

Why the CPUSA/ML Supports the

People's Socialist Republic of Albania

as a Great Ideological and Political Force for Socialism

History has placed the Albanian and American proletariat at decisive points in the class struggle: the Albanian people at the center of the world revolution, the American people in the heartland of world reaction. Their unity is of strategic importance to the future of socialism worldwide. Yet in the U.S. Albania is largely unknown or not correctly understood. As a result, our movement is isolated from one of its main allies and robbed of the experience of the people and Party of Labor of Albania which is a forty-year history of the application of Marxism-Leninism to achieve national and social liberation.

Turn to page 3

Why the CPUSA/ML Supports the People's Socialist Republic of Albania: A Great Ideological and Political Force for Socialism

The world in which we live is complicated and volatile. The capitalist countries are today experiencing the deepest and most extensive economic crisis since the Great Depression. The danger of a new imperialist world war and the threat of nuclear holocaust is greater than at any time since World War II. In the capitalist-revisionist world the polarization between labor and capital is growing. For the majority, life is a constant struggle for survival, and the promise of life and liberty remains yet an impossible dream. From all corners comes the question: what road ahead for mankind?

As the spontaneous movement in America against the new offensive of Wall Street and the White House grows, so too does the work of the CPUSA/ML to link this struggle with the world-wide movement against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and reaction. Among the working and progressive people there is a growing rejection of pseudo-socialist theories and the so-called socialist states. A new examination of Marxism-Leninism as a revolutionary guide to action and socialism as the road out of the tyranny of capitalism in crisis and decay is taking place.

Over the last decade, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania (PSRA) has emerged as a great ideological and political force in this global battle. But in the U.S., the importance and role of Albania in the class struggle is largely unknown or not correctly understood. As a result, our movement is isolated from one of its main allies and robbed of the experience of the people and Party of Labor of Albania (PLA) with its forty-year history of the application of Marxism-Leninism in order to achieve genuine and lasting national and social liberation.

With this article the Secretariat of the Central Committee sets out to answer why the CPUSA/ML supports Albania as a great ideological and political force in

the fight for socialism, what main forms this support takes today, what problems and prospects exist for building solidarity between the Albanian and American people, and the significance of this solidarity to the future of the revolution in the U.S. and worldwide. In the broadest sense, our purpose is to explain why the Party believes every progressive person in America should see to it that they understand the history and current reality of new Albania and come out in defense of the only genuine socialist country in the world today.

The View from America

For well over half a century, the U.S. has been the center of world capitalism, the standard bearer of reaction, the enemy of everything progressive and the main force against socialism and the revolution. Faced by mounting crises, both internal and external, U.S. imperialism is seeking its solution to the economic stagnation, political instability, ideological degeneration and social decay which characterize American life. The current character of political life in America is a fierce battle in the realm of ideas for the hearts and minds of the American people in order to prevent them from finding the road to their liberation.

In every detail, life in America confirms the validity of Marxism-Leninism which is a tested and proven scientific theory of the necessity, possibility, and means of organizing the proletariat to fight in its own interests for a new economic and political system. For the workers of a country to accomplish this mission, they must break the domination of the bourgeoisie over all aspects of life through socialist revolution. What prevents the U.S. working class and its allies from achieving its liberation is the reality that its level of consciousness and organization lags far behind the objective con-

ditions of the class struggle. The American proletariat has yet to achieve consciousness of itself as a class with distinct aims and objectives antagonistic to the bourgeoisie and clearly identify those aims. It has yet to achieve its organization into a class for itself and go over to united and disciplined battle for social revolution.

There are many factors which retard the development of this consciousness and organization. They have to do with both the conditions of life and their reflection in social consciousness. Capitalist society creates conditions which keep much of the proletariat impoverished, uneducated and backward. As a result of its control over the conditions of life, the reactionary social consciousness of the bourgeoisie is the dominant ideology in society. It promotes among the proletariat illusions, disunity, passivity, and despair. This domination takes the form of direct ideological aggression aimed at convincing the majority that capitalism is a superior, free, and democratic social system that can be -- with some reforming here and there -- made to serve the interests of the majority.

