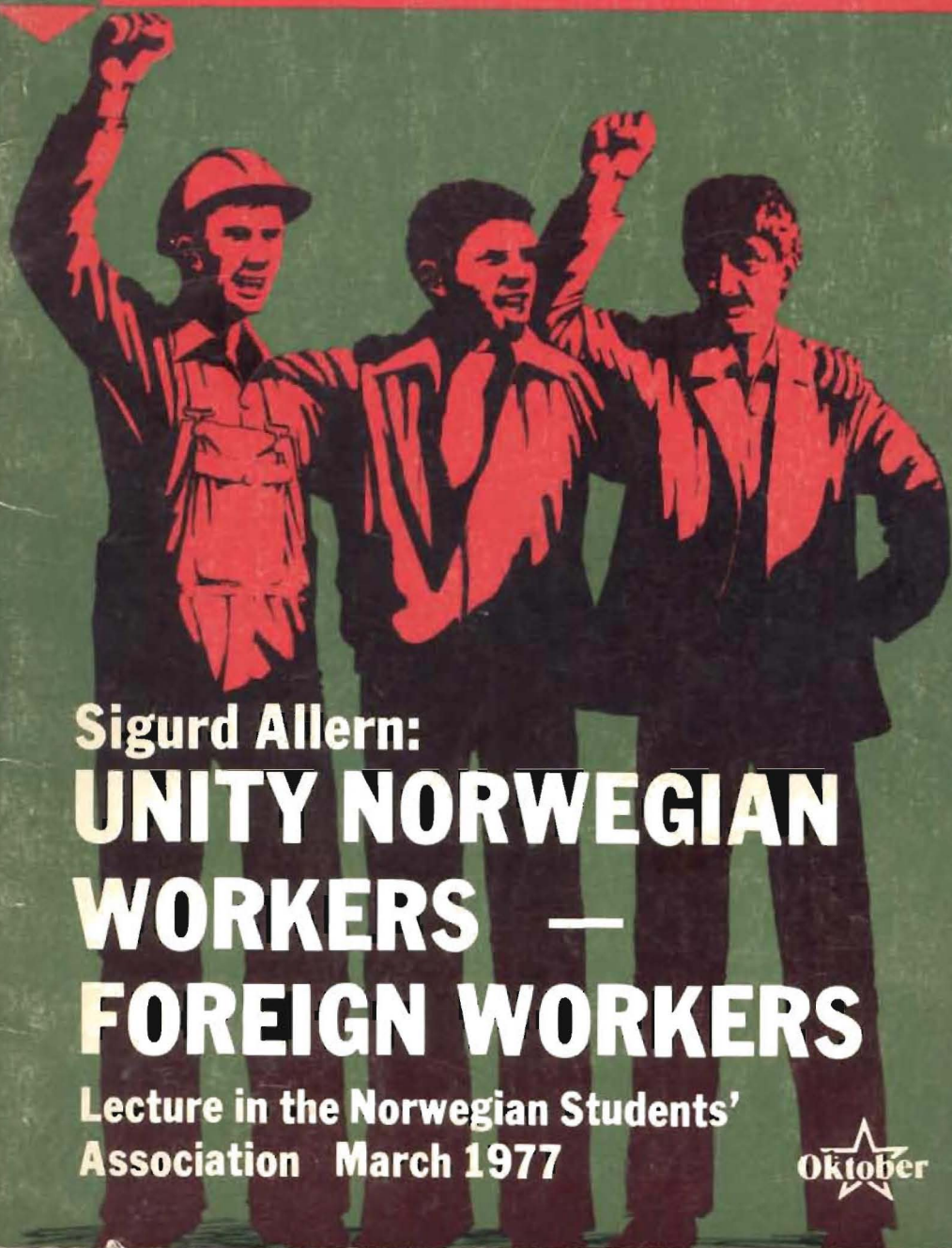


KOMMENTAR

3



Sigurd Allern:

UNITY NORWEGIAN WORKERS — FOREIGN WORKERS

**Lecture in the Norwegian Students'
Association March 1977**

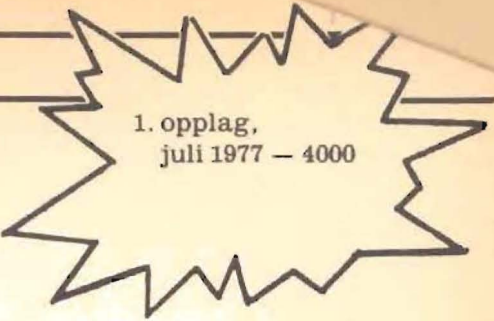
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KOMMENTAR 3

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Sigurd Allern:
UNITY NORWEGIAN
WORKERS —
FOREIGN WORKERS !

Lecture in the Norwegian Students'
Association March 1977



Forlaget Oktober A/S
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PREFACE

This lecture was given at a meeting in The Norwegian Students' Association on Saturday 26th of March. What is printed here is the manuscript for the lecture, with some examples added which I had to cut out when I gave the lecture owing to the lack of time.

The polemics against the revisionists is almost wholly concentrated on the small group «Communist Workers' League» and «Communist University Group» («KA/KUL»). The reason for this is the fact that this very group for several years has made revisionist assaults on the policy of AKP(m-l) on the question of foreign labour their

special trademark, assaults that have been based on obvious falsifications. And partly this priority is based on the fact that «KUL» has been pushed to the fore as the only opposing candidate from the bourgeois «left» for Red Front in the DNS (The Norwegian Students' Association).

The consequence of making these priorities is, however, that I to a small extent comment on the chauvinist policies of the modern revisionist parties «NKP» and SV. Those who read this pamphlet should bear this limitation in mind.

Oslo, June 1977
Sigurd Allern

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Sigurd Allern: UNITY NORWEGIAN WORKERS — FOREIGN WORKERS!

**Lecture in the Norwegian Students'
Association March 1977**

Comrades,

In this lecture I shall speak on and against the immigration ban, but above all I shall discuss the different policies in the question of foreign labour. For inside what is, and what terms itself, the working class movement, we are faced with two irreconcilable attitudes. The one policy is nationalist and chauvinist, though sometimes covered by the false phrases about «internationalism» and «solidarity». The other line is based on real proletarian internationalism.

The chauvinist line expresses itself in many ways. One of the most blatant ways is the immigration ban, which has strengthened racism and increased the use of group import on slave contracts. When the immigration ban was enacted in 1975, it was supported by all the political parties in the Norwegian parliament, including SV (Socialist Left Party) and «NKP» (the Moscow oriented Norwegian «communist» Party). The Foreign Workers Association (FAF) was also among the supporters of the

immigration ban until 1976. But AKP (m-l) (Workers' Communist Party (m-l)) opposed the same racist law.

At the same time I want to emphasize that there has arisen chauvinist deviations in the history of the marxist-leninist movement as well, deviations which I will return to and criticize later in this lecture.

