

COMMENTS ON THE SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST OFFENSIVE AGAINST VIETNAM AND ALBANIA

# A SAD AND DANGEROUS SITUATION

July 19, Klassekampen published the complete text of the «Zeri i Popullit» editorial of June 24: «Imperialists, Hands Off Vietnam»:

les commenting on the social-imperialist offensive against Vietnam and Albania, from July 20 to 25.

Below is a complete English translation of these five articles.

Klassekampen then published a series of five articles

## 1. A «Zeri i Popullit» Editorial and the Questions it Raises

### International Offensive of the Soviet Superpower

We are going to comment on an editorial from «Zeri i Popullit», the organ of the Party of Labor of Albania, dated June 24, 1978: «Imperialists, Hands Off Vietnam».

This article was published in a special international situation. In recent years the Soviet superpower has intensified its offensive throughout the world. There are but short intervals between each time we hear about new wars, new coups and new intrigues initiated by the Kremlin with the aim of conquering new territories for Brezhnev's neo-colonial system.

Every success of any of these attempts is another step towards the world war which the Kremlin is planning to launch. Just like Hitler, Brezhnev is dreaming of becoming the master of the entire world, of creating a «thousand-year Reich». The working class and the peoples of the world must take these plans seriously and develop struggle against them.

And opposition is really growing. A constantly increasing number of forces are won for the front against social-imperialism. The situation on the Horn of Africa is typical for what is happening. After the social-imperialist intervention there, an increasing number of workers and peasants have risen in struggle against it. Liberation movements, politicians, and states have changed their opinion on the Soviet Union and have started to fight against social-imperialism in various ways. The same thing is happening elsewhere in the world. Social-imperialism is suffering some important defeats. This is the positive side of the situation.

But there are problems, too. One obstacle for the opposition is the fact that many people are illuded to believe that the USSR is a socialist state. The October revolution has great prestige. Many people have not understood that it has been defeated. They do not understand that in the USSR, socialism has been buried and replaced by capitalism, imperialism and fascism like in Hitler's Germany. They find it difficult to unite in struggle against an imperialist power which misuses Lenin's banner.

As the Soviet leaders have been increasingly unmasked, they have also been using others as pawns. They have infiltrated and taken over some liberation movements that had good reputations because they previously made some positive contributions. They have been using Cuba, which has many friends on account of the glorious Cuban revolution of 1956. Today Cuba is a Soviet neo-colony. The peoples' friendly feelings for Cuba have been abused to defend the bloody Soviet-Cuban colonial war in Angola.

As the social-imperialist offensive grows wilder and wilder, it becomes always more important for real communists and anti-imperialists to uncover the various masks it is hiding behind.

### Social-imperialist Influence in Vietnam

In 1978 the government of Kampuchea announced that Vietnam for several years had been attacking Kampuchea, in an attempt to conquer the country. The Soviet Union instigated this war and is doing its utmost to kindle the conflict. The USSR wants to overthrow the revolutionary Kampuchean government, as it fights against all who favor real independence and real socialism. At the same time the Soviet Union takes advantage of the war to strengthen its position in Vietnam. The USSR wants to turn Vietnam against China to recruit Vietnam as an ally in its strategy of encirclement and war against China. The persecution of Chinese nationals in Vietnam shows us that the USSR is making progress in this respect.

This is a tragedy for the people of Vietnam. It grieves every friend of Vietnam in every corner of the world, who sees that this country, a brave fighter against one superpower, is now in the hands of the other. At the same time we know that social-imperialism will try to take advantage of the great sympathy for Vietnam which developed during the heroic war of resistance to make people accept the war against Kampuchea and the persecution of the Chinese.

Therefore real anti-imperialists and friends of Vietnam must now clarify what is happening, to repel this propaganda crusade from the social-imperialists.

