



KAP

**THE PROGRAMME OF
THE WORKERS'
COMMUNIST PARTY
OF DENMARK**



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Correction !

To avoid confusion internationally, a decision has been reached to change KAP's name in English to the Communist Workers' Party.

The Programme of the Workers' Communist Party (KAP)
of Denmark

Oktober Publishing House
Studiestraede 24
DK 1455 Copenhagen K

February, 1977

Composition and printing: Hustryk Printers, Copenhagen

ISBN: 87 87587 10 6

Cover photo: Nordisk Pressefoto. Danish and foreign workers
demonstrate against the government's legislation
of higher taxes in May, 1974.

Foreword

The Workers' Communist Party (Kommunistisk Arbejderparti-K.A.P.) was founded on November 20, 1976. With the founding of the KAP, the communist party in Denmark is once again established.¹ The KAP represents the continuance of the revolutionary line in the Danish working class movement.

The founding of the KAP is the fulfillment of eight years of work to build the party. The instrument for carrying out this preparatory political work was the Communist League Marxist-Leninists (Kommunistisk Forbund Marxister-Leninister - KFML). The KFML was founded on September 15, 1968. Its goal was the creation of the political foundation upon which the the communist party of Denmark could be rebuilt. The background for the founding of the KFML was the struggle in the international communist movement between a revolutionary and a revisionist line. The KFML was founded and grew in strength in relentless struggle against modern revisionism. It held on to its revolutionary line in continuous and uncompromising struggle against revisionism both inside and outside its ranks.

In 1970 the KFML adopted a programme which in all decisive questions mapped out a correct Marxist-Leninist political line in Denmark. Subsequently, the KFML developed and extended its analysis of both the international and Danish class struggles and enlarged and consolidated its own practice of class struggle. In addition, it developed and refined its principles of democratic centralism and a communist style of work while unceasingly conducting struggles against both right and "left" opportunism within its own ranks.

The KFML also developed relations with the international com-

munist movement, a movement which is growing rapidly over the entire world. The KFML stood firmly in solidarity with the socialist countries of China and Albania whose communist parties are leading the way for their respective peoples' socialist construction, with communism as their ultimate goal.

The KFML's pre-party work laid the foundation for the creation of the KAP and for the basic political principles put forth in this programme. Party building work created a solid Marxist-Leninist platform. However, the party is as yet small and faces a long and difficult struggle to further develop its platform, to use the platform in working out concrete revolutionary tactics, and to implement the platform's political line in a continually broadening practice of class struggle; and through this effort, to win the leadership of the historical struggle of the working class for socialism and communism.

This programme adopted by the KAP at its founding congress lays down strategic guidelines for tactical action. It does not attempt to map out concrete tactics, but rather concerns itself solely with strategic principles. It is on the basis of this strategy that the daily practice of class struggle must be developed. The programme's strategic guidelines have been established on the basis of the KAP's analysis of imperialism, socialism, Danish class society and the history of the international working class movement. These guidelines are also built upon the experience of the working class in its struggle against the bourgeoisie and on the eight years' party building work of the KFML.

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A. The KAP's Background and Platform

1. Capitalism

With the growth of capitalism and the accompanying appearance of the working class, the foundation has been laid for the definitive liberation of humanity from exploitation and class oppression. As a consequence of the development of capitalism, the contradiction between the increasingly social character of production and the private appropriation of the product of this collective labour becomes sharpened. This contradiction can be resolved only when the working class carries through the socialist revolution, establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat, dissolves the property and disposition rights of the bourgeoisie over the means of production and establishes social ownership of these means of production.

Exploitation occurs under capitalism when a capitalist purchases the labouring power which a worker is forced to sell on the labour market. The capitalist pays a price for labouring power which fluctuates around the value of its maintenance and reproduction. The value which this labouring power creates above and beyond its own value (its cost of maintenance and reproduction) is unpaid surplus work and is that which the capitalist appropriates to himself in the form of surplus value. The two prerequisites for this appropriation of surplus value on the part of the capitalist are 1) that the capitalist, by virtue of his control of the means of production appropriates the product of the worker's labour to himself

and 2) that the capitalist can sell this product as a commodity on the market.

In the market place, the commodities of an individual capitalist meet the commodities of other capitalists - this leads to capitalist competition. And in this competition, capitalists use all possible means to crush their competitors. The fight for markets involves not only a single nation's capitalists, but capitalists over the entire world. The most acute form for competition and struggle for the division of the world market is war between capitalist countries.

Regularly occurring crises arise under capitalism. These crises are crises of overproduction which are accelerated and strengthened by the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. In their striving for maximum profit, capitalists increase their production while simultaneously sharpening exploitation. At a given point, it becomes impossible to market the produced commodities because of the falling purchasing power of the masses. The result is a shrinking production accompanied by massive unemployment and an extensive destruction of productive capacity. The stronger capitalists thus use these crises to eliminate weaker competitors. Crises of overproduction accelerate the concentration of capital; monopolies sweep up the debris of their smaller capitalist competitors demolished by the crises.

Rising above the foundation of capitalist relations of production is a superstructure, the keystone of which is the state. The state in capitalist society is the tool of the capitalist class and is used to safeguard its exploitation and oppression of the working class. State power under capitalism is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the working class.

Historical experience and present developments have shown that the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie can assume one of two forms: a bourgeois-democratic or a fascist. The bourgeois-democratic form seeks to give the rule of the bourgeoisie the trappings and ornamentation of freedom and equality for all. This swindle is successful for a time because on the surface,

it appears that capitalists and workers stand on equal terms; capitalists have their capital and workers have their labouring power. It appears that both parties actually do need each other. The worker apparently receives full wages for his labour and the capitalist receives a reasonable return for taking an economic risk with his money.

The material basis for bourgeois-democratic illusions is thus the fact that the nature of exploitation is hidden in capitalist society. From this it follows that the capitalist class utilizes to the utmost its control of the superstructure to produce propaganda for these bourgeois-democratic illusions. The tremendous development of the mass media is a powerful weapon of the bourgeoisie in its ideological struggle against the working class.

Reformists and trade union bureaucrats likewise take advantage of capitalism's veiled exploitation to strengthen the line of class collaborationist politics between "the two partners of the labour market".

But bourgeois democracy is not ever-lasting. Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary institutions and democratic rights, becomes quickly set aside when the working class threatens the power of the bourgeoisie. In such a situation, the bourgeoisie shatters the democratic shell enveloping its dictatorship and replaces it with an open and unmasked terrorist dictatorship over the working class. The transformation from bourgeois democracy to a fascist dictatorship of terror does not necessarily take place suddenly. Under bourgeois democracy, the bourgeoisie is constantly, in a thousand and one ways, attempting to contain the struggle of the working class by hamstringing and generally undermining the democratic rights which the working class has won for itself through struggle.

2. Dialectical Materialism

The founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, uncovered the laws of the development of capitalist society. Their investigations and analyses of capitalist exploitation and oppression carried them even further, to deeper studies of the whole of the history of mankind.

Scientific socialism reveals throughout the history of class societies, that it has always been and will always be the class struggle which is the driving force in historical development. It emphasises that societal development is the result of the struggle of the exploited and the oppressed against their exploiters and oppressors. It establishes that the basis of class struggle is found in the material conditions and relations of society. And lastly, it shows that capitalist society is the last of the series of societies based on human exploitation. Capitalism, after a transition period characterised by socialist relations of production under the dictatorship of the proletariat, will be replaced by the classless communist society, where each contributes according to his ability and receives according to his needs and where the state has withered away.

Historical materialism is the theory of scientific socialism applied historically to societal development; and as such, it is but a part of scientific socialism's aggregate knowledge of relationships in nature, society and human thought.

Scientific socialism stresses that it is material existence which is the primary in relation to the intellect, thought and consciousness; and that it is the struggle between opposites - the aspects of a contradiction - which is the driving force in all development.

Dialectical materialism is the world view of the working class.

But it's not a world view which merely serves the purpose of achieving knowledge of the laws of development of nature, society and human thought. Precisely because it demonstrates that the basis for development is material, that development takes place as a struggle between contradictions, and that it is mankind that creates history, through the struggle against nature and the class struggle, — precisely because of this, scientific socialism becomes the tool of the working class in its struggle against exploitation and oppression. By achieving insight into the inner contradictions of capitalist society, the working class grasps the theoretical tool which can give it guidance to action in the class struggle. The working class' Marxist theory is a revolutionary theory: it takes its stand on the side of the working class to guide it in changing the world. The working class uses its theory in the practice of class struggle; and it's solely on the basis of this practice that theory can be further developed and new victories won.

3. Monopoly Capitalism and the Proletarian Revolution.

At the time when scientific socialism was first being worked out, the working class had already been conducting a more or less organised struggle against the bourgeoisie for decades. These first struggles were above all a fight to sell labouring power at the highest possible price. They were trade union struggles organised by a growing trade union movement. These struggles were by and large spontaneous and uncoordinated efforts, without united leadership or strategic guidelines based upon a true insight into the laws of development of capitalist society.

Scientific socialism became the tool which gave the working class a scientifically founded socialist perspective.

It was also at this time that socialist parties which would give the struggles a revolutionary political perspective appeared. In recognition of the fact that the working class struggle cut across national boundaries, the First and Second International were organised. Their task was to coordinate the international struggle of the working class.

In 1871, the first proletarian revolution in history — the Paris Commune — taught the working class the basic lesson that it could not take over the bourgeois state machine and use it to achieve proletarian goals. On the contrary, the working class must crush the bourgeois state machine and set up its own political power — the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, in spite of the experiences gained from the first proletarian revolution, socialist parties became infected with a reformist line which aimed at achieving socialism through reform. Reformists attempted to justify their political line by making certain revisions in Marxism. These revisionists proclaimed that Marxist revolutionary theory was out-dated. They asserted that newer developments had both made it possible to use the bourgeois state machine and necessary to cooperate with bourgeois political parties in paving a road of reform to socialism. The material basis for reformism was the growing difference between various sections of the working class; and out of this, there grew a stratum of labour aristocrats who were bribed by the bourgeoisie and who therefore saw their own interests in cooperating with the bourgeoisie. A part of these bribes originated from the superprofits gained by the bourgeoisie in exploiting colonial possessions.

The influence of the labour aristocracy was, moreover, supported by the infusion of petit-bourgeois ideology into the working class. This occurred in the wake of the rapid industrialisation of the latter part of the 19th century where millions of first generation workers had their social background in the rural

and urban petit-bourgeoisie.

