

Workers and oppressed of all countries: unite!

CLASS STRUGGLE

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THE WORKERS' COMMUNIST PARTY (MARXIST-LENINISTS) NORWAY,

**The Civil War in
Angola,
Instigated by
Social-Imperialism**

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The Civil War in Angola, Instigated by Social-Imperialism

Contents:

Introduction	3
Preface: Draw Lessons from the War in Angola	3
Conditional Victory for Social-Imperialism in Angola	3
WCP(M-L)'s Stand: Against All Imperialism	3
War Won by Social-Imperialist Mercenaries	4
Social-Imperialism Is Planning a Big Offensive in Africa	4
PART I: What Happened in Angola?	5
Three Liberation Movements	5
All Three Movements Fought Against Portugal	5
Split Due to Superpowers' Intrigues	5
Large Amounts of Soviet Arms Started the Escalation	5
One Liberation Movement "Progressive" and Two "Reactionary"?	6
Is the MPLA "Marxist"?	6
Reactionary Mercenaries Fought on Both Sides in the Civil War	6
Angola's People Lost, Social-Imperialism Won	7
The War Is Not Over	7
PART II: The Angolan War Shows: Both Superpowers are Dangerous, the US Regresses, the USSR Advances	8
The Soviet Union: Africa's Enemy Disguised as a "Friend"	8
USSR: False "Friend", True Enemy of the Liberation Movements	9
Social-Imperialism Fakes "Support" to Gain Influence in the Liberation Movements	9
Cuban Troops - Not Castro's but Brezhnev's Mercenaries	9
Cuba - Tragic Example of What Happens to Kremlin's "Allies"	10
Social-Imperialism Arms Itself to the Teeth	10
No Country in the World is Safe from the USSR	10
Social-Imperialism Plans New Offensives in Africa	10
No Imperialism Can Long Oppress the Valiant African People	11
Strengthen Support of the Liberation Struggle	11
Superpowers Prepare for World War Through Limited Wars	11
China and Albania Support the People Against the Superpowers	11
PART III: Angola and Norway	12
Factions of the Monopolist Bourgeoisie Swing in a Pro-Soviet Direction	12
Revisionist Bosses Are Phony "Anti-Imperialists"	13
WCP(M-L): the Only Real Anti-Imperialist Party in Norway	13
Social-Imperialist Propaganda: No Response Among Working People	14
Needed: United Front Against the Superpowers	14
Footnotes	14
The International Bulletin	15

INTRODUCTION

Opportunists of all categories always strive at siding with the "winner". Since Soviet arms and Cuban mercenary troops have won an important military victory for one side in the civil war in Angola, all kinds of opportunists are prepared to acclaim the winners.

But political principles do not depend on whom the "winner" is, and WCP(M-L)'s viewpoint on the issue of Angola is, of course, not based on that. The WCP(M-L)'s point of view is based on principled struggle against all imperialism.

The issue of Angola was thoroughly discussed this spring (1) in a series of articles in Klassekampen, the organ of the Workers' Communist Party (M-L), Norway. This special issue of Class Struggle, the inter-

national bulletin of the WCP(M-L), brings a translation of the most important of these articles. The articles express the viewpoint of the WCP(M-L) and are written by the foreign affairs editors of Klassekampen.

The articles analyze the course of events in Angola, and examine the many false accounts which have been given of the war and its background.

Furthermore, they examine the role of the superpowers in the war, showing how the war in Angola emphasizes the fact that hostility between the US and the Soviet Union is constantly sharpening. Finally, the analysis dissects the position of different groups in Norway towards the war, including the leaders of the modern revisionist SV party. (2).

PREFACE: DRAW LESSONS FROM THE WAR IN ANGOLA

Conditional Victory for Social-Imperialism in Angola

One phase is over in the civil war in Angola. Social-imperialist troops have won important military victories. This will further the struggle of the Luanda government for international diplomatic recognition. The Norwegian government has now also recognized the Luanda side.

The unilateral advance and the Soviet propa-

ganda offensive have led to a worldwide opportunistic change of course within the pro-Western bourgeoisie. Opportunists and unprincipled elements will "fish in troubled waters" by siding with the "winner". Therefore, the most varied governments and bourgeois groups have given their full acclaim to one side.

WCP(M-L)'s Stand: Against All Imperialism

The WCP(M-L) is a firmly principled party which fights against all imperialism. When an imperialist power advances, our party sees no reason to do like the bourgeoisie and other opportunist groups, and shift direction.

For our party, therefore, the advance of one side means that we must intensify our struggle against the imperialist power that advances. Precisely the hysterical tributes of the bourgeoisie and opportunists cause us to

clarify our viewpoint once again, and more thoroughly than before.