### «Zeri i Popullit» Backs up Soviet Policy

In precisely this situation the PLA leaders have their party paper print an article which supports Vietnam's war against Kampuchea and the persecution of the Chinese. This act backs up the Soviet policy of taking over Vietnam and using the Vietnam against neighbouring countries. Social-imperialism has learned to appreciate support of this type. That is why its mouthpiece in Norway, the organ of the black reactionary «NKP» party (Norway's «Communist» Party), has gleefully quoted from the «Zeri i Popullit» article.

The Party of Labor of Albania has gained many friends all over the world because Albania fought against social-imperialism. Together with China, Albania was for a long time the only socialist country which openly criticized modern revisionism. The communists and the people showed great courage when they defended socialism and the independence of Albania against Soviet pressure. The PLA has been respected for this. Consequently, Marxist-Leninists all over the world have listened attentively to the PLA.

This respect is now being abused to spread statements endorsing the advance of social-imperialism. This is a serious matter, and we cannot neglect to comment on it.

### The AKP(m-l) and the China-Albania contradiction

Some newspapermen in Norway have tried to make something out of the fact that the AKP(m-l) long remained silent about the contradictions between China and Albania. According to them the AKP(m-l) «discovered these contradictions later than anybody else», «the AKP(m-l) is always the last to take sides» etc.

The members of the AKP(m-l) know that this is not true.

The line our party follows is to independently evaluate the policy of truly socialist countries and truly Marxist-Leninist parties. We develop our own policy for Norway, and at the same time we support socialist countries and Marxist-Leninist parties all over the world. When disagreements arise we do not publish them as long as we are not forced to do so for reasons of principle. We do not disclose contradictions between comrades to the enemy. Nor do we let ourselves be provoked by newspaper articles to display these contradictions, fearful that some reporters could try to be sarcastic.

This was why Marxist-Leninists in Norway did not comment on the fact that the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam supported the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. We were well aware of this, but we did not let ourselves be provoked to comment on it. The reason was that we considered Vietnam a socialist country, and we did not want to criticize a socialist country in public.

The AKP(m-l) was the first in Norway to know about the contradictions between China and Albania. It was clear to us that the PLA leaders had started public polemics at the 7th Congress of the PLA in the autumn of 1976. (At the same time an alleged

expert on eastern Europe in Norway's largest daily claimed that Albania was closer to China than ever!). The main points of the PLA's attack on the CPC were rapidly made known to all members of the AKP(m-l). The AKP(m-l) contacted the PLA to get the best possible information on their position.

On this basis the AKP(m-l) made an assessment of the polemics of the PLA. All this happened inside the party. Publicly, the AKP(m-l) said nothing, for reasons explained above. At the same time we hoped that the contradictions could be solved through comradely discussions.

On the other hand the AKP(m-l) took measures to make the positions of the PLA and the CPC accessible to whoever was interested in studying them. The report from the 7th Congress of the PLA, which attacked viewpoints shared by the AKP(m-l), was translated to Norwegian and published. When the PLA leaders launched another very sharp attack in «Zeri i Popullit» July 7, 1977, the AKP(m-l) again had this attack translated and published without any comments. We did this in spite of the fact that the article branded supporters of Mao's theory of the three worlds (thereby including our party) as «counter-revolutionaries». The AKP(m-l) replied directly to the PLA by letter last autumn. This letter was kept within the party until July 17 this summer when it was published in Klassekampen (it is this letter that forms the other main article of this issue of Class Struggle).

The AKP(m-l) sided against the views of the PLA leaders and their way of conducting polemics. This was done almost two years ago. It was done through a debate where we gathered material from both sides and advised everybody to study it. This contrasts with what happened in Albania, where Chinese publications



We have great respect for the Albanian people and the Albanian communists and we still hope that future events will develop in a different direction than at the present. But we cannot positively contribute to this by keeping silent about what is presently going on.

are no longer distributed and where many people have been kept ignorant about the development of the contradictions.