It was the Russian Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership which took the lead in the struggle against revisionism and reformism in the international socialist movement by defending the revolutionary principles under attack. Lenin put an end to the notion that socialism could be achieved peacefully, through parliament. He staunchly defended the lesson of the Paris Commune, i.e. that the bourgeois state machine had to be crushed and replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat. And he furthermore concluded, from the lesson of the degeneration of the European socialist parties, that the revolutionary party of the proletariat had to be a schooled cadre organisation, which both has mastered revolutionary theory and continues to struggle unmercifully against opportunism within its own ranks. Lenin also maintained that the revolutionary party, which shall lead the working class to victory over the well-organised class enemy, must be a democratic-centralist party. It must be a party of cadres who democratically mould the political line of the party, after which it is executed in unity in accordance with decisions reached by the party's elected leadership. But even though the Russian Bolsheviks took up this struggle in the international working class movement, reformist politics continued to win terrain. And with the outbreak of the First World War, the betrayal of the working class by the labour aristocrats reached its culmination - these traitors voted for war appropriations in the parliaments of their respective countries. The First World War was a struggle between various groups of capitalists for a redivision of the world market. Lenin demonstrated that the war was an expression of the fact that capitalism had developed to its imperialist stage. Imperialism's material basis is the increasingly larger monopoly formations which stretch their claws beyond their own nations' boundaries to compete with other monopolies in the struggle for world domination. The development of monopoly capitalism, with its exploitation of colonies, monopolisation of national markets and

mutual price and other agreements, enables monopolies to gain super-profits which continually give them the edge in competition against smaller capitalist competitors. The concentration of capital also leads to the concentration of economic and political power; the state becomes the direct tool of the monopolies.

The development of capitalism to monopoly capitalism and to a world-wide imperialist system has drawn all the peoples of the world into the struggle against imperialism. The colonial peoples' struggle against colonial rule and for national liberation became a part of the struggle against imperialism and thereby created the possibility for an alliance between the working class in imperialist countries and the colonial peoples.

Capitalism's development became increasingly more uneven with the rise of imperialism. In certain parts of the world, capitalism was highly developed while other areas were less developed. Certain imperialist powers fought their way up to a dominant position in the imperialist world order while others were driven back by both the struggles of the people and the other imperialist powers.

A consequence of uneven development was that the class struggle could very well become acute in areas where capitalism was weakly developed but where imperialist contradictions were particularly sharpened. Russia was just such a country during the First World War. It was the weakest link in the imperialist chain. Under the Bolshevik party's and Lenin's leadership, the Russian proletariat in alliance with the poor peasantry carried through the socialist revolution and established the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The general crisis of capitalism began with the First World War and the October Revolution. Its basic features are: 1) the appearance of socialist countries detached from the imperialist system; 2) a permanent crisis of the colonial system as a consequence of the anti-colonialist struggle of oppressed peo-

ples and nations; 3) a steady sharpening competition on the international commodities market; 4) a chronic and below capacity utilisation of the apparatus of production; and 5) a permanent massive unemployment in spite of temporary fluctuations.

4. The Course of Development in the Soviet Union

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia signified an historic leap in development for the international working class in its struggle for socialism and communism. The new Soviet society became the first society where the working class, in alliance first and foremost with the poor peasantry, had achieved political power.

The imperialists and the Russian reactionaries attempted to crush the young Soviet state power by every conceivable means from open armed intervention to economic blockade and sabotage.

Under the leadership of the communist party, the workers and their allies repelled the counter-revolutionary assault. However, the Russian communists had to wage a continual struggle against capitulationist tendencies within the party itself and after Lenin's death, this struggle became very acute. A fraction in the party under the leadership of Leon Trotsky asserted that it was impossible to accomplish the building of socialism in a single country. The party under Stalin's leadership rejected this Trotskyist line of capitulation. Stalin held fast to the view that it was both possible and necessary to build socialism in the Soviet Union. It was the duty of the Soviet proletariat and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to create a socialist bastion for the world proletariat's struggle against imperialism and for socialism.

Under the leadership of the communist party and by relying on

the efforts of the Soviet people, the Soviet state began a tremendous socialist reorganisation and construction at the end of the 1920's. The Five Year Plans and the collectivisation of agriculture laid the foundation for a marked improvement of the living standards of the Soviet people. These measures also created the material as well as the property-relations foundation for socialism and insured the build-up of a strong military defense which could protect the Soviet Union against imperialist encirclement and attack.

In the thirties, the imperialist powers began to grow in strength. With German imperialism taking the lead, the imperialist powers threatened the very existence of the socialist Soviet Union. In these circumstances, the CPSU laid the main emphasis on a rapid increase in production, with the development of the purely technical side of productive forces as the main task. The initiative of the masses under these conditions became subordinated to the development of new and improved instruments of production. This led to commandism and bureaucracy. Within the state and party apparatus, there arose a bureaucratic stratum which separated itself from the working class and the people and began to usurp special privileges. Wage differences were increased at an early stage; leaders within the party and state received salaries which were significantly larger than an average worker's.

The working class was incapable of stemming the tide of this bureaucratic stratum's influence - the party had not recognised that the class struggle continues throughout the epoch of socialism. Instead, the party maintained that with the beginning of socialist construction, the material basis for the class struggle had disappeared. The class struggle was replaced by the inviolable unity of the workers, the peasants, and the labouring intelligentsia. When contradictions did arise, they were attributed to the presence of imperialist powers outside the Soviet Union, and were therefore due solely to the activities of an external enemy.

A mobilisation of the Soviet masses against capitalist tendencies and against the growth of a privileged stratum within the country itself thus became an impossibility. The party was unable to distinguish between the two kinds of contradictions: on the one hand contradictions among the people themselves, and on the other hand contradictions between the people and the enemy. This again allowed bureaucratic methods to win the upper hand in party life and undermined proletarian mass debate and democratic centralism.

During the Second World War, the Soviet people, under the leadership of the communist party and Stalin, repulsed Hitler fascism's assault and was the main force in the struggle to crush German imperialism.

The necessary and strict discipline of the war years had in the meantime given the growing bureaucratic stratum the possibility of consolidating its position and exploiting the dominant centralist form of leadership. After the victory over German imperialism, a rapid and gigantic reconstruction took place. But at the same time, the privileged bureaucratic stratum further strengthened its position. After Stalin's death, this stratum succeeded definitively in divesting the party's Bolshevik cadres of their political influence in the party and state.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956 was a climax of this development. By means of a coup d'etat which had the support of the armed forces, the privileged stratum under the leadership of Nikita S. Khrushchev succeeded in securing its political power. Under cover of "combatting the personality cult" of Stalin, it succeeded in heaping all the injustices, to which it itself had been an accessory, onto the single individual Stalin. And it furthermore succeeded in replacing the basic revolutionary standpoints which the CPSU had maintained with revisionist principles.

The Khrushchev-revisionists' political take-over brought with it a violent repression of the Bolshevik forces and opened the

door to the re-emergence of capitalism. With the aid of a series of economic reforms which gave profit top priority, capitalist relations of production again developed.

The privileged stratum was transformed into a state-capitalist monopoly bourgeoisie which used state power to achieve control of the means of production. This monopoly bourgeoisie has come to include the top leadership of the party, the state apparatus, the armed forces and the sciences as well as the highest strata of leaders in industrial enterprises and agricultural collectives. The past decade has seen the consolidation of this bourgeoisie's political power which exploits Soviet workers and peasants and, with the aid of a fascist dictatorship, suppresses democratic rights and democratic debate.

5. The Soviet Union and the International Communist Movement

The proletarian revolution in Russia in 1917 was a great source of inspiration for the international working class and all revolutionaries. Throughout the world, the struggle became more intense between social democratic reformists and revolutionaries, who held fast to and further developed Marxism. In the majority of countries, the revolutionary line broke with the social democrats and founded communist parties. These united themselves in various sections of the Communist International (COMINTERN).

Under constantly shifting situations, these communist parties worked for unity in the working class and among the people in opposing imperialism and war. The fascist threat in particular emphasised the importance of creating unity against the bourgeoisie's open and unmasked reign of violence.

From the beginning of the 1920's, COMINTERN attempted to build a workers' united front among the rank and file. But from the

middle of the thirties - after COMINTERN had settled accounts with sectarian tendencies in foregoing united front work - the struggle to build a popular front developed. The task of the popular front, which included all anti-fascist forces, was to stem the tide of fascism and defend democratic rights.

The carrying out of the tactic of the popular front was not, however, without its mistakes. The efforts to unite the masses in the anti-fascist struggle gave rise continuously to tendencies on the part of communists to subordinate the party's policies to the immediate demands of the front, to betray the socialist perspective and to surrender the independent and leading roll of the party.

During the Second World War, it was the communist parties that were the leading elements in the people's struggle against the imperialists of Germany, Japan and other countries. But it also became clear both during and after the war, that many parties, especially in Western Europe where reformist influence was significant or directly dominant, gave in to reformism and the bourgeoisie. In many instances, these parties even participated in parliamentary coalitions with reformist and bourgeois parties on the basis of the principles laid down by capitalist society.

The right opportunism of the class collaborationist line took root in the vast majority of communist parties. This again led them, like their reformist predecessors, to undertake a revision of Marxism-Leninism and to proclaim the possibility of achieving socialism by parliamentary means, with the aid of the bourgeois state machine. The conditions whereby this revisionist line could win victory in many communist parties became even more favourable when the CPSU, regarded as the leading party, proclaimed at its 20th Congress in 1956 the revisionist line to be the general line of the world communist movement.

6. Social Imperialism and Modern Revisionism

The social foundation of modern revisionism in part consists of the Soviet monopoly bourgeoisie and in part of developing strata within the existing bureaucracy of the working class movement outside the social imperialist camp.

Modern revisionism is the social and political demagogy of the Soviet monopoly bourgeoisie and reflects its class interests. With the revival of capitalism in the USSR, the country has been transformed into an imperialist superpower. The Soviet Union both oppresses the people in countries which are dependent upon it, first and foremost in Eastern Europe, and strives for world hegemony in competition with U.S. imperialism.

Revisionist parties act as agents for social imperialism and serve the interests of Soviet imperialism in their respective countries. The social basis for these parties is found in a stratum within the trade union bureaucracy and in some cases, even in a stratum within government bureaucracy. The aim of these parties is an alliance with the old-guard social democratic reformists in carrying out a class collaborationist line with the declared bourgeoisie; their tactical goal is to win for themselves an increasing number of positions inside the bourgeois state apparatus and trade union bureaucracy.

Modern revisionism has moulded its strategy for "the peaceful transition to socialism" in the form of a strategy for an "anti-monopolist democracy". The revisionists assert that the bourgeois state machine can be transformed by the people into an "anti-monopolist democracy" which can isolate and neutralise monopoly capital. What this revisionist apology really claims, is that it is possible for the working class to use the state power of the bourgeoisie against the bourgeoisie it-

self.

This "anti-monopolist" strategy is the political expression of the interests of certain strata within the bureaucracy of the state and trade unions. The consequences of this strategy are the expansion and consolidation of a stratum of government bureaucrats within the bourgeoisie. The realisation of the revisionist plan will signal the establishment of a state monopoly dictatorship modelled after the Soviet example.

On a world-wide scale, the revisionist parties are affected by mutual strife and increasingly sharper contradictions. These contradictions are expressed, for example, in the actions of several parties to break away from the tight grip of Soviet control. And this again reflects the contradiction between the Soviet imperialist bourgeoisie's interests and the interests which the various revisionist parties represent in relation to their own social bases and to their own bourgeoisies.