Right now it is more important than ever to show who has upheld the correct position for Angola's liberation, and has been truly anti-imperialist, and who, under the cover of big words, has run the errands of imperialism in Angola.

War Won By Social-Imperialist Mercenaries

Let us base our position in this issue on available and indisputable facts. What do the facts tell us about what actually happened in Angola?

That social-imperialist mercenaries, equipped, transported and financed by the USSR, and led by hundreds of Soviet "advisers", defeated the troops of two of the liberation movements and mercenaries from the West and South Africa.

The superior equipment of these forces has enabled Soviet mercenaries to occupy most of the territory and take control of the big cities.

Social-Imperialism Is Planning a Big Offensive In Africa

Recently the peoples of Africa have won important victories against imperialism. People's war is developing in Zimbabwe ("Rhodesia"). Liberation movements in Namibia ("Southwest Africa") and Azania ("South Africa") are also growing stronger.

These are important advances for the peoples of the world. By intervening in Angola, the social-imperialists have shown that they will try to exploit the downfall of old colonialist powers, in order to assume their role and clasp new fetters on the African people.

Social-imperialism has started a large-scale offensive in Africa.

It is therefore our duty to increase our support to the liberation struggle against the old colonial powers, and at the same time increase our vigilance towards the new enemy.

Time will show whether they will also manage to completely crush the forces of the other liberation fronts, who have surrendered many cities without much fighting. Another possibility is that social-imperialism becomes involved in a prolonged guerilla war in Angola.

Social-imperialism won a big victory, not for the Angolan people, but at their expense. Social-imperialist involvement in the war has caused big losses for the people in Angola. Social-imperialism has achieved a basis for further infiltration in order to gain control of the country.

The war in Angola constitutes a very important lesson for the working people of Norway and the whole world.

In these articles we will discuss some of the experiences we think it is especially important to learn from. We will deal with three questions:

first: What in fact happened in Angola?

second: What does Angola reveal about the international policy of social-imperialism?

third: What does the war in Angola disclose about the various political forces in Norway and their attitude towards the superpowers?

We feel that these articles prove how events have confirmed the analysis of our party to the letter.



PART I:

WHAT HAPPENED IN ANGOLA?

Angola is a country of the Third World, kept in artificial underdevelopment as a result of oppression and exploitation by Portugal, a colonial power. The Angolan people rose in armed struggle against imperialism.

The liberation war is a shining example for the peoples of Africa and the world. It made a substantial contribution to the downfall of Portugal as a colonial power.

Three Liberation Movements

Despite all false Kremlin propaganda, it is a fact that towards the end of colonial rule there were three Angolan liberation movements waging armed struggle against Portugal: FNLA, MPLA and UNITA. Theirs was a just war for national liberation and independence.

The FNLA fought mainly in the north. The MPLA was strongest in the central areas, while UNITA maintained liberated areas in the south. Evidence of this has been presented by Klassekampen in earlier issues.

All Three Movements Fought Against Portugal

There have always been important differences between the three movements: their programs varied, their strengths and weaknesses differed, and they each fought in their own way.

struggle as being waged by only one movement, without the participation of the other two, is therefore to falsify history.

But as long as the weapons were pointed at Portugal, the struggle was just. Despite all their differences, the main aspect of the three movements was their common fight against Portugal. To depict the liberation

In 1974 it became clear that the Portuguese colonial power would have to withdraw. This laid the basis for a joint government of the three movements, as shown at the Alvor conference, February 15, 1975.

Split Due to Superpowers' Intrigues

But dissension and civil war followed. The Soviet propaganda machine asserts that "this shows that the organizations could not cooperate and that there was no objective foundation for unity".

rator. None of the three liberation movements could have won in a civil war against either or both of the other two. Joint government could have been realized but for the fact that, at that precise moment, the different organizations began receiving arms and large numbers of foreign mercenaries from various imperialist countries, and especially the USSR and the US.

The truth is that the split was a direct and logical result of a successful imperialist conspiracy, with the USSR as leading conspi-

Large Amounts of Soviet Arms Started the Escalation

The Soviet Union gambled first, at the highest stakes, and most ably, by sending great quantities of arms to one of the movements.

On the other side, the US also tried to secure a position. The two imperialist superpowers overbid each other and escalated the conflict. Social-imperialism sent in Cubans.

US imperialism mobilized the notorious South African racists. This established a basis for developing a war on Angolan territory, in which each side was dominated by foreign mercenaries, equipped, financed and led by the two imperialist superpowers.