Here in DNS (The Norwegian Students' Association) there is every reason to examine a special type of chauvinism represented by the little revisionist group «KA/KUL». («Communist Workers' League/Communist University Group»). On the surface, this group opposes all «close the borders»-policies and they also talk a lot about «internationalism». But at the core their political line says that all workers are exploited to the same extent and in the same way. Therefore they are opposed to launching the struggle against special forms of national and political oppression which foreign workers are faced with. Instead of supporting this struggle, these revisionists prettify the international migrations of

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labour and never tire of talking about «progressive imperialism». As a result, they objectively accept the whole system of chauvinism and discrimination.

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Against the various forms of opportunism and chauvinism we communists counterpose proletarian internationalism. In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels have stated that communists «In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, ...point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality.» Thus the *Manifesto* also asserts that the final abolition of national oppression and discrimination only can come about once socialism is established. «In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put to an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.*

And now to the specific question of the foreign workers. I have met many who believe that this is a new problem which is especially linked with the immigrations to Western Europe in the 1960's and 1970's. But the use of extra-exploited labour from oppressed and lesser developed nations is in fact as old as capitalism itself. The uneven development is a law.

In a letter to Meyer and Vogt in 1870, Marx wrote the following:

«Every industry and commercial centre in England now has a working class divided into two hostile Camps: English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The average English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who pulls down

his standard of living. In relation to him he feels himself to be a member of the ruling nation, and thus he turns himself into a tool for his country's aristocracy and capitalists against Ireland; in this way he strengthens the rule over himself. He howls out national, religious and social prejudices against the Irish worker... The Irishman... sees in the English worker only the accessory to the crime, the senseless tool of the English rule over Ireland.

*This antagonism is kept alive by artificial means and is strengthened by the press, the church, jokes in the newspapers, in short with the aid of all the means which the ruling class have at their disposal. This antagonism is the secret behind the impotence of the English working class, in spite of its organization. This is the secret of the hold on power which the capitalist class has. And this class is quite aware of the fact.»**

THE COMINTERN AGAINST IMMIGRATION BANS

Nor are the policies for the communist position on capitalist immigration policies anything new. At the fourth congress of the Comintern (The Third International), proposals supporting immigration bans were discussed and criticized in a resolution called *Theses on the Question of the Orient*. This resolution contains the following passage:

«The communist parties of the imperialist countries, America, Japan, England, Australia and Canada have a duty to not only limit themselves to propagating against the war in the face of the danger that threatens. They must also make the utmost efforts to eliminate the factors that disorganize the workers' movement in their own

* Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto, part II, Proletarians and Communists, Selected Works, Eng. ed. p. 120 and 125.*

* Marx, *Letter to Meyer and Vogt, April 9th 1870, Marx — Engels, Werke, German ed. vol. 32 p. 669.*

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countries, and which increase the capitalist exploitation of contradictions between peoples and races.

These factors are the problem of immigration and the problem of cheap coloured labour.

The contract system is even today the most advanced method for recruiting coloured labour to the sugar plantations of the South Sea Islands. Workers are brought there from China and India. This fact has caused workers of the imperialist countries to demand that legal regulations against immigration and use of coloured labour be adopted, both in America and Australia. These laws sharpen the contradiction between white and coloured workers, and split and weaken the unity of the workers' movement.

The communist parties of America, Australia and Canada must carry through an energetic struggle against the laws that prevent immigration. They must make it plain to the proletarian masses of these countries that such laws, while they give life to racial hatred, in the final instance harm the masses themselves.

Capitalists on the other hand desist from such laws in order to make the import of cheap labour possible and force down the wages of white workers by such means. This capitalist intention to launch an attack can be warded off effectively in one way only — the immigrating workers must be recruited into the existing trade unions for white labour. The demand that wages for coloured and white workers must be the same, must be raised. This measure by the communist parties will reveal the plan of the capitalists. At the same time it will show the coloured workers clearly that the international proletariat knows no racial prejudice.»*

* The fourth Congress of the Comintern, 1922, *Theses on the Question of the Orient*, pt. 7, «The tasks of the proletariat in the pacific countries».

Comrades! In the summer of 1976 the Trade Union Commission of AKP (m-l) published a statement which put the demand: Down with the immigration ban! The viewpoint of our party was summed up in this way:

«The immigration ban functions in a racist manner and promotes slave contracts. Thus it must not be prolonged, — but abolished! This is the answer which the working class must give to the government proposal to uphold this racist law indefinitely, that is, to make it permanent. All previous practice from the government shows that the law has been established in order to increase the political control of the state over immigration, and to exploit the foreign workers more effectively as a reserve army of labour for capitalism.»

And further:

«AKP (m-l) therefore rejects the immigration ban on the basis of political principle. The «close the borders»-policy of the government in practice leads to chauvinism and racism. We will defend the right of foreign workers to apply for and receive work permits individually and take up residence in our country without being discriminated against in any way.

Monopoly capital today uses foreign workers as an international reserve army of labour, and tries to use this situation to split the unity of the working class, keep wages down and introduce as reactionary work contracts as possible. The reply of the working class to these policies must always build upon the principles of proletarian internationalism, on unity and solidarity in the struggle against exploitation, regardless of all national differences.»*

* The Trade Union Commission of AKP (m-l): *Down with the immigration ban*, printed in *Klassekampen*, foreign language edition, July 1976, and in the *Røde Fane* no. 1 1976.

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This statement is based on proletarian internationalism, and during the past year AKP (m-l) has followed these guidelines in its practice in several areas. We have actively participated in the organizing of foreign worker sections in the «Faglig 1. maifront» demonstrations, and supported the Foreign Workers' Association's demonstration against the immigration ban on October 5th. Party members have in many places led the struggle against chauvinism and discrimination in their trade unions, Tenant's Associations and other mass organizations.

Klassekampen (the daily newspaper of AKP (m-l) now brings out a special foreign worker edition with articles in seven languages. AKP (m-l) today is the only party, the only organized force which actively and consequently supports the struggle of the foreign workers.

SELF-CRITICISM FOR CHAUVINIST ERRORS

At the national party congress last autumn the line of the Trade Union Commission was ratified anew as the party line. At the same time the congress reviewed, summed up and sharply refuted earlier chauvinist and opportunist mistakes which the Marxist-Leninist movement has committed, mostly during the period before the party was founded in 1973. One of the crudest manifestations of this was the slogan of *Klassekampen*, «Close the borders», which was launched in no. 9, 1971. Even though this slogan rarely was repeated, it expressed a line which called for an immigration ban and which re-emerged in several articles in 1971 and 1972.

The justifications of this line at the time were mainly arguments of this type: Underpaid foreign workers undermine the wage struggle in Norway. Foreign workers may easily be used as scabs, strikebreakers. The importing of foreign workers weakens the class struggle in the countries which the workers come from, etc.

The general attitude of all these articles was a systematic underestimation and downgrading of the class consciousness of foreign workers. The reactionary goal of the capitalist class in buying foreign labour power was taken as the basis for judging the foreign workers themselves. The positive effects, achieved when Norwegian and foreign workers learn to fight side by side against capitalist exploitation and oppression, were never mentioned. Instead, we opened the floodgates for Norwegian chauvinism and for calls for a ban on further import of labour.

