

Political Program Of GML/Rode Morgen

(Provisional translation)

Fundamental Program Action Program

Adopted January 7th 1996

Contents

Fundamental program

| | | |
|----------------|--|----|
| Preface | | 3 |
| 1 | Development of capitalism in the Netherlands | 4 |
| 2 | Imperialism: increase of the mass of misery | 5 |
| | <i>Dictatorship of the monopolies stands in the way of social progress</i> | 5 |
| 3 | On the eve of a new rush | 8 |
| | <i>Bankruptcy of modern revisionism</i> | 8 |
| | <i>Worldwide growth of resistance</i> | 9 |
| 4 | Class struggle of the workers is the fundament of our politics | 10 |
| | <i>From defensive to offensive</i> | 11 |
| 5 | Only real socialism presents a future | 12 |
| | <i>Lessons against deterioration</i> | 13 |
| 6 | A new Marxist Leninist workers party | 14 |
| | <i>Towards a mass party of the working people</i> | 14 |
| 7 | Unity in action and internationalism | 16 |
| | <i>Their struggle, our struggle</i> | 16 |

Action program 17

| | | |
|------------|--|----|
| I | For the improvement of the social position of the working class and working people | 18 |
| II | For the advance of the struggle of the working masses | 21 |
| III | For international struggle and solidarity | 22 |

Preface

Only real socialism offers the peoples in the world a perspective on the future. The imperialist world system is shaking on its foundations; it has entangled itself in contradictions it cannot solve.

The internationalisation of production does not lead to order; it merely leads to ever-increasing disorder and conflicts. Progress of modern science and technical knowledge create expectations that cannot be made good. Humanity has created the means and conditions to ensure a good life for everyone, but capitalism destroys those.

Under bourgeois-democratic relations the attainments and rights of the working people are evidently as temporary and conditionally as election-promises.

The accumulation of absolute wealth in the hands of an ever-decreasing number of rich in contradiction to the accumulation of absolute poverty for the mass millions, leads workers and working people all over the world to rebellion.

We are on the eve of a new rush at the imperialist world system.

To gain the future, the working class itself will have to engage in politics. Only real socialism presents a perspective.

Without a Marxist Leninist mass party the working class in the Netherlands will not be able to join the international revolutionary struggle successfully.

GML/Rode Morgen makes it its task to build the working class party in the Netherlands again from scratch, in the best traditions of the revolutionary Dutch communists.

The fundamental principles of GML/Rode Morgen are laid down in this fundamental program.

Chapter 1

Development of capitalism In the Netherlands

The development of capitalism is defined by the fundamental contradiction between the socially organized production and the private capitalist appropriation of the produced wealth.

Capitalism in the Netherlands developed particularly slowly in the 19th century. The bourgeoisie lived primarily on colonial plunder, combined with money trade, and on the proceeds of agriculture and cattle breeding.

Free access to Indonesia obtained by private capitalists, and the development of German industry laid the foundation for the growth of industry capital in the Netherlands.

At the end of the 19th century this led to an accelerated economical expansion. The export of capital became more important and a strong concentration and fusion of industry and bank-capital took place; which resulted in the formation of monopolies. Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century financial capital came into existence and with this, Dutch imperialism.

The growth of industry led also to the rise of the modern proletariat.

Yet large industry remained relatively underdeveloped for a long time.

Already during the Second World War the Dutch bourgeoisie made preparations to settle itself anew as the ruling class after the victory over fascism.

The monopoly-capitalists feared the desire for fundamental changes in society, which existed under broad strata of the people.

They joined imperialist alliances as the NATO, aimed against the then still socialist countries.

In the Netherlands this anti-socialist offensive expressed itself in the establishment of corporate institutions. The reformists in the leadership of the PvdA (Social-Democratic Party) and unions were allowed to take part in the government, the SER (Social-Economic Council), the Stichting van de Arbeid (Foundation for Work) etcetera. In this way the state tried to force class-cooperation upon the Dutch working class.

Reconstruction, replacement of the destroyed means of production and restoration of the infrastructure initiated a long period of economic growth.

State-intervention in the fifties with the use of VS-capital started a surge of industrialization, which led to a high level of development of the means of production in the Netherlands.