The AKP(m-l) chose to refrain from all public comment as long as possible. It is no longer possible to maintain this attitude. The PLA leaders have developed their polemics from an attack on the CPC and other Marxist-Leninist parties to an endorsement of social-imperialist aggression against socialist countries. They have sharpened the contradictions with China until an open breach could no longer be avoided. Still sharper attacks are certain to follow. It is now evident that the leaders of the PLA are completely unwilling to solve the problems through a comradely debate within the communist movement. Therefore we too must now make our position known.

We greatly respect the Albanian people and the Albanian communists, and we still hope that future events will take another direction. But we cannot contribute positively to that by remaining silent about what happens in the present.

### The Main Question We Shall Deal With

The main enemies of the peoples of the world are the two superpowers, the US and the USSR. The strongest, most aggressive and most dangerous of them is now social-imperialism. Albania and Vietnam are two poor countries in the third world. They are subject to infiltration from social-imperialism.

Social-imperialism has a good grip on Vietnam. Social-imperialism is trying to strengthen its position and using Vietnam to further its interests.

In Albania the leaders of the PLA have changed their policy. From standing together with socialist China against social-imperialism they have started attacking socialist China, and in some cases they now support social-imperialist operations. This means that social-imperialism gets better opportunities to advance upon Albania.

We shall confine our comments to these questions.

We will not proceed to general speculations on internal conditions in either country.

(July 20)

## 2. What Is Actually Happening in Vietnam?

### The «Zeri i Popullit» Impression of Vietnam

The «Zeri i Popullit» editorial of June 24 bears the title: «Imperialists: Hands Off Vietnam!» Who are the «imperialists» the editorial wants to evict?

Are they the Soviet social-imperialists? No: they are not even mentioned.

US imperialism, however, is often mentioned. Has it started a new attack on Vietnam? It was thrown out in 1975, and at present it is conducting negotiations with the Vietnamese government.

When the editorial appeared, international commentary focused on

events such as the persecution of Chinese nationals in Vietnam, and the consequently deteriorating relations between China and Vietnam. China has suspended her economic aid to Vietnam, just as she shortly afterwards suspended her aid to Albania. The editorial mentions somebody who «meddles», exerts «economic pressure» etc.

This statement refers to China, and it amounts to calling China «imperialist».

The editorial mentions the «armed clashes on the Vietnam-Kampuchea border, instigated by foreigners» and deplores them. It adds: «Those who ... refuse to sit down at the negotiation table to solve disagreements which

can arise between neighbouring countries ... they are the culprits.» It is well known that Kampuchea refuses to negotiate with Vietnam as long as Vietnamese attacks continue. The editorial blames Kampuchea for the border war. It insinuates that China is backing Kampuchea, making Kampuchea attack Vietnam.

Soviet propaganda says the same things.

Is Vietnam's problem really pressure from an imperialist China? Is Vietnam actually subject to China-backed aggression from Kampuchea? Is it really true that social-imperialism plays no role at all, so that it is not even necessary to mention it when commenting on Vietnam?

Is this a true picture?

No, this picture is completely false. Therefore it is necessary to say a few things about what has happened and what is happening in Vietnam.

### The Vietnam War and the Struggle Against Revisionism

The development of Vietnam's war of liberation against US imperialism was of great importance to the struggle between Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought on one hand and revisionism on the other.



## A SAD AND DANGEROUS SITUATION

— comments on the social-imperialist offensive against Vietnam and Albania.

### C'T'D FROM PAGE 1

The liberation war in South Vietnam started in earnest in 1959-61. It coincided with the momentous debate between the communists headed by Mao and the revisionists headed by Khrushchev.

Mao said that only revolution could lead to socialism. He said that only national liberation wars could liberate the oppressed peoples from imperialism. Khrushchev advocated the «peaceful and parliamentary road to socialism». He advised the communists to make peace with imperialism and said that the liberation movements ought to cease armed struggle.

