

The Workers' Advocate



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

THEORETICAL ISSUE

50¢

VOICE OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY OF THE USA

March 20, 1984

Volume 14, Number 3

Our differences with the Party of Labor of Albania

This special issue of *The Workers' Advocate* is devoted to documents examining the stand and views of the Party of Labor of Albania towards controversial questions in the international Marxist-Leninist movement. It includes resolutions from the Second Congress of our Party. It includes documents from the internal discussion that our Party has carried on for several years now on certain stands from the PLA that have worried us. And it includes a selection of excerpts from the news bulletin of the Albanian Telegraphic Agency (ATA) that gives some idea of the present outlook of

the PLA on various world issues.

Our Party has active revolutionary solidarity with the PLA. In the U.S. it is our Party that rallies the workers in the factories and the revolutionary activists in the mass movements in support of socialist Albania. In the U.S. it is our Party that fights against "three worldism," Maoism, Soviet revisionism and liquidationism and that popularizes the contributions the PLA has made to international communism.

Continued on next page
See OUR DIFFERENCES

RESOLUTION OF THE 2nd CONGRESS OF THE MLP, USA

On the Role of the PLA in the World Marxist-Leninist Movement

The Second Congress expresses its revolutionary solidarity with the Party of Labor of Albania and the fraternal Albanian people. Socialist Albania stands defiant in the midst of capitalist-revisionist encirclement. It is today the only country in the world building socialism. Free of economic crisis, free of debt payments to the international bankers, free of the aggressive military blocs, free of capitalists, landlords, racists and militarists, Albania stands as an example of what the working people can accomplish when they stand up in revolution and persist on the socialist road.

The Party of Labor of Albania, as the only Marxist-Leninist party that is presently in power, has an important position in the world Marxist-Leninist movement.

The Second Congress discussed the stands of the PLA on the vexed questions in the international Marxist-Leninist movement. Militant solidarity and fraternal support does not mean mechanically copying the stands of another party. On the contrary, proletarian internationalism requires that all parties support what is right and criticize what is wrong in the stand of other parties. Only thus can the parties truly learn from each other's experience, and only thus can they be regarded as truly linked in the revolutionary cause. In this spirit, the Second Congress assessed both the immortal accomplishments of the PLA and the weaknesses in its present stands.

Continued on page 8

OUR DIFFERENCES Continued from front page

The Second Congress of our Party reaffirmed this historic stand. It evaluated highly the historic contributions of the PLA. And it held that it is the responsibility of all class conscious workers and communists to uphold and defend socialist countries wherever they exist, and that socialist Albania is today the only genuinely socialist country in the world. The Second Congress held that the example of socialist life inspires the workers all around the world, showing that it is possible to live without exploiters, racists and militarists.

But the Second Congress also stressed that defense of socialism in Albania does not mean repeating everything that the PLA says, good or bad. No, true defense of socialism requires something far more arduous and far more valuable. It requires work to push forward the proletarian revolutionary movement. Lenin, ever the stalwart champion of proletarian internationalism, taught that:

"There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is — working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) this struggle, this, and only this, line, in every country without exception." (From pt. 16 of "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution, Draft Platform for the Proletarian Party," *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 75)

It is clear that such internationalist work to build the revolutionary movement must be conscious work. This requires that every Marxist-Leninist party, every communist, every class conscious worker and revolutionary activist, study for themselves the basic questions of political strategy and tactics and support what is revolutionary and criticize what is mistaken. One can-

not seriously speak of support of socialism in Albania or of defense of the interests of the international Marxist-Leninist movement unless one makes the most serious and painstaking study of the lessons taught by the history and views of the PLA, assimilating what is correct and criticizing what is wrong.

Our differences with the PLA concern its stands on current events and various of its views of the last several years on the strategy and tactics for the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

The opening years of the 1980's have seen many vexed questions and controversies arise inside the international Marxist-Leninist movement. These disagreements, taken as a whole, concern basic questions of revolutionary work and analysis. The powerful impetus developing in the international movement in the latter 1970's at the height of the struggle against Chinese revisionism has been largely dissipated. The international Marxist-Leninist movement has not been able to fight with sufficient vigor against the diverse rightist, revisionist and liquidationist forces that seek to destroy it; in fact, liquidationist and petty-bourgeois nationalist views have had some influence inside the international Marxist-Leninist movement. How the present controversies are resolved will affect for some time to come whether the international Marxist-Leninist movement regains its revolutionary momentum or suffers further setbacks.

In this situation the PLA has been, in the early 1980's, advocating wrong answers to the controversial questions in the international Marxist-Leninist movement. It has retreated from its militant stand of the latter 1970's. In the latter 1970's the PLA defied the pressure of the imperialist-revisionist world and of Chinese revisionist blackmail in order to open up the period of the worldwide condemnation of the "three worlds" theory and Maoism. The major publications of the PLA had an electrifying effect on the international Marxist-Leninist movement. Although even then there were

The Workers' Advocate



Theoretical-Political Newspaper of the
Central Committee of the MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY, USA

- Editorial correspondence:
The Workers' Advocate [redacted] Ontario Street Station Chicago, IL 60611
- Orders and subscriptions:
Marxist-Leninist Publications [redacted] Ontario Street Station Chicago, IL 60611
- Rates: From vendor: 25¢
Via first class mail: 75¢ for single copy \$4.50 for six issues \$9.00 for 12 issues

ISSN 0276-363X

certain weaknesses in the stands of the PLA, nevertheless the PLA played a leading role in urging the entire world movement forward. But now, in the early years of the 1980's, the PLA has failed to carry the struggle against revisionism through to the end. As a result, its views and actions have degenerated.