A number of large monopolies have developed into multinationals that have their base in the Netherlands, of which the economy is largely aimed at export.

On world scale the Dutch bourgeoisie is too weak to play a role of importance by itself; it can only strive for its imperialist objectives in league with other groups of imperialists.

Monopoly-capital has also gained the monopoly on state-power and is blended with the state-apparatus. Capitalism in the Netherlands has grown into state-monopoly-capitalism. The monopolies have taken into their hands absolute power over society as a whole and have thus become the main enemy of the entire working people in the Netherlands.

Chapter 2

Imperialism: Increase of the mass of misery

Imperialism has entangled itself in contradictions it cannot solve.

Growth of the means of production and the concentration of capital led to the formation of ever-larger companies and to far advanced socialization and internationalisation of production. Monopolization and internationalisation demand planned production within the large companies and multinationals. Because of the capitalist private ownership of the means of production, monopolization and internationalisation do not lead to order and regularity, but to an increased competitive struggle on a higher level; between monopolies, multinationals and groups of imperialist countries.

In the production process an increasing use of head and hands is required from the working class. Yet the working class is withheld the right to use the possibilities created by the modern production forces to improve the working- and living conditions of all working people. Modern technologies and modes of production make it possible to provide in the needs of all the people in the world.

The capitalist relations of production, where the wealth produced by the workers is concentrated in the hands of a decreasing number of monopolies, stand in the way of this.

The expansion of production again and again comes into conflict with the limitation of the consumer-market. In the capitalist system where production is only for maximum profit, this contradiction is unsolvable. As a result modern production forces rebel against the capitalist relations of ownership. Thus, as in a law of nature, economic crises occur in which part of the production forces are destroyed.

Under capitalist relations increase of scientific knowledge and application of new technologies are not used to achieve growth and improvement of the workers living conditions in a responsibly way. Capitalist production leads to extreme demolition of the environment and to environmental disasters, because the only things that count are maximum profit and direct gain.

Competition between imperialists leads to an ongoing struggle for markets, raw materials and spheres of influence. This is the origin of imperialist intervention and unjust wars.

The threat of destruction of the conditions of existence of life on earth and the intensification of exploitation and oppression evoke the resistance of workers, working people and oppressed peoples. The contradictions in which imperialism has entangled itself cry out for a solution.

Dictatorship of the monopolies stands in the way of social progress

To bring the long sustained period of economic growth after the Second World War not in danger, several reforms were granted in the Netherlands - under pressure of workers' struggles

or to avoid these struggles - like social laws, five-day working week and real pay-rises. With the beginning of the seventies the period of long sustained growth ended. The investments were used to rationalize, to intensify mechanization and to automate companies. This was the beginning of an all-encompassing attack on wages, employment, rights and attainments of the working people and of an intensified exploitation of the workers. Capitalist competition equates with: 'eat or be eaten'. Especially the use of microelectronics leads to an accelerated concentration of capital and to pushing off the market of smaller companies. The crises in the beginning of the eighties and nineties speeded up this process. Competition on European and world-scale leads to strong reduction and shutting-down of complete branches of industry in the Netherlands and to the transfer of industries to other countries where a higher profit is obtained.

New techniques that are developed in the pursuit of maximum profit, force the capitalists to renew the production process and the fixed capital in an ever-increasing rate.

The enormous investments required by the deployment of new technology exceed more and more the means of the separate large companies. This forces companies to merge, fuse or take-over on European and world-scale. In this way the concentration of capital increased enormously.

The monopolies pay their investments mainly by re-distribution of the national income and by raising the national debt, burdening workers, unemployed, small companies and the self-employed.

Thus not only production is socialized, but investments also have acquired a social character.

All this results in mass-unemployment again becoming a structural phenomenon as in the thirties. After each economic crisis, unemployment remains at a higher level than before.

Concentration on 'core-activities' - that is to say on those parts that give maximum profit - pushes an increasing part of the working population into flexible, right less work.

New techniques are used to increase the work-pressure of a decreasing group enormously, while an increasing group is excluded from participation in social production.

By wage-cuts, tax-, fee- and price-rises and the cuts in or elimination of social benefits the total costs of labour and the incomes of workers and employees are forced downward.

Social reforms are under pressure or being demolished. The re-distribution of national income in favour of the monopolies causes the demolition of all public social services.