The Vietnamese revolutionaries had made progress in their struggle against Japan and France because they had studied and adapted the Marxist-Leninist classics to their own conditions. Among the classics they studied was Mao. Ho Chi Minh was for a time member of the CPC and of the People's Liberation Army. During the struggles that led to the great victory at Dien Bien Phu the Vietnamese studied books like «On Protracted War» and Vietnamese books based on studies of Mao.

During the years 1959 to 1961 the Vietnamese resisted pressure from Khrushchev who wanted them to discontinue the struggle. He said that the Vietnam war might become the spark liable to start a nuclear war which would destroy everything. He also put pressure on the revolutionaries in Laos. The Laotian leader prince Souphanouvong rejected Khrushchev's advice to surrender. The Vietnamese and the Laotians received consistent support from Mao and the CPC. They broke through the barriers set up by the Soviet revisionists, and thereby laid the foundations of the subsequent victory over US imperialism.

The war of liberation in Vietnam was thus also a living criticism of Khrushchev's line of giving up struggle against imperialism. The war was significant for the Marxist-Leninists' struggle against revisionists everywhere and for the development of national revolutionary liberation movements opposed to revisionism many places in the third world. Today the government of reunified Vietnam stands together with the USSR against Marxist-Leninists in China and Kampuchea. But Vietnam would never have been reunified if the Vietnamese communists had not resisted the USSR and developed a war of liberation, against the will of the Soviets and with the support of China.

### The Attitude of the USSR to the Vietnamese War

Before the 1964 the Soviet Union refused to help the Vietnamese with as much as a kopek.

After Khrushchev's fall, this policy was changed. The liberation struggle in Vietnam was advancing so well that it was possible to predict the defeat of the US. Relations between Vietnam and China were very close and very good. Brezhnev saw his imperialist interests best served by giving a certain amount of aid, and thereby trying to get some influence over Vietnam.

The support was accompanied by hard diplomatic pressure against Vietnam. Those of us who did solidarity work for Vietnam at that time were discreetly informed that the Soviet Union was trying to press the government of Vietnam to negotiate with the US, which would have implied giving up the war of liberation. Vietnamese representatives who were working in east European capitals were harassed.

As the war continued for a long time and destruction in Vietnam extended, Soviet «aid» increased. The «aid» was always accompanied by pressure and demands for compensation. Some of the «aid» was clearly paid in foreign exchange. With the



In the years 1959 to 1961 Khrushchev pressured the Vietnamese to surrender. He stated that the Vietnam war could be the spark that set off a nuclear war of total destruction. The Vietnamese received consistent support from Mao and the CPC. They broke through the obstacles put up by the Soviet revisionists, and thus laid the base for the subsequent victory against the US imperialism.

aim of forcing the Vietnamese to change their policy, the Kremlin refused to provide some of the most modern Soviet weapons. All this shows that this «aid» really was an instrument of a thoroughly imperialist policy, and not the outcome of a desire to support the Vietnamese people.

### The Attitude of the USSR to Kampuchea's Liberation War

The case of Kampuchea reveals that the Soviet aid was only given to gain influence, and only against adequate compensation.

After the coup of the quisling Lon Nol and the American invasion in 1970, the liberation war in Kampuchea made fast progress. The USSR refused to support the war by any means.

The Soviet Union recognized Lon Nol. The Soviet Union gave Lon Nol economic aid, insured military transport from Vietnam up the Mekong to Phnom Penh and kept diplomats with Lon Nol till the last moment. Czechoslovakia, a Soviet colony, ran an arms factory for Lon Nol in Phnom Penh, until the liberation army burned it down. Soviet diplomats tried to recruit students in Phnom Penh to a legal, pro-Soviet «communist» party which was to support the quisling government!

Why «aid» to Vietnam, but no support to the liberation struggle in Kampuchea? Because the liberation front there, led by the Communist Party of Kampuchea, was not willing to let social-imperialism get any influence. As long as the Soviet Union had no influence, the liberation forces got no support.