Therefore, it is necessary to soberly evaluate the present weaknesses in the stands of the PLA as part of the struggle to resolve the differences within and strengthen the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

Our Party has tried repeatedly to clarify the issues at stake through private discussions with the PLA, but this has proved unsuccessful. The PLA has been unwilling to have discussions on a true basis of equality and unwilling to ponder seriously criticisms of itself. We have also kept close watch on how other Marxist-Leninist parties were dealing with the controversial issues. At the Second Congress of our Party, we summed up years of paying special attention to the question of the norms of relations between parties. We studied the Leninist teachings on this question and we evaluated the recent experience of the international Marxist-Leninist movement. Our general conclusions are contained in the resolution entitled "On the Relations Between the Marxist-Leninist Parties." Furthermore, the Second Congress also held that, at this time, the Leninist method of resolving the differences and of mobilizing all communists and class conscious workers to decide the vital issues of revolutionary work requires a public discussion of the stands of the PLA, the weaknesses as well as the accomplishments.

It should be borne in mind that the views and actions of the PLA on world events and on the affairs of the international Marxist-Leninist movement — just as the overall work and stands of other parties — cannot be regarded as simply the private concern of Albanians. This would mean to deny that the Marxist-Leninist movement is a world movement, to deny that the study of the PLA's views and experience has had a world significance, and to deny the important role that socialist countries must always play in the world proletarian movement. Or it would mean to give the PLA a special position above criticism. In either case, it would, in effect, ban any thorough discussion of the present differences in the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

But communists must not shy away from the discussion of the controversial issues in the international movement; instead they must tackle them head on. And this discussion of the differences in the international Marxist-Leninist movement must take place according to the principles that the PLA itself once put forward: There must be no division of the Marxist-Leninist parties into leaders and followers. There must be no parties that stand above criticism and whose

views must be accepted on faith, and no parties whose only role is to applaud at the prompting of others. Instead all parties and Marxist-Leninist communists around the world must take full and conscious part in settling the questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics.

Our Party is working in various ways to strengthen the international Marxist-Leninist movement. We have thrown ourselves heart and soul into fighting the various revisionist currents; we have enthusiastically carried news about the views and activities of other parties and fervently supported the revolutionary movement in their countries; we have taken part in or supported the various international meetings and rallies; we have worked hard to develop contact at various levels with other parties; and we have pondered the controversial issues as they have arisen. The Second Congress of our Party came to the conclusion that, in order to help resolve these issues, it is essential to speak openly and publicly on our views of the present stands of the PLA. This issue of *The Workers' Advocate* is devoted to opening this discussion.

On the Present World Situation

The world situation in the early 1980's has its own particular characteristics. The world crisis of capitalism (both Western capitalism and revisionist-style capitalism) is deepening, undermining the economic and political stability of the former strongholds of imperialism and reaction. But, at the same time, although revolu-

IN THIS ISSUE

From the resolutions of the 2nd Congress of the MLP	
● Solidarity with socialist Albania	11
● Salute the Marxist-Leninists of the world	12
● Work for the strengthening of the international Marxist-Leninist movement	12
● On relations between Marxist-Leninist parties	14
On comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of November 10, 1982	17
On comrade Enver Hoxha's report to the 8th Congress of the PLA of November, 1981	32
Reference material from the Albanian press	44
Extracts from comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of November 10, 1982	59

tion marches forward in various individual countries, the world situation is still characterized overall by the capitalist-revisionist offensive, which poses many dangers. The proletariat and toiling masses are, as well, facing tremendous difficulties in getting organized and in overcoming the leaden weight of the reformists and revisionists and other opportunist trends. China's alliance with imperialism and other factors help disorganize the masses and have a depressing effect on world politics.

The revolutionary movement can and will overcome these obstacles. The continual fiascos of imperialism and social-imperialism, and the revolutionary upsurges that keep breaking out, all point to the fact that it is the world proletarian movement which will ultimately step forward with giant strides. But the forces of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism have to judge the present world situation both soberly and confidently, take account of its specific features and of the particular forms that the mass struggle is now taking, and set bold but sound plans and policies to build the revolutionary movement and transform the present situation.

Some Features of the Weaknesses in the Present Stands of the PLA

The PLA appears to have a difficult time dealing with this situation. It does not seem to understand how to take advantage of the revolutionary factors in today's situation which counteract the difficulties and obstacles. The revolutionary struggle does not proceed in a straight line; it suffers setbacks; and, in times like these, it often seems that the struggle takes one step forward only to subsequently take two steps back. Yet, for all that, the revolutionary class struggle keeps breaking out to defy the imperialists, who announce in vain, for the one-millionth time, that "Marxism-Leninism is dead."

But the PLA seems to have lost its bearings. A characteristic feature of the Albanian press is that, in the 1980's, it has lost track of the revolution. It does not do much to exploit the revolutionary events of our times and is altogether silent on many developments.