These viewpoints make up a serious revisionist and chauvinist deviation in the history of the Marxist-Leninist movement. They violate the principles of proletarian internationalism, and might have been exploited by reactionaries and revisionists wishing to split the unity of the working class with racism and hatred of foreigners. The background for this rightist deviation lies in several circumstances. But above all it represented an opportunist capitulation to the reactionary propaganda of the bourgeoisie and the labour aristocracy against all the «problems» which would be caused by the rapidly increasing number of foreign workers. Chauvinist currents which surfaced in the wake of the important and progressive struggle against Norwegian membership in the Common Market (EEC) also produced a climate that made it easier for this kind of standpoint to survive.

Klassekampen's «Close the border»-slogan did its damage. As a communist party we sum up, refute and criticize mistakes of this kind. But once we have criticized these deviations, another side to our history must be mentioned as well.

For throughout the years of our existence, we Marxist-Leninists have upheld active solidarity with the struggle of the foreign workers against discrimination here in Norway. Typically enough, the liars and cheats of «KA/KUL» always bypass these articles and slogans when they quote from

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Klassekampen of 1971 and 1972.

I shall point out two instances of this. In *Klassekampen* no. 12, 1971, the newspaper greeted the founding of the Foreign Workers' Association. The comment points out how important it is to unite all the different national groups in the common struggle against capital and how necessary it is to strengthen the fighting unity between Norwegian and foreign workers against all kinds of discrimination. And in *Klassekampen* no. 3, 1972, the slogan «No deportations of foreign workers!» was put forward. Concretely this article was based on the threats of deportations which were directed against foreign workers who had been fired from their jobs or black-balled by the Police Department for foreigners.

When AKP (m-l) was founded in 1973, the slogan «close the borders» was *rejected* by the first national congress. And the program which was passed, contained the following slogans:

«Prohibit organized import of foreign labour!

Stop all discrimination of foreign workers in Norway!

The democratic rights of foreign workers must be guaranteed.»

This wording was chosen in order to oppose the group imports, an importation system which denies individual democratic rights for foreign workers, in other words — a system of slave contracts. Thus the program was not aimed at the normal individual immigration.

This standpoint could well have been made more clearly, but the main line was in any case correct. At the same time it was a revisionist deviation that the national congress did not openly condemn the «Close the borders»-slogan and did not criticize chauvinist deviations within the party. The reason for this is mainly to be found in the general rightist deviation of the Marxist-Leninist movement in Norway at the time;

where, amongst other things, self-criticism was neglected. This lack of self-criticism had harmful consequences, different kinds of chauvinist ideas were allowed to flourish all too freely. The worst result of this was a signed article in *Røde Fane* no. 3, 1974,* which under cover of attacking «KUL»'s revisionist line on the question of foreign workers, objectively attacked the party programme and demanded a ban on immigration with openly chauvinist and reactionary arguments.

This was an open manifestation of the struggle between two lines within the party. At this time, revisionist attacks on AKP (m-l)'s programme were published in party publications.

This article was of course squeezed to the last drop by «KA/KUL». But typically enough for their kind of propaganda, they have *never* dared to quote from AKP (m-l)'s adopted *programme of action*, and precisely because they understood that the party at its founding rejected the «close the borders»-demand, they have until this hour chanted about *Klassekampen* no. 9, 1971 and *Røde Fane* no. 3 1974, as if they were reciting the Christmas Gospel. These revisionists are no more interested in the policy of AKP (m-l) than they are interested in objective criticism. In reality they are interested in one thing: *falsifying* the party line and exploiting and exaggerating the earlier mistakes of AKP (m-l), in order to make the party appear as chauvinist as possible. That is how they serve the interests of the bourgeoisie, while waving the red banner frantically.

Another example illustrates this even better. In the autumn of 1974 the government announced for the first time its plan for an immigration ban. *Klassekampen* no. 46, 1974 rejected the proposal in an editorial, commented on the «loop-hole clauses» and proved that the immigration ban would lead to slave contracts and increased discrimination. In the same editorial *Klassekampen* attacked on principle the plan

* *Red Banner*, AKP (m-l)'s journal of theory and debate. — *Red.*

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of the LO (the United Organisation of Trade Unions) leaders to make foreign workers pay 90% union dues in a special forced taxation instead of *organizing* group-imported workers.

At this meeting here tonight, «KUL» has presented a resolution to be voted over which claims amongst other things that «When the immigration ban was enacted, the Labour Party and SV stood by each other in their parliamentary game and AKP tossed in the necessary racist arguments». This is what this gang writes in 1977, even though they *know* that AKP (m-l) was the only party which denounced the immigration ban when it was enacted. They write this even though they have read the statement of the Trade Union Commission from 1976 against the extension of the immigration ban.

This systematic swindle unfortunately makes it necessary to take a closer look at the line these revisionists themselves have on the question of foreign labour as well as the background for their falsifications.

«KA/KUL»'S LINE IS IMPERIALIST ECONOMISM

It may be useful with a quotation from Lenin, since «KUL» repeats parts of this quotation in an imprecise way in their proposal here tonight. I will read this quotation in its entirety and bring it out of «KUL»'s revisionist context:

«There can be no doubt that dire poverty alone compels people to abandon their native land, and that the capitalists exploit the immigrant workers in the most shameless manner. But only reactionaries can shut their eyes to the *progressive* significance of this modern migration of nations. Emancipation from the yoke of capital is impossible without the further development of capitalism, and without the class struggle that is based on it. And it is into this struggle that capitalism is drawing

the masses of the working people of the *whole* world, breaking down the musty, fusty habits of local life, breaking down national barriers and prejudices, uniting workers from all countries in huge factories and mines in America, Germany, and so forth».

What is the progressive significance which Lenin refers to here? The shameless exploitation and degradation? No, what he says is that the development of capitalism creates an increasingly stronger foundation for uniting proletarians of all nations through common class struggle against the capitalist yoke, and liberating them from national barriers and prejudices. In other words, it is neither the extra exploitation, nor the slave contracts, the group imports, or the national and political oppression of foreign workers to which Lenin refers as *progressive*. The progressive significance lies in the objective effect of this, in the sense that it eases and develops the struggle against the exploitation system in all nations, and strengthens proletarian internationalism.

The «KA/KUL» group has always mixed up these two things, and they have developed into firm apologists for the theory of the «generally progressive imperialism». This is a reactionary theory which Lenin himself summarized in the following way:

«Imperialism is the present-day capitalism; the development of capitalism is inevitable and progressive; therefore, we should grovel before it and glorify it!»*

If we were to sum up «KA/KUL»'s revisionism on the national question and characterize it more precisely, I believe that the most well-placed characterization is that which Lenin defined as imperialist economism. The «original» economism, which Lenin deals a blow in *What is to be done?* was an openly tight opportunist

* Lenin, *Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism*, Coll. Works, Eng. ed. vol. 22 p.266 — Red.

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philosophy. The economists exaggerated and twisted the significance of the economic struggle by the workers against the individual capitalist. They systematically neglected the political struggle and refused the leading role of the communist party in the struggle. They directed the workers' attention exclusively towards the working class itself, and denied the significance of working class leadership in the struggle against all class oppression and discrimination.