When Phnom Penh was liberated in 1975 the Soviet diplomats locked themselves inside their embassy behind heavy steel doors, hoping in this way to be allowed to remain in the city and to get in touch with the revolutionary government. The liberation soldiers shot through the steel doors with rockets and sent the diplomats out of the country together with other foreigners who had supported Lon Nol.

### China Consistently Supported Vietnam

China's internationalist aid contrasts sharply with this.

During the critical period before 1964, all military aid to the Vietnamese people came from China.

China continued to provide aid every year until the war was won. China gave weapons to the FNL and to the defense of North Vietnam. China had factories producing consumer goods for the population of North Vietnam. China, herself a poor country, has until recently undertaken large projects to develop the

Vietnamese economy. China has never demanded high rates of interest or political compensation for this aid. Nor has she used aid to infiltrate the party or the state of Vietnam with agents.

### The last Decade Social-imperialism Has Strengthened its Position

Norwegian Marxist-Leninists who carried out solidarity work have known all the time what social-imperialism intended to do in Vietnam. We have to admit now that its plans were successful.

We have mentioned the fact that Vietnam has openly and to an increasing degree supported social-

imperialist foreign policy, to wit:

- the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968,
- the fascist regime of Mujibur Rahman i Bangla Desh,
- Indira Gandhi's emergency laws,
- the bloody Soviet-Cuban colonial war in Angola.

Today the Vietnamese leaders support the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia, including its repression of Ethiopian revolutionaries and the Eritrean liberation movements.

To complete this picture, Vietnam recently changed its status in the Soviet economic bloc, the Comecon, from associate to full member.

(July 21)

Western anti-imperialists who have visited the city report having been accosted in the streets and offered prostitutes, drugs and black market goods. Europeans are often mistaken for Russians who evidently constitute a market for such services and goods, like they do in other countries as well.

Privately the city authorities admit that the problems are enormous. They point out that it has not been possible for them to establish enterprises capable of providing jobs for large sectors of the population that were previously sustained by the US occupant. In other words this means that hundreds of thousands have no choice other than trying to survive on a day to day basis, and often have to resort to prostitution and crime.

Kampuchea also had an unproductive refugee population of perhaps more than one million in a few large cities. This problem was solved by evacuating these people to the countryside and organizing them to produce food. The enemies of Kampuchea have called this «horrible», and have stated that Vietnam is more «humane». But Kampuchea is self-sufficient in food. On the other hand, in «humane» Vietnam, there is a shortage of food and hundreds of thousands of city-dwellers are unemployed and live under deplorable conditions.

What is the cause of this pitiful situation in the Vietnamese economy? We think it is mistakes induced by the steadily increasing influence of social-imperialism in the party and the government.

### War Against Kampuchea

The deteriorated domestic situation is the internal Vietnamese basis of the aggressive war against Kampuchea. The external basis is the intrigues of social-imperialism which aims at overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat in Kampuchea.

The government in Vietnam maintains that the war was launched by Kampuchea. But everybody knows that Kampuchea has a small population of 8 million, and a relatively small army, whereas Vietnam has a population of more than 40 million and an army of several hundred thousand soldiers, equipped with great quantities of captured American material, as well as the most modern Soviet equipment. Vietnam has urged the Kampuchean people to overthrow its government. Various foreign sources have conjectured that Vietnam might want to conquer Phnom Penh and install a pro-Vietnamese government. But nobody has conjectured

method to divert internal problems by aggressive external wars and conquests. On the basis of pure military might they can hope to conquer important parts of Kampuchea (they are probably wrong, but that is a different matter). Furthermore, social-imperialism is interested in a war like this to deteriorate the relationship between Vietnam and China, and make Vietnam still more dependent on the USSR. The Soviet Union seems to have gained several military bases in Vietnam. Vietnam and the Soviet Union have now taken over the reactionary propaganda campaign against Kampuchea that US imperialism started in 1975. What is the intention behind all this other than to lay the basis of a Vietnamese invasion? Reactionary enemies of Kampuchea in the west are now saying that the only hope of a new government in Kampuchea lies in a Vietnamese victory over Kampuchea in the battlefield.