Thus the Dutch bourgeoisie evoke resistance of all layers of the population.

The monopoly-capitalists - which form a small part of the bourgeoisie - control the state-apparatus. With this they have at their disposal the power to defend their rule and their interests against the working people.

In the present period the monopoly-capitalists use bourgeois-democracy as a form of rule. To hide the dictatorship of a handful of monopolists from the view of the masses, the bourgeois parliament is used. The large parliamentary parties are the main social pillars of this dictatorship. Their function is to secure a mass base for the interests of monopoly-capitalism among the people.

Under bourgeois-democratic relations the monopoly-capitalists rule mainly by deception and deceit. For this purpose they use among others the mass media and modern communication-techniques.

For the masses bourgeois-democracy first of all stands for deceit, but it also means violence.

Army, police, justice department and secret services form the core of the state-apparatus. Increasingly this state-apparatus is trained and tested; it gets extra powers to suppress the

struggle of the working class and the masses.

Extreme-right and fascist organizations are bred to divide the working class and to be used as terror-groups.

The working class fights for the expansion of the rights of all working people and for that purpose also defends the limited bourgeois-democratic rights and freedoms: to further unfold its struggle.

With concessions the bourgeoisie can try to keep the working class from revolutionary class struggle and try to lead it into reformist channels. Crisis and economic decline make this increasingly impossible.

The experiences of the international workers movement make clear that the monopoly-capitalists are prepared to commit any act of violence in order to secure their rule.

When the bourgeoisie cannot exercise its rule in a bourgeois-democratic way, she will try to put aside bourgeois rights and impose an openly violent and fascist dictatorship.

Chapter 3

On the eve of a new rush

After the Second World War and the victory of the Chinese revolution, almost half the world-population was living in socialist countries or in people's democratic countries where the first steps were made in the direction of socialism.

In 1956 revisionist bureaucrats in the leadership of the Soviet Union succeeded in seizing power. The modern revisionists restored capitalism in a new form: bureaucratic monopoly-capitalism. Out of the bureaucracy in the leadership of party, state and economy a new ruling class was formed which took possession of the collective and nationalized means of production. The working class was thrown back into the position of exploited and oppressed class - robbed of the state-power and the control over the fruits of its labour. With the help of the revisionist leaders in most countries of the socialist block, there also the socialist construction was demolished and the capitalist road was followed.

On this basis the Soviet Union in the seventies developed into a social-imperialist superpower. This superpower forced a series of countries from the former socialist block into a situation of neo-colonial dependency and competed with US-imperialism for raw materials, markets, military bases and spheres of influence.

After the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, socialist China became the revolutionary centre of the international working class and oppressed peoples, against imperialism and social-imperialism.

This period ended with the revisionist decline of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and - after the death of Mao Zedong - led to the restoration of capitalism in China.

Bankruptcy of modern revisionism

The United States emerged from the Second World War as the strongest imperialist power.

For a long period of time the contention for hegemony between the two superpowers, the US and the Soviet Union, posed the main danger for the outbreak of a new world war.

The superpowers were dealt heavy blows by the struggle for national and social liberation of the peoples in the developing countries.

After rapid growth during socialism, economic development stagnated under bureaucratic capitalism. Accelerated automation and especially the application of microprocessors in the other industrialized countries led to the downfall of bureaucratic capitalism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the international competitive struggle. Under the pressure of the struggle of the masses in these countries, bourgeois-democratic rights were gained. The ruling bureaucrats turned to reforms in a western-capitalist way.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Europe regimes shows the complete bankruptcy of modern revisionist deceit. For the time being, present-day Russia is forced to abandon the aspiration for world-rule.

The imperialists have presented the bankruptcy of the bureaucratic capitalist form of rule as the 'end of socialism'. However the 'new world order' didn't bring everlasting peace, prosperity and bourgeois-democratic rights. On the contrary, the contradictions within the imperialist world

system have intensified by this bankruptcy and the outbreak of crises is speeded up. On the world stage other large imperialist powers develop that contend the US-hegemony.

Worldwide growth of resistance

Concentration of capital and increased competition force countries to unite into greater economic zones: for example the European inner market. In this way the European monopolies try to strengthen their position at world level, at the expense of the working class and working people in Europe. And at the cost of the working masses in the neo-colonial countries, that suffer from the intensified exploitation and the plunder of the imperialists and the national bourgeoisie.