In 1916, Lenin was able to conclude that a new economist school of thought had emerged, and that it was closely connected with the era of imperialism.* This imperialist economism was a type of revisionism which amongst other things was characterized by the following arguments: First of all the self-determination of a nation in the era of imperialism was branded as an «illusion». Since the *economy* was international, the monopolies were international, thus self-determination, that is, the right to own national existence and independence, was regarded as a joke. Therefore, the national struggle, according to the economists, was backward and reactionary. This was especially true of the imperialist part of the world, where the economists considered that one could *never* put forth national slogans with a progressive content.

As a result the economists turned against the slogan «defence of the fatherland» on the basis of *principle*. Lenin attacked the way the slogan was used by the different sides to justify the reactionary and imperialist World War I. But at the same time he made it clear that his arguments were directed against the shouting about «defence of the fatherland» in a *reactionary* and *unjust* war and that his arguments were not directed against the same slogan when used by an oppressed nation fighting a *just* war.

Yet from the economist point of view, since self-determination was frowned upon as an «illusion», it was a short step over to arguing that other democratic demands and slogans were equally «illusory». All that was left then was the «purely economic struggle». Strikes for higher wages are thus the ultimate form of class struggle according to the economists.

Everyone who has read «KA/KUL»'s publications («The 'Red' Worker» and «The Spark»), knows that this is a quite appropriate generalization of their revisionist line. And if we take a look at their policies regarding the foreign worker question we see this again. The national and political oppression of the foreign workers is totally neglected. The particular forms of exploitation and discrimination are never mentioned. Their policy is limited to saying that foreign workers are workers, and that all workers are exploited. Thus the struggle against national and political oppression disappears into a mist. «KA/KUL» live in a revisionist fantasy world where only the general working class economic struggle is allowed to exist. The practical consequences of this is of course that «KA/KUL» is *against* waging any struggle directed at the special kinds of oppression which foreign workers meet. It is not possible to grovel more totally for chauvinism.

This has an historical parallel. In the USA, as early as during World War II, the American communist party, CPUSA, turned rotten and became modern revisionist. The party was led by Earl Browder. In the '20's and '30's this party defended the slogan of self-determination for the black nation and pointed out that at the heart of *racial* oppression of Afro-Americans lay a form of *national* oppression. When modern revisionism got a stronghold within the party this viewpoint was dropped.

The modern revisionists concluded that the development of monopoly capitalism forced an increasing number of black workers to sell their labour to the great in-

* See among other articles, Lenin, *The Present Trend of Imperialist Economism, Reply to P. Kievsky* (Y. Pyatakov), and *A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism*, all in Vol. 23 of Lenin, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed.

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dustries in the northern states. According to them, this was a clear example of how the «progressive capitalism»'s own laws of development would solve the Negro question, and once and for all, by means of economic integration, unite black and white workers! Thus the road lay open for the old revisionist and social democratic view which preaches that the question of the Blacks is simply a class question and that the national oppression is unimportant.* The consequences of this was of course white chauvinism of the worst kind. These revisionist «pioneers» are the present taskmasters of «KA/KUL».

«KA/KUL»'s CHAUVINIST PRACTICE

Let us take a look at this group's practice, which they demonstrated for all to see when nine organized foreign workers went on strike at A/S Norsk Champignon last year. This strike was supported by neither «KA» nor «KUL». It is worthwhile to note the reason why. According to *The Spark* no. 7, 1976, this struggle was something so despicable as a «minority strike... which is overwhelmingly likely not to succeed». In the same place it said that the strike at Norsk Champignon concerned «the bourgeois right to establish a wage contract» which was «a matter for the whole working class», and not «a matter for foreign workers».

And in the «*Red Worker*» no. 12, 1976, where this same drivel is repeated, «KA» concludes that instead of going on strike, the workers should have contacted «more progressive and up-to-date social democrats in LO, for example, the Local Federation of Labour». And it is added that the whole affair has now gone off on such a twisted track that if anyone is to save the situation, it must be «more highly empowered organs within LO».

Such right opportunist garbage is rarely served up in one dish — in such quantities.

* Harry Haywood, For a revolutionary Position on the Negro Question», Liberator Press.

The struggle at Norsk Champignon started out with wage discrimination and various kinds of harassment confronting the nine organized workers. All of them were workers from Pakistan. The strike broke out when the Wollebekk family (owners of the company) after fruitless negotiations with the Forest and Land Workers' Union fired six of the nine in one fell swoop and told them to get out. The main demand of the nine was that all those who were fired should be taken in again.

This talk about «the bourgeois right to establish wage contracts» shows that «KA/KUL» were too lazy even to find out what the strike was for.

The advice they gave about going to the local Skedsmo Federation of Labour and to a «more highly empowered body within the LO» is also revealing. This very same local Federation of Labour was in fact, at the back of one of the worst attacks on the strikers. And the «highly empowered» LO Law Office was, in the last phase of the strike, the body which by means of threats of exclusion from the Forest and Land Workers Union, as well as warnings about «problems with further residence permits», managed to force the workers to dissolve the strike committee.

It's pretty obvious that this struggle was «an affair for the whole working class» and that is why, amongst others, we in AKP (m-l) from the very start went all out to mobilize to solidarity and unity. At the same time we stated clearly that this was an example that foreign workers are subject to a special form of discrimination. This is exactly what «KA/KUL» denies, and during the strike they played the wretched part of strike saboteurs. Up against their opportunism stood the splendid example of class solidarity and internationalism which was shown when members of the strike committees of the workers at Norzink A/S, Westkapp boat factory in Ålesund, and Norsk Champignon expressed mutual support to each others' struggles at a solidarity meeting

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in Oslo sponsored by the strike support committees.

Was this standpoint of «KA/KUL»s accidental? No, their continual attacks against the work of the strike support movement are known to all. And when the foreign workers here at Chateau Neuf began a struggle for better wages and better job security, the «KUL» group at once began to undermine the support work. Their major argument was once again the awfulness of pointing out that the workers are foreigners.

Here again we come back to «KA/KUL»'s line on the foreign worker question. Everything revolves around general class oppression and exploitation. The oppression of national minorities, the special political oppression which grants foreigners less formal rights than Norwegian workers is considered insignificant. Therefore these revisionists are opposed to mobilizing Norwegian workers and progressives to fight against the special oppression which foreign workers meet. In the name of general class struggle they have a thoroughly chauvinist practice.

«KA/KUL»'s METHODS OF SWINDLE

I think it necessary to round off the first half of the lecture by taking a closer look at the methods «KA/KUL» have used in their attacks on AKP (m-l). Here, there is one thing that strikes me. During the period before the Marxist-Leninist movement had corrected its «Close the borders»-slogan, this revisionist clique was quite smug. For in this slogan, they could draw attention to a real chauvinist error as a platform for slandering and spreading distrust towards the *entire* line of our party.

Our correction of chauvinist and right-opportunist errors on the foreign worker question has therefore brought these revisionists to the edge of despair. The more AKP (m-l) attacks the immigration ban and develops proletarian internationalism in practice, the wilder are the attacks which

«KA/KUL» launch upon our party.