7. The International Communist Movement in the Struggle Against Modern Revisionism

The victory of the revisionist line in a number of former communist parties and the transformation of the Soviet Union to a capitalist society caused a split in the world communist movement. Just a few years after the Khrushchev revisionists finally had gained control of the CPSU, the world-wide struggle against modern revisionism began. In the forefront of this struggle stood the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Party of Labour of Albania (PLA). Gradually, an international communist movement grew forth which broke with the revisionist leaders and carried forward the revolutionary line in the in-

ternational working class movement.

Marxism-Leninism was further developed in the struggle against modern revisionism. The lessons of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, the development of socialism in China, and the tasks which the struggle against modern revisionism presented, was the basis upon which the Chinese communists, with Mao Tse-tung leading the way, developed Marxism-Leninism to a higher level, to the level of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. This higher level is the development of Marxism-Leninism in the light of the specific world-wide contradictions of our age.

On the basis of the experience gained under the dictatorship of the proletariat in both the Soviet Union and China, Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought underlines the fact that the class struggle does not terminate with the creation of socialist society. The class struggle continues in the economic, political, and ideological spheres throughout the epoch of socialism. There exists the constant danger of the class enemy reconquering state power. The danger stems chiefly from the ever present tendency toward the separating-out of privileged strata which, with the aid of the party, re-establishes the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat and its allies must therefore, at all times, be on their guard and take up the struggle against revisionist and capitalist tendencies both inside and outside the party; by these means, the dictatorship of the proletariat is strengthened and consolidated. Up to the present time, the Cultural Revolution in China has been the most acute form for the class struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the party and stands as a model example of the struggle against revisionism and the revival of capitalism.

Both class struggle under socialism and class struggle in non-socialist societies penetrates the party in the form of a struggle between bourgeois and proletarian politics. The communist party develops itself through inner struggle where proletarian politics are represented by the Marxist-Leninist line

and bourgeois politics by a revisionist line.

Furthermore, Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought opposes bureaucracy and schematic thinking and solutions in the work of the party. It emphasises that a precondition for the party's leadership of the struggle of the masses, is a close and unbreakable contact with them. The party must take as its starting point the needs and opinions of the masses; and then, with the tool of scientific socialism's method, proceed to summarise these needs and opinions in order to transform them into a revolutionary force under the leadership of the party. Only with the aid of the mass line can the party's policies be transformed into a material force in the struggle of the masses; only by using the mass line can these policies be tested in practice.

In the struggle against modern revision, Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought carries forward the revolutionary line of the working class movement. It unshakeably maintains, on the basis of the fundamental lessons gained by the working class in the class struggle, that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun; that the proletariat and oppressed peoples, in their struggle against monopoly capital and imperialism, stand face to face with an enemy who uses violence and armed might to crush the revolution; that the proletariat and oppressed peoples are forced to choose the road of armed struggle in order to conquer imperialism and the monopoly bourgeoisie and win political power.

Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought also maintains that in our epoch, revolution in the semi-colonial and colonial countries basically goes through two stages: the first is the new-democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat in alliance with the broad masses of peasants, urban petty-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie against the imperialists and their lackeys in the bourgeoisie; in the following stage, the new-democratic revolution develops further toward the socialist revolution. In the highly developed capitalist coun-

tries where the proletariat constitutes the vast majority of the population, the socialist revolution is the immediate strategic task of the working class and its communist party. In the struggle to develop united front policies, the purpose of which is to isolate the class enemy, Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought takes as its point of departure the difference between contradictions among the people on the one hand, and contradictions between the people and the class enemy on the other hand. Contradictions among the people are of a non-antagonistic nature, i.e. they are reconcilable. They must be resolved through joint efforts of struggle, debate, criticism and self-criticism. This method is necessary in order to weld a strong unity in the struggle against the class enemy, which stands in an antagonistic (irreconcilable) relationship to the people.

Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought exists likewise in an irreconcilable and antagonistic relationship to modern revisionism, regardless of whatever form it assumes. Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought marks out the guidelines for revolutionary action for communist parties and the world communist movement. The effectiveness of its principles depends upon the ability of communist parties to apply its theory to the concrete conditions of the class struggle nationally and internationally, which rests on the basis of a constantly developing mass practice.

Aside from the two experienced communist parties, the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, the majority of communist parties and organisations have been newly founded; as such, they lack experience and are without a larger mass basis. The KAP is just such a young party. This situation places certain demands on the party: to learn from the experience of the seasoned parties and simultaneously to develop its own theory and practice through self-reliance while avoiding the schematic adoption of the policies of others.

All communist parties are links in the chain of the interna-

tional communist movement. The mutual relations between parties are based upon equality, non-interference in each other's affairs and proletarian internationalism.

B. The Party

1. The Roll of the Party

The KAP's political foundation is scientific socialism, i.e. Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, which is the revolutionary theory of our historical epoch. Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought is the summing up of the revolutionary experience of the international proletariat in its struggle for socialism and communism.

The KAP upholds the principles of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought and applies them in concretely analysing the international and national situation of class struggle. The KAP is a part of the international communist movement and stands in solidarity with the working class and oppressed peoples of the entire world and gives its full support to the socialist countries.

The goal of the KAP is threefold: to win the leadership of the struggles of the working class; to lead these struggles forward to the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; and to lead the construction of socialist society in unceasing struggle against the class enemy, with the classless communist society as the final goal.

The proletarian revolution is the accomplishment of the working class itself. But all historical experience has shown,

that without a communist party, the scattered and spontaneous struggles of the working class against the bourgeoisie cannot be co-ordinated and directed toward a unified assault upon capitalism and its state power. The socialist revolution is unattainable without the leadership of a communist party built upon the foundation of Marxism-Leninism. Likewise, the development of socialism toward communism is just as unattainable without the party's leadership.

The communist party is both a tool of and an inseparable part of the working class; it is the organised vanguard of the proletariat.

The KAP will everywhere go to forefront in struggle and support the existing struggles of the working class. The KAP learns from the experience of the working class gained through struggle, analyses these lessons with the tool of scientific socialism and then moulds this knowledge into tactical and strategic leadership of the working class struggle.

The KAP is attentive to the criticisms of the masses and on the basis of the principle of the mass line, uses this critique in forging close ties to the masses. Within its own ranks, the party uses criticism and self-criticism to correct wrong ideas and incorrect practice and to improve methods of organisation and style of work.

The KAP is a democratic-centralist party. This means that after decisions have been reached through democratic discussion, the entire party carries out these decisions in unity. Democratic centralism is dependent upon the permanent participation of party cadres in the work of the party. Democratic centralism is the highest form of proletarian organisation, in that it unites democracy with the greatest possible force of action.

2. The Party and the Policy of the United Front

The united front policy of the KAP aims strategically at uniting the working class in the struggle for socialism and communism.

The united front policy is an inseparable part of the work of the party, with which the party strives to unite communists, members of other political parties and workers without party affiliation in the common struggle to achieve definite limited goals which will bring the working class nearer the final victory over the bourgeoisie.

United front tactics are subordinated to the strategic goals of the party. But at the same time, the determining factor for tactics in various areas of struggle is the actual stage of development of the class struggle generally. Tactics are arrived at after an assessment of the existing conditions which can be used to lead the struggle to victory.

On various fronts of the class struggle, the party can ally itself tactically with other parties. But a precondition for such co-operation is that the alliance does not restrict the independence of the party nor obstruct it in placing the struggle in a socialist perspective.

The KAP will resist all tendencies to reduce strategy to tactics; such a step would result in "left" opportunism, i.e. it would prevent unity on the basis of a limited platform in various concrete struggles and thus isolate the party from the masses. The KAP will also resist the opposite tendency, that of promoting tactics to a strategic plane. This would result in a right opportunist line which would wipe out the party's proletarian line and signify a desertion of the struggle for socialism.

The KAP will develop its policy of the united front at all levels, both between organisations and among the masses. The party will work for unity of action in concrete struggles against individual capitalists and the state. Party members will engage in the political work of both front and mass organisations which, in specific areas of struggle, unite the masses in concrete struggle against exploitation and oppression.

C. The Class Struggle Worldwide and the Struggle Against Imperialism

1. The Relative Strength of Forces Internationally

The principal contradiction in the world today is determined by the relative strength of forces between imperialism on the one hand and the working class and oppressed peoples on the other hand.

The development of imperialism occurs at an uneven tempo. The relative strength of the imperialist powers mutually and the relative strength of imperialism as opposed to the working class and oppressed peoples is continually changing. Since the Second World War, imperialism has suffered a series of decisive defeats. The main force in the struggle against imperialism since the War has been, and continues to be, the peoples of the Third World. The expression "Third World" designates the peoples and nations which, throughout past decades, have stood and continue to stand in the sharpest contradiction

to the monopoly bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries. After the Second World War, U.S. imperialism was dominant world-wide. But since then, it has gone through a succession of defeats. At the same time however, these defeats have opened the door to social imperialism's appearance the world over. The restoration of capitalism in the USSR has transformed it into an imperialist superpower. Because of its size, economic might and military potential, it too threatens the peoples of the world and is engaged in competition with U.S. imperialism for world dominance. The two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the USSR, are the main enemies of the people of the world.

But the two superpowers have certain common interests. They are both opposed to the struggle of the working class and oppressed peoples against imperialism. This is the reason they both speak of other countries' and nations' "limited sovereignty" and about the necessity of an "international division of labour" and thus attempt to prevent other countries in developing a versatile economy. The two superpowers show up on the scene everywhere as the world's policemen; they interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and even go so far as to unleash armed intervention.

Co-operation between the two is, however, only provisional and limited. The basic aspect in their relation to each other is that of struggle. They are both striving for world domination. This can only be accomplished by the one superpower forcing its way forward to a more advantageous position at the expense of the other.

The Soviet Union is a superpower on the offensive. In the present situation, where the relative strength between imperialist powers is undergoing a change, the danger of war is on the rise. War is the unavoidable accomplice of imperialism. In our epoch, where the system of imperialism is world-wide, any war between imperialist powers can quickly cause a world war. One expression of the increasing danger of war is the superpower arms race and ever larger military concentrations both on their own

soil and abroad. In particular, social imperialism's aggressive foreign policy and tremendous arms build-up over the past several years has brought war closer.

The struggle against imperialism and the struggle against war are inextricably bound up with each other. Only by overthrowing imperialism can the people of the world insure peace. Therefore, the anti-imperialist struggle is, in the final analysis, a struggle for socialism.

2. The Struggle Against the Superpowers

At present, the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the USSR, are engaged in competition with each other, each striving to achieve world domination. In this situation, the principal contradiction on a world-wide scale is found between the two imperialist superpowers on the one side and the working class, the people and the oppressed nations on the other side.

In the struggle against the two superpowers, a world-wide alliance of all peoples must be created. This alliance must be built upon the basis of the equality of all nations and all peoples and upon unity with those nations and peoples which find themselves in an acute situation of armed conflict with the superpowers. It must unite the working class of the developed imperialist countries with the peoples of the Third World.