Anti-communism is the pivot of bourgeois ideological aggression. It has long been the propaganda of U.S. imperialism that socialism and the communist world outlook are repressive and tyrannical, that socialism is not possible, or not necessary in the U.S., or simply that it is "un-American".

Over the last quarter century, U.S. imperialism has been aided in this ideological campaign by modern revisionism. The rise and triumph of revisionism in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, China, Cuba, Poland and elsewhere has done great damage to the struggle to win the proletariat to socialist ideas, placing it in a position to fight in a conscious manner. Together with the chieftains in Washington, Paris and Bonn, those in Moscow, Peking and Havana work hand-in-hand to distort and discredit Marxism-Leninism and socialism. Along with the official anti-communism of U.S. imperialism, the Soviet, Titoite, and Chinese revisionists, as well as the Euro-communists and "African socialists" also promote anti-communism when they masquerade under the banner of socialism and communism. At the 8th Congress of the PLIA Comrade Enver Hoxha summed up the problem in this way: "The revisionist betrayal and the restoration of capitalism in a series of former socialist countries have created great confusion about the problems of socialism, which is the nub of the ideological struggle going on in the world today."

As the influence of Albania as a great force in defense of socialism grows, new agents of U.S. imperialism have come out "waving the red flag" in order to defeat it, "befriending" Albania in a way designed to discredit it. Rather than promoting Albania, ultra-left opportunism also promotes anti-communism.

The cause of the revolution and socialism has proceeded through perilous twists and turns and suffered serious setbacks. But it has also achieved important new advances. One of the most significant is the triumphant construction of socialism in Albania in contrast and opposition to the experience in a number of states. Both theoretically and practically, this victory is of decisive importance to the revolution worldwide. For a number of reasons, the PSRA has emerged as a great ideological and political force in the world. Its experience constitutes a valuable contribution to Marxism-Leninism and represents a powerful blow to world imperialism.

The Special Role of Albania in the World

Foto Cami, member of the Central Committee of the PLIA, wrote in 1980, "The Party of Labor of Albania has never pretended to present [its] experience. . . as something perfect, which overcomes all difficulties and contradictions, and even less has it pretended to present it as something universal. However, in this experience of ours we see the embodiment in life of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, the general laws of the revolution and socialist construction, which our Party has known how to apply in a creative manner in the conditions of Albania and in the complicated international situation."

Albania has carried out uninterrupted revolution and socialist construction step-by-step through stages in the difficult conditions of initial economic backwardness, in a small country completely encircled by hostile capitalist and revisionist states, and under intense external pressure by imperialism and social-imperialism. The importance of this experience does not lie in the notion that it represents a ready-made model for all countries, but in what it teaches workers of all countries about Marxism-Leninism as a reliable guide to action. The road traveled in Albania will not be the same road traveled in the U.S. The lessons of Albania do not provide an answer to all the problems facing the revolutionary movement in our country. That is why Comrade Hoxha formulated the question in this way, "By relying on the scientific theory and applying it in the conditions of each country, the

revolutionary forces will find the correct road to socialism."

A correct conception of this question is especially important in the U.S., a country quite different from Albania prior to liberation. From this fact, many honest people conclude that while Marxism-Leninism is applicable, and socialism is possible in Albania, such is not the case in the U.S.

Albania holds a special place in the world today, not only because it is the only socialist country in the world, but because of the ideological, political, and practical leadership it gives working and progressive people of the world who are fighting to make their country a socialist country. This is not to dismiss Albania's significance. On the contrary, the CPUSA/ML is in full agreement with the 8th Congress of the PLA that, "The example of Albania is a new experience in the dictatorship of the proletariat and constitutes a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of socialism and Marxism-Leninism." Marxism-Leninism is the entire historical experience of the international proletariat's fight for social revolution, summed up and raised to the level of theory. The forty-year experience of the Albanian working class and its Party has amply enriched and advanced the Marxist-Leninist science.

For all these reasons Albania has become a great ideological force in the fight for socialism. It has waged a concerted campaign in defense of the Marxist-Leninist science, reaffirming its validity in the present world situation. Albania has made the principle contribution to the exposure of various revisionist trends, identifying their main tenets, analyzing their root cause and mapping out, in theory and practice, the road to preventing bourgeois degeneration within a communist party and socialist state.