Was One Liberation Movement «Progressive» and Two «Reactionary»?

Already during the war against Portugal, social-imperialism propagated the fallacious assertion that the MPLA was a "progressive" movement, while the other two were "reactionary". The involvement of the racist South African bandits was proficiently exploited by the Soviet propaganda machine to strengthen this claim. Norwegian revisionists have even maintained that the MPLA fought for "socialism" against the GULF oil company which made napalm for the Vietnam war, that the MPLA would "sub-

stantially destroy the grip of big capital" etc.

This is a thoroughly wrong account of the differences between the three movements. Neither their programs nor their actions give grounds for such assertions.

All available information shows that we must evaluate all three organizations as bourgeois-nationalist liberation movements, pledged to waging a progressive struggle against colonialism.

Is the MPLA «Marxist»?

The different movements were not homogenous. Revolutionaries and anti-imperialists have coexisted with both unstable and reactionary elements prone to accepting "contributions" from the US and the USSR. This has provided the imperialist superpowers with the opening they needed to force their way in and conspire.

We do not underestimate the role of the MPLA in the liberation war, just as we do not underestimate the role of the other two. It is not for us to criticize one movement or praise another. But since social-imperialist propaganda, strongly backed in Norway by social-democrat and other bourgeois newspapers, is spreading the myth of the unique "progressive" character of the MPLA, we must, in the interest of truth, present some corrections.

In Norway, the bourgeois press and radio/TV characterize the MPLA as "Marxist". How-

ever, the organization itself makes no claim to being Marxist. There is no evidence of any "socialist construction" in the areas controlled by this organization.

Revisionists and others have stressed declarations by FNLA and UNITA representatives, where they say they intend to allow Western imperialist companies to operate in Angola. This we do not dispute. The

MPLA, however, does not differ from the other two in this respect. The press in MPLA controlled areas confirms the fact that Western imperialist companies operate there.

This is the case for oil companies such as GULF, TEXACO, and MOBIL, and mining corporations such as the South African/American/Belgian DIAMANG, among others. It is publically known that GULF, referred to by Norwegian revisionists as an enemy of the MPLA, has contributed hundreds of millions of dollars to the Luanda government.

Reactionary Mercenaries Fought on Both Sides in the Civil War

Racist South Africa's unilateral intervention is directly reactionary. European mercenaries and US imperialist agents have also intervened. All true anti-imperialists condemn these interventions.

However, the social-imperialist propaganda machine has no right to use this as a defense for its own involvement. It is a fact, for example, that fascist mercenaries who used to serve Tshombe in Katanga, now fight on the side supported by the Soviet Union.

The most flagrant example of large-scale intervention is the 10 000 - 15 000 Cuban soldiers, led-equipped, transported and

financed by social-imperialism. A European mercenary paid by the US to shoot Angolans is clearly reactionary. But can Cubans, equipped with Soviet tanks and planes and paid by the Kremlin to shoot Angolans, be any less reactionary?

Western mercenaries and South African soldiers are responsible for horrible crimes in Angola. We condemn this. Social-imperialist mercenaries have slaughtered the population in country villages, and Soviet warships have shelled coastal cities. Is there any less reason to condemn this?

On both sides in the civil war there are anti-

imperialist Angolans dedicated to waging armed struggle against colonialism. But on both sides of the civil war the fighting has been dominated by reactionary foreign mercenaries. This is a tragedy for the people

of Angola. These are indisputable facts. They completely destroy the propaganda assertion of "one progressive and two reactionary" movements.

Angola's People Lost — Social-imperialism Won

We have consistently characterized the war between the three liberation movements as reactionary. Recent developments confirm this characterization.

Imperialism has won a temporary victory against the people. The war has led to much destruction and heavy human losses. The

government in Luanda has become dependent upon an imperialist superpower and will have difficulty in conducting an independent policy. Social-imperialism has established a strong position in Angola. Western imperialism has regressed militarily and politically, but remains economically strong.

The War Is Not Over

Social-imperialist propaganda will now have us to believe that the war is completely over and that two of the liberation movements are crushed. Reports from different sources disprove this. Arms are still pouring into the country. Military operations under the cover of "struggle against South African racists" continue in parts of Angola where there are no South African soldiers.

Simultaneously we receive reports of resistance to social-imperialism in that part of the country controlled by the Luanda government. Luanda has witnessed mass demonstrations against arms imports. Many officers in the MPLA army react against humiliations by Cuban officers. The people in Angola will not forget the crimes of social-imperialism, and its foothold is not stable.