The division of the world among imperialists and international monopolies, according to their treaties and agreements, time and time again gets out of step with their forces on the economical level. Unjust nationalist wars and armed conflicts reflect the increased competition struggle.

Socialization of production on a world scale- or internationalisation - collides with the boundaries imposed by imperialism.

The accumulation of wealth in the hands of a decreasing group of multinationals is in ever-sharper contradiction with the increase of the mass of misery for billions of people.

After gaining formal independence, the former colonies were forced in a position of neo-colonial dependency. International organizations of the imperialists manipulate with debts, loans and discharges in their strive to secure the interests of the monopolies. With intervention-armies of the imperialists attempts are being made to exercise direct control.

The abolition of compulsory military service in the Netherlands and the transformation into a regular intervention army serve to assert the interests of the Dutch imperialists in the European framework against the fighting workers and masses.

Under pressure of wars, brutal repression, destruction of environment and means of support, and exploitation by the imperialists and the national bourgeoisie, worldwide the resistance and the revolutionary struggle of the international working class and masses grow.

On the eve of the new rush on the imperialist world system, the building is already trembling on its foundations.

Chapter 4

Class struggle of the workers is the fundament of our politics

With the formation of the working class capitalism has created its own gravediggers. The interests of the working class are fundamentally opposed to those of the monopoly-capital. This contradiction is irreconcilable.

The working class is the producer) of all social wealth. The working class itself does not own any means of production, on the contrary the capitalists rob it of the fruits of its labour. As the bearer (exponent) of social large-scale production it is the only truly revolutionary class.

Working together in large companies the workers acquired class-discipline and solidarity. All this enables the working class to take the lead in the class struggle.

From its origin the working class has had to fight continuously for improvement and in defence of its rights, working conditions and living conditions.

All rights gained are temporary and provisional. In their daily struggle the workers and employees fight against the consequences of capitalism. The overthrow of the rule of the monopoly-capitalists however requires from the working class conscious revolutionary acting.

After the Second World War broad layers of the working people in the Netherlands were of the opinion that fundamental changes in the social order had to be accomplished.

The revisionist deterioration of the CPN (former Dutch Communist Party) was the cause that the working class has had to lack its revolutionary leadership for so long.

The post-war period of extended economic growth and reforms being granted has been used by reformism to spread the delusion among the working people of 'stable capitalism' and to strengthen its grasp on the workers movement.

Instead of class struggle against the monopoly capitalists, reformists practice and preach class reconciliation, to try to cripple the workers struggle and protect the capitalist system.

Revisionists use Marxist Leninist concepts to actually falsify the Marxist Leninist principles. This is expressed in reformist politics. Because the revisionist bureaucrats appealed to Marxism Leninism, the difference between words and action could be used to spread confusion among the international working class about the real content of socialism and about the socialist way to national and social liberation.

After the collapse of the bureaucratic capitalist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the revisionist bureaucrats continued this deception by – together with the ideologist of western imperialism – blame socialism for their own faults.

Neo-revisionism supports this practice, by exonerating the revisionist bureaucrats, by covering up their coup d'état and by justifying their crimes against the working class, the working population and the oppressed peoples.

Capitalism was not restored at the moment of the inevitable collapse of the bureaucratic capitalist regimes; capitalist restoration took place already after the seizure of power by the revisionists. The collapse of the bureaucratic regimes in the former socialist countries only showed the total bankruptcy of this revisionist fake.

Reformism – which deviates the workers struggle to mere begging for limited and temporary

reforms within the boundaries of capitalism – is the most important bourgeois influence within the workers movement, that has to be repelled and overcome to help increase the consciousness of the working class and its revolutionary struggle and bring it to a higher level.

Revisionism must be fought and refuted in order to raise socialism to a new esteem.

The counterpart of those rightwing opportunistic politics is left sectarianism, which also keeps the workers from socialism and revolutionary politics with seemingly radical politics and practice.

From defensive to offensive

The working class in the Netherlands is still in the strategic position of the defence. The political consciousness of the working class is not yet in accordance with the actual situation. The class struggle in the proper sense is under developed and mainly aimed at the defence of the position of the workers and people entitled to social benefits. A revolutionary mass party is lacking.