At the same time, Albania has developed the Marxist-Leninist science as a result of its own experience on questions concerning the economic laws of socialist construction, the waging of the ideological struggle among the people, and the perfecting of socialist democracy and developing new forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Albania has also become a great political force in the class struggle, standing out as a main defender of the proletariat and peoples in the international arena. The PLA has provided leadership to the international Marxist-Leninist parties, fighting for their unification on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Triumphant Socialism

Albania is a country where the exploi-

tation of man by man has been abolished, where the law of the dollar is no longer the law of the land. A country where the working class rules, where the majority enjoys real political power not only in law but in life. It is a country where people live a new kind of existence, masters of their own destiny, where knowledge and culture, science and art are the property of the people.

Numerous facts and figures about life in Albania today are available. Our purpose here is not to present them in all their complexity and detail. Nor do we seek to promote Albania as a paradise. The fight for socialism has required, and continues to require, hard work and sacrifices. But while the sacrifices have been many, the rewards are real. The Albanian people have built with their own hands a new society. It stands as a compelling example for all who are willing to face up to the hardships and fight with Marxist-Leninist convictions.

Albania emerged from the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War victorious, led by mobilized the entire nation to fight for social change. But if the fight against fascism had required real heroism, so too would the fight for socialist construction. Albania was a small country devastated by the war, with limited human, material and natural resources. Occupied and oppressed for centuries, backward ideas, superstition, religious prejudice and both feudal and capitalist ways of thinking were entrenched. The struggle to change consciousness in order to change the conditions of life would prove to be protracted.

At the same time, Albania embarked on the road of socialist construction surrounded by hostile states, encircled by an all-embracing capitalist market. The Party of Labor and people of Albania faced a stark choice: to take the road of self-reliance on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principle, or compromise, making economic and political concessions to imperialism for short-term gains. Albania took its stand on principle, and its forty-year experience, in contrast and opposition to the road taken in such countries as Cuba and Bulgaria, tells us that it is indeed possible to build socialism in a small country without bowing to the dictates of either American or Soviet imperialism. For the millions fighting in small, developing nations, Albania's example is invaluable.

What was the road of socialist construction pursued in Albania after 1944? On the basis of self-reliance, the PLA led the people in uninterrupted struggle on three main fronts -- political, economic and ideological -- while at different periods

giving priority to one. The fight on the political front achieved decisive victory on January 11, 1946 with the founding of the People's Republic of Albania, although the work to perfect socialist democracy and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat continues. Immediately following liberation, the fight for construction of socialist economic relations in the base of society emerged as the main front of struggle. Here, in particular, the experience of Albania and the PIA has advanced the scientific theory and practice. In a meeting earlier this year sponsored by the Committee to Form a U.S.-Albania Friendship Association, National Secretary Victoria Hull spoke in detail about this question, from which it is useful to quote at length.

"In the realm of economic laws of socialism, the principle guiding the entire Albanian economic policy is outlined in the 8th Congress Report, which states, 'The productivity of labor must increase more rapidly than the per capita income, the national income must increase more rapidly than the purchasing power of the population, and the purchasing power of the population must be covered with goods and services.'

"What does it mean to say that the productivity of labor must increase more rapidly than the per capita income? It is a policy designed to ensure the development of a class of producers -- the working class -- and create the conditions for the dictatorship of that class, rather than a dictatorship of individuals or a group of individuals. It places primary emphasis on the accumulation of the reserves of the class, rather than the wealth of individuals. Productivity is at heart a matter of the proletariat's mastery over nature. This mastery occurs under socialism by the waging of the scientific-technical revolution, the education and training of the entire working people, and their cultural uplift. Thus the class becomes increasingly more efficient, ever more the master of nature and in this way the material base is laid for the working class to be the master of its own destiny in all social realms.

"What does it mean to say that the national income must increase more rapidly than the purchasing power of the people? It means that Albania is a production-oriented society, rather than a consumer society. Priority is given to the wealth of the nation, rather than the wealth of individuals. Again, if the national income does not increase more rapidly than the purchasing power of the people, the main reserves of society cannot be accumulated and used to raise the well-being of the people collectively and well-being becomes a matter for the individual to achieve.

"To then say that the purchasing power of the people must be covered with goods and services, is to say that their needs must be met, and in fact, can be met on the basis of the development of increasing productivity and accumulation of national income.