Also in this struggle, tactical alliances can and must be created with the national bourgeoisies whose interests are in conflict to those of the superpowers. However, these alliances must not lead to the result, that the working class and the people must renounce the struggle against the exploitation and oppression of the national bourgeoisie of their own countries. It is the working class and the people who are the main force in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The struggle against the superpowers is a struggle for peace and the right of self-determination of nations as well as a struggle against political, military and ideological oppression.

It is the duty of communists to take the lead in the struggle against the superpowers in their own countries on the basis of the specific positions their countries occupy in relation to the superpowers.

3. Denmark and the Struggle Against the Superpowers

Denmark is likewise exposed to the aggression of the two imperialist superpowers.

Denmark is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and is thereby subordinated to the world strategy of American imperialism. The Danish military apparatus is inextricably intertwined with U.S. imperialism's rivalry with the Soviet Union for the domination of Europe. As a member of NATO, Denmark will therefore inevitably be drawn into a military confrontation between U.S. imperialism and social imperialism.

From a military viewpoint, Denmark occupies an important strategic position: it controls the sea lanes between the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, and, if need be, can cut this vital link.

This aspect is enormously important to the superpowers.

From both the south and the east Denmark is threatened by social imperialism and its aggressive military alliance, the Warsaw Pact. Troops of the Warsaw Pact are stationed less than a hundred kilometres from the Danish border and the Soviet Baltic Fleet is a permanent threat to Danish coastal security. Denmark's sovereignty is thus undermined by U.S. imperialism

and at the same time threatened by social imperialism. The struggle against the superpowers is a question of vital importance for the Danish working class and the Danish people. It is a question of the very existence of the Danish nation which hangs in the balance.

The KAP takes upon itself the task of building and developing the struggle against both superpowers. The party will struggle against all forms of a national defeatist attitude and against the pacifist "What good will it do?"-mentality. The party will mobilise against superpower aggression and for unity with the peoples and nations exposed to superpower exploitation, oppression and military aggression.

The KAP will work for a broad unity in the struggle against the superpowers, with the struggle for the right of self-determination of nations as the political foundation.

The KAP will oppose revisionist attempts to whitewash social imperialism and promote its interests in Denmark.

In the struggle against the two imperialist superpowers, the KAP puts forth the demand that Denmark resign its membership in NATO; the goal is a neutral Denmark.

Furthermore, the KAP puts forth the demand that Danish straits and sounds be denied the use of the navies of the two superpowers; that naval and military exercises in and on Danish territory be halted; and that the joint Danish-West German military command under NATO be abolished.

In the struggle against the superpowers, the Danish people must work for the dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact; for the removal of all troops of the superpowers on foreign soil; for the abolishment of all Danish military contingents under the United Nations' flag; and for unity with the people of the Third World.

The KAP condemns the so-called "aid to underdeveloped countries" which is nothing more than a tool of Danish capitalist interests, used for exploiting the people of the Third World.

The Danish people must first and foremost rely on their

own efforts in the struggle against U.S. and Soviet imperialism. At the same time however, the task of building a common struggle - especially among the European people - must be carried out.

Denmark is one of the Scandinavian countries, all of which are exposed to superpower aggression. The task of the Nordic peoples is to develop and strengthen a common struggle against the superpowers: to work for a neutral Scandinavia; to work for a cessation of naval and military exercises being held in Scandinavian territorial waters and on Scandinavian soil; and to work for unity with the Third World in its struggle against the superpowers.

4. Denmark — A Part of Europe

In the meantime, Denmark's sovereignty is not only threatened by the two superpowers; Denmark is also a member nation of the European Economic Community (EEC). The EEC, or Common Market, is an instrument of the large Western European monopolies, used by them in their efforts to increase the exploitation and oppression of the Western European working class. A consequence of this co-operation among the European monopolies is the dissolution of the sovereignty of the smaller nations in the EEC.

The EEC is a federation of European imperialist countries which carries out its policies on the basis of the terms laid down by the large imperialist member states. The aim of Common Market foreign policy is to create a Western European superpower which can take up the struggle against U.S. and Soviet imperialism. Because of this foreign policy goal, the EEC is placed in a relationship of contradiction to the superpowers. This contradiction can in certain cases temporarily weaken the two superpowers. However, the policies of the EEC are not foun-

ed on the basis of a real struggle against the superpowers, but on the basis of a striving to become a superpower itself. The working class and the European people cannot rely upon the European monopolies in the struggle against the superpowers.

The European people have two main tasks in this struggle. They are: 1) to combat the European monopolies' attacks upon the right of nations to self-determination, and 2) to struggle against the increasing exploitation and oppression of the European working class by these self-same monopolies. Only in this fashion can the European people, at one and the same time, create a favourable basis for co-operation among themselves as equals in struggling against the superpowers and in liberating themselves from their own monopolies' intensified exploitation and oppression through the Common Market.

The struggle against the EEC is an anti-imperialist struggle. It is not only directed against the European monopolies' undermining of the right of self-determination, but also against the Common Market as a tool for the exploitation of the Third World by Western European imperialism.

The KAP will work for the goal of Denmark's withdrawal from the EEC. The party is opposed to the formation of a European political and military union.

The KAP relates the struggle against the EEC to the struggle against the superpowers. The struggle against the two superpowers must be fought on the basis of the interests of the working class and the European people and not on the terms of the European monopolies.

5. National Defense.

In the struggle against the imperialist superpowers and for a neutral Denmark, and a Denmark which exercises its right of national self-determination, the Danish working class and the Danish people cannot rely upon the Danish military.

The most important function of the Danish military apparatus is to serve the bourgeoisie in suppressing the working class. Moreover, support of the military would in fact signify the capitulation of the working class to the bourgeoisie, the latter being a class which has always betrayed the nation and ... sold out national interests.

In the struggle for the right of self-determination and for the very existence of the Danish nation itself, the Danish working class must rely on its own strength.

The KAP will work for the dissolution of the military apparatus of the bourgeoisie. Only an armed working class and an armed people can prevent superpower aggression and defend the Danish nation.

At the same time that the KAP works to limit military appropriations, it will oppose pacifist slogans of disarmament. These slogans are an expression both of a national defeatist attitude and of the illusion that it is possible to do away with the most vital element of the bourgeoisie's apparatus of violent repression under capitalism.

The goal of the KAP is a people under arms. The struggle during the German imperialist occupation of Denmark in the Second World War clearly revealed that the Danish working class is the main force in the struggle for national independence, and that in this struggle, the Working class stands face to face with a bourgeoisie that will betray the nation. Therefore, the Danish working class under arms is the only guarantee for the defense of the nation.

6. The Struggle Against Danish Imperialism.

Denmark is a small imperialist country in the world-wide imperialist system. Even though Denmark's sovereignty is undermined and threatened by the imperialist superpowers and medium-sized imperialist powers, the Danish imperialist bourgeoisie nevertheless also participates in the exploitation of the peoples of the Third World. Danish monopolies do business in several Third World countries and by means of capital export to these countries, participate in the impoverishment of Third World peoples.

In addition to this, Denmark is itself an imperialist colonial power. Greenland and the Faroe Islands are subjugated nations under the Danish state. The Danish bourgeoisie plunders the natural resources of Greenland and depopulates the remoter areas of the country, conducts a discriminatory wage policy, paying native Greenlanders a lower wage, and seeks to obliterate Greenlandic culture. The Danish bourgeoisie has also transferred parts of Greenland to U.S. imperialism.

The KAP supports the struggle of the people of Greenland for national independence and separation from Denmark.

The KAP supports the struggles of the people of Greenland against the plundering of its natural resources and against exploitation and impoverishment at the hands of the Danish bourgeoisie.

The KAP supports the struggle of the people of Greenland against U.S. imperialism's occupation of Greenlandic territory and against the growing threat which social imperialism poses for the peoples of the North Atlantic regions.

The Faroe Islands are likewise oppressed economically and politically. The dependence of the Faroe Islands on Denmark re-

sults in a one-sided development of its economy. This dependency is further increased through Danish bank capital and by Danish control of imports to the Faroes. Moreover, the Faroe Islands are used as a NATO military base.

The KAP supports the struggle of the people of the Faroe Islands for national independence and separation from Denmark. The KAP supports the people of the Faroe Islands in their struggle against Danish control of their economy and against the superpowers, particularly NATO's use of Faroe territory as a military base.

D. The Class Struggle in Denmark and the Struggle for Socialism

1. Danish Capitalism

In the 19th century, capitalist development made its breakthrough in Danish society and succeeded in consolidating itself in the struggle for markets. A relatively stable export to other highly developed capitalist countries was created on the basis of high-quality industrial commodities and secondary agricultural products.

The unique structure of Danish production is geared partly to the manufacture of finished commodities from imported industrial semi-manufactured goods and partly to the processing of native secondary agricultural products such as swine, poultry and dairy products. This complex productive apparatus has re-

quired a high level of technical training of the labour force which in turn has forced the price of labouring power up on the labour market. But on the other hand, the accompanying increase in productivity has yielded very considerable profits to the capitalists. In addition, the direct and indirect exploitation of colonial and semi-colonial countries via other capitalist trading partners has given the Danish capitalist class an extra profit which has further strengthened its stability.

The many years of favourable circumstances for Danish capitalist development have given the bourgeoisie both the means to bribe the upper stratum of the working class and the opportunity to yield more easily to some of the demands the working class has fought for. Furthermore, by means of the tremendous influence of the mass media and advertising, the working class has been nurtured with the idea that the appearance of durable and long-lasting consumer goods (automobiles, summer cottages, etc.) was synonymous with the maximum development of social well-being. But yet, it is still Danish capital which binds the working class to large fixed expenditures such as high housing rents, usurious interest rates on mortgages, high taxes and duties and expensive installment buying systems. Danish capital actually exercises control over the major portion of working class wage expenditure.

The Danish "welfare" system is meanwhile a cover-up for a more intense form of exploitation. Today, the quantity of necessary commodities a wage worker must have in order to maintain and reproduce his ability to work and educate his children is much larger than it was a hundred years ago. The process of renewal of a relatively well-trained pool of labouring power exposed to harsher exploitation demands a certain degree of development of the social security system, the opportunity for vacations, effective means of travel to and from work and an improved educational system.

Those goods and services described by capitalists as "welfare"

are by and large nothing more than the necessary elements in the maintenance and renewal of labouring power. The other side of the coin is that the pool of well-trained labour is exploited more mercilessly than ever before. Today, the surplus value that the capitalists appropriate, both relatively and absolutely, is far larger than under the earlier more primitive forms of capitalism.

The sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, which has also hit Danish capitalism in the mid-seventies, has increasingly ripped the myth of the welfare state to shreds; the bourgeoisie has launched a massive assault upon the living standards of the working class. The general crisis has at the same time resulted in a further strengthening of the features of state-monopoly capitalism in Denmark. As early as the world capitalist crisis of the 1930's, the monopolies began in earnest to use the state to directly intervene in the economy. The economic roll of the state has since greatly increased. Today, the state has at its disposal more than 50% of the national income. Because actual commodity production is still almost totally owned or controlled by private monopoly capital, it becomes the state's function both to insure the reproduction of labouring power and to guarantee monopoly capital's profit and continued existence by means of political intervention.