The time will surely come when the valiant people of Angola will throw out all imperialist intruders, both Western capitalists and Soviet militarists. Today, however, we must confront the fact that the struggle of the Angolan people has suffered a heavy setback, and that social-imperialism is the temporary victor in Angola.

The war in Angola shows that superpower contention is rapidly becoming more acute. The struggle of the superpowers over Angola is highly significant, because it shows the deepening of their mutual contradiction, and the development of their relative strength. It is important to study their actions in Angola in order to be more capable of combating them.



Armored vehicle captured from social-imperialist mercenary forces.

PART II:

THE ANGOLAN WAR SHOWS: BOTH SUPERPOWERS ARE DANGEROUS, THE US REGRESSES, THE USSR ADVANCES

We have seen how the superpowers created and escalated the war by pouring in arms and troops. Escalation on one side furnished the other side with a new pretext for further escalation. This shows that both are dangerous. The people cannot ally themselves with one against the other, but must increase the struggle against both at the same time.

It is very significant that the US was defeated in the tug of war. The US tried to follow its old practise of "taking over" colonies of more or less degraded colonial powers. This was how the US assumed neo-colonial over Indonesia after the Netherlands, over Congo-Kinshasa (Zaire) after Belgium, over South Vietnam and Laos after France, over the Middle East after Great Britain. The US tried to do same in Angola after Portugal. But US imperialism is now greatly weakened

following the defeats in Indochina. The economic crisis in the US and dissension within the ruling class there have also made it difficult for US imperialism to gamble at the same stakes as social-imperialism in Angola. This is a new example of the US as a declining superpower.

On the other hand, social-imperialism is an advancing superpower, greedily seeking colonies and "Lebensraum", and constantly on the lookout for strategic military positions. For a long time the Kremlin has been eager to expand on the African continent. When social-imperialism managed to split the liberation movements in Angola, it was in a position to increase its wager ten-fold. The huge speculation secured social-imperialism a temporary victory.

The Soviet Union: Africa's Enemy Disguised as a «Friend»

Aggressive social-imperialism tries to gain influence in Africa by disguising itself as a "friend" of the African people, ready to support them against "colonialists and racists". This is a dangerous imperialist offensive, the exposure of which is essential.

What do the facts show? In Angola, the Soviet Union did not provide much "aid" as long as the war was directed against Portugal. The Angolans received mostly light and outdated hand weapons. Shipments of these were even suspended in the important final phase of the war when they were most needed.

Only after the surrender of the colonial power did the Soviet Union send big arms shipments. After the victory in a 14 year

long liberation war, the Soviet Union sent heavy and modern weapons worth astronomical sums - weapons that would be used to kill Angolans.

The invasion of the South African racists was a heavenly gift to the social-imperialists, using it to describe themselves as "enemies" of racism". But what are the facts? Take Rhodesia as an example. Everyone knows that the true freedom fighters in ZANU and ANC, who led the people's war against Smith, were for many years actively opposed and boycotted by the Soviet Union. At the same time, social-imperialism backed completely the clique of opportunist politicians led by N'Komo, who for a long time has been dealing with racist Smith. Does not this unveil the truth about social-imperialism as "anti-racist"?

Angola and Zimbabwe - two examples that show what is talk and what is reality concerning social-imperialism in Africa. Social-imperialism poses as Africa's "friend". But in reality social-imperialism is Africa's enemy. The Kremlin is indifferent towards

the African people's struggles against racism and Western imperialism, but assumes an "anti-imperialist" disguise when it can be used as an excuse to intervene and secure positions.

USSR — False «Friend», True Enemy of the Liberation Movements

The success in Angola is propagated by the revisionists as a new example of "Soviet support to liberation movements". But what do the facts show?

In his time, Krushchev openly attacked the liberation movements. He refused to send support to Vietnam. Soviet arms came only when it was obvious that the Vietnamese people would defeat US imperialism in the end. The Soviet Union consistently refused to send support to the liberation struggle in Kampuchea. The USSR spread illusions about the "peaceful road" in Chile and thus helped to disarm the workers ideologically before the bloody fascist coup. There are innumerable similar examples of sabotage of liberation struggles.

The Soviet Union has also sent military forces which have fought against liberation movements. Examples are Indonesia and India.

As another aspect, the Soviet Union makes use of certain liberation struggles to create a market for more weapons. Everybody knows that in recent years the Soviet Union has become the world's number one dealer in arms. In Angola one side was flooded with tanks and offensive weapons, for which social-imperialism will certainly demand a high price. At the same time, it has been disclosed that social-imperialism, through a Czechoslovakian company, sold anti-tank weapons to the other side.