The Kampuchean government says that Vietnam intends to conquer Kampuchea in order to incorporate the country in a future «Indochinese federation» dominated by Vietnam. This would make Vietnam a major power in southeast Asia. The more immediate purposes are to exploit Kampuchea's economy, and food production in particular. Kampuchea has published a series of confessions of Vietnamese prisoners of war. Among them are previous servants of Thieu's army and pro-US Khmers from Vietnam who were promised various privileges if they would fight against Kampuchea.

What we know about the war against Kampuchea gives us reasons to worry about Laos. Laos is a small country with a population of four million. The number of Vietnamese soldiers currently stationed in Laos is higher than the number of soldiers in the country's own army. Our sources report that the Vietnamese government has used its powerful position to extort territorial and economic privileges. Given the present expansionist policy of the Vietnamese government, the future of the independent state of Laos appears rather insecure.

### The Persecution of the Chinese

The persecution of the Chinese nationals is another expression of the internal difficulties and Soviet intrigues that shape the current Vietnamese policy.

Some revisionists and other bourgeois reporters in Norway repeat Vietnamese propaganda that the Chi-

# 3. Revolutionaries and Patriots Persecuted in Vietnam

### The Situation in Vietnam is Poor

We regret that we have to conclude that the economic situation in Vietnam since liberation in 1975, is poor.

We have drawn this conclusion on the basis of reports from Norwegian and foreign revolutionaries and anti-imperialists. Our conclusion is in accordance with what upright western reporters have written.

The economy has deteriorated despite the fact that a socialist state was established in the northern part of the country in 1954, that socialism has been built there for 24 years, despite the fact that reunified Vietnam captured great quantities of military equipment and other supplies from the US in 1975, and despite extensive economic aid from China, the Soviet Union, and some western countries.

After three years of peace, Vietnam is still not self-sufficient in rice, but must import great quantities to avoid famine, yet is unable to guarantee the payment. In spite of rice imports, there is an evident scarcity of food, at any rate in some districts in the south.

In comparison, during the same three years, Kampuchea has become self-sufficient in rice, and has even been able to donate rice to Laos, which also has a food supply problem. Compared with Vietnam, Kampuchea has a smaller population, is less mechanized, has received

The persecutions of the Chinese aim at diverting attention from difficult internal conditions in Vietnam by whipping up chauvinism.

no aid, and was at least as heavily damaged by the war. Kampuchea seems to have solved its food problem, whereas in Vietnam, insufficient food production will apparently remain a problem several years ahead.

Vietnamese industry is developing poorly. Plans are not fulfilled. Donated material and machinery remain unused for a long time. Some of it has been ruined.

In Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon), hundreds of thousands of people still do no productive work.

that Kampuchea could aim at conquering Vietnam!

Kampuchea has overcome great difficulties, but the situation is still critical. Kampuchea needs peace in order to consolidate the progress in production, develop the economy, and also on this basis increase necessary trade with foreign countries. Kampuchea's interests are not served by a hopeless war against Vietnam.

The Vietnamese leaders, on the other hand, have great domestic problems to divert, and it is a well known



C'T'D PAGE 3



**COMMENTS ON THE SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST OFFENSIVE AGAINST VIETNAM AND ALBANIA**

# 4. How Official Albanian Polemics Have Developed

We shall give a short account of how the official Albanian polemics have developed since they started at the 7th congress of the PLA almost two years ago.

We shall refrain from discussing what may have caused the Albanian leaders to launch the polemics. And we will not discuss internal Albanian conditions or speculate much on what will happen in the near future.