The relationship between the state and monopoly capital is intimate and indivisible. The state, as the economic and political tool of monopoly capital, takes upon itself the task of administering monopoly capitalist cures for the crisis which increasingly consist of a centralised control of prices, wages and the costs of reproduction. Due to this development, it becomes less possible to distinguish between those who exercise control over commodity production, those who exercise control over the reproduction of labouring power and those who exercise control over services rendered by the state. And on top of all this, the state itself appears in the roll of capitalist employer, in that it exploits government employed wage wor-

kers. What this implies then, is that the highest stratum within the state bureaucracy has a special interest in safeguarding monopoly capitalism. Thus, this bureaucracy becomes a part of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

But state-monopoly capitalism is also characterised by contradictions within the bourgeoisie, for example between the private and state-bureaucratic monopoly capitalist factions. Contradictions within the bourgeoisie are further sharpened by the growth of yet another faction of the monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie whose material basis is the existence of co-operative² and joint-enterprise³ sectors of the economy. This stratum is by and large recruited from (or otherwise intimately connected to) the trade union bureaucracy. The realisation of "economic democracy"⁴ or similar proposals will further strengthen this faction of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

State-monopoly capitalist development also strongly promotes the appearance of the traits of the corporative state. To an increasing extent, the state implements comprehensive "package deal" economic solutions and wage control policies either through direct legislation or by way of administrative directives. This course of action presupposes a continually tighter co-operation between the trade union bureaucracy, monopoly capital and the state.

Danish monopoly capitalists are not a national bourgeoisie. They are inextricably bound up with American and European monopoly capital through trade and finance capital connections, and also as a consequence of direct foreign control with essential sectors of Danish industry and trade.

Danish monopoly capital's integration with international monopoly capital is rife with contradictions; a situation characterised by competition and struggle. Capitalist Denmark is dependent upon the import of raw materials. International competition leads unceasingly to intense contradictions between Danish capitalists and those of other countries and between various industries and monopoly groups. Danish capitalism's close

connections to and direct incorporation with foreign capital sharpens contradictions and leads to continually shifting alliances.

The sharpening of the international crisis in the mid-1970's has intensified all contradictions. In the present stage of international capitalist development, Danish monopoly capital is being tied even more closely to European monopoly capital. Denmark's incorporation into the Common Market is the economic and political expression of this close relationship. A concurrent tendency is the beginning orientation of European monopolies (Danish monopoly capital included) toward the Soviet capitalist dominated Eastern European "common market" - COMECON. This can lead to an increased interest in a stable Soviet and Eastern European capitalism on the part of the Danish bourgeoisie, while at the same time creating conditions whereby social imperialism can exert pressure against Denmark.

2. The Class Forces in Denmark

The only class in Denmark which has a fundamental interest in the overthrow of state-monopoly capitalism and the realisation of socialism and communism is the working class.

The working class neither owns nor controls the means of production and is forced to sell its labouring power for a price fluctuating around its value in order to subsist.

In the course of the development of state-monopoly capitalism, there occurs a polarisation of class forces. The one pole consists of a steadily shrinking class where the ownership and control of the means of production becomes increasingly concentrated. At the other pole, a continually growing number become propertyless and are therefore forced to sell their labouring power to capitalists. This leads to the growth of the working

class in the state-monopoly capitalist phase to the largest class numerically and includes the overwhelming majority of the population.

Accompanying this tremendous numerical growth of the working class under state-monopoly capitalism is the development of productive forces and the related continually progressing division of labour which have given rise to a growing number of specialised jobs and areas of employment. The growth of the administrative apparatus of the state and of service-oriented industries have further promoted this development.

Increased division of labour is meanwhile an expression of the ever more social character of production. This is seen in the increasing complexity of production and distribution where all spheres are inextricably bound together and dependent upon each other. The process whereby production takes on a more and more social character creates favourable conditions for uniting the working class in joint actions which cut across differences in profession, wage category, and educational level.

Yet these differences between various strata within the working class and the resulting internal contradictions will continue to be used by the monopoly bourgeoisie to split the ranks of the working class. The following contradictions are in particular exploited by the bourgeoisie: 1) the difference between highly paid and poorly paid workers; 2) between workers who have mainly manual jobs and those who have mainly non-manual jobs; 3) between female workers and male workers; 4) between workers in the private capitalist sphere and those in civil service; 5) between skilled and unskilled workers; and 6) between urban workers and rural workers.

These above-mentioned contradictions within the working class are non-antagonistic. The continual attempts of the bourgeoisie to antagonise them must be fought. This is of decisive importance in the struggle for unity of action within the working class and in the struggle to develop this unity into a common struggle for socialism and communism.

Within the working class, the industrial workers constitute the nucleus and the leading element. Industrial workers, and particularly those in large plants and factories, are centrally placed in the capitalist system of exploitation. From this vantage point, they experience directly the capitalist appropriation of the fruits of their labour. In addition, industrial workers in large plants have particularly favourable conditions for organised struggle. Furthermore, industrial workers have a long tradition of struggle against the bourgeoisie and it is among them that the most advanced level of class consciousness is found.

A particular trait in state-monopoly capitalist development is the growing number of demands for new skills which the training of the pool of labouring power as a whole must meet. Due to this phenomenon, there arises a large group in society which is in the process of obtaining an education in one form or another. While the earlier privileged education of civil servants and business leaders is still to be found, it is characteristic of present development that a number of lower and middle-level forms of education and training have appeared which comprise a significant portion of all those pursuing an education beyond the elementary school level. At the same time, the contradiction between theoretical and practical education is being dissolved; more and more fields of education and training combine both theoretical learning and on-the-job training.

The vast majority of those pursuing an education, after they have gotten their degree or completed their apprenticeship, have no other choice but to sell their labouring power to the bourgeoisie. And of these, the vast majority will receive a commodity price fluctuating around the value of their labouring power.

The significance of this is that the majority of those pursuing an education are a part of the working class in the process of gaining qualifications which will enable them to sell

their labouring power afterwards. Their objective interests are fundamentally identical with other skilled and unskilled wage labourers.

The main enemy of the working class is the bourgeoisie whose nucleus and dominant stratum is the monopoly bourgeoisie. The monopoly bourgeoisie consists of several factions:

1) Private Danish and foreign monopoly capitalists. This faction owns, either directly or indirectly, the great majority of the means of production. Managing directors of firms and other top functionaries and officials in the monopoly capitalist sector belong to the monopoly bourgeoisie because: they exercise disposition rights over the means of production; they receive a significant portion of surplus value; and as a rule, they themselves have capital invested in the enterprises they lead.

2) The highest stratum of the state bureaucracy. Due to state-monopoly capitalist development, this faction has disposition rights over ever growing economic resources and receives a salary so far above the value of its labouring power that it objectively has a share in the exploitation of the working class.

3) The highest stratum within the trade unions, the co-operative sector and the joint enterprise sector. State-monopoly capitalist development has likewise given this faction disposition rights over sizeable economic resources and thus a share in the exploitation of the working class. This group is partly recruited from the stratum of labour aristocrats in the trade unions and enjoys the latter's protective influence.

The remaining bourgeoisie outside the monopoly bourgeoisie consists of smaller capitalists, including large-scale capitalist-organised farming, smaller factory and service industry owners and larger retailers, who exist chiefly by exploiting purchased labouring power.

The group of smaller capitalists is but only relatively independent. As a rule, they function as sub-contractors or purveyors to the monopolies or as middlemen in the sale of monopoly

commodities. These smaller capitalists often employ the lesser politically conscious portions of the working class and by using sweat shop methods, they attempt to maintain a favourable position in competition with the monopolies.

Between the two main classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, is found the petit-bourgeoisie. This class includes the small independent craftsman, the small farmer, the small agricultural tenant and the small retailer. While the petit-bourgeoisie does own means of production, it exists primarily by way of its own performance of labour.

The petit-bourgeoisie is not a homogenous class; a portion of it is successful in accumulating the necessary capital to purchase labouring power and gradually achieves positions as smaller capitalists; others are incapable of surviving in the competition and are thus forced to sell their labouring power to capitalists. The conditions of this latter group give rise to a semi-proletariat which is the connecting link in the process of transition from petit-bourgeois to worker. This group still owns a certain amount of property but to an increasingly larger extent, it must sell its labouring power as common wage workers in order to subsist.

The petit-bourgeoisie finds itself in a double contradiction. On the one hand, it is dependent upon and at the same time robbed by monopoly capital through credit institutions, large wholesalers, etc. But on the other hand, by virtue of its ownership of means of production, it objectively supports the right of private property. In order to survive in capitalist competition, the petit-bourgeoisie must strive to accumulate capital, and in order to accomplish this must purchase labouring power to exploit.

Mass production and distribution in our day and age are crushing the petit-bourgeoisie - a result of the development of productive forces. This annihilation of the petit-bourgeoisie is administered by monopoly capital on the basis of its own interests. The result is a numerical reduction of the petit-bour-

geoisie due to the constant flow of petit-bourgeois over to the ranks of the proletariat. To a limited degree, this dissolution is counteracted by a supply of new elements who are willing to try their hand at being "self-sufficient businessmen".

Because monopoly capital threatens the existence of the petit-bourgeoisie, the working class has a tactical ally among certain petit-bourgeois elements. But alliances between the working class and elements of the petit-bourgeoisie must be established on conditions determined by the working class in constant struggle against the steady stream of reactionary petit-bourgeois politics, the material source of which is found in small property ownership.

The petit-bourgeoisie is not a revolutionary class. Portions of it can, however, be won over to the cause of the working class in the struggle against monopoly capital and its state machine.

In a class society, boundaries between classes are not always sharply defined. For instance, at the borderline between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are such groups as plant foremen, chief engineers, department managers, career civil servants, various functionaries and others who neither own nor exercise control over means of production. Yet they receive a wage for their work which surpasses the value of their labouring power to such a degree, that they actually receive a share of surplus value and thereby have a material interest in maintaining the exploitation of the working class. They have thus been bribed by the bourgeoisie to manage and administer its exploitation of the working class.

The principal contradiction in Danish state-monopoly capitalist society is between the bourgeoisie (with the monopoly bourgeoisie as the nucleus and dominating element) on the one hand and the working class (with the industrial proletariat as the leading force) on the other.

The position occupied by the petit-bourgeoisie as a class and

its relationship to monopoly capital create the basis for tactical alliances between the working class and elements of the petit-bourgeoisie.

3. Classes and Political Parties

The material basis for political groupings in society is the existence of classes and their relationships to each other. Political parties are the organisational expression of various class interests, of contradictions between classes and of contradictions within the various classes themselves.