Social-Imperialism Fakes «Support» to Gain Influence in Liberation Movements

The most important aspect of Soviet "support" is social-imperialist influence within the liberation movements, aiming at putting them under pressure. Official sources in Mozambique have disclosed how the Soviet Union attempted to force concessions there. African heads of state who recognize the Luanda government have openly declared that social-imperialism tries to obtain concessions from the movement to which it renders

"assistance".

Angola is a new example of how social-imperialist support in reality poisons those who receive it and enslaves them. It shows even better than before that social-imperialism is a dangerous enemy to the liberation movements, and that the most dangerous thing to do is to accept its "assistance".

Cuban Troops Not Castro's But Brezhnev's Mercenaries

All reports prove that it was the big invading army of Cuban mercenaries which won victory for one side. During the last phase, Cubans were at the forefront, with modern heavy Soviet equipment, while Africans functioned as rear guard and medical corps.

Cuba is a small Third World country. It is poor because of imperialist exploitation and

artificial underdevelopment. Cuba has no interest in invading any other country. The Cubans do not act as Cuba's military force in Angola, but as Brezhnev's. Cuba by itself could never manage to equip, transport and finance such a huge military adventure. Expansionist Britain recruited imperialist mercenaries among the Gurkha in Nepal. Now Brezhnev procures his in Cuba.

Cuba: Tragic Example of What Happens to Kremlin's «Allies»

Cuba is a frightening example of how a small and poor country of the Third World can fall in the claws of social-imperialism unless it consistently defends its complete autonomy and independence. The Cuban example shows what can happen when revisionism gets a foothold in a liberation movement that has led a victorious struggle against the other superpower.

The overthrow of the fascist US puppet Batista in Cuba in 1959 was a big and significant victory and great encouragement for all anti-imperialists. Castro then played an important progressive role for the people of Cuba.

Social-Imperialism Arms Itself to the Teeth

The advancing social-imperialist superpower won in this competition with US-imperialism partly because of large scale rearmament and modernization of the Soviet war machine.

Soviet interference in Angola was a highly complicated and hazardous military operation

Later Castro was to lead his country into the lair of social-imperialism. Castro did not apply the line of self-reliance, but relied on the USSR for support against the US and to develop the country. Cuba was changed from a US to a Soviet satellite. Significant achievements of the Cuban revolution have been drastically undermined.

Cuba's valiant people have a proud history of revolutionary struggle against several colonial powers. They will not accept social-imperialist neo-colonialism forever. Meanwhile, Cuba's tragedy is an instructive negative example for countries and liberation movements in the Third World.

No Country in the World is Safe From the USSR

This is an important warning to the people of the world. When the USSR could intervene in Angola so quickly and efficiently, no country

in the world should feel safe from social-imperialist military expansion, no matter how far away it is situated from the Soviet Union or one of its satellite states.

Social-Imperialism Plans New Offensives in Africa

It is important to note that the success in Angola can serve as a spring-board for further social-imperialist offensives.

The Soviet Union has won important political victories. Many African countries originally condemned Soviet intervention in Angola. In accord with the military success of the Cuban-backed MPLA, many have changed their position and unilaterally recognized the Luanda government. For example, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) first took a correct position to the Angolan war, and condemned all foreign intervention. Later

a majority of OAU nations have unilaterally recognized one side as Angola's official government.

The situation is such that many new "Angolas" can arise on the huge and important African continent. The Soviet Union's appetite is sharpened after success so far, and possibilities for further conspiracies are many.

The Soviet Union will also attempt to make use of its success to intervene in the liberation struggle against the white racist regime in Azania ("South Africa").

No Imperialist Can Long Oppress the Valiant African People

But the progress of the African peoples cannot be stopped by social-imperialist intrigues. All over Africa the struggle intensifies against racism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, and especially against the two imperialist superpowers.

The victory over the Portuguese colonial power has led to strong advances in the struggle against the white racists in southern Africa. In Zimbabwe true freedom fighters are conducting a successful people's war which has sealed the fate of the Smith regime. The struggle in Namibia is also progressing.

Strengthen Support of the Liberation Struggle

We are therefore certain that social-imperialist advances in Africa will not last long. The world's peoples must respond to social-imperialist offensives by increased support

Thereby the day approaches when the apartheid regime in Azania will be crushed as well.

The whole of Africa will surely drive out the imperialist powers and free itself from the chains of neo-colonialism. Social-imperialism aims at exploiting the struggle against the old colonialists. It establishes footholds by offering "aid" in the forms of arms and mercenaries. But the African peoples and nations are capable of freeing themselves without selling their independence to anyone. They will learn from history, and not allow one oppressor to replace another.