A particular example of the present Albanian passivity is the PLA's stand on the international Marxist-Leninist movement. While in the latter 1970's the PLA championed the new Marxist-Leninist parties and stepped up their encouragement for these parties, in the early 1980's the Albanian press seems to have almost lost interest in the international Marxist-Leninist movement. When it mentions the Marxist-Leninist parties, its emphasis tends to be on pointing out that the world's Marxist-Leninists support Albania.

In fact, the international Marxist-Leninist movement is alive and active, and Marxist-Leninist activists are

organizing, fighting, suffering persecution and giving their lives heroically all around the world. But you wouldn't know it from the Albanian press.

Another striking example of Albanian passivity is Central America. The ground is burning under the feet of U.S. imperialism and the local exploiters in El Salvador, the Nicaraguan people continue to defy U.S. imperialism and the counter-revolutionary plots of the local big bourgeoisie, and a tenacious struggle continues on a smaller scale elsewhere in Central America. Yet the PLA doesn't campaign for the world's people to support the struggle in Central America, nor does it discuss the lessons of the struggle and work to help the peoples of Central America free themselves from the social-democrats, revisionists and other opportunists. Instead, ATA has praised the role of the Mexican government towards this region, which means to praise the Mexican big bourgeoisie which stands at the head of the counter-revolutionary schemes of the Contadora group. And in so far as the Albanian press takes notice of Nicaragua, it completely ignores the class struggle in Nicaragua and the role of their fraternal Marxist-Leninist comrades.

The PLA is similarly passive about the mass struggles elsewhere in Latin America, the upsurge in the Philippines, and so forth. It barely mentioned the mass upsurge against imperialist war preparations in the imperialist metropolises. And more examples could be given.

Nowadays, instead of highlighting the class struggle and the revolution, the Albanian press and diplomacy appears to be involved in accommodating itself to the existing political situation in various countries. The PLA now praises a wide variety of bourgeois regimes and especially looks to the forces of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalism. Insofar as the PLA actually carries this out, it is the same kind of abandonment of the standpoint of the revolutionary class struggle as the reformists usually justify under the guise of "practical politics" and "realism." The PLA does not use such crude justifications directly in its press, but, in essence, its reasoning appears to amount to the same thing.

An extreme example of the weaknesses of the PLA's stands can be seen in its attitude towards Turkey, Iran and Argentina. These examples are dealt with repeatedly in the documents in this issue of *The Workers' Advocate*.

In Iran, the PLA at first gave vigorous support to the revolution that overthrew the Shah and brought out the role of the proletariat. But the Iranian revolution encountered sharp obstacles. The Khomeini regime consolidated itself and eventually became a full-fledged regime of counter-revolutionary butchers. Meanwhile the PLA abandoned the stand of the revolutionary struggle of the toilers and began an intense campaign in favor of the Khomeini regime. To this day, it identi-

fies the Iranian revolution with the counter-revolutionary Khomeini regime. It accommodates itself to the presently existing political reality in Iran rather than uphold the interest of the Iranian toilers. And it pays no attention in its press to the fate of the fraternal Iranian Marxist-Leninists.

Turkey is one of the longstanding weaknesses of Albanian policy. In the early 1980's the PLA has gone all-out to embrace the Turkish military dictators. The Albanian Telegraphic Agency has more coverage of Turkey than any other area of the world. It ignores altogether the suffering of the Turkish people and of the fraternal Turkish Marxist-Leninists. It has held aloof from world campaigns of protest against the executions of progressive people and Marxist-Leninists by the Turkish butchers. This is a blatant example of accommodation to the existing political situation at the expense of the revolution.

The reactionary war between the British imperialist robbers and the Argentine fascist generals over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands in 1982 was an extreme example of replacing revolution with the search for some nationalism to support. For the PLA, the only question that counted was who owned the Malvinas Islands. It utterly ignored the standpoint of the struggle of the Argentine people for revolution. It ignored its own words, in *Imperialism and the Revolution*, about revolution being the order of the day for most of the countries in Latin America, even though the whole world knew that the Argentine generals had declared war in order to prevent an imminent revolutionary upsurge.

The PLA's vacillation towards replacing the class struggle with petty-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalism is shown in its attitude to Europe. It has separated the struggle against the superpowers from the struggle against the European bourgeoisie. Its press is full of talk of the "independence" of various European regimes — and even refers to the need to uphold European culture, language, civilization, etc. — from the superpowers.

The Danger of Not Carrying the Struggle Against the 'Three Worlds' Theory and Maoism Through to the End

One of the striking features of these errors in the stands of the PLA is their resemblance to the notorious "three worlds" theory of the Maoists. The abandonment of the standpoint of the class struggle, the praise of various "third world" regimes, and the flirtation with petty-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalism in the "second world" are reminiscent of the similar errors of the "three worlds" theory.

Of course this does not mean that the PLA is follow-

ing Chinese revisionism. Future issues of *The Workers' Advocate* will go further into the question of some of the roots for the present weaknesses of the PLA's stands. The PLA does not use the particular Chinese formulations, nor has it allied with one superpower against another. Despite the PLA's recent toning down of the struggle against the imperialism of the lesser imperialist powers, it has not entered any alliance with them either. The similarity between the PLA's mistakes and "three worldism" takes place because all stands that downplay the class struggle and obscure the revolution have certain basic features in common.