In the phase of state-monopoly capitalist development, the differences between the parties of the bourgeoisie becomes less distinct. This is seen in the constant attempts of all bourgeois parties to unite in the administration of state-monopoly capitalist exploitation and oppression of the working class by means of wage controls, cut-backs in the social welfare system and suppression of the organised struggles of the working class.

The openly declared bourgeois parties represent various factions of the bourgeoisie and the petit-bourgeoisie. The large support they enjoy among the voters is in part due to the wide spread diffusion of bourgeois and petit-bourgeois ideology and in part due to their exploitation of voter dissatisfaction with reformism.

The most important tool of the monopoly bourgeoisie is the Social Democratic Party. Under the pretext of being a workers' party, the social democrats simultaneously serve the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie while guaranteeing the repression of the working class, primarily by use of the trade union apparatus.

The Communist Party of Denmark (DKP) was originally founded in

opposition to social democratic reformism. However, due to the influence of reformist enclaves inside the working class, strong rightist forces appeared in the DKP which betrayed the party's original revolutionary principles. The rightists strove above all, for two things: to realise co-operation with the Social Democratic Party and to win positions for themselves in the trade union bureaucracy. With its material basis in a growing stratum of lower-echelon trade union bureaucrats, the DKP eventually became consolidated on a reformist platform which ideologically was supported by a revision of Marxism-Leninism.

The revisionist degeneration became even more solidly entrenched with the rallying of the DKP behind the Khrustchev-revisionist line for the international communist movement. With its complete submission to this world revisionist line, the party also became a loyal tool for the foreign policy interests of the Soviet monopoly bourgeoisie.

The People's Socialist Party (SF) was founded in 1958 after a split in the DKP. The founders of the SF represented the most consistent revisionist views in the DKP at that time. In fact, they understood earlier than the DKP what the Khrustchev-revisionist line was really composed of. In addition, the SF, with inspiration from the Tito brand of revisionism, desired to separate itself from the world communist movement in order to establish itself as a left-reformist alternative to the social democrats. But at the same time, the SF was anxious to co-operate with the social democrats and has since played the roll of coalition party for social democratic minority governments. The SF's particular brand of "Danish" reformism is a reflection of a certain degree of independence in regard to the two superpowers. The SF's goal is a state-managed economy achieved with the aid of bourgeois parliamentarism. It has fundamentally the same political line in Danish politics as the DKP, which objectively serves to strengthen a state monopoly development.

The Left Socialist Party (VS) appeared in 1967 as the result

of a break with SF's reformist politics and its support of the social democrats. In spite of various views within the VS, which from time to time have aimed at implementing revolutionary politics, the party has consolidated itself upon an anti-Leninist platform which denies the roll of the vanguard communist party. Political and ideological impotence are increasingly forcing the VS into a position of tailism to reformism and revisionism. Objectively, the VS has been an obstacle to the development of a revolutionary political line. By bowing to spontaneity and denying the necessity of a revolutionary vanguard party, it has contributed to keeping socialist oriented workers stuck in the mire of spontaneous practice. This attitude has also led to a disavowal of Marxism-Leninism and to an individualistic protest against the Leninist principles of organisation.

The social democrats, the DKP, the SF and the VS are all fundamentally an expression of the dominance of reformism in the Danish working class movement. The foundation for this reformism is found in the particular historical conditions under which Danish capitalism has developed. The sources of reformism are the contradictions within the working class itself. In the course of capitalist development, a privileged stratum separated itself from the rest of the working class and let itself be bought by the bourgeoisie to implement the politics of class collaboration. The class collaborationist line further nurtured reformism which again strengthened class collaboration.

If the working class is to win immediate as well as long range victories in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois reformist and revisionist influence in the working class must be wiped out. At the same time, the working class must be mobilised to fight the open and declared bourgeoisie - only through this two-pronged attack can the struggle unmask and isolate reformist and revisionist leaders.

4. The Struggle Against the State, Monopoly Capital and Class Collaboration

a. The Struggle for the Improvement of the Living Standards of the Working Class

Undermining of real wages - cut-backs in the social welfare sector - a worsening housing situation - higher taxes. These are the ways in which monopoly capital attempts to intensify its exploitation and impoverishment of the working class. KAP's policy is to defend and fight for the improvement of the living standards of the working class which is possible only through daily struggle against monopoly capital.

Strikes and other forms of struggle must be used to fight for better real wages and against their shrinking buying power. Demands for better wages must be formulated both on a nation wide scale and locally. The fight for a better holiday-with-pay system and a shorter working day are also important aspects. Attempts at eliminating the cost-of-living adjustment⁵ must likewise be fought against; the automatic cost-of-living adjustment must be maintained and the working class must demand full coverage for rising prices.

In factories, plants, workshops and other work sites, the struggle must be waged for improved safety precautions on the job, against grinding piece-work systems, against time-study systems and all other forms of work rationalisation.

The fight against unemployment occupies a key position in the working class struggle. The demands to be fought for on this front are a reduction in working hours without loss of wages, a halt to all overtime work, a reduced work tempo without loss of wages and the opportunity of choosing an earlier retirement

age. Also, all time limitations on unemployment compensation must be abolished and full wage compensation while unemployed must be demanded.

The fight against indirect taxation and all forms of tax-fleeing is also a part of the struggle for better living standards.

As a part of its efforts to cheapen costs for the renewal of labouring power, monopoly capital has set in with cut-backs in the social welfare system. These budget reductions must be fought by demanding 1) a network of nurseries, kindergartens and recreation clubs for youth which satisfy actual needs; 2) improved medical welfare benefits; 3) both a qualitative and quantitative extension of health services; and 4) larger pensions for retired and disabled workers.

On the housing front, the struggle must be waged against rising rents and usurious interest rates. The demand for cheap and effective public transportation is yet another demand to be fought for.

The struggle against environmental pollution and against the use of dangerous additives in foodstuffs is likewise an area of struggle which must be strengthened.

The KAP will struggle for the improvement of the living standards of the working class in these and other areas. The party will present immediate demands in these struggles and will summarise and formulate those which come from the workers themselves.

b. The Trade Union Struggle

The struggle against falling standards of living and for improvements has as its center of gravity the struggles taking place on the job in factories, offices, etc. In on-the-job situations, it is the trade union which is the most important tool of struggle of the working class. In Denmark, there is a united trade union movement; it is a basic expression of solidarity to be union organised.

However, the trade unions at present are dominated by a class

collaborationist political line. A precondition for trade unions becoming organisations which serve the interests of their membership is that this class collaborationist dominance be smashed.

Today, the Danish trade union movement is a tool of oppression turned against the working class. The trade union bureaucracy can realise its class collaborationist politics because it is supported by various legislation, the General Labour Agreement⁶ and the Permanent Court of Arbitration⁷. The close co-operation between the trade union bureaucrat capitalists, the state and employers has laid an iron grip on the trade unions, preventing them from becoming effective weapons in the hands of the working class. The right to strike has been abolished and the purpose of the labour market's judiciary system is to guarantee the repression of protesting workers.

The KAP considers as one of its chief tasks, the job of building the struggle to sever all bonds between the trade unions, the state and employers. A concerted struggle must be waged against the General Labour Agreement, the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the Labour Conciliation Board⁸, the "coupling rule" concerning settlement proposals⁹, the "competent assembly" voting procedure¹⁰, and the entire system of "co-operative agreements"¹¹.

The KAP will take up the struggle on the job against the system of "rules for shop stewards"¹² and against worker participation on "industrial relations committees"¹³ and on boards of directors¹⁴.

The KAP is against all reformist and revisionist attempts to strengthen class collaboration in co-operation with social democratic trade union bureaucrats. The KAP opposes the idea that the trade unions must share responsibility with management or that trade unions should be given government control functions. The working class must reject the efforts of the SF and the DKP to hitch the trade unions to the wagon of state monopolism.

The top trade union bureaucrats carry out a systematic re-

pression of democracy in the trade unions; restrictions on individual locals and shops are being tightened. Striking workers are threatened with expulsion from their unions and independently-minded locals are dragged before the Permanent Court of Arbitration. Undemocratic voting procedures and rigged balloting are used to guarantee the power of union leaders. Political firings are condoned by these same leaders, who also resort to direct political censorship in many on the job situations.

The KAP will struggle for democracy in the unions, for the independence of shops and locals from the tyranny of the bureaucrats; against the practice of political firings, secret registration of militant workers and political censorship both in the unions and on the job.

The KAP will strive to organise and support the development of a powerful political opposition in the trade unions which can drive class collaborationist politics into retreat. The goal of this trade union opposition must be to remould the trade unions into organisations of class struggle.

The trade union opposition must unite oppositional workers on a platform of class struggle while at the same time developing the struggle among the rank and file and at the shop level and in the locals. In this fashion, conditions can be created whereby shops, locals and eventually whole unions can be torn from the clutches of the trade union bureaucracy. Along this path of struggle, the trade unions can be recast into organisations of class struggle which, on the one hand, serve the workers' interests in doing battle with the bourgeoisie and on the other hand, take the offensive in severing union ties to the state and the employers.

The KAP rejects all conceptions of trade unions as being organisations which solely concern themselves with the struggle for higher wages and other economic struggles. All aspects of the working class struggle must gradually be drawn into the trade union struggle. The economic struggle must be linked up with

the entire struggle against monopoly capitalist exploitation and oppression. And trade unions also have to ally themselves with workers and the peoples over the entire world in the struggle against imperialism. The KAP's perspective is the creation of primary mass organisations of the trade unions in the working class struggle for socialism.

c. The Struggle for Democratic Rights

Monopoly capital's attacks upon the working class are to an ever increasing extent linked to attacks upon democratic rights which the working class has won through struggle. Political firings, the suppression of democracy in the trade unions, the persecution of striking workers and blacklisting of revolutionaries and militant workers on the job constitute but one aspect of the attack upon democratic rights.

In all spheres of society, the state has initiated efforts to seriously restrict the freedom of expression. In the educational sector, disciplinary measures are being taken against progressive political opinions. The state-owned radio and television network is closed to progressive-minded individuals and government intelligence agencies are intensifying registration and spying activities against revolutionaries and progressives. These attacks point to a continuous undermining and disintegration of bourgeois democracy. As soon as the power of the bourgeoisie is seriously threatened, it will initiate an open fascist dictatorship. The bourgeoisie will then outlaw the revolutionary party and trample underfoot proletarian organisations of class struggle. The KAP therefore sees the strengthening and broadening of the struggle for democratic rights as another one of its main tasks.

The KAP opposes political censorship. The party will fight against political firings and the increasingly tighter reactionary grip on the state-owned mass media. The party will unmask the state's registration and persecution of revolutionaries and progressives and, by way of its own propaganda and agitation, publicise the facts and the debate which the bour-

geoisie wants to suppress.

The KAP proposes a broad unity in the struggle against fascist tendencies in society.

d. The Struggle in Educational Institutions

The development of productive forces has led to the appearance of a large social group of persons pursuing a higher level of education or skilled technical training. Without question, the overwhelming majority of these people are members of the working class in an educational situation. Therefore, for the majority of those pursuing higher-level education, the struggle in the educational system is a part of the overall struggle of the working class. The objective goal of the working class, socialism and communism, is also the goal of the majority of those pursuing an education.