Superpowers Prepare for World War Through Limited Wars

History contains many examples of how imperialist superpowers prepare for big wars by starting smaller ones. Before World War II, Germany and Italy trained in Spain, Italy started the war against Ethiopia, Japan made war in China.

The Soviet Union has used Angola as a training ground to test equipment, communications etc. The rehearsal has been quite successful. The USSR will inevitably launch

to anti-racist, anti-colonial and anti-fascist struggles in Zimbabwe and Azania. We must support the struggle waged by African nations against social-imperialism, US imperialism and all other forms of imperialism.

more limited wars to prepare for a big one.

The Angolan war has revealed what a fake "detente" between the two imperialist superpowers really is. It shows that contention between the two superpowers sharpens. It furnishes new proof of how the danger of a world war increases. The chances are increasing too, of new similarly "limited" operations developing into a new Poland, triggering war between the two imperialist blocks.

China and Albania Support the People Against the Superpowers

While the war in Angola once again revealed the two superpowers as the worst enemies of the world's peoples, it has also further proved socialist China and socialist Albania as the best friends and the most reliable support to people fighting imperialism.

Albania and China have consistently condemned the intervention of US imperialism and social-imperialism. They have con-

demned the invasion by racist South Africa, and the use of mercenaries by both sides. Albania and China have consistently supported the establishment of a joint government with the participation of all three groups, and they have constantly supported the original stand of the OAU favoring Angolan unity against foreign intervention.

Social-imperialist propaganda has directed a

campaign of vicious slander against the People's Republic of China in connection with Angola. Rumors claim that China intervened in Angola, supported one side against the other, backed the South African racists, and even paid for Western mercenaries.

A lie does not become truth simply by continuous repetition. The facts show that China supported all three liberation movements while they fought against Portugal. As soon as Portugal was thrown out of the country,

China stopped giving support, declared that the Angolan people had to determine their own path, and committed itself to support unity among the three movements.

That is true anti-imperialism, and is diametrically opposed to the superpowers' conspiracy and divisive activity. It is also

worth noting that agitation against China on the issue of Angola has decreased recently - because social-imperialist propaganda cannot furnish any evidence to support the false claims of China's "support of reaction and imperialism".

Actually the violent attacks by social-imperialism on the People's Republic of China only express the Kremlin's fear of China's correct foreign policy, which supports forces fighting against the superpowers. The Kremlin fears the People's Republic of China, because China led the way in condemning and exposing the maneuvers of social-imperialism. The people of the world will learn from this, and note that China and Albania are their true friends and most reliable allies, who have always given all-out support to their struggle.

PART III: ANGOLA AND NORWAY

The war in Angola also reveals how the different political forces in Norway stand in relation to the superpowers. It gives us new

material to help us see which forces are willing to fight for the independence of our own country.

Factions of the Monopolist Bourgeoisie Swing in a Pro-Soviet Direction

As social-imperialism has recently gained strength at the expense of US imperialism, there have been some interesting changes in the Norwegian bourgeoisie. Important groups of politicians representing the monopolist bourgeoisie have swung in a more pro-Soviet direction.

After World War II, the social-democrat party DNA, the dominant party in Norway, was the main force in turning the country into a dependency of US imperialism. The DNA was the main pro-US party. Fifteen years ago the DNA had a foreign minister who was as loyal to US imperialism as Paul Thynæss, Kåre Kristiansen and Erik Gjems-Onstad (3) are today, namely Halvard Lange (4).

Today the DNA leaders flirt openly with the Kremlin tsars. The attitude of the *Arbeiderbladet*, the main DNA daily, and similar organs, has become increasingly friendly towards the USSR. In the trade union movement, the DNA relies more and more on connections with the Soviet Union.

Along the same line, social-democrat and liberal propaganda has been wholly on the

side of the MPLA and the USSR on the Angolan issue. This has nothing to do with weakening ties to imperialism, it just expresses the fact that the bourgeoisie is influenced by the general shift in the relation of forces between the two superpowers.

Other bourgeois groups react by coming out in stronger defense of US imperialism. This is the case for leaders of both the conservative and Christian People's parties, and also the "mafia" of diehard US followers in the DNA, people like Haakon Lie and the idiots on the Nobel committee (5).

In this issue, there is just as much hypocrisy in both pro-imperialist camps. When the big bourgeoisie and arch-reactionary politicians like Thynæss and Gjems-Onstad condemn the Soviet adventure in Angola, they do so as convinced sycophants of the US superpower.

When social-democrats and liberals side with the revisionists, and unilaterally criticize Western mercenaries, the South African invasion and American investments, this ex-

presses attachment to the Soviet Union and nothing else.