"The outstanding lesson of new Albania, which is a new experience in the history of socialism, is that it is impossible to maintain the working class's control over the new society without these conditions created in the material base of society."

The experience of Albania, after forty years of uninterrupted pursuit of socialism, in all directions and all fields, relying on the Marxist-Leninist science and enriching it both theoretically and practically, is a rich testimony to the superiority of genuine socialism, and a most powerful exposure of the pseudo-socialist countries.

The Stand of U.S. Imperialism Toward Albania

Ronald Reagan has announced U.S. imperialism's new "Crusade for Democracy" to "consign Marxism-Leninism to the trash heap of history." While open and more intense, this is nothing new. U.S. imperialism is engaged in a life and death struggle against the revolution and socialism. Thus it follows that the U.S. bourgeoisie has always taken a hostile and provocative stand against socialist Albania.

When the U.S. emerged from World War II the unrivaled imperialist power, it immediately set out to mobilize all the forces of the capitalist world against a powerful socialist camp and a growing revolutionary movement. To conquer socialism it relied on two main tactics: armed aggression and military intervention (as evidenced by the establishment of NATO, the stationing of troops around the world and the war in Korea), and ideological aggression and subversion against the socialist states and communist parties with the intent of bringing about their destruction through bourgeois ideological degeneration.

In a variety of ways, U.S. imperialism has employed these tactics against the PSRA since its founding in 1946. Even during World War II, the U.S. worked behind the scenes along with British imperialism to defeat the influence of the Communist Party of Albania which was leading the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War. Although allies in the fight against Nazism, Britain and the U.S. gave only token aid to the Albanian partisans. Instead they sent military missions into Albania to organize counter-revolutionary forces in opposition to the National Liberation Front.

When these efforts failed and the work-

ing class in alliance with the laboring peasantry came to power, U.S. imperialism went over to open hostilities. Through a series of maneuvers the U.S. prevented representatives of the new Albanian government from attending the San Francisco Conference which founded the United Nations, denying it representation in the international arena. The U.S. also refused to establish diplomatic relations with Albania in hopes of discrediting it as the legitimate representative of the Albanian people.

In early 1945, the State Department sent a diplomatic mission headed by J.E. Jacobs to Albania to determine the possibilities for diplomatic ties. Telegrams between Jacobs and the State Department indicate the lack of serious commitment on the part of the American government, which used the mission as a pretext to gather information on the post-war situation in the Balkans. Jacobs was no friend of Albania, but even he saw the extent to which U.S. imperialism was seeking to isolate Albania internationally in order to undermine it domestically. In a telegram dated May 9, 1946, attempting to explain to his superiors in Washington why Albania was angered by U.S. actions, Jacobs wrote, "Our prestige here might have been sustained on a higher level if, when Albania appealed to the UN Conference at San Francisco for admission, more favorable consideration, and possible approval had been given to Albania's request. After all, the people of Albania did contribute their bit, even though small against the fascist and Axis aggressions and a good case could have been made in support of their admission at the time of the San Francisco Conference when certain other powers who contributed little or nothing were admitted."

In a secret policy statement published in January, 1947, which Jacobs helped prepare, the State Department characterized Albania in this way: "The significance of the country derives from its strategic location and from its part in the complex of Balkan and Adriatic relations." And, "Albania remains an arena for rivalries and intrigues, where the great powers may also become involved." And, "In these circumstances the U.S. has strategic interests in Albania."

To what extent the U.S. was willing to defend this strategic interest soon emerged. Several recent newspaper articles, including one by Ralph Blumenthal in the June 20 1982 edition of the *New York Times*, have exposed the interference of the U.S. State Department in Albania's internal affairs. Research done by a doctoral candidate at Stanford under the Freedom of Information Act unearthed documents

which detail attempts by the U.S. to organize counter-revolution. One American intelligence agent, Michael Burke, stated that during the late 1940's, "I was asked by the CIA if I would try to create a revolution in Albania." A 1949 document recounts a meeting between Secretary of State Dean Acheson and British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, in which Acheson is quoted as saying, "Bevin asked whether we would basically agree that we try to bring down the Hoxha government when the occasion arises. I said yes. He asked what government would replace Hoxha if he was thrown out? Are there any kings around that could be put in?"