Since the end of the eighties, the struggle of the working class and other layers of society has increased again in leaps and bounds. However, this struggle rarely goes outside the boundaries of (union) action for economic demands.

In times of crises not only the economic position of the working class is demolished, the rights of the workers movement and bourgeois democracy also are under pressure. The instruments that are at the disposal of the state to suppress the working people are checked and tested as to their usefulness.

The reformists in the union leadership have adopted the policy of deviating the struggle of the workers to the support of measures that must cure dying capitalism from its lethal disease.

The struggle of the working class must on the contrary be aimed at the full deployment of the power of the organized workers in independent – independent from the control of the union leadership – struggles, which more and more will assume a political character.

Contrary to the division the bourgeoisie tries to spread by propagating ideas of competitiveness, nationalism and racism, it is necessary to integrate all workers in the Netherlands – foreign and Dutch – in the struggle of the united working class in the Netherlands.

The work of the revolutionary party during the phase of the strategic defensive is aimed at the transition of the struggle of the working class to the strategic offensive and the preparation of the revolution.

Without a Marxist Leninist mass party the working class will not be able to wage this revolutionary struggle successfully.

Chapter 5

Only real socialism presents a future

Capitalism has replaced the feudal society. Under capitalist relations of exploitation, production forces have been developed to a tremendous extent. More and more capital is concentrated in the hands of an ever-decreasing group of worldwide operating holdings and groups of trusts. Socializing and internationalising of production necessitate the planned organization of production.

In this way capitalism has created all the necessary material conditions for socialism.

However, exploitation and production for profit remain. Therefore the control of the production process in separate companies or sectors leads to an ever-wilder uncontrollability of the world economy as a whole.

The rule of the monopolies and the capitalist relations of ownership are blocking every social progress.

Only by overthrowing the capitalist rule and by the construction of the socialist order of society will it be possible to abolish exploitation and suppression of the working masses.

After the conquest of the political power the working class will erect the dictatorship of the proletariat - dictatorship of the majority over the minority that wants to restore the rule of capital - and the most extended democracy by and for the working people. And so, the conditions are created to put an end to the political and economical subordination of women.

The working class will use state power to expropriate the monopoly capitalists, to abolish the private ownership of the means of production and to bring all means of production into collective ownership of the working people.

Liberated from the shackles of the capitalist relations of ownership, it will be possible to develop the production forces in a planned and continuous way; economic crises will belong to the past.

Instead of production for maximum profit, in socialism there will be production to fulfil the continuously increasing and changing material and cultural needs of all of society. This will be realized through growth uninterrupted by economic crises and by the continuous improvement of the socialist production based on the latest techniques and purposeful use of the economies of scale.

The dictatorship of the proletariat means not only suppression of former exploiters and of the ones who want to restore the rule of capitalism. It is primarily based on the fact that the working class, compared to capitalism, embodies and realizes a higher type of social organization.

Under the leadership of its party the working class will take in its own hands the leadership of and control over the state and the economy. The organization of social production will be based more and more on the free and conscious discipline and initiatives of the workers themselves.

Unemployment will belong to the past, because everybody will participate in the social production according to his or her capabilities and will be rewarded according to his or her contribution.

The socialist revolution cannot in one blow finish with the bad remains of capitalism.

Decisive for the irreversible victory of socialism is the ideological struggle against the remaining influence of bourgeois ideology, the old customs and traditions and petty bourgeois egoism, aimed at establishing and further developing of socialist consciousness among the people.

Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat the working class wages the class struggle aimed at bringing about communism, after the socialist revolution has gained victory in all countries of the world.

In communism, where the contradictions between town and countryside and between mental and manual work have been dissolved, classes and the state will pass away and national boundaries will disappear, when the production forces have been developed so far that production is in abundance and the bourgeois ideology finally has been conquered.

Then classless society will come into being, where work has become the first necessity of life, because work will enable everyone to voluntarily develop his or her capacities and use them for the general common good and because everyone can partake in the socially produced wealth according to his or her needs.

Lessons against deterioration

The construction of socialism in the Soviet Union and China showed what great achievements the working masses are capable of, when they take the future into their own hands.

The capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and China and the revisionist deterioration of most of the communist parties have spread confusion about the real nature of socialism and communism. Not the foreign imperialists, or the former exploiters have caused the downfall of socialism, but a new exploiting class of bourgeois bureaucrats. This is an important lesson that will be used in future socialist countries, to prevent recurrence.

Mao Zedong drew the lessons from the revisionist betrayal in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. He mobilized the workers, peasants and revolutionary students in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution against the danger of capitalist restoration. The Cultural Revolution is the highest form of class struggle in socialism. The Chinese masses realized the most extended democracy in the history of mankind, they built a dam against capitalist restoration; they achieved a vast growth of socialist production and raised their socialist consciousness to a higher level.

The revisionist coup after the death of Mao Zedong demonstrates the necessity of a continuous application of the method of struggle of the Cultural Revolution. This experience also the workers movement will have to make use of.

The party has the task to draw those lessons from these experiences, which will enable it to raise socialism to a new esteem among the workers.

Chapter 6

A new Marxist Leninist workers party

The strategic target of the struggle of the working class is to seize political power and construct socialism. The final goal is to achieve the classless society of the future: communism. Without a Marxist Leninist mass party the working class in the Netherlands will not be able to wage this revolutionary struggle successfully.

GML/Rode Morgen has set itself the task of rebuilding this revolutionary workers party. The new party of the working class cannot be founded by simply proclaiming it. The new revolutionary party has to be built from scratch, in the best internationalist tradition of the revolutionary Dutch communists.

GML/Rode Morgen is a party building organization, a school for the practice of the revolutionary party. By linking study of scientific socialism with practical work, the party building organization learns from its positive and negative experiences to rectify its errors and to avoid them in the future.

The fundament of GML/Rode Morgen is Marxism Leninism: scientific socialism as developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong and other leaders of the revolutionary workers movement.

Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, but a guide to action. It is developed further by applying the universally valid principles to the changing situation in class struggle. That must be learned. The task of GML/Rode Morgen is to lay the foundations for the new Marxist Leninist party. This means the expansion of GML/Rode Morgen into a revolutionary organization of the working class, which must be rooted in the first place in the most important industrial companies and in which workers constitute the majority of party cadres. Special attention has to be given to the organization of the (working) youth, which represent the future of the working people.

If these conditions are fulfilled, then we can pass on to the founding of the party.

The most important task of the party is to win the majority of the working class for socialism and to help develop its struggle into the higher stage of struggle against monopoly capitalism and its state.

Starting from unity in action in the daily struggles for specific demands, the party has to work systematically to unite the working class on all essential items of struggle. The tactics of the party consists in linking the economic struggle with the political struggle in order to pass on to the workers' offensive.

The company groups have the primary task of preparing and waging struggles inside the companies and in the unions. The daily struggle for specific demands must be used to show the workers the fundamental way out of capitalism and to help the working class to liberate itself. The party in this way must turn the struggle for reforms into a school for the class struggle for socialism.

Towards a mass party of the working people

The party also strives for representing the leadership of the working class in movements of

broader layers of the people. The party propagates and organizes in every struggle the demands which furthers the unfolding of the struggle against the bourgeoisie, like the struggle for the defence and expansion of bourgeois-democratic rights, against neo-fascist tendencies, against the growing repression by the state apparatus and the restriction of the rights of the workers movement and the working people.

In the environmental movement the party strives to join forces against the real polluters - the large companies and their chase for profits - and for strengthening the leadership of the working class in the fight against the demolition of the living environment.

The party fights determinately against reformism and revisionism. Doing so, the concrete situation, the level of class struggle and the development of awareness of the workers have to be reckoned with, in order not to practice sectarianism.

With the increase of the class struggle the party has to unfold a comprehensive political, practical and organizational activity and so succeed in becoming a mass party of the working people in the Netherlands. A party that propagates the unity of all workers in the Netherlands and that is able to lead the struggle of the working class.

The opportunity to overthrow the dictatorship of the monopolies is at hand if the ruling class cannot rule in the old way and when the vast majority of the working people does not want to live in the old way anymore.

The history of the workers movement has taught that the bourgeoisie will shrink from nothing - and on the crucial moment will use the most brutal violence - in order to defence its dominance and its privileges.