True anti-imperialists oppose all intervention in Angola, and condemn all powers aiming to profit at the expense of the liberation of the people of Angola.

No leading Norwegian bourgeois politician has taken a consistent anti-hegemonious stand. This reveals once again that no group within

the Norwegian monopolist bourgeoisie is willing to fight for a consistent independent line against all big imperialist powers. For the Norwegian monopolies, which have always been junior partners to the big imperialist powers in international politics, the choice is between one superpower or the other. Therefore, no monopolist politician is willing to oppose both superpowers in Angola.

Revisionist Bosses Are Phony «Anti-Imperialists»

The modern revisionist SV and "NKP" parties brag about being "anti-imperialist parties". But their so-called "anti-imperialism" is directed only against US and western imperialism, and not against social-imperialism, which is just as dangerous.

While social-imperialism oppresses the Soviet people and other peoples and prepares for a world war, the Norwegian revisionists call its fascism "socialism" and its war preparations "peace policy". Concerning western imperialism, the "anti-imperialist" line of these parties does not extend beyond words. They sabotage all real struggle against US imperialism in Norway.

Angola has furnished a new and flagrant example of how these parties in reality support and defend imperialism.

WCP(M-L) — the Only Real Anti-imperialist Party in Norway

The WCP(M-L) is the only Norwegian party whose program calls for struggle against both superpowers and all forms of imperialism.

In the Angola issue, the WCP(M-L) is also the only Norwegian party having condemned both superpowers and all imperialist interference. Past events have shown even clearer that this was the only correct stand.

This is a new example demonstration the fact that the WCP(M-L) is now the only true anti-imperialist party in Norway.

This does not mean that only members and supporters of the WCP(M-L) are anti-imperialists. The Norwegian people have proud traditions in the struggle for national independence and against imperialism, traditions which are deeply rooted in the working people of Norway. The Norwegian people's struggles for independence which led to the

SV and especially "NKP" have consistently been an uncritical and loyal cheering squad for social-imperialism. They have even described the use of mercenaries to slaughter Angolans as "assistance in the struggle against imperialism".

Though the leaders of these parties allow themselves to be used by imperialism, the followers of the "NKP" and the SV are on the whole honest people who have been deceived.

Especially among the members and followers of the SV party there are still a good number of honest young anti-imperialists. They should learn that there is no true anti-imperialism directed towards one superpower and not against the Soviet Union. They should take the consequences of the reactionary stand of the SV on the Angola issue, and break all ties with the party.

dissolution of the "union" with Sweden in 1905, the resistance against the Nazi occupation of 1940-45, the resistance against NATO in 1949, and the victory over the Common Market at the 1972 referendum, are examples of the patriotism of the Norwegian people. Support to Spain in the civil war against fascism, support to the people of Vietnam and to the people of Czechoslovakia by the majority of the Norwegian people, express their willingness to demonstrate solidarity with the liberation struggles of other peoples against imperialism.

We know many people who do not agree with the party on all matters, but share our views on the Angolan issue. Progressive organizations independent of all parties have also taken correct stands. Individuals within the bourgeois and modern revisionist parties and individual reporters in the bourgeois press have also expressed correct viewpoints.

Social-Imperialist Propaganda: No Response Among Working People

In spite of support to social-imperialist propaganda by important parts of the press, radio and television, no support for social-imperialism has emerged among the working people. This shows that Norwegian workers are becoming more politically conscious, and that they are learning to distinguish between true struggle against imperialism, and aggression camouflaging itself with "anti-imperialist" phrases.

Thereby Angola shows once again who anti-

imperialists can really count on when Norway has to be defended against the two superpowers and all other forms of imperialism. It is the WCP(M-L) and a number of other independent and truly anti-imperialist organizations. It is the honest anti-imperialists inside and outside the bourgeois parties who do not follow these parties' leadership and do not submit to the superpowers. And it is the broad masses of the working people - workers, small farmers and fishermen, students, youth, progressive intellectuals, and others.

Needed: United Front Against the Superpowers

Angola is a country with a relatively small population, in a strategically important position in the contested zone between the superpowers. This is also the case for Norway. Therefore, Angola's fate should be a warning to all true anti-imperialists in Norway. They should join together in a united front against the two superpowers, and mobilize and organize the masses of the working

people. Only the working people can defend Norway and prevent it from becoming a victim of one or more superpowers, like Angola.

The WCP(M-L) will learn the lesson of Angola. We must work even harder than before to help build and support such a front.