In order to help "make the occasion arise", the U.S. government allowed Albanian reactionaries known to have collaborated with the Italian and German fascists to emigrate to the U.S. in violation of federal law. Some were then recruited to play a role, as Blumenthal writes, "in American post-war campaigns against the Pro-Soviet government of Enver Hoxha, the Albanian Communist Party leader. These efforts, which included dropping agents into the Balkans by parachute in the early 1950's to foment revolts, failed . . ."

During the same period U.S. imperialism supported Britain's aggressive actions against Albania, sided with Britain when it sent war ships into Albania's territorial waters in the Corfu Channel, and conspired in the seizure of \$6.5 million in Albanian gold which today still sits in the Bank of England. More recent intervention in Albania is not publically documented in the U.S. At present, however, both superpowers are engaged in intrigues in the Balkans. Since the death of Tito, the Soviet Union has been working to recapture Yugoslavia, breaking it out of the American orbit. National rivalries are being whipped up to allow a pro-Soviet government to come to power. The Albanian national minority in the Kosova region is being used as a pawn in superpower politics. Fighting for democratic rights against special oppression by the revisionist Yugoslav regime, the movement in Kosova for Republic status has been suppressed by police terror and violence.

The American government continues a decades-long blockade of information from and about Albania while the State Department feeds the American press inaccurate and slanderous reports on Albanian affairs. In general the U.S. government takes a public posture of silence. For this reason it is often assumed that the U.S. no longer has an interest in Albania. Nothing could be further from the truth. Albania remains in a strategic location. Its role as a

stabilizing factor in the Balkans is well known. Its growing international influence, its warmly received role in the United Nations, and its developing diplomatic and trade relations with scores of states is clear to the U.S. State Department. But more importantly, U.S. imperialism is well aware of the role Albania plays in the international communist and workers' movement.

It is important to point out that as the Reagan regime gears up its anti-communist ideological campaign, the number of anti-Albania radio spots and press reports have taken a dramatic upturn. We can expect more, for if U.S. imperialism intends to consign Marxism-Leninism to the trash heap, there too it must consign Albania. New attacks, both open and covert, and new aggression, both ideological and perhaps military as well, are possible.

The posture of U.S. imperialism, its long-standing blockade of information and its hostile activity, have created a situation in the U.S. where the majority of people either know nothing about Albania or have assimilated the anti-Albanian, anti-communist propaganda of the bourgeoisie. This, combined with the lack of revolutionary leadership for over 40 years and the present limitations of the Marxist-Leninist forces, has created a situation in which the progressive movement is robbed of the lessons of the Albanian fight for freedom and isolated from one of its main allies in its fight for freedom. Equally important, the U.S. proletariat is not armed to carry out its proletarian internationalist responsibility to defend socialism in Albania.

The Role of the American Proletariat and Party in Defense of Albania

The triumph of socialism in Albania represents a victory not only for the Albanian people, but for the proletariat and progressive people of all countries. Likewise, the defense of socialism in Albania is not just the duty of the Albanian people, but of the proletariat and progressive people everywhere.

History has placed the Albanian and American proletariat at decisive points in the class struggle: the Albanian people at the center of world revolution, the American people at the center of world reaction. Fighting in the heartland of world imperialism against the greatest capitalist power of our time, the American working class and its Party must shoulder a number of proletarian internationalist tasks. One such task is to build a mass, militant movement in defense of Albania as part of the entire process of revolu-

tionary struggle. This task is at present complicated and difficult, for several reasons. Chief among them is the attitude and activity of U.S. imperialism, which makes contact between the Albanian and American people difficult when the avenues for contact and promotion of the revisionist states are many. Secondly, is the influence and effects of modern revisionism which breeds anti-communism. Soviet, Chinese, and other revisionist propaganda mimics the lies of imperialism, portraying Albania as isolated and backward, in order to promote a revisionist "road to socialism" and a revisionist conception of socialist construction.