In a revolutionary situation the working class has no other choice than to turn to armed uprising, under the leadership of its party.

With this the class struggle of the proletariat reaches its highest form.

Chapter 7

Unity in action and internationalism

The party will cooperate in action with every organization and group, which fight against monopoly capitalism, and will support their demands in so far as being not incompatible with the interests of the working class.

The working class will not be able to seize political power if it does not succeed in mobilizing the entire working people in its struggle and leading it, in order to bring down the bourgeoisie.

For this the working class also recruits allies among petty bourgeois layers of the people. Their existence is based on capitalist relations of production. However because of the concentration of capital and because of the ever-sharpening competition they are increasingly robbed of their livelihood. Important potential allies of the working class among petty bourgeois layers are the wage earners.

The working class and its party will also find allies among the small farmers, shopkeepers, small businessmen and owners of small companies and be able to influence their struggle if they succeed in showing them that the destruction of their livelihood is caused by monopoly capitalism and that in the end their work and knowledge will only be utilized fully in socialism.

Their struggle, our struggle

Although the working class faces the task to conquer the bourgeoisie in its own country, its class struggle will not only in content, but also in form assume an international character.

The internationalising of production makes international solidarity and cooperation in class struggle more than ever a compelling necessity. So proletarian internationalism demands that in the imperialist Netherlands a new party of the working class must be constructed.

We are on the eve of a new rush on the imperialist world system.

GML/Rode Morgen will support the struggle of the workers and working people in other countries up to its abilities and will engage itself in the international cooperation of Marxist Leninists, in order to advance the international revolution against the imperialism.

Proletarians of all countries unite!

Action program

The task GML/Rode Morgen has set itself is to lay the foundations of a new Marxist Leninist workers party, which is rooted in the first place in the most important industrial companies. The daily struggle for specific demands must be used to show the way out of capitalism, in order for the working class to liberate itself. In this way the struggle for reforms becomes a training school for class struggle for socialism.

The organized working class propagates and organizes the demands which further the unfolding of the struggle against the bourgeoisie, like the struggle for the defence and the expansion of bourgeois-democratic rights, against the neo-fascist tendencies, against the increasing repression by the state apparatus and the curtailment of the rights of the workers movement and the working masses.

Although the working class has the task of gaining victory over the bourgeoisie in its own country, its class struggle will not only in content, but also in form assume an international character.

Starting from unity in action in the daily struggle for specific minor demands, the working class must be united on all essential issues of struggle. For this, we propose the following action program.

Part I

For the improvement of the social position of the working class and working people

- 1) Wages and and social benefits up
Wages and social benefits fully and automatically compensated for price increases.
- 2) Social fees fully chargeable to the capitalists
No decrease of income when ill, disabled or unemployed
No restriction of the duration of unemployment benefit
No privatisation of social securities
No interference of company management in sick leave
Retirement-age down, old age benefits up
- 3) Expansion of full time jobs, lowering of work stress and improving of the working conditions
Shortening of working hours to 30 hours a week, maintaining the same salary and extra jobs to completely compensate the vacant hours
Shortening of the working day
Forbid the lengthening of the work duration beyond 8 hours a day
Drive back the flexibilisation of the working time and working contracts
- 4) Right to regular work and to income of full value to everyone
Convert temporary jobs into steady labour contracts
Same rights and working conditions for part-timers and temporary hired ones as for full timers
Expansion of day care for children. Free nurseries
- 5) Night work, weekend work and work in full continue shifts only if necessary for social reasons or because of production techniques
Drive back the physical and mental burdening because of night work; weekend work and full continue shifts. Improving of the payments and reducing of the work stress for this work.
- 6) Expansion of the number of days off and continuous holiday weeks
- 7) More healthy work by more safe and better working conditions. Fight unsafe working conditions, poison, bad air, filth, stress, and heavy physical and mental burden on the work place at the expense of the capitalists.
- 8) Away with lower youth wages and lower benefits for the youth
Equal pay for equal work
Forbid child labour
Expansion of the number of jobs and possibilities of term of probation for young people
Improvement and expansion of the education for employment