This vividly shows the danger of failing to carry the struggle against Chinese revisionism and Maoism through to the end. The fact is that the stands of the PLA, even at their best in the height of the struggle against the "three worlds" theory and Chinese revisionism, had certain weaknesses. Had the PLA continued the struggle against the "three worlds" theory and Maoism, it would have step by step strengthened its positions. It had before it the same general task that faced the other Marxist-Leninist parties, of rectifying weaknesses in the light of the advances made in the struggle against Chinese revisionism. Instead the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha repeatedly stressed that the PLA's line had no problems in it. It is true that the PLA had a revolutionary history and that it was important to refute the fairy tale of the defenders of Maoism that everyone had followed the Chinese revisionists into the swamp. But it was going too far when the PLA simply denied any weaknesses at all in their views and suggested that other parties may have made mistakes, but never the PLA.

In fact, the PLA could not take the struggle against the "three worlds" theory and Maoism beyond a certain point unless it reexamined some of its views and actions. Hence the PLA only took the struggle against Chinese revisionism so far. On the question of the "third world," for example, it put forward a number of correct and valuable criticisms of the "three worlds" theory. But it never worked out what these general revolutionary principles would mean in detail for the struggle of the proletariat and its party in these countries, and the PLA even left a loophole in its criticism of "third worldism" with various cryptic remarks about progressive leaders of some unnamed countries.

Finally, the PLA called a halt to any deeper investigation of the errors of "three worldism" altogether. This was formalized at the 8th Congress of the PLA in November 1981, where Comrade Enver Hoxha's *Report* failed to sum up the struggle of the international Marxist-Leninist movement against the Chinese revisionists and put forward the next tasks in this struggle. Instead Comrade Enver suggested that the struggle against the "three worlds" theory was over and done with because the Chinese formulations had become discredited.

This, presumably, is the meaning of his statement that: "At one time, the Chinese theory of 'three worlds' also emerged.... But it melted away like salt crystals in water. It was played as a trump card, but was very quickly overtrumped." Nor did Comrade Enver see any need to continue the evaluation of the difficulties that had occurred in the course of the struggle against Soviet revisionism, an evaluation that had begun with the denunciation of Maoism. Apparently, the PLA believed that all the theoretical issues were already solved.

In our view, the failure to carry the struggle against Chinese revisionism through to the end is a source of many problems plaguing the international Marxist-Leninist movement. It was and is necessary not just to discredit some Chinese formulations and to "overtrump" the Chinese leadership, but to reestablish the correct line for the class struggle and return to the revolutionary principles of the Marxist-Leninist classics. It is necessary to see that, while certain of the particular Maoist ways of formulating the "three worlds" theory may indeed be discredited, the general opportunist ideas behind the "three worlds" theory have found favor in opportunist and even bourgeois circles and can only be counteracted by a protracted struggle.

One result of the failure to carry the struggle against "three worldism" and Maoism through to the end is the tendency to reduce the repudiation of "three worldism" to that one must oppose both superpowers, instead of allying with one against the other. Allying with one superpower against the other was simply the last stage of degeneration of the "three worlds" theory. In fact, the Chinese Communist Party was corroded by various "three worldist" ideas for years before Nixon visited China in 1972 or Deng Xiaoping gave his infamous speech of 1974 which spelled out the "three worlds" theory in full detail. Even when the Chinese leadership had been fighting both superpowers, its stand was weakened and undermined by the false ideas of "three worldism." Yet, whenever the struggle against "three worldism" and Chinese revisionism is toned down, a tendency appears to reduce opposition to "three worldism" to denunciation of both superpowers. But "three worldism" includes other profound errors such as downplaying or utterly negating the internal class struggle in the dependent and oppressed countries, putting forward petty-bourgeois and bourgeois-nationalist answers to the questions of revolutionary strategy, negating the role of the Marxist-Leninist parties, and so forth. If these issues aren't dealt with, opposition to the two superpowers may become nothing but an empty phrase. Indeed, in its original form, "three worldism" played with the phrase "opposition to the superpowers" precisely for the purpose of negating the Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle, socialist revolution, and so forth.

On the Socialist System in Albania

Despite the weaknesses in the present stands of the PLA on world events and on the orientation for the international Marxist-Leninist movement, the PLA continues to build socialism inside Albania. Albania is not entangled with foreign imperialism nor has it dismantled the socialist system. On the contrary, it has survived without crisis despite the world crisis engulfing all the capitalist and revisionist countries.

The socialist character of Albania is the basis which makes it possible for the PLA to correct its errors in the future. At the same time, these weaknesses and errors pose a danger for the positions of socialism in Albania. It poses the threat of a loss of revolutionary vigilance on the internal front, corresponding to that with respect to world events. Therefore it is all the more important for the true friends of Albania and the PLA to soberly evaluate the stands of the PLA in order to provide fraternal proletarian internationalist support.

Material for the Study of the Stands of the PLA

This issue of *The Workers' Advocate* contains many important materials for the study of the weaknesses in the present stands of the PLA. To begin with, it contains the unanimous resolution of the Second Congress of our Party entitled "The Role of the PLA in the World Marxist-Leninist Movement." This resolution is published for the first time.

