.89.:

"Strong reactions by Siri Jensen, leader in AKP(m-1), against the massive terror against unarmed civilian people in the streets of Beijing.

- We can not have party connection with rulers who start fascist acts like this. We say in our party's statement that we suspend the connection with The Communist Party of China. That means that we break off with those in power at this time, and that we don't want contact with these people later on. But we want the right to resume party connection with CPC if and when new leaders, who are pro socialist democracy, take the place of the present leadership.

This also means that we will follow with great attention the fight for power that surely takes place inside CPC, and which without doubt will continue. It is clear that the contradiction inside CPC are powerful and the fight have to be increased by what happens now.

For the last 10 years China has been in the meltingpot. Friends of China have had doubts and uncertainty about several parts of CPC's politics. It was easy to see that there was a need for reforms. The great question was: what sort of development would the market forces set up in the chinese society? That sort of questions are of minor importance today, after what has happend now. At the present time fascist terror have been used against the people, the rulers have isolated themselves from the people. We have to trust the proud chinese people and the millions of millions party members hwo surely are in angry and desperate opposition to the rulers blood-stained harassments, says Siri Jensen."

Leader of AKP(m-1)'s International Comittee, Pål Steigan says:

"We are now witnessing fascist acts. The authorities are destroying the possibility of a dialogue with the peaceful democratic movement. Those who have consolidated their power have declared war against the people and the party.

It has been obvious for a long time that the opposition inside the party have been large, Primeminister Li Peng and the others have fought for their view for a long time. Certainly it is not an agreed party which approve what is happening now.

Methodes of extreme dictatorship is beeing used. In my opinion it is very uncertain how long this leadership can hold on to their power. Last time people were killed at Tien An Men was in spring 1976. The leaders behind that event fell shortly afterwards. The only hope now is that the rulers of today also will fall down. They have burned all bridges. The gouverning clique has set itself up as dictators and enemies of the people.

AKP(m-1) cannot have connection with these people. The hope now is that there will be a popular uprising, which sooner or later will over throw those in power today, says Pål Steigan.

- Demonstration in Oslo 8.6.89 with following slogans:

"Stopp the massacre - support the students"

"Democracy and socialism - no to terror and fascist methods."

"Punish the executioners Li and Deng."

Organizers: AKP and its youth organisations, Sosialistisk Venstreparti and its youth organisation, Norges kommunistiske Parti and their youth organisation, Oslolista, the two trotskist groups, Blitz, most of the norwegian studentorganisations and the Chinese Students Union in Norway.

Demonstrations took place in several other towns the same day, and local groups from the party were co organizers.

* Confirmation of the break with CPC.

The break of the party connection were confirmed 22.6., after it became clear that the responsible for the massacre got support from the elected committees of the party.

* Protest against the prosecutions and executions.

22.6. delivered AKP a protest note to the government in China, via the Chinese embassy in Norway:

"AKP(m-1) protests sharply against the executions of three workers in Shanghai. We will strongly call on the chinese authorities to abolish the other death penalties and stop the legal prosecutions of participants in political demonstrations."

* Participating in negotiations to establish a solidarity committee pro the chinese people.

On the initiative of Sosialistisk Venstreparti has preparations been made to start a solidarity committee pro the chinese people. All political parties in Norway are invited and are interested. If they will agree on a political platform and the way of working, is not yet decided.

SOME FURTHER COMMENTS.

1. Evaluation of the mass movement.

As our statements make clear, AKP looked at the mass movement as mainly a progressive force, to the benefit of development of socialism in China. They were spokesmen on claims on greater popular responsibility and influence on the development of society in China.

They were also dissatisfied with the results of the campaign against corruption, a critique of the party protecting theirs. (Both ~~Zhao Ziyang~~^{Deng} and Li Peng were criticized in the start in connection with the affairs of their sons).

It was not clear what point of view the movement had on the mainstreams in the economic reform policy. Some supported the economic reforms, but wanted them to be followed up by political reforms too. At the same time there were a social basis on protesting against lower standards of living for large groups of people, which have increased the last two years.

We still know far too little about how this affected the movement, except the protests against the bad sides of the reform policy: like corruption, speculation and permission of foreign, (espec. Japanese) influence in China.

We still know too little about at which level this movement was a genuine mass movement or a reflection of the disagreement and fight for power inside CPC. Probably was this at a large scale a

independent mass movement, with centre outside the inner circles in CPC, more independent than comparing mass movements in the beginning of the Cultural Revolution and the fall of the Gang of Fours in 1976. But, it is likely to think that the struggle inside the party also made the movement so comprehensive. A great many party members and public employees participated in the demonstrations. The organizing and the large scale of demonstrations tells that the party probably contributed.

(relatively soon demonstrations were swt up in more than 2/3 of the Provinces Capitols, and participants from different groups in society, not just students). If we should speculate about motives, then Zhao Ziyang and his fans had a great need to mobilize mass support, to avoid being pushed totally out of the leadership. Rumor told that he would be degraded in connection with the 40th anniversary this autumn.

It is clear that such a mass movement also would recruit forces which are against socialism. Both ordinary Chinese who are influenced by western propaganda and deliberate anti-communists, These did not manage to put their mark on the policy of the demonstrations.

The question may of course be if these forces gained greater influence in the last days of the demonstrations, the week before the massacre, when the demonstrations lost strength. (They adopted a tactic for making their claims sharper, and from wanting dialogue, they raised claims that meant confrontation with the government.) Anyhow, this does not justify the massacre. The leaders exposed themselves and gave anticommunism a great propaganda victory.