## From Directing the Main Attack Against the Soviet Union ...

In the sixties and early seventies official PLA propaganda on international questions largely followed the same lines as the Communist Party of China.

During this period there were also conflicts and disagreements, which we shall not bring up now. But these conflicts were not substantial enough to shake the united front against the enemy, against US imperialism and social-imperialism. For that matter, there is nothing unnatural in the fact that dissent arises between Marxist-Leninist parties and between socialist countries.

As late as in autumn 1974, Enver Hoxha held a speech in which his positions on many international issues were similar to those of the CPC, for instance with regard to the danger of war.

## ... to Directing the Main Attack Against China

In the report to the 7th congress of the PLA the CPC was openly criticized for the first time, although the criticism was not textually directed against China and the CPC. Textually the criticism struck against supporters of the three world theory, yet everybody at the congress readily understood that the CPC was the actual target.

Mao Tsetung died some weeks prior to the congress. In the chapter on the communist world movement of the report, Mao's name was not mentioned. He was, however, mentioned in the section on Albania's state relations. The purpose of this was to emphasize disagreement with the point of view stating that Mao had been the leader of the entire communist world movement on a par with Lenin and Stalin in previous periods.

In the summer of 1977 the polemics were significantly escalated by the «Zeri i Popullit» editorial of July 7, *The Theory and Practise of the Revolution*. This editorial not only stated that the three world theory is wrong, but claimed in addition that those who advocate this theory oppose the revolution, want to support capitalism, etc. This amounts to saying that China and other parties that followed the CPC were counterrevolutionaries and revisionists.

At the present stage of the polemics, however, the PLA leaders have started to mention US imperialism and then denounce China as imperialist, while they refrain from even mentioning the USSR.

This implies that since the autumn of 1976, the direction of the main attacks of the Albanian leadership has changed. Before they mainly attacked the Soviet Union and modern revisionism. Now they direct their heaviest blows against the CPC, China and the advocates of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

## While Soviet Aggression on All Continents is Escalated ...

Let us recall certain recent events: — Social-imperialism has assumed control over Angola by means of thousands of Cuban mercenaries. Hundreds of thousands have died in a bloody colonial war. Guerilla warfare against the pro-Soviet quisling regime continues on a broad scale.

— The USSR has become the main prop of Mengistu in Ethiopia. The Soviet Union and Cuba have ousted Somalia from Ogaden and are currently preparing to suppress the liberation struggle in Eritrea.

— The USSR has extended its influence over Vietnam, and instigated Vietnam's war against Kampuchea. — A pro-Soviet coup has been successfully carried out in Afghanistan.

— Within a couple of days Soviet agents succeeded in murdering the presidents of north and south Yemen. In south Yemen, a pro-Soviet coup was successful.

— Zaire's Shaba province has been invaded twice by Soviet mercenaries (former fascist mercenaries for Belgium and Portugal) coming from Angola.

This list is restricted to certain of the most significant and dramatic events. We have not included how the USSR has intrigued and strengthened its political position in various countries such as Argentina, Uganda or Libya, how pressure has increased against northern Europe, or the fact that oppositional elements in the Soviet Union and dominated countries are more sharply repressed than before, etc. Everything expresses the Soviet offensive in the rivalry with the other superpower, the USA. It all amounts to this: preparations for war.

## ... the Albanian Leaders Reduce Their Criticism

What have the Albanian leaders done in this period? The fact is that they have reduced their criticism of the USSR and social-imperialism.

## C'T'D FROM PAGE 2

Vietnamese Danish reporter that 30 percent of them had shown they wanted to leave. Are 30 percent of them capitalists?

Many of those crossing the border to China were party members, held positions in the Vietnamese government and army, or were decorated veterans from the war against the US. Capitalists?