These last few days, «KA/KUL» have been spreading photostat copies of the «Close the borders» article from *Klassekampen* no. 9, 1971. To increase the effect, they have pasted together the article so that it appears as though it received *first page* coverage in the newspaper. Originally the article was placed on page seven. And furthermore, their editing is so clever that the main article, which had nothing to do with the foreign worker question: «Only the people's own struggle can give results! Don't trust the official parties! Election boycott necessary!» — is changed around in «KA/KUL»'s false facsimile so that their «quotation» from *Klassekampen* is: «Only the people's own struggle can give results! Close the border!» This same swindle is to be found in *The 'Red' Worker*, no. 9, 1976.

Another example. In the newspaper of The Foreign Workers Association «Fremmedarbeideren» no. 8, 1976, I was interviewed about AKP (m-l)'s view on the immigration ban. In the interview I attacked the group imports, the slave contracts, and proved that the immigration ban has a racist character. In addition I attacked the system of forced payment of 90% union dues which LO and NAF (The Employers Association) had by then begun to use against foreign workers who were being imported in groups. I pointed out that this is an extra tax which foreign workers must pay, which does not give them any rights and which weakens the struggle for their organization in unions. The LO leaders don't give a hoot about the unity between Norwegian and foreign workers, they just want to make more money.

In *The 'Red' Worker* no. 9, 1976, this last remark is picked out and made the subject of a long commentary, of which the main point is, that I reduce LO's line on the foreign worker question to the question of «Aspengren's greed for money». (Tor Aspengren was at the time Chairman of LO.) And according to the newspaper, «this

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last matter is very serious». That I put forth such an accusation was not just a result of «The academic's disdain for the political level of the working people. It had also a fascist content — because the Nazis in Germany also personified political contradictions in the same manner: the Nazis were interested in mobilizing the masses, but not the conscious masses. It is important that we take note because this shows that one must go beyond looking at the *slogans* a group uses in order to find upshoots of fascism. One must also look at the political methods».

Yes, certainly, we must look at the political methods. Here, I on behalf of AKP (m-l) attack the immigration ban, the group imports and slave contracts, the union dues and this revisionist trash newspaper has the nerve to call this interview an example of Nazi methods in Norway! What kind of «communists» are we dealing with? I have but one name for them: *Provocateurs!* They are reactionary provocateurs who see it as their main objective to attack and slander the one party which represents the interests of the proletariat, which has launched the struggle for the foreign workers demands, which fights all discrimination and racism.

OK, comrades — we've had enough of them!

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKER MIGRATIONS

If one were to believe the bourgeoisie, the foreign worker question, the social problems attached to immigration, and so on, is something that has arisen in the last 6—7 years here in Norway. We ought to ask why they paint this picture. Actually, there have been workers from other countries in Norway for a long time. In 1952, for example, according to the Central Bureau of Statistics, there were 16 019 working people without Norwegian citizenship in this country. Investigations indicate that about 3/4 of these were proletarians. In 1973, the year

that the government put forth the proposal for the immigration ban, the number of foreigners working in Norway had increased to only 21 169. But if you read the bourgeois press you will get the impression that there has been almost a «foreign invasion» of labour power.

The answer to this riddle is to be found in the national background of the new foreign workers. In 1952 there were only 17 people working in Norway who had come from Asia, 16 from Africa. In 1973 these same figures had risen to 2 082 and 782. In addition there had been changes in the immigration from Europe, with a special increase in the number of foreign workers from Southern and Eastern Europe. It was the new immigration of workers, especially from the third world, which *created the word* «foreign worker». It was these immigrations which suddenly made the housing problems and other social problems so acute that the government later found it opportune to use these problems as an excuse for decreeing the immigration ban and the visum law. These facts underline just how reactionary and racist the character of these state initiatives are.

Why do workers migrate from country to country? Time permits only a short run-through of this question here. I have already mentioned earlier that England, as the leading colonial power, at an early stage needed large numbers of Irish workers in order to expand. In imperialist Germany, the situation was similar around the turn of the century. When the structural rationalization of agriculture and the mobilization of women no longer sufficed to cover the needs of capital, then foreign labour was recruited from Italy and Poland. During the present century, the foreign worker system has become a typical aspect of all developed capitalist countries. There are for example, three million foreign workers in France today and an equal number in Germany. They make up the international reserve army of labour for capital. During the crisis in

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1966—68, the number of foreign workers in Germany was reduced by 410 000. This meant that the number of immigrant workers was reduced by 32%!

After the counter-revolution in the USSR and other East European countries, the buying and selling of labour power on an international scale has become an integral part of the economy. Because capitalism has been re-established, labour power has now again become a commodity. An example from Czechoslovakia: Last summer 1 520 Cypriot workers were recruited to the building industry there. The head of the Labour Department explained it this way to the revisionist newspaper «*Country and People*» on May 10, 1975 — «There has indeed been a number of problems amongst the foreign workers in Czechoslovakia because of the dissatisfaction with living quarters, equipment and problems with the working morale».

The basic reason for the worker migrations lies in capitalism's need for a reserve army of industrial labour. Development of production, accumulation of capital, goes hand in hand with the relative reduction of the *variable* part of capital, labour power. That is, it diminishes in relation to the increase of the *constant* capital, such as machinery, factory buildings etc.

«At the same time as the working class by means of its own work produces the increasing growth of capital, it likewise creates the means by which the workers themselves become superfluous.»*

The result is a relative overpopulation of workers, battalions of unemployed which make up the industrial reserve army.

Without this army, capitalism cannot develop. The possibility is opened to increase the exploitation by using the misery of the unemployed as a wedge to hold down the level of wages. A permanent source of

labour power is at hand, and can be thrown into production when the economic conjunctures are rising — and thrown out again during recessions.

Originally — though in Norway it is still continuing — this industrial reserve army was provided by systematically driving the farmers bankrupt. Another method has been to use *women* as a part of the reserve labour force. But with the introduction of the colonial system, and the development of capitalism into imperialism, the international reserve army has been granted an important new source. The plundering of the colonies has been followed by a systematic draining of labour power.

The economy of these countries was kept down at the same time as they were being drawn into the international market. That is how the founding stones were laid for creating a new army of poor and unpropertied people with no chance of getting work in their home countries. The uneven development of capitalism, with a higher degree of industrialization and a higher wage level in certain countries, *forced* the international migrations of labour into being. In the words of Lenin, the brazen exploitation of foreign labour from the less developed countries became «a particular characteristic of imperialism».*

FOREIGN WORKERS IN NORWAY

What kinds of conditions, then, are foreign workers in Norway faced with? I shall now discuss three particularly important kinds of discrimination.

1. First of all: particularly tough exploitation on the grounds of nationality.

All foreign workers are proletarians, and as proletarians they sell their labour to capitalists. Like other workers, they are ex-

* Lenin, *For the Revision of the Party Programme* (1918), Coll. Works, eng. ed., vol. 24 p. 168

* Marx, *The Capital*, vol. 1, p. 557 (Swedish ed.) — Red.)

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ploited. But at the same time it is a fact that one tries to recruit foreign workers to a large extent to types of work where the wages are so low that a Norwegian family would have difficulties in surviving. This is of course most easily achieved when foreign workers are on their own and not allowed to have their families with them. The special Employment Office for Foreign Workers for example, functions as a recruiting office for particularly cheap labour for the hotel and restaurant business. The same exploitation also hits Norwegian women and youth. Yet there does exist a distinctive exploitation of foreign workers on the grounds of nationality. I shall give a few examples.