This issue also contains previously internal materials which give a glimpse of the detailed study of the stands of the PLA which has proceeded inside our Party. The bulk of two internal bulletins is reproduced. One of these bulletins discusses the 8th Congress of the PLA. Written a month after the 8th Congress, it notes that the PLA was no longer playing the role in the world movement that it was after the famous 7th Congress of the PLA. The second bulletin, written a year later, discusses Comrade Enver's major speech of November 10, 1982. It points out that this speech verifies that the PLA was giving wrong answers to the vexed questions of the international Marxist-Leninist movement and was insisting on precisely those points of Comrade Enver's *Report to the 8th Congress* that were wrong. Both bulletins discuss the views of the PLA on a wide range of world issues.

As well, there is a selection of materials from the Albanian press on recent world events. This collection provides further illustration of the stands of the PLA.

Finally, the public discussion by our Party, in this issue of *The Workers' Advocate*, of our differences with the PLA brings up the question of the norms that should govern relations between Marxist-Leninist parties.

This question occupied the attention of the Second Congress of our Party. We reprint from the January 1 issue of *The Workers' Advocate* the resolution of the Second Congress entitled "On the Relations Between the Marxist-Leninist Parties" and part of the resolution entitled "Work for the Strengthening of the International Marxist-Leninist Movement."

Down With the Maoist Critique of the PLA

We had also intended to carry an article denouncing the rotten standpoint of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, USA towards the PLA; instead we shall carry it in a future issue. The RCP, USA is an example of the "left" wing of Maoism; it denounces the post-Mao Chinese leadership. But, in order to defend Maoism, the RCP, USA has had to denigrate the significance of the struggle against the "three worlds" theory and to twist and turn in its assessment of "three worldism."

As a result, its criticism of the PLA has been less than worthless. It rabidly attacked the PLA in order to save the reputation of Mao. It copied the most shameless antics of the more forthright "three worlders" in cursing the PLA, denying the socialist character of Albania and lying about the PLA. It echoed the slanders of the unabashed "three worlders" that the PLA, or anyone who fought hard against "three worldism," must be going pro-Soviet.

Today the basic standpoint of RCP's criticism of the PLA remains defense of Maoism. It criticizes the PLA for going too far in its denunciation of the "three worlds" theory; in fact, it is the historic accomplishment of the PLA that it opened up the period of the worldwide condemnation of the "three worlds" theory and Maoism. The actual weakness of the PLA is not that it went too far, but that it has failed to carry this struggle through to the end. It criticizes the PLA for having set forth various basic principles of Marxism-Leninism on socialist revolution, party building, and so forth, something which the RCP, USA regards as

"dogmatism"; in fact, it is the accomplishment of the PLA that it led a struggle in favor of the Marxist-Leninist principles. Its weakness is not that it went too far, but that it has failed to carry this through to the end.

Thus, despite the semi-anarchist theorizing that it now engages in to give a revolutionary-sounding cover to Maoism, the RCP, USA, in its attitude to Albania, in its stands on the workers' movement and other questions of revolutionary work, in its negation of the Marxist-Leninist principles, etc. is unable to disassociate itself from "three worldism," albeit a "three worldism" of the old type which postures against both superpowers. This teaches the lesson that in so far as one adheres to Maoism, no matter of how purified and refined a variety, one will remain in thrall to revisionism and opportunism.

Our Party criticizes Albania from the diametrically opposite point of view as the RCP, USA and the Maoists. We uphold the classic teachings of Marxism-Leninism, while they regard this as "dogmatism." We uphold socialist Albania and its historical accomplishments, while they curse and slander Albania. In this issue of *The Workers' Advocate* we reprint the resolution of the Second Congress entitled "Solidarity With Socialist Albania, the Only Genuinely Socialist Country in the World Today."

Our Party has learned much from the PLA and socialist Albania. We dedicate our criticism not only to resolving the vexed questions of the international Marxist-Leninist movement, but also to helping strengthen the PLA. As the Second Congress of our Party declared in the resolution entitled "The Role of the Party of Labor of Albania in the World Marxist-Leninist Movement":

"True friends are not those who stand by and let things slide, but those who, at whatever risk to themselves, speak the truth. ... The Second Congress declares fervently that our Party will stand, as always, arm in arm with the Albanian comrades. It will combine militant solidarity with the principled discussion of the burning issues of the world Marxist-Leninist movement." □

Resolution of the Second Congress of the MLP,USA

Solidarity With Socialist Albania, the Only Genuinely Socialist Country in the World Today

In the world today the People's Socialist Republic of Albania stands as the only genuinely socialist country.

Blockaded and despised by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, socialist Albania stands firm against the imperialist superpowers. Surrounded by a capitalist and revisionist world wracked by economic crisis, Albania is crisis-free and carries forward its planned economic construction. While scores of other countries are drowning in debts to the imperialist sharks, Albania is building socialism through its own efforts without owing a dollar or a ruble to anyone.

The Albanian working class and people have transformed the old Albania of the capitalist and landlord regime, the poorest and most backward country of Europe prior to the revolution in 1944, into an advanced socialist society. It is a society without exploiters and exploited, without rich and poor, where the working people are building for themselves a better life.