But of course, there also exist people in the educational system, and particularly in the realm of higher education, for example engineering and law, who are either educated to assume positions inside the monopoly bourgeoisie or who are members of the bourgeoisie from the start. It is therefore that the struggle in the educational system against the oppression of the bourgeoisie must simultaneously be directed against bourgeois elements from within. Through struggle, these elements must be isolated and denied all political influence in student organisations.

The working class majority of those pursuing a higher level of education must organise itself in its own interest organisations which take up the struggle for better living standards as well as the struggle against the oppression of the state-controlled educational system.

The nucleus of the economic struggle on this front is the struggle for a wage while pursuing an education, for cheaper student housing, for social improvements and for decent study and training facilities. The struggle of those in the educational system must be linked to the struggle against repressive government measures. This repression consists of admis-

sions restrictions, the pressures of the examination system which creates competition among fellow students, and disciplinary measures and restrictions aimed at censoring political opinions. The struggle to defend the academic freedom to pursue any and all methodological approaches in teaching and research is a fundamental aspect in the struggle for democratic rights.

The struggle against the state must also be linked to the struggle against imperialism. Those in the Danish educational system must manifest solidarity with their fellow students and peoples of other countries who are fighting against imperialist oppression and exploitation.

The struggle on the educational front, and particularly in those fields which are primarily of a theoretical nature, is furthermore an ideological struggle. The fight against bourgeois ideology must be intensified. Communists have a duty to take up the ideological struggle on the basis of Marxism-Leninism against outright bourgeois ideology as well as revisionist and "left" opportunist ideology everywhere they appear.

e. The Struggle for the Liberation of Women

In primitive communist society, there was a division of labour between men and women which was determined by the biological differences between them. This phenomenon created the conditions by which the ruling classes, at the historical moment of the emergence of private property and classes, could exploit the sexual division of labour in realising a particularly intense oppression and exploitation of the women of the oppressed classes.

Under capitalism there still exists an additional exploitation of the women of the working class and likewise, the division of labour between the sexes constitutes the material condition for the particular oppression of women. But the foundation for the phenomenon of an additional oppression and exploitation of women is due to class relations, i.e. the capitalist mode of production. This is readily seen in the fact that working

women both are used by capitalism as a reserve of labouring power and have the responsibility for an essential part of the private reproduction of labouring power. From this it follows that women tend to have the poorest conditions under which to obtain an education and are employed in the poorest paying jobs. In addition to this material oppression exists an ideological oppression which acts to strengthen and cement the former.

With the development of productive forces, the conditions for the particular oppression of women are being undermined. The increasing social character of production creates a situation in which more and more women are drawn into production. This development changes the conditions for the inequality between the sexes and more favourable circumstances are created for a united struggle against capitalism. Yet at the same time, the interests of capitalism in maintaining a permanent reserve of labouring power prevents women's full participation in production and thereby explains capitalism's lacking interest in a socialisation of the ever present burdens connected with maintaining a home and family. Furthermore, the bourgeoisie takes advantage of thousands of years of women's oppression to continue that oppression today.

The KAP will go to the forefront in the working women's struggle for liberation. The fight for equality is a struggle against the particular oppression of women and consequently a struggle for unity within the working class. The struggle is a part of the working class' united struggle for socialism.

The KAP rejects bourgeois feminism and all other attempts to sharpen the contradictions between men and women. The party also rejects the thesis that the particular oppression of women has been done away with or can be done away with under capitalism.

In order to achieve the final liberation of women, something first possible under socialism and communism, the women's struggle for equality must continue and be carried through to

victory under socialism.

f. The Ideological Struggle

Ideological oppression is a link in the chain of the bourgeoisie's efforts to increase exploitation and prevent revolution.

The working class does not automatically achieve a revolutionary consciousness by means of its spontaneous struggles. On the contrary, revolutionary theory must be brought into these struggles. And the fact that the working class does not automatically develop a revolutionary consciousness gives bourgeois ideology favourable conditions for pacifying and misleading the working class.

Revisionist and reformist class collaborationist ideology are the bourgeoisie's best aids in leading the working class struggle down the wrong road. Revisionists and reformists pretend to serve the interests of the workers; these two ideologies, to a greater or lesser degree, make use of revolutionary sounding phrases while their essence is bourgeois ideology. Revolutionary theory and revolutionary political line can only win a sure footing over a broad spectrum of the working class if the politically most advanced workers become organized in the communist party, which systematically develops and spreads revolutionary theory through its agitation and propaganda.

Without a resolute struggle against bourgeois ideas, opinions and habits, and thinking as well as against reformism and revisionism, the working class cannot be united in the struggle for socialism. The ideological struggle is a struggle to spread the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought within the ranks of the working class.

The KAP spreads revolutionary ideology through agitation and propaganda, through the development of proletarian revolutionary art and culture, through study groups and through the party's uncompromising struggle against both undisguised bourgeois ideology and reformist and revisionist ideology in the

working class and the trade union movement.

E. The Road to Socialism

The struggles against imperialism, the state, monopoly capitalism, and class collaboration are all part of the struggle for socialism. The daily struggle against the exploitation and oppression of the bourgeoisie are subordinate to the overall struggle for socialism. The fundamental task of the communist party is to combine these daily struggles of the working class with the perspective of socialism. Only the communist party, with its tool of revolutionary theory, is capable of co-ordinating and giving direction to the struggles of the working class and leading these struggles forward to the socialist revolution.

The working class must aim its main thrust at the bourgeoisie's apparatus of violent repression, i.e. against the state power of the bourgeoisie; this is a prerequisite for the struggle against capitalism leading to socialism. History has shown with all clarity that the ruling class never voluntarily relinquishes its power, but will use state power to repress the working class struggle for socialism.

Theories about the peaceful road to socialism and attempts to realise socialism by such means have always led to defeat for the working class. The working class cannot take over the bourgeois state machine and attempt to use it for its own purposes. On the contrary, the working class must crush the bourgeois

state apparatus and replace it with its own state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class must prepare itself for armed struggle in the final confrontation with the bourgeoisie.

The Marxist-Leninist theory of the state as a tool of the ruling class, a tool which must be destroyed, is no less correct today than it was a hundred years ago. The last century has in fact witnessed the further strengthening of the state power of the bourgeoisie. The development of state-monopoly capitalism has caused the state apparatus to swell enormously and with it, the apparatus of violent repression has become armed to the teeth. For these reasons, every theory of a peaceful transition to socialism is nothing but a betrayal of the working class and an attempt to prevent the revolutionary strategy for the socialist revolution from winning acceptance in the working class.

The KAP rejects and will fight against all notions that the bourgeois state and bourgeois parliamentary institutions can be used by the working class, or that they can be torn from the control of the ruling class.

The KAP rejects and opposes the DKP's and the SF's "theories" which create illusions about state-monopoly capitalism; for instance, the idea that in this phase of capitalism's development the monopolies can be isolated with the aid of the bourgeois state, and that this "anti-monopolist democracy" will result in society drifting over into socialism. In the face of these illusions, the KAP steadfastly maintains that state power is the ruling class' apparatus of oppression and that bourgeois democracy is but one particular form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the working class.

The KAP rejects and opposes all notions that the Folketing (the Danish parliament - translator) can be used as a tool for introducing socialism. Universal suffrage and the parliamentary institutions of bourgeois democracy are allowed to exist only as long as they do not threaten the power of the Bour-

geoisie itself. The very function of these institutions is to create the illusion that everyone is equal and has an equal say in decisions concerning society. The Folketing is a tool of the ruling class and the KAP unqualifiedly emphasises that revolutionaries can use the Folketing only as a rostrum for voicing the cause of the working class and for forcing the passage of partial reforms on the basis of a mass mobilisation of the working class. The Folketing is a component of the bourgeois state apparatus, the nucleus of which is the apparatus of violent repression, i.e. the police and the military.

The revolutionary situation arises when the working class will no longer submit to the mastery of the bourgeoisie and when the bourgeoisie is no longer capable of maintaining its rule.

A basic principle of the KAP's strategy is that the realisation of the socialist revolution and the building of socialist society in Denmark must be accomplished by the Danish working class itself. With respect to the socialist revolution, the working class must create alliances with sections of the petit-bourgeoisie. This is in part accomplished by preparing the overwhelming majority of the petit-bourgeoisie for its ultimate status as members of the proletariat. And in part, at the outset of socialist construction, by leading the remaining small property owners, as for example in the agricultural sector, in the transformation to common property use (co-operatives) which has the advantage of large-scale operation. In the struggle for socialism, the Danish working class must seek the support of the socialist countries, the peoples of the Third World and the working class in the imperialist countries.

Denmark is a country poor in raw materials and must therefore trade with other countries. It is thus vitally important that a socialist Denmark not become the victim of political and economic isolation. The solidarity from the other socialist countries and the peoples of the Third World will thus be es-

essential if a socialist Denmark is not to be brought to its knees because of a lack of raw materials.

By relying on its own efforts and by upholding the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Danish working class can build socialism, prevent or impede an imperialist encirclement and meet an armed imperialist intervention with resolute resistance.

F. Socialist Denmark

The working class' conquest of state power through the socialist revolution marks the beginning of an extensive reorganisation of the relations of production. The basis for the introduction of socialist relations of production is created with the construction and consolidation of the state power of the working class - the dictatorship of the proletariat - where all means of production including land and raw materials are converted to societal ownership. In the initial period of socialism, this type of ownership will assume various forms. One such form will be state ownership of means of production; another will be collective ownership in certain sectors of small-scale production in agriculture, the handicraft and artisan trades. In addition, there will in certain isolated cases still exist private ownership of means of production.

Due to the high stage of capitalist development, such as is found in Denmark, with a sharp polarisation of classes, with a continually shrinking petit-bourgeoisie and with the

highly developed forces of production, the transformation in socialist Denmark toward complete state ownership will be able to take place quite rapidly.

Socialist construction in the Soviet Union and its subsequent defeat and the experiences of the socialist countries of China and Albania have given the KAP the basis upon which to summarise certain general laws of development of socialist society, which the party uses in considering how socialist construction will proceed in Denmark.

With the proletariat's conquest of power, the first step is taken toward the realisation of the classless communist society. But this conquest of power in itself is neither guarantee that a socialist society will be built nor that communism with certainty will be achieved.

The class struggle continues throughout the epoch of socialism. It entails a merciless struggle against the former exploiting classes, against the formation of a new bourgeoisie and against the continually arising tendencies to develop capitalist relations in socialist economy. Under socialism, there still exists inequalities and uneven development. There also still exists differences in wages, even though the proletariat strives to minimise them. And there still exists bourgeois thinking, habit, ideas and propaganda.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is democratic centralist. Thus, the danger exists that centralism can change into bureaucratic centralism; that leadership, from being leaders for the working class changes into oppressors of the working class who usurp privileges and gradually become transformed into a new bourgeoisie controlling the means of production and exploiting the working class. Furthermore, there is the danger that democracy can degenerate to the level of strife and anarchy. If proletarian leadership becomes weakened, the possibility arises of factory egoism and the search for profit on the part of individual economic entities, a situation resulting in a revival of capitalism.