Rafinor, Mongstad. (Owned by Norsk Hydro/BP.) A subsidiary construction company, *Chicago Bridge*, paid 40—50 kroner an hour to Norwegian welders and 7 kroner an hour to Turkish and Pakistani welders. This was exposed in December 1973. The State Labour Inspectorate made sure not to do anything about it until after the firm had finished its mission and left the country.

An *employment contract* from the same place, that is, Mongstad:

«All workers must pledge to keep secret and not talk to anyone outside the company about anything concerning the activity of the company. The worker commits himself to work in such a way that the work tempo will increase and that the company image and the image of the country where the company is registered will not be damaged in any way.»

The Santa Fe Plumbing Firm, USA, doing a job for Norpipe (Statoil/Philips) in the North Sea. Some years ago it was revealed that the company made the workers put in a 12-hour day, seven days a week and six months at a time without a vacation. There were two kinds of workers living under these conditions, *Americans*, who earned 55 kroner an hour, and *Spaniards*, who earned 11 kroner an hour. Of course the Norwegian

authorities refused to accept responsibility for this.*

Nittedal Torvindustri: Eighteen Turkish workers last year earned a monthly take-home pay of 1400 kroner. When winter came, they were all fired because it was too cold to cut peat. They were told to report again when the ground thawed. After one Turkish worker published the facts of this story, the State Labour Inspectorate were obliged to look at the matter and carry out an inspection. They then discovered a number of violations of safety regulations, and part of the place had to shut down right away until it was put in order.**

These examples show different cases of extra exploitation and discrimination of immigrant workers. In addition we find forms of discrimination which are common for even larger groups; «serf-contracts» in which work is tied up with housing, the threats of deportation after three months of unemployment, overtime work without any kind of compensation etc.

Those revisionists who cover up that this extra exploitation of foreign labour in Norway occurs, try to disguise reality and serve capital.

2. Secondly: Political oppression and police terror

I shall start with an example which I experienced myself at Ruseløkkvn. 60 last Spring. Suddenly one afternoon the street outside this large apartment building was closed off with two police cars and 15—20 policemen. Afterwards the police claimed that the reason for their action was that they were chasing a Pakistani citizen, resident in Copenhagen, whom they suspected of selling hashish. They wondered if he was to be found in the building. And the method they used for finding out was a general lightning assault on the apartment block, where most of the residents are foreign workers. During

* Pamphlet from the Foreign Workers' Association, 1974

** *Klassekampen*, no. 50, June 29th 1976.

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this raid, I was visiting someone who lived in the building. Outside the house, I asked the police officer in charge whether the police had a legal permit to run in and out of all the apartments and scare people. As a reply, I was shoved into a police car to have my name and address noted down. An older foreign worker who could not find his passport (he kept it in his locker at work) was immediately arrested and spent 24 hours in jail.

People asked as I did: Are the police permitted, in the legal sense, to do this? The answer is: Yes, they definitely are.

The Alien Law in Norway is a law of attorney which gives both the Police as a body, and the individual policeman the possibility to use many forms of terrorism and harassment, according to his own discretion.

A foreign worker came to Fornebu Airport last year. He was from Pakistan. This was before the Visum Act was put into force. What happened to him at Fornebu? He had his return ticket taken away from him. The police confiscated his return ticket because, they said, they did not want to risk his selling the ticket and seeking employment and a residence permit. He was told that the ticket might be collected at the police office immediately before departure.

This is no exceptional example. The police *take* the right to do this kind of thing, and similar instances of humiliation against foreigners occur every day. I will remind you of the Indian woman who was sent back halfway around the globe because the police could not find the flat she said her husband lived in. I will remind you of the Eritreans who on the whole have been put in jail the minute they landed at Fornebu.

For out there, and at every other border station, treatment is according to nationality and the colour of your skin. If you are white and come from Great Britain or the USA, you pass right through, but if you come from Africa or Asia you may count on being checked, double-checked and cross-checked. Humiliations and harassments are the

routine.

Last autumn the papers reported that the government had decreed a law requiring compulsory visas for Pakistani workers and their families. And according to this law there is also a return-visa clause. Pakistani workers who live and work in Norway cannot even take a short daytrip outside the country without having received a return visa beforehand. If they don't have it they can be «refused admission to the Kingdom».

After the compulsory visa law was established, a Turkish professor arrived at Sola airport in Stavanger. At first he was refused admission to Norway. The reason was that he didn't have a visa. The police at the airport *believed* that the visa law applied to Turks as well because they had read about the obligatory visa for «those people» in the newspapers. Well, this man had an academic background and had many good contacts. Therefore, this case became an embarrassment to the police and was a «scandal». But many «scandals» which aren't *called* scandals happen all the time to foreign workers who don't have titles and good connections.

And these forms of police harassment and terror, we must keep in mind, come in a situation where immigrant workers already in the country, know little or nothing about the bourgeois democratic rights they have in Norway. For instance, they don't have the *right to vote*, and as a result, many think that they don't have the right to be politically active, go in demonstrations and so on. And for this reason the police terror and harassments contributes strongly to create an atmosphere of fear and passivity amongst the foreign workers.

Those revisionists who pretend that the immigrant workers have the same formal democratic rights as Norwegian citizens, who deny that foreign workers are specially oppressed and harassed, cover up the facts of the situation and help the government continue with its discrimination.

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3. Thirdly: National and Cultural Discrimination.

As I have mentioned, one of the hallmarks of revisionism is that revisionists neglect and to a certain extent, distort the significance of the national question. An important way in which the national minorities are oppressed is by means of the government's cultural policy. And immigrant workers from different nations make up the large majority of most of these minorities in Norway.

Here I will concentrate on the policies of language and education and will put forth a few ideas which you can also find more about in *Klassekampen's* foreign edition no. 2, 1977.

In the parliamentary report no. 39 from 1974, «On Immigration Policies», the government declares that the main goal in the education of foreign workers is to teach them Norwegian. This includes all children regardless of age, regardless of how much education they have had, and regardless of whether they plan on remaining in Norway or returning to their home country in a short while. The report declares, furthermore, that immigrant workers children do not have the right to education in their own language and that the government only will consider offering such education on a random basis.

What does this mean? This means linguistic and cultural oppression, this means that they risk losing their own language because they never learn to read and write it. It becomes a foreign language, just like Norwegian. The children don't become bi-lingual, they become «semi-lingual». And they have greater difficulties achieving a general school education in other subjects because the teaching is always carried out in a foreign language, Norwegian.