The new socialist society in Albania was born in the flames of revolution. The Albanian people liberated themselves from the Nazi-fascist yoke through their heroic national liberation war. They fought and won victory over both the invaders and the internal class

enemies. Upon liberation they took the path of the socialist revolution. They built up the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They step by step confiscated the property of the capitalists and landlords and consolidated socialism. These socialist gains in Albania were safeguarded in heroic struggles against the revisionist betrayal. The Party of Labor of Albania led the working class and people in courageous battles against the Yugoslav, Soviet and Chinese revisionists.

Since the days of the October Revolution, the existence of the socialist system has been the greatest achievement of the international working class movement. With the revisionist betrayal in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, today Albania is the sole country where the working class holds the reins of power, and the new socialist society is successfully being built. By its very force of example the existence of socialism carries a potential threat to bourgeois rule everywhere. That is why the capitalists and revisionists will never cease to curse it and to make efforts to wipe it out. The MLP, USA stands with the class conscious proletarians and their revolutionary vanguards on all continents in pledging its militant defense of socialism in Albania. □

From the Resolutions of the 2nd Congress of the MLP, USA

On the Situation in the International Marxist-Leninist Movement

The Second Congress Salutes the Marxist-Leninist Communists of the World

...
The proletariat is an international class. In the struggle for the emancipation of labor, the various national contingents of the class conscious proletariat are bound together by unshakeable bonds of class solidarity and proletarian internationalism. At the head of the workers' struggle stands the communist vanguard. Ever since the epoch-making Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia of 1917, every consistent working class revolutionary must be a Marxist-Leninist. Today the revisionist betrayal in Russia and China and elsewhere has not eliminated the Marxist-Leninist communists. All around the world, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists can be found, undaunted, struggling to lead the proletariat and all the working people to rise up against exploitation and oppression, against Western capitalism and against revisionist capitalism.

...

The Marxist-Leninist Party of the USA is the American contingent of the international Marxist-Leninist movement. It is proud to militate side by side with the Marxist-Leninist communists of other lands who bend every effort to organize the proletariat, to build up Leninist parties, and to lead the revolutionary storms. It supports and defends the struggles of the Marxist-Leninist communists and opposes the attacks of imperialism and revisionism against them.

The Second Congress pledges the militant solidarity of our Party to the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of every land. To the communist militants throughout the world, the Second Congress sends the revolutionary greetings of our Party. It declares that the Marxist-Leninist Party of the USA will uphold its fighting tradition of doing its utmost to build the international Marxist-Leninist movement. □

Work for the Strengthening of the International Marxist-Leninist Movement

...
In our opinion, the present tasks for strengthening the international Marxist-Leninist movement include the following four fronts of work:

It is essential that all the Marxist-Leninist parties strive hard to develop closer contacts with other parties and more international cooperation. The parties must make use of a number of different methods of exchanging views and developing fraternal collaboration. We

are in favor of various types of meetings between the parties as appropriate, including both bilateral meetings and multilateral meetings, such as regional meetings and general meetings. Naturally, what is needed are not empty, ceremonial meetings, but real, working meetings. As well, there should be better utilization of the valuable body of Marxist-Leninist literature from the parties and a better exchange of the party journals. The circulation of literature from the parties in other

countries is not only essential for the exchange of experience among the parties but it also creates enthusiasm among the masses and encourages the growth of proletarian internationalist sentiments.

Furthermore, there should be international cooperation in the struggle against the class enemy on major world issues. This is not a matter of elaborate international schemes nor of a mechanical equalization of the slogans and forms of struggle in different countries, but of the use of elementary forms of cooperation. Whether it is a matter of condemning U.S. imperialist aggression in Central America, working to guide the upsurge of the anti-war movement in Western Europe and elsewhere, or utilizing the economic and political crises in Poland and Yugoslavia, and the treachery of Cuba towards the Central American revolutions, to expose the bankruptcy of revisionism, international cooperation would strengthen the work of each Marxist-Leninist party. It would mean that the international Marxist-Leninist movement speaks with a strong voice on the major issues of world politics, and it would help attract all proletarian and progressive forces to the side of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism.

All the parties must do their utmost to consider and resolve the burning questions in the international Marxist-Leninist movement. These questions cannot be swept aside. They must be dealt with consciously and openly by all Marxist-Leninist parties and class conscious workers. Unless the controversies and vexed questions of the current movement are dealt with, all efforts, no matter how sincere, at strengthening the international Marxist-Leninist movement or increasing proletarian internationalist cooperation run the risk of being empty posturing and will sooner or later evaporate into thin air.

In our view, it is the Marxist-Leninist theory that provides the basis for resolving the vexed questions of today. The objective situations of today and the experience of the revolutionary movement must be examined in the light of the ideas of the Marxist-Leninist classics. The unity of the international Marxist-Leninist movement finds its granite foundations in the Marxist-Leninist theory, which is the only scientific guide to the class struggle and the revolution.