The conditions enabling the working class to hold to its course toward communism in a socialist Denmark are:

- 1) that the working class, in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the continued attempts to revive capitalism, is united under the leadership of the communist party which leads the class struggle armed with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism;
- 2) that the communist party adheres to the mass line, settles accounts with opportunism within its own ranks and places itself under the control of the working class;
- 3) that proletarian democracy is safeguarded by means of a system of working class control over all organs of people's power;
- 4) that no party or government functionary receive more in wages than what corresponds to the wage of an average worker and that these functionaries work at ground level among the masses at regular intervals;
- 5) that wage differences inherited from capitalism are combatted and continually reduced;
- 6) that a constant schooling on the basis of Marxism-Leninism takes place and that the proletariat has leadership in all spheres of society;
- 7) that the difference between intellectual and manual labour is constantly reduced by giving tasks of manual labour to those chiefly involved with intellectual work and by a steady ideological education of manual labourers for the purpose of involving these in administrative work;
- 8) that the difference between town and country is steadily reduced;
- 9) that the people are armed and that the defense of socialist victories therefore becomes the cause of the people under the leadership of the working class;
- 10) that socialist Denmark develop its relations to other socialist countries on the basis of proletarian internationalism and give support to the international working class and the people's continued struggle against imperialism;

- 11) that socialist Denmark rely on its own efforts, remain free of debt and prohibit foreign investment;
- 12) that the communist party mobilise the working class to fight against the bourgeoisie, against revisionism and against the revival of capitalism;
- 13) and that the communist party combat bureaucratic methods within the state apparatus and the party itself.

Only a constant political mobilisation of the working class can prevent contradictions among the people being dealt with as though they were contradictions between the people and the enemy. Only in this way can the class enemy be isolated by a closely-knit working class.

The incessant struggle against opportunism, first and foremost within the party itself, is the only means to insure that the party's revolutionary line is maintained. The continued struggle of the working class and the party against the bourgeoisie and revisionism is the only way to insure the working class victory over the bourgeoisie under socialism. The struggle is necessary if socialist development is to be led forward to the classless communist society where each person contributes after ability and receives according to need, and where proletarian state power and the party have fulfilled their function, become superfluous and die away.

G. Conclusion

This programme is the political platform of the KAP. It is on the basis of this platform that the KAP will struggle to win the leadership of the working class struggle for socialism.

The condition which must be fulfilled to insure that the KAP can achieve its goal, is that the programme's fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles are followed and defended. However, it is equally important that the programme be implemented in the party's political practice. Only by submitting the programme to the test of practice can Marxism-Leninism be further developed.

The founding programme of the KAP signifies a decisive leap in the development of the working class struggle for socialism. It is built upon the revolutionary experience of the working class and maps out strategic guidelines for the revolutionary struggle. It is a guide to concrete action.

Use the programme as a tool in the struggle for socialism!

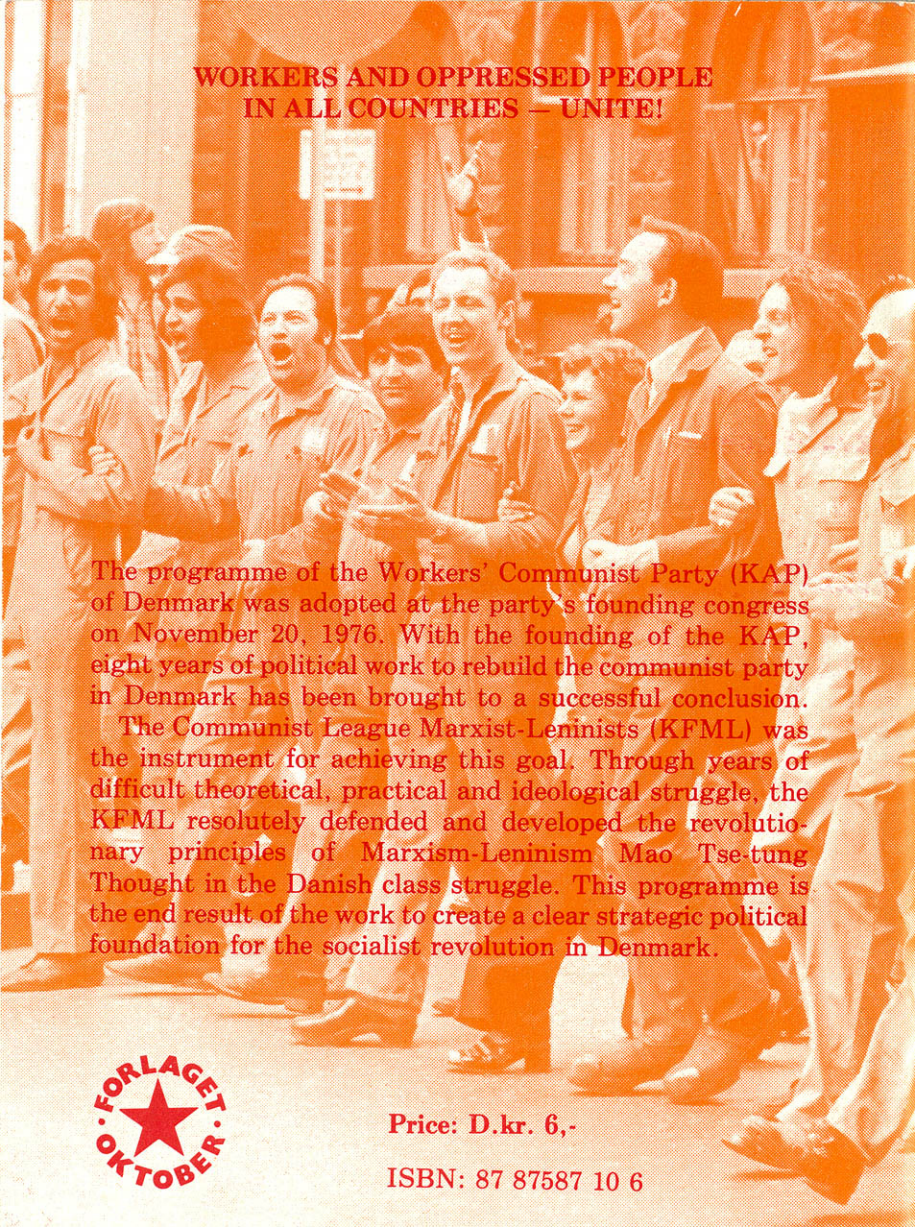
NOTES

1. The DKP (Communist Party of Denmark) was founded in 1919. As early as the mid-thirties, the party committed serious right opportunist errors in popular front work which were never thoroughly criticised and corrected. The post-war period for the party was also characterised by serious deviations from the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class character of the state. The party showed marked tendencies to regard Danish "folk"-democracy as an exception to bourgeois democratic dictatorships. These tendencies became a consolidated revisionist political line which dominated the party after the 20th Congress of the CPSU.
2. The co-operative sector first developed in agriculture toward the end of the last century when various farmers pooled their economic resources to found co-operative slaughterhouses, dairies and the like. This co-operative society innovation quickly spread to the trade union movement where banks, construction firms for building low-cost housing, food retailing firms, etc. were founded by trade unions. Today, the directorships in these enterprises are controlled by trade union bureaucrat-capitalists.
3. These types of enterprises are jointly controlled by state and private or trade union bureaucrat capital. The state does not necessarily hold the majority of shares in such a concern but is usually represented on the board of directors.
4. This is one of the political planks of the Social Democratic platform. The idea behind "economic democracy" is to give the top trade union bureaucrats control of enormous economic resources which the employers contribute to a central fund as a form of profit sharing which is then to be reinvested on the basis of "democratic" decisions from both workers and management.
5. Employers are required by law to pay an hourly cost-of-living bonus of 60 øre (100 øre=1 crown) as compensation for

- rising prices. That this system does not actually safeguard real wages is evidenced by the fact that prices must rise by 95 øre before the bonus of 60 øre is paid out. Nevertheless, the bourgeoisie has launched an offensive to seriously undermine this system.
6. The Agreement first came into effect in 1899 and constitutes one of the cornerstones in the bourgeoisie's system of tying the trade unions to the state and the employers. Its most important clause is the outlawing of the unrestricted right of workers to strike.
 7. The Permanent Court of Arbitration, an integral part of the bourgeoisie's judicial apparatus on the labour market, is the tool for enforcing the statutes of the General Labour Agreement. The Court hands out large fines to workers who do not follow the established class collaborationist channels for settling labour disputes. The Court's judgments are final - there is no higher court of appeal, not even a higher civil court.
 8. The Labour Conciliation Board, a government agency, has very extensive powers in labour disputes. In the event of breakdowns in contract negotiations, the Board can postpone strikes and force the bargaining parties to vote on settlement proposals of its own.
 9. The "coupling" clause in the legislation of the Labour Conciliation Board gives the conciliation officer the power to demand that the balloting on rejection or acceptance of a settlement proposal in contract negotiations occur as one single general ballot in the whole trade union movement. In this way, individual unions which are involved in contract disputes can be forced to accept contracts which they have rejected, by virtue of the fact that their no-votes in the general balloting become insignificant in relation to the yes-votes of other unions satisfied with their contracts.

10. This undemocratic voting procedure gives the reformist union leaders in executive committees or other representative bodies in the unions the right to cast votes for the entire membership in balloting on acceptance or rejection of new contracts.
11. These agreements bind workers to the class collaborationist line of peaceful relations between management and workers on the job. By virtue of these agreements, workers must co-operate with management in finding ways to improve the firm's competitiveness while insuring that work is carried out in a manner agreeable to management.
12. According to these rules, shop stewards must work for a peaceful and stable industrial relations between management and workers. Shop stewards risk fines and being fired if they encourage or participate in any form of work stoppage or other disturbance to force management to settle grievances.
13. The function of these committees is to carry out the provisions of the co-operative agreements (11.) Shop stewards must sit on the committee and all worker representatives are forbidden to divulge the proceedings of the meetings to their fellow workers if management considers it to be of a confidential nature.
14. Workers in firms have the right to elect representatives to the board of directors. But as on industrial relations committees, workers are muzzled when it comes to informing their fellow workers of developments which can affect their jobs.

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE IN ALL COUNTRIES — UNITE!



The programme of the Workers' Communist Party (KAP) of Denmark was adopted at the party's founding congress on November 20, 1976. With the founding of the KAP, eight years of political work to rebuild the communist party in Denmark has been brought to a successful conclusion.

The Communist League Marxist-Leninists (KFML) was the instrument for achieving this goal. Through years of difficult theoretical, practical and ideological struggle, the KFML resolutely defended and developed the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought in the Danish class struggle. This programme is the end result of the work to create a clear strategic political foundation for the socialist revolution in Denmark.



Price: D.kr. 6,-

ISBN: 87 87587 10 6