The third problem is the lack of a strong, experienced Marxist-Leninist party in the U.S. capable of mobilizing a powerful movement in support of Albania, bringing its story to the broad masses. And lastly, is the problem of opportunism in the working class movement. Over the last decade a number of ultra-left trends and organizations have emerged in the U.S. which have come out in "support" of socialist Albania. The character of their promotion is universally slavish, infantile flag-waving in a manner which does not win Albania new supporters, but instead promotes anti-communism. Within this flock are agents of imperialism who are out to split the friendship movement in the U.S. There are also opportunist organizations that have tried to hitch their wagon to Albania in order to gain a measure of credibility among socialist-minded people domestically and maneuver for international advantage on the coattails of Albania.

The present, low level of consciousness and organization of the revolutionary forces in the U.S., the spreading of anti-communism by imperialism, revisionism and opportunism and the fact that almost no direct interchange between the Albanian and American people exists, all make the education of the U.S. proletariat and its mobilization in solidarity with Albania problematic at a time when its importance is growing.

The Tactics of the Party in Support of Albania

The CPUSA/ML believes that Albania is a great ideological and political force in the fight for socialism. It also believes that the American proletariat must be prepared to carry out its role in defense of socialism in Albania. For these reasons, the Party is committed to the struggle to build solidarity between the Albanian and American people as a strategic question.

The principal contribution the American communist party is required to make in this

effort is the education, organization, and mobilization of the working class and its allies to defeat U.S. imperialism from within. This process includes the fight to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and expose all bourgeois, revisionist and opportunist influences within the working class movement.

Simultaneously, the Party is required to fight, and prepare the American people to fight, all attempts by U.S. imperialism to isolate, intimidate, interfere in or intervene in Albania. The CPUSA/ML works in a variety of ways to carry out its responsibility as the leading force in this battle. Today the Party places great stress on building a broad, popular movement in support of Albania, because it alone cannot shoulder the American proletariat's internationalist duty. We seek to promote Albania not only among those already socialist-minded, but among all progressive, democratic, and freedom-loving people of all regions, races and nationalities in the U.S. That is why the CPUSA/ML led in the formation of the Committee to Form a U.S.-Albania Friendship Association and today actively supports it, gives it leadership and provides it with material aid. The CFUSAFSA has over five years begun to assume a central role in the promotion of Albania among the broad strata of American people. Its goal is to build over time a truly mass organization of all those friendly to Albania.

Today there are over 25 Albania friendship associations worldwide which carry out broad educational and cultural activities with the encouragement of the PSRA. Over the past five years, the CPUSA/ML and the CFUSAFSA have steadily grown in their ability to understand how to build a friendship association relying on the aims and objectives desired by the PSRA, utilizing the lessons of the international friendship associations, and applying them in the conditions in the U.S.

In various countries, the friendship associations have come into being under varying levels of class struggle, consciousness and organization of the working class movement. One underlying issue in the work of all the Marxist-Leninist parties who are leading the friendship forces has been the need to correctly understand and establish the proper relationship between the friendship association, which is a form of organization designed to achieve the broadest participation on the basis of genuine friendship, and the Marxist-Leninist party, which is a vanguard organization of the class-conscious communists who support Albania on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principle. In the U.S., under-

standing this relationship is essential to the future growth of the Albanian friendship movement.

In the past the Party has helped the CFUSAFSA to understand and combat a view, prevalent among the Left, that to be a member of the friendship association one must be a Marxist-Leninist, or a supporter of the Marxist-Leninist party, or at least, support socialism over capitalism. Defeating this view in the early days of its work was a decisive step. Failure to have done so would have further isolated the friends of Albania in the U.S. and held back the work to build solidarity on a mass scale.

The international experience of the friendship associations, and the movement in our country as well, also reflects another lesson. Individuals who are hardened anti-communists or who have a hostile attitude and carry out hostile actions against Marxism-Leninism have no place in a friendship association for Albania, a socialist country guided by the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and communism. These two poles of the question help define the nature of a friendship association and the proper relationship between the Marxist-Leninists and the progressive friends of Albania who fight with the common aim of building friendship and solidarity.

Problems and Prospects Facing the Friendship Movement in the U.S.

Today there is a small but growing movement in friendship for Albania in our country. This movement encompasses the Marxist-Leninist forces, many socialist-minded people and workers, students, intellectuals and progressive individuals who are attracted to Albania from a range of concerns, from support of the PLA to love of Albania's rich national art and culture. This breadth of interest is a very good thing. The potential for the future growth of this movement is large, although it currently faces serious obstacles.