The struggle against the various revisionist and opportunist currents must be stepped up. The struggle against revisionism is a life and death struggle for the international Marxist-Leninist movement. Yet the early 1980's saw a certain falling off of the ideological struggle against revisionism. The struggle against the

"three worlds" theory and Maoism was not carried through to the end, and this has been the source of many evils. As well, the struggle against Soviet revisionism must be stepped up. Among other things, the Soviet revisionists have been trying to make hay out of the fiasco of Maoism and the rise of various rightist and liquidationist currents in many countries. The continuation and deepening of the great polemic against Soviet revisionism that began over two decades ago is still a burning task of the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

Furthermore, the struggle against revisionism does not consist simply of opposing the various revisionist trends as they manifest themselves internationally. It includes the struggle against the domestic revisionist and opportunist groupings of one's own country. Unless one fights "one's own" opportunist and revisionist groupings, the fight against revisionism is nothing but a fraud.

Finally, there is the task of assessing the history of the struggle to build up the international Marxist-Leninist movement against the treacheries of the Soviet and other revisionists. The open split with Soviet revisionism began over two decades ago. Since then, the Marxist-Leninist communists have had both successes and setbacks. At the height of the struggle against the "three worlds" theory and Maoism at the end of the 1970's, the task was posed internationally of assessing the course of the struggle against Soviet revisionism. The importance of this assessment is that it brings to light deviations and departures from Marxism-Leninism that weakened the struggle and thus helps to ensure that in the future the struggle will be based firmly on the classic ideas of Marxism-Leninism. And indeed, the exposure of Maoism did bring to light the cause of a number of difficulties and weaknesses that had hindered the struggle against Soviet revisionism. But the full assessment of the history of the international Marxist-Leninist movement and of the struggle against Soviet revisionism was never completed.

The Second Congress pledges that our Party will continue to play an active role in the international Marxist-Leninist movement. The Marxist-Leninist Party of the USA will strive with all its might to defend the interests of the international Marxist-Leninist movement, to take part in resolving the vexed questions of the movement, to carry out its proletarian internationalist responsibilities and to stand steadfast as a loyal contingent of international revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. □

On the Relations Between the Marxist-Leninist Parties

In the latter 1970's, in the struggle against the "three worlds" theory and Maoism, the arrogant and harmful stands of the Chinese revisionists towards the proletarian parties of other lands were widely condemned. The question of the norms that should govern relations among Marxist-Leninist parties received much attention. It is still an important issue, as the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world search for ways of drawing closer to one another. In our view, the following points are among the principles dictated by Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism for governing these relations.

It is essential to inculcate in the class conscious workers and revolutionary activists the fervent conviction of being part of the single, international army of labor. This is a fundamental principle of proletarian internationalism. Put into practice, it creates great enthusiasm among and stiffens the fighting spirit of the revolutionary proletarians. This conception has always guided the work of our Party, and its predecessors, right from the founding of the American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist) in 1969. We have consistently held that the American Marxist-Leninists are but one contingent of the world Marxist-Leninist movement.

The unity of the Marxist-Leninist communists of the world is not simply a formal or organizational question, but is based on their common struggle against the class enemy and their adherence to the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Proletarian internationalism is based on the fact that the proletariat has the same basic class interests all over the world and the same historical mission of liberating itself from the rule of the exploiters. The class struggle is a world struggle. Thus the Marxist-Leninist parties, as the proletarian vanguard, find themselves in battle with different sections of the common capitalist and revisionist enemy. Whenever the class struggle is toned down, just to that extent any unity tends to become purely formal and meaningless. As Lenin stressed: *"There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is — working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) this struggle, this, and only this, in every country without exception."* (Collected Works, Vol. 24, p. 75, the emphasis is Lenin's)

The Marxist-Leninist communist movement has developed in fierce struggle against the revisionist betrayal of revolution and socialism. The defense of Marxism-Leninism and the unyielding struggle against the revisionist and opportunist trends is essential for the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties. As Lenin showed: *"The concept of 'adherents of internationalism' is devoid of all content and meaning, if we do not concretely*

amplify it; any step towards such concrete amplification, however, will be an enumeration of features of hostility to opportunism. ... An adherent of internationalism who is not at the same time a most consistent and determined adversary of opportunism is a phantom, nothing more." (Ibid., Vol. 21, p. 156)

There must be concrete bonds of solidarity and cooperation between the parties. International unity is a basic principle of communism. It is vital to increase the connection between the parties in the course of fighting the class enemy; this is one of the important tasks of the present. Our Party has enthusiastically supported those initiatives that have promoted closer collaboration between the parties. Among other things, we support joint meetings and joint statements, conduct vigorous solidarity work in support of the other parties, work hard to promote the exchange of literature among parties and the wide circulation of international Marxist-Leninist literature in the U.S., and would like to see the development of joint campaigns against imperialism, revisionism, capitalism and reaction.

We hold that the theory of Marxism-Leninism is international and that it is necessary to study and assess international experience. Cooperation in theoretical matters is part and parcel of developing close relations between Marxist-Leninist parties. A serious attitude to theory is incompatible with either mechanically copying whatever happens to be fashionable or with ignoring the views and hard-won experience of other parties. Our Party has consistently sought to bring the advanced ideas of the international Marxist-Leninist movement to the class conscious workers and revolutionaries in the U.S.