Footnotes

1. March-April 1976.

2. The modern revisionist SV party was first established in February 1973 as a "Socialist Electoral Alliance" (Sosialistisk Valgforbund) between the Socialist People's Party (SF: Sosialistisk Folkeparti) established in 1961 by oppositional elements from the Social-democrat party DNA (Norwegian Labor Party), the arch-revisionist "NKP" (Norway's "Communist" Party), a group from the DNA, and others. The SV alliance carried 12.5 percent of the vote in the 1973 elections to parliament. The alliance became a party in 1975 driving out a handful of overt Moscow agents acting on orders from Moscow and who continue to pose as "NKP". SV now stands for "Socialist Left Party" (Sosialistisk Venstreparti). As modern revisionist treachery be-

comes unveiled to the masses, support to the SV party diminishes. By 1976 polls give roughly 6 percent of the vote to SV.

3. Three politicians from different rightist parties, noted for their pro-NATO stand and for their support of US aggression all over the world.

4. Social-democrat foreign minister during the Cold War and later.

5. Every year the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian parliament discerns the Nobel Peace Prize. The Committee has attributed the prize to such mass-murderers as Henry Kissinger, causing great resentment among workers and people of Norway. The majority of the committee are social-democrats.

BOOKS in ENGLISH

● Documents From the First Joint Meeting of Nordic Marxist-Leninists, January 1975.

At this meeting representatives from the following organizations were present:

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

The documents include a Communique, a Statement on the International Situation, and the resolution Strengthen the Struggle Against Modern Revisionism.

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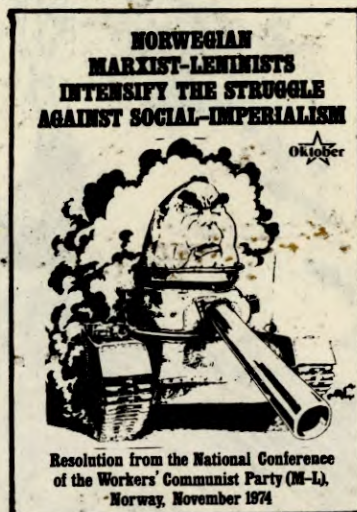
● Norwegian Marxist-Leninists Intensify the Struggle Against Social-imperialism, a resolution from the National Conference of the WCP(M-L), Norway, November 1974.

The resolution presents an analysis of social-imperialism, of the role of the two superpowers, and of the manner in which the struggle against social-imperialism should be waged in Norway.

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TYPOGRAPHER'S ERROR

Three short paragraphs in the documents from the first Joint Meeting of Nordic Marxist-Leninists, January 1975, have been omitted by mistake. Erratum can be ordered from Oktober Forlag.



THE INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN

Class Struggle is the international bulletin of Klassekampen, the twice-weekly paper of the Workers' Communist Party (M-L) of Norway, WCP(M-L) - Arbeidernes Kommunistparti (m-l), AKP(m-l). Class Struggle normally appears every other month.

Its purpose is to inform its readers:

- of aggression perpetrated by the two superpowers against Norway,
- of class struggle in Norway,
- of the struggle against revisionists and revisionist organizations in Norway,
- of the activities and policy of the Norwegian Marxist-Leninist movement.

This special issue of Class Struggle presents the WCP(M-L)'s analysis of

the recent civil war in Angola, instigated by social-imperialism.

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Summit meeting in Moscow.
" Say Leonid, as part of our
joint efforts to balance detente,
I have a suggestion.... "



THE CIVIL WAR

ANGOLA

Opportunists of all categories always strive at siding with the "winner". Since Soviet arms and Cuban mercenary troops have won an important military victory for one side in the civil war in Angola, all kinds of opportunists are prepared to acclaim the winners.

But political principles do not depend on whom the "winner" is, and WCP(M-L)'s viewpoint on the issue of Angola is, of course, not based on that. The WCP(M-L)'s point of view is based on principled struggle against all imperialism.

The issue of Angola was thoroughly discussed this spring (1) in a series of articles in Klassekampen, the organ of the Workers' Communist Party (M-L), Norway. This special issue "of Class Struggle, the inter-

national bulletin of the WCP(M-L), brings a translation of the most important of these articles. The articles express the viewpoint of the WCP(M-L) and are written by the foreign affairs editors of Klassekampen.

The articles analyze the course of events in Angola, and examine the many false accounts which have been given of the war and its background.

Furthermore, they examine the role of the superpowers in the war, showing how the war in Angola emphasizes the fact that hostility between the US and the Soviet Union is constantly sharpening. Finally, the analysis dissects the position of different groups in Norway towards the war, including the leaders of the modern revisionist SV party.