This is the educational method of the old colonial powers. The «master's» language is the only one which is important enough to be taught to the immigrant children. Here there is no talk of adapting the education to the needs and capabilities of the children. It is

the needs of the Norwegian capitalists for labour power which shape the education that is given to Norwegian as well as immigrant workers' children. By putting all emphasis on teaching Norwegian to foreign worker children, without taking into account the price they must pay, the schools try to create a new generation of foreign workers with the minimum education required to receive and carry out orders. The children are taught to look down upon their own background and upon their very selves. Their own culture and language is not paid attention to at all in their education. And because they are forced to follow an educational routine designed for children with Norwegian as a native language, forced to fight constantly with language difficulties, they become used to being harassed and socially isolated. In this way they are made to adjust themselves to taking the hardest and lowest paid jobs without protesting too much. This brutal cultural and linguistic oppression of the foreign workers' children, by means of the educational system, is meant to make sure that capitalism's extra exploitation of foreign labour power will continue into the next generation. Typically enough, the foreign worker is allowed to bring his relatives here in order to go to school, but they can only learn Norwegian. And when these relatives are finished with school they often do not even receive residence and work permits. This oppression is directed against *one* group of working class children. But it represents an attack on the entire class. It serves the purpose of weakening the working class and splitting the unity of Norwegian and immigrant workers.

AKP (m-l) demands that the Norwegian government guarantees immigrant worker children education in Norwegian as well as in their native languages. We demand that education in other subjects than language be given in the language that the child finds easiest, whether it be in Norwegian or the child's native language. In this way education will not be hindered by linguistic

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difficulties. We will fight against any school system which results in cultural or linguistic oppression for immigrant worker children.

DOWN WITH THE IMMIGRATION BAN!

Comrades! Since the winter of 1975 there has been a halt to immigration to Norway. And last year the immigration ban was prolonged indefinitely. Originally the government said in its propaganda that this was a temporary measure, designed to create a «breathing space» in order to better the conditions of foreign workers in Norway. By and by, people have understood that the immigration ban is primarily a method by which immigration can be regulated to the needs of monopoly capitalists and the state.

In many areas the law is perfectly tailored for its task. According to the demands of the Norwegian Drilling Rig Owners Association, there are for instance clauses and loopholes in the ban, making a general exception for workers connected with the mobile drilling rigs in the Norwegian coastal waters. In the same way, there are clauses making exceptions for short term work in the summer season, which are mainly designed to fit the needs of the hotel and restaurant business.

And worse yet, there is a clause making an exception for group import of foreign workers on temporary jobs for Norwegian and foreign industries. It is well known that LO leaders now have proposed at the LO Congress that *all* immigration from now on should occur as state-regulated group imports, preferably under bi-lateral agreements between nations. I will give an example which throws light on the consequences of this. The government by Labour and Communal Minister Leif Aune sends a message to Tito's government, «We need 60 men, Yugoslavian workers, delivered to the Rafnes project in three months. The job concerns work on the factory building and is limited to two years. Lodging in barracks arranged on the spot.»

What kind of work and residence permits do we find in connection with group imports? Collective agreements, that is, the capitalist receives the Labour Ministry's permission to import a certain number of workers for a certain amount of time. The workers themselves have no individual rights the way other workers do. For instance, they don't have the right to quit like other workers if they are not satisfied, and to sell their labour power to another capitalist. This is because their right to live and work in Norway is limited to the one job and to a specific period of time. Losing the job means deportation. These workers don't have the common right of the wage slave to decide how to sell their labour. By means of contracts of an even more open slave character they are linked and chained to «their» entrepreneur.

It is this system which the LO leadership now wishes to develop further and institutionalize. And then an extra benefit for the labour aristocrats becomes plain for all to see: the plan by which the foreign workers who have been imported as a group will not be organized in unions but will pay a fee to LO which is set at 90% of the union dues, without receiving any of the rights of union membership. Seldom have social democrats and labour aristocrats in LO more openly demonstrated their ultra-chauvinist and reactionary line.

But the group import system and the slave contracts are not the only things which have been further developed through the immigration ban. In yet another way it is openly racist. By means of clauses and loopholes, exceptions in the «ban» are regulated so that it is primarily workers from countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are hit by it.

I have tried to judge this on the basis of the official immigration statistics. In 1973 about 25% of all foreign workers in Norway were from Asia, Africa or Latin America. Foreign workers from the other Nordic or Scandinavian countries are not calculated into this percentage. In the first year of the im-

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migration ban, 1975, only 17.3% of the work permits were given to workers from these parts of the world. And in 1976 the percentage sank to 11.8%. This shows clearly how the relative amount of immigrants from the third world has sunk during the ban.

It is also interesting to see how many of those who receive work permits are also granted residency in Norway. In 1976, 8 766 *men* came from North America, Europe, Australia and New Zealand (immigration ban?). An entire 80.7% of these received work permits. From Asia, Africa and Latin America there were 2 097 residencies granted to *men*, but only 28.8% of these received work permits.

Amongst women there are generally fewer who receive work permits in addition to residency. The oppression of women is particularly increased when they lose even the *formal* right to sell their labour power. Amongst the women from the same white part of the world, 37.5% of those with residency were also granted work permits. But even this number is higher than the percentage for men from Asia, Africa and Latin America. And amongst women from the latter three parts of the world, only 8.5% of those allowed to live here received the right to work.*

In this way we can reveal with figures how the immigration ban functions in a racist manner. It is regulated in accordance with the needs of monopoly capital and the state, and year after year residence and work permits here in Norway are handed out discriminatingly on a nationality basis.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE FOREIGN WORKERS

Last of all I would like to say a little about the foreign workers' struggle and the importance of unity between Norwegian and foreign workers. The Jøtul strike in 1976 awakened many people. Better than words,

* From the primary statistics from the State Office for Aliens under «Newly registered foreigners». — *Red.*

this strike demonstrated unity and solidarity in practice. Norwegian and foreign workers stood together, they refused to accept the firing of a Yugoslavian working comrade, and they demanded that the responsible boss be removed from his job.

In 1976, the struggle against the discrimination of foreign workers grew and was taken up in new areas. An increasing number of foreign workers began to engage themselves politically and made contact with the revolutionary movement in Norway. This also manifested itself on May Day last year, by the large section of foreign workers in the «Faglig 1. maifront» demonstration.

After this we have witnessed a rapid and positive development. AKP (m-l) began last summer to give out a special foreign workers' edition of *Klassekampen*, in seven languages. This was a blow against the oppression of the immigrant workers and an expression of the proletarian internationalist line of the party.

In August last year, the Grünerløkka Tenants' Association and the Foreign Workers Association held a demonstration together outside the offices of the Director of Housing. The unity between Norwegians and foreign workers seeking housing, as well as the importance of standing together in the occupation of empty apartments, was put forth in sharp contrast to the «divide-and-rule» tactics of the Oslo City Administration. And on October 5th, 1976, the Foreign Workers Association (FAF) arranged its own demonstration against all racism and discrimination. More clearly than ever, it was pointed out that the foreign workers must themselves begin the struggle for their own interests and this struggle must be waged together with their Norwegian class comrades.

This development has already created fear and panic in government circles and amongst Norwegian revisionists and other reactionaries. Already in the late autumn of last year, a government-friendly faction within FAF's executive committee was organized. It

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was supported by the revisionists Aud Korbøll and Frøydis Storvik who were previously members of the committee, but had quit after the October 5th demonstration. Another figure behind the scenes was Carolyn Swetland, a former Secretary General of FAF, infamous for her contacts with the Police Department for Foreigners as well as the Labour and Communal Department. The factionalists had the full support of NRK (radio/TV), the bourgeois press, and especially *Dagblad* where Mrs. Storvik's husband is a journalist. The idea was to split FAF and to start up a new right-oriented class collaboration organization. It was officially announced that on September 4th the new factional organization would be founded.