Dealing with the burning questions and controversies inside the international Marxist-Leninist movement is, in our view, a vital part of international cooperation. In the last few years, our Party has paid close attention both to the burning questions of the international Marxist-Leninist movement and to the methods being used internationally to deal with these controversies. It is our conclusion that it is the orthodox Marxist-Leninist methods that must be used. Leninism castigates severely both those who throw mud at the communist movement and those who slur over the disputed questions and try to hide questions of principle under the cover of a hypocritical silence. Leninism teaches that we must not fear the raving of the enemies of communism, who dance and leap hysterically over the differences in the Marxist-Leninist ranks, but must instead calmly and boldly rely on enhancing the political consciousness of the working class and the party members. Lenin set a brilliant example of the discussion of the vexed questions of the international movement of his day in such works as "What Should

Not Be Copied From the German Labor Movement"; his articles on the movement against social-chauvinism in World War I; *"Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder*; his letters to the communist parties and workers' movements of various countries; and so forth. The Communist International also made effective use of open discussion of the burning issues before the entire world proletarian movement in its work of building up communist parties.

We are aware that other views on this question are being advocated. For example, there are those who hold that the burning questions of the present-day Marxist-Leninist movement must not be discussed in public. They think that the rank-and-file communist should be fed on "official optimism," as Lenin sarcastically called it, while the real issues are settled, insofar as they ever are settled, behind the scenes. According to this view, the worst crime is to refer honestly and openly to the vexed questions of the day, especially if the name of a party is used.

The method of "official optimism" is advertised as the only means to protect the unity of the parties. But, in reality, we have seen over and over again the sad results of "official optimism" and backstage maneuvering. It has not in the slightest preserved international unity; on the contrary, it has only served to aggravate the problems between parties and to foster the use of various truly backward methods of solving differences. It has not served to protect the weaker parties; on the contrary, these methods have repeatedly proved of use to dubious elements seeking to prey on the parties. It has not kept differences away from the eyes and ears of the class enemy, but it has served to help keep the issues of principle away from the eyes and ears of the class conscious workers and Marxist-Leninist activists. "Official optimism" has proved to be a roadblock to the struggle to put the issues of principle to the fore and to eliminate rumormongering and abuse. Life itself has repeatedly shown: **either** the Leninist method of combining militant and fervent solidarity with wide discussion of the controversial issues of principle, **or** the law of the jungle and imitation of the unprincipled methods of the social-democratic and revisionist parties.

There must be resolute opposition to international factionalism. The world's Marxist-Leninists must always demarcate themselves sharply from the revisionist and opportunist currents. But there should be no attempts to divide the international Marxist-Leninist movement itself up into special "international trends." Marxism-Leninism, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist communism as opposed to revisionism, should be the "international trend" that all Marxist-Leninists belong to.

Our Party has fought hard against international factionalism. There are those who claim to be Marxist-

Leninists but who speak more or less openly about their desire to build up their own "international trend" and who demand "special relationships" with this or that party. In particular, the present leadership of the Communist Party of Canada (M-L) and various of its international followers are among such factionalists. These factionalists have been trying, in vain, to destroy our Party because, among other reasons, we refuse to take part in building their "international trend," we refuse to attack other parties at their secret command, and we refuse to allow them to violate our organizational integrity. We will not be part of their special "international trend" or any other factional conspiracy. We are not factionalists, but revolutionary Marxist-Leninists. We have had to fight very hard to uphold this stand, but we will never regret it nor retreat from it. Only those who keep their honor intact can fight the class enemy.

The organizational integrity of the parties must be upheld. This does not, in our view, contradict the building of close relations between Marxist-Leninist parties. On the contrary, the maintenance of the organizational integrity of the individual parties should enhance genuine democratic centralism in the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

The question of organizational integrity has been of vital importance for our Party. We would not be here today and holding the Second Congress if we had not zealously guarded the organizational integrity of our Party. We have found that those who have tried to violate the organizational integrity of our Party invariably did so in the interests of international factionalism, not in the interests of true centralism and international unity.

There must be only one Marxist-Leninist party in each country. The proletarian movement needs unified leadership. Only a unified, class conscious vanguard can successfully lead the entire working class and revolutionary movement of the country and concentrate the energies of the working masses so that they make the supreme effort required to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie.

Furthermore, the genuine communist party must not be a federation of different national groups, but must unite unconditionally the workers of all nationalities of the given country. If the proletarian party were simply a federation of national groups, or if there were separate parties for the workers of different nationalities in the same country, it would lead to chaos, to splintering the working class movement and reducing it to a weak and fragmented federation. Instead, the party must unite the workers of all nationalities and itself vigorously lead the struggle against national oppression.

Although there must be only one party for each country, sometimes a party has to have certain organization in other countries. The Bolsheviks, for example,

had certain party organization abroad prior to 1917. But this is not incompatible with the principle of one party for one country, if a distinction is maintained between the work that is part of the revolutionary movement in the host country, and that hence should be led by the party of that country, and the work that is a direct part of the revolutionary work in the homeland, even if circumstances force it to be conducted outside the home-

land. Our Party extends the hand of fraternal proletarian internationalist cooperation to such overseas party organizations of other parties.

The above extracts from the resolutions of the Second Congress have been reprinted from the January 1, 1984 issue of The Workers' Advocate, which contained the main body of the resolutions. □