Right to a job in the profession you are trained for

- 9) Equal legal, social and economical rights for women
Equal pay for women and men
Extension of pregnancy leave on full pay
- 10) Nationalization of public utilities, public transport, hospitals, PTT, housing and other public benefits
No privatisation of state enterprises and public services
- 11) Good and affordable housing for working people and for the people entitled to benefits
Lower the housing costs
Away with the yearly rent increase
Stop the demolition, for the expansion of social housing. Improvement of the maintenance
Forbid speculation with living accommodation and building areas
- 12) Free public transport
Expand the reach and the services of public transport
- 13) Lower the taxes
Tax increase for large incomes and for large companies
Abolition of direct and indirect subsidies to the monopolies
Abolition of VAT and other indirect taxes, in the first place on primary goods
Abolition of municipal levies for working people and people entitled to benefits
- 14) Free legal assistance for working people and people entitled to benefits
- 15) Unhindered admission for workers children to schools and universities
For universal, polytechnic education in which theory and practice are combined
Free public education, training and study
No money of taxpayers to privately ruled education
More public funds for education for retarded or disabled pupils
Increase the scholarships for pupils and students
Smaller classes; appointment of more teachers
No religion in public schools
No recruitment practices for the army at schools
No involvement of companies with schools by sponsoring or contract education
Compulsory anti-racist and anti-fascist instruction at school
- 16) Public health care must be free of charge and freely accessible
Improvement of public medical and care facilities
Away with the contributions for care and medicines, no extra payments
Specialists on the payroll of the hospitals. Shortening of the waiting lists by training of more specialists
For a general lowering of prices for medicines and medical apparatus
Extension of free medical and care provisions for old and disabled people in order to enable them to function fully in society
Expansion of the number of nurses, attendants and physicians in training. Improve their

working conditions

- 17) Protect the environment against the real polluters: the large companies in their drive for profits
Combat the pollution of water, air and soil at the expense of the capitalists
Abolition of levies that lay the burden of the pollution of the environment on the people
No new nuclear power stations and deconstruction of the existing ones, until there is a safe solution for the waste and the production
Foster the development and application of safe and clean sources of energy and alternatives for injurious materials
Against waste dumping, plundering and creating wasteland by multinational companies in dependent countries

Part II

For the advance of the struggle of the working masses

- 1) For complete and unrestricted right to strike
Away with restrictions dictated by courts and commissions of arbitrage
Unlimited right to demonstrations and meetings of democrats and anti-fascists
Full freedom for trade union work and political organization in companies
- 2) Disband the BVD (Interior Security Service), political police and secret services
Free access to all their archives
- 3) Disband the Riot Squads
- 4) Free access without cost to the media for all democratic organizations
- 5) For the abolition of the monarchy
May 1st a day of struggle: May 1st a public holiday
- 6) For the abolition of electoral thresholds and financial hindrances to be elected in parliament, municipal councils, neighbourhood councils and provincial states
No introduction of a district system
Against the financing of political parties from public funds
- 7) Active and passive suffrage in all elections for everybody, starting at 16 years of age, who lives in the Netherlands
- 8) For the prohibition of all fascist and racist parties and organizations
Forbid the distribution of fascist and racist propaganda
- 9) Unlimited right to political asylum for prosecuted democrats, anti-fascists and revolutionaries
- 10) Legalizing of 'illegals' living in the Netherlands
- 11) Full equal rights for migrants
- 12) Abolition of the duty to identification
Away with the increased control and spying of civilians by the state
Protect personal privacy. Free access to all (computer) databases containing personal information
- 13) Away with the Schengen-agreement
No European police services
- 14) Complete freedom for the work of democratic organizations in the army

Part III

For international struggle and solidarity

- 1) Support the peoples in their struggle against neo-colonial dependency, exploitation and suppression. For national and social liberation
Equal pay for equal work worldwide
- 2) Abolition of NATO and WEU
The Netherlands out of NATO and WEU
Prohibition and demolition of all ABC mass destruction-weapons
Disband the airborne brigade and the rapid intervention force
No Dutch participation in imperialist interventions
- 3) The Netherlands out of IMF, World Bank and WTO
No special competencies for the Security Council. Transferring of decision making to the General Assembly of the UN
- 4) Against the crushing of the rights of the peoples by the imperialists
Support to the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses worldwide
For peace and friendship among the peoples