The organized forces in support of Albania are not yet well connected to the vast majority of potential friends of Albania for reasons having to do with the overall situation in the country previously pointed out, and because of the limitations of the CFUSAFSA itself which remains still small. As well, those active in support of Albania are not yet united around a common conception of the road ahead, engaged in common work or organized into a single center. These factors make the effort to break the blockade of information by carrying out educational work on a truly national scale, through the distribution of literature, the holding of meet-

ings, cultural programs, film showings, organizing exhibits, preparing radio and TV programs and the like, difficult when it is precisely this type of activity that can bring the truth about Albania to light among the vast majority.

The increasing anti-communist, anti-Albanian crusade of the American government and the lack of interchange between Albania and the American people which results from travel restrictions and the lack of diplomatic or trade relations also poses problems. Albania does not seek relations with the U.S. government because U.S. imperialism will not conduct them on the basis of non-interference and mutual benefit.

All of these obstacles can either be overcome in time or circumvented by the movement if it maintains correct leadership, continues on the right road and takes up its work in an aggressive manner. At this time the main obstacle to its further growth is the persistence of a wrong view on the significance and role of Albania in the world, on the importance of building solidarity in the U.S. and on the nature and role of an Albania friendship association. This wrong view is essentially a "leftist" line spread by agents of U.S. imperialism and ultra-left opportunism which seeks to stifle the growth of the friendship movement and direct it down a dead-end road. What is this view? It is one which underestimates the importance of building broad, popular support for Albania. It either denies the need for a mass organization such as the CFUSAFA which can play a vital role in the creation of understanding, friendship and solidarity among the broad strata, or seeks to narrow the membership, activities, and influence of the CFUSAFA to a handful of people already committed to the defense of socialism. This view attributes to the friendship association objectives which go beyond its nature and scope. In a word, it attributes to an association which is an organization in friendship for socialist Albania, the task of organizing support for socialism in the U.S., belittling the importance of friendship for the PSRA, and profoundly underestimating the impact a mass movement in the U.S. in solidarity with socialism in Albania would have on the international balance of class forces.

We characterize this position on the Albania friendship association and friendship movement as opportunist because it sacrifices the long-term interests of the Albanian and American proletariat to the short-term, selfish aims of the few, of a sing group of individuals or political organization in the U.S. It is the absolute antithesis of proletarian internationalism.

The CPUSA/ML believes that there is a large potential for the future growth of the Albania friendship movement in the U.S. for several reasons. First is the powerful attraction of Albania's experience. Second is the present situation in the U.S. where many progressive people are searching for an answer to the question, "What road ahead?". Third is the history of proletarian internationalist spirit and activity, the deep democratic and freedom-loving traditions of the American working people. And lastly, there is now growing contact between some sections of the working class movement in the U.S. and socialist Albania. All of these make the growth of the movement and the building of the CFUSAFA possible. The world situation makes it vital. The task before the Party, the proletariat and the friends of Albania in the U.S. is to see to it that the obstacles to this work are overcome step by step.

Long Live the Friendship of the Albanian and American People!

The CPUSA/ML supports the people and Party of Labor of Albania as a contingent in the international communist and workers' movement. It defends socialist Albania as a great ideological and political force, a powerful ally, in the struggle against world imperialism. It promotes Albania, its history and experience, as a powerful expression of the vitality of Marxism-Leninism and the superiority of the socialist way of life. All are strategic and tactical imperatives for the future of the revolution in the U.S. and the revolution worldwide.

History has placed the Albanian and American proletariat at decisive positions in the class struggle from the point of view of the world revolution. The Albanian people live, work and fight at the heart of the revolutionary movement, in defense of everything progressive, in a world representative of a new era in human history. The American people live, work and fight in the center of world imperialism, against everything reactionary, in a country representative of an era coming to a close. The importance of close ties, and common struggle between our two peoples is obvious. The future of socialism in America is inextricably linked to the preservation of socialism in Albania.

All who cherish progress, equality, democracy and peace, all who fight for social justice, who seek a way out of the crisis of U.S. imperialism, who want an answer to the question, "What road ahead?" will find in Albania a powerful example, profound inspiration and a reliable ally.