But these intrigues did not serve their purpose. The right factionists in the Board of the Foreign Workers Association (FAF) did not dare break out and were immediately isolated.

From the government's side, FAF's successful general assembly was the start fire for launching new provocations. As you know, the general assembly revised its statutes amongst other things, in order to ensure that the organization will fight to improve the foreign workers' conditions here in Norway and will fight against colonialism and Zionism. The government demands that this paragraph be omitted from the statutes, and has used the threat of cutting off financial support to FAF as a weapon. The Zionist-loving government tried to achieve their aim by plain and crude blackmail.

This meddling in the internal affairs of an independent organization has even gone so far as to a protest from the Labour and Communal Department against the fact that FAF last year donated 5 000 kroner in support to PLO's help work after the massacres in Lebanon!

This is an open form for political extortion and an expression of just how far a chauvinist and pro-imperialist government is willing to go in order to crush the budding

fighting spirit and solidarity of the foreign workers. I urge you all to join together in protesting against this act of tyranny.

Comrades!

Everyone who wishes to cement the unity between Norwegian and foreign workers must fight the political poison which chauvinism represents. We can indeed begin here in the Norwegian Student' Association itself. There are not very many students in this meeting. Last autumn this society arranged a discussion meeting on the subject of foreign workers and the housing problem, and the editor for FAF's newspaper «The Foreign Worker» and the Chief of Housing in Oslo participated. Only a handful of students came to the meeting. Apparently the subject was not interesting enough for progressive and revolutionary students. I believe that it is correct to interpret this as a symptom of the fact that chauvinistic ideas are still strong.

Or look at ordinary social democratic or revisionist controlled trade unions. Many foreign workers, most notably in the industrial sector, are organized. How many of these unions do you think take the trouble to use interpreters at their meetings for members, so that foreign workers who don't speak fluent Norwegian can participate on an equal basis? I've never heard of a single one. On the other hand, I've heard of examples in which foreign workers who have dared to speak out, have been attacked by the local aristocrats of labour and told to shut up until they «learn to speak proper Norwegian»!

Yes, chauvinism, in which bourgeois nationalism and «Norwegian» interest are the priority instead of class solidarity, is something which most of us have met in our daily lives. Think for instance about the housing problem in Oslo. As we all know, foreign workers have often been directed to slum apartments, and at sky-high rents. Many worker and lower middle class families have housing problems, but foreign workers belong to the group within the

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proletariat which has the absolutely greatest housing problems.

At present there are few examples of, for instance, Tenants' Associations in the older districts that have taken up the foreign workers' special housing problems, protested against «serf-contracts» etc. Almost no foreign workers have been mobilized or have been given a real chance to participate in the occupations of empty apartments. Fortunately, this has changed to a certain extent the last year, but the tendency to act as a «Norwegian» Tenants' Association is still quite noticeable.

Part of the problem rests on the shoulders of those who take a weak or opportunist stand when they meet people who openly spread racism and chauvinism. This is especially dangerous when people come across these tendencies within the working class. For instance, I know of a case con-

cerning a meeting of the residents in an older housing district where nobody (including some progressives who were there) said a word in protest, when some older workers with racist ideas cried out that they didn't want any apartments sold to «Pakistanis and degos».

But when such things happen, we must remember that bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism and racism are an expression of ideology and influence of the *bourgeoise*. The proletariat has *no* interest in letting itself be split along lines of nationality. The struggle against chauvinism is therefore the duty of all communists. Without this struggle all talk about proletarian internationalism is nothing but an empty phrase. The unity of the working class can only be won by fighting against all revisionist and bourgeois ideology!



Fra fremmedarbeiderforeningas demonstrasjon mot rasisme og diskriminering 5. oktober ifjor.



Demonstrasjon til støtte for fremmedarbeiderne i Chateau Neuf i mars 1977.



Boligforholdene for de fleste fremmedarbejderne er elendige, her fra hybelhuset til «Jøtularbejderne».



En seksjon fra fremmedarbeiderforeningas demonstrasjon 5. oktober.



Fremmedarbeidere demonstrerer utafor den pakistanske ambassaden i Oslo.

READ THE FOREIGN ISSUE OF KLASSEKAMPEN

CLASS STRUGGLE
الصراع الطبقي

طبقاتی جدوجہد

KLASNA BORBA
SINIF MÜCADELESİ

ARBEIDERE OG UNDERTRYKTE I ALLE LAND, FOREN DEREI



Police protect Nazi Saboteurs in Tromsø

On the evening of Sunday February 20th, the Oktober bookshop and a building nearby were dynamited by saboteurs. Both acts of sabotage aimed at creating a fire in the buildings. In the building with the Oktober bookshop the electrical mains were smashed and the people from the electricity firm say it is a miracle that the short-circuited cables did not light a fire.

The acts of sabotage were carried out by a gang which has been active in Tromsø for a long period of time. It is constituted by well-known members from «Black Front» and other known elements. Among them is Øivind Lorentzen, a neo-Nazi who last year stabbed and almost killed a youth in broad daylight in Bodø. Over a long period of time this gang has carried out provocations in Tromsø, but the police have not lifted a finger to investigate charges filed against them. It is also clear that the police keep a protective hand over them in connection with the sabotage by dynamite. The same provocateurs, who have attacked anti-imperialists demonstrating against the Soviet film «Victory in Estonia», have been presented in bourgeois papers as isolated heretics and ordinary people who clean up.

In connection with the dynamiting, the AB/Fin-0/Tromsø-branch has published a press communique establishing the fact that this is in the interest of all democratically inclined people to stop this fascist gang. Only chance has prevented them from murdering people with their slabbings, their chains and their explosives. Do not let them have any «rest time». Stop them now! Stop the heretical Demand complete investigation! Stop the neo-Nazi Ras «Black Front»!

FREMMEARBEIDERFORENINGAS STØTTE TIL KAMPEN MOT KOLONIALISME OG SIONISME:

Regjeringa ønsker å kneble FAF

SE SIDE 6 OG 7



Det var varest Rasheed Singh Rai fra India fikk på Færøene flyplass, da han protesterte mot at hans kone ble sendt heim til India etter at de hadde stort fjerdsende i et minutt på flyplassen. Den rasistiske behandlingen av det indiske ekteparet vakte i skarp kontrast til det det norske arbeidssjønneres anstendighet for å stole et smittfullt i livet for morderagenten Sylvia Rafael. På møtetidene i denne avisen vider vi fortsette den kjipe rasismen fra nasjonalisme i «Black Front» og den norske regjeringens rolle som er i siders av samme sak. Rasheed Singh Rai forteller mer om sitt møte med det norske idemokratiet. (Forts. Klassekampen)



المغرب
نظام الملك الحسن
الفاشي يضع الحثات
من الثوريين في السجن
SIDE 13

خواتین کی جدوجہد کا
عالمی دن آگے بڑھانے
SIDE 5