2. Development in China the last 10 years.

AKP has been careful with drawing fast, simple conclusions about development in China in the 80's. We still hold on to this. Despite the fact that the comrades who ^{have argued} ~~voted~~ for break off in the party connection, ^{during the} ~~at the~~ Central Committee's plenary meeting of CPC in dec. 78, ~~and wanted us then to say it had~~ been a counter-revolution, ^{any event} now says the latest events shows that they were right then.

The massacre cannot be used as proof of the theory of counter-revolution. The massacre must be evaluated separately, as a reactionary act which has been a risk to socialism in China. Which factors in the development the last 10 years, and earlier, that have made the massacre possible, are there different opinions about.

Anyway, it would be too simple to blame the economic reforms. The state sector (public sector) still have a dominating influence on Chinese economy, and it is still, at a large scale, a planned economy. Despite the increasing of the capitalist sector the last years.

China is a poor country in the 3rd world, surrounded by imperialism. They make a gigantic economical experiment, among other things they change an agricultural country into a modern industrialized country, without mass unemployment and huge slum areas surrounding the large cities.

The socialist passing stage will last for a long time in such a society, with both capitalist and socialist production conditions side by side. This will be the basis for a new bourgeoisie, and this make it more difficult to build communism here than after a revolution in a highly developed industrial country.

This put great demands on the political leadership; put the bourgeoisie under control, both true the communist party and the development of popular mass organisations.

That's why it is also important to study with great accuracy this sides of the development of the proletarian dictatorship in China:

- The development of CPC from the fifties an up to now. Which parts played the strong party fights from the late fifties, through the cultural revolution and further on? What have this meant for the development of the party, and for the relationship between the party and the masses?
- The development of the workers and peasants mass organisations.
- The development of state governing committees, from the lokal aera and to the top of the state. As regards the production, public service, administration of the state and administration of justice.

When we study this topics, we must not moralize and we must not forget that socialism in China was buildt on the ruins of a feudal society, and their staring point with only one party with mass support in the population.

The 8 democratic parties, which now participate in the Consultative Conference are only small groups compared with CPC, they have at most some ten- tousands membres, CPC have 48 millions. CPC is not a common party of cadres, it is a mass party, more than 4% of the population are membres. It is the only organisation of mayor importance which open doors to powerful positions in society. This have not been canged by what has happend. That's why the development inside CPC is final when it comes to the future development in China. It has to be the communists in CPC who have to mobilizie the progressive forces in the population and fight to recreate the socialism in China.

Oslo July 1989.

January 1990

Resolution

The conference gives its full support to the struggle of the workers and the people of Nicaragua to defend its revolution, independence and self-determination. It supports the working class and the people of Cuba in its anti-imperialist struggle to defend its sovereignty and self-determination; the revolution in El Salvador in its democratic goals and in the struggle for national liberation; the struggle of the working class and the people of Puerto Rico and its liberation struggle; the workers and people of Guatemala, Columbia, Peru and its revolutionary struggle against the "filthy war" and fascization, for independence and real democracy. It supports the workers and the people of Argentina to regain the Malvinean Islands.

The conference supports the struggle of the working class and the peoples of Latin America against both superpowers and other imperialist powers. The conference condemns the brutal American military intervention in Panama and demands the unconditional withdrawal of the North American mercenary troops and the fulfillment of the Carter-Torrijos Treaty. It firmly supports the workers and the people of Panama in defence of its national sovereignty and that the Canal belongs to its rightful owners: the people of Panama.

Marxistisch-Leninistische Organisation aus Afghanistan

Partido Comunista Revolucionario de la Argentina (PCR)

Revolutionary Communist League Britain (RCL)

Kommunistische Organisation Luxemburg (KOL)

Marxistisch-Leninistische Partei Deutschlands (MLPD)

Groep Marxisten-Leninisten/Rode Morgen (GML) Nederland

Arbeidernes Kommunist Parti (Marxist-Leninist) (AKP-ML) Norge

Partido Comunista del Peru / Patria Roja (PCdelP/PR)

Sveriges Kommunistiska Arbetarparti (SKA)

Union-Comunista España (UCE)

Unificación

luz

Mosul
Stokey

Richard

J. Toussaint

Richard

Rudolf

Richard

Union

January 1990

Resolution

We defend the right of self-determination for the people of Afghanistan who lost 1 1/2 million people for their freedom and are proud of the disgraceful defeat of social-imperialism. Only these people must be the owner of the government that they want. We condemn all intervention and interference by the superpowers, world imperialism and the reactionary regional powers to impose a government upon the people of Afghanistan.

Marxistisch-Leninistische Organisation aus Afghanistan

Masoud

Partido Comunista Revolucionario de la Argentina (PCR)

Stove-gay

Revolutionary Communist League Britain (RCL)

Kommunistische Organisation Luxemburg (KOL)

Blumstein

Marxistisch-Leninistische Partei Deutschlands (MLPD)

Stefan Engel

Groep Marxisten-Leninisten/Rode Morgen (GML) Nederland

Feroen Wass

Arbeidernes Kommunist Parti (Marxist-Leninist) (AKP-ML) Norge

Arvidt Ovsby

Partido Comunista del Peru / Patria Roja (PCdEP/PR)

Quadrado

Sveriges Kommunistiska Arbetarparti (SKA)

Bjorn

Union Comunista España (UCE)

Enrique