For no reason at all it is also maintained that «Chinese agents» have spread panic and urged the Chinese to flee. Another absurdity. China is not interested in sharpening the conflict with Vietnam. That would only strengthen the position of social-imperialism even more. What confidence could the Chinese in Ho Chi Minh City have in the Vietnamese authorities if «some Chinese agents» could make 30 percent of them want to leave the country?

The persecution of the Chinese is intended to divert attention from the difficult domestic conditions by generating chauvinism. In this respect we have a parallel to the persecution of Jews in Russia and Europe, where the Jews allegedly were «rich», «capitalists» etc. This was true of some Jews, as it is for some overseas Chinese. But most Jews in Europe were workers or petty bourgeois, and these people suffered the most from the persecutions. Likewise in Vietnam today: ordinary working people among the Chinese are most severely persecuted.

The social-imperialists welcome the difficulties in the relationship between Vietnam and China for several reasons. One is the increase of Vietnamese forces in the north, on the Chinese border. A consequence of this again is that China has to send forces to the south, to supplement the traditionally small forces there. Thus the Kremlin hopes that the defense of China's eastern border will be weakened.

## Not Only Chinese

The persecution of the Chinese has caught the attention of the world because it has worsened the relationship



As late as in October 1974 Hoxha held many views on international questions similar to those of the Communist Party of China. Here is the Norwegian translation of the speech «Our policy is an open policy, the policy of proletarian principles» in the Norwegian edition from 1977.

In the 1976 report the outcome of the civil war in Angola was presented as a victory for both the Soviet Union and the US. The editorial of July 7, 1977, mentions social-imperialism. But it deals very sparingly with social-imperialist activities in various parts of the world.

The editorial of June 24, 1978, is a step further in the same direction.

Some years ago relations between Albania and Kampuchea were very good. Albania praised Kampuchea publicly for having resisted social-imperialism and criticized Vietnam carefully for «sitting on the fence» with regard to the Soviet Union.

Since then Vietnam has moved in the direction of the Soviet Union,

while Kampuchea is the target of constantly escalated Soviet attacks.

In an editorial on the Vietnam-Kampuchea war published January 5, 1978, «Zeri i Popullit» maintained a formally «neutral» stand while stating that the war was induced by US imperialism and social-imperialism. Furthermore, the Albanian leaders adopted the strange position that they publicly asked China to mediate, despite the fact that in other connections they had called the Chinese counter-revolutionaries. In the June 24 editorial, this «neutrality» gives way to siding with Vietnam. All criticism of the USSR has disappeared.

**SEE BACK COVER**

between Vietnam and China. But the Chinese are not the only oppressed national minority in Vietnam.

Reports we have received indicate that the autonomous territories of national minorities in northern Vietnam have been dissolved. Leading cadres have been purged because they belong to these minorities. The alleged reason is that the same minority is to be found on the Chinese side of the border, where economic conditions are better, goods are not rationed etc., and contact across the border has been too intimate.

## Persecution of Revolutionaries and Patriots

It is obvious that revolutionaries and patriots who resist the present development are persecuted. Among them are many who played an important role in the struggle against US imperialism in the south. We would like to ask: what has become of the former leadership of the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government?

We have reports according to which Madame Binh, former minister of foreign affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, has been arrested.

## We Should Have Confidence in the Vietnamese People

Does this mean that it is correct to consider the situation as altogether desolate? In our opinion, no.

Norwegian Marxist-Leninists have learned a lot from the Vietnamese revolutionaries. We have much to thank them for. We nurture deep feelings for Vietnam. For more than ten years we worked for solidarity with Vietnam here in Norway, together with non-party people and members of other political parties. No other political movement in Norway supported Vietnam so strongly and consistently as the Marxist-Leninists. Vietnamese representatives declared that they knew that the Norwegian

Marxist-Leninist movement was a loyal friend of theirs, and that they appreciated this loyal friendship.

As we worked for solidarity with Vietnam for many years, work that for instance the revisionist «NKP» party consistently sabotaged, we also came to know a lot about Vietnam. We know that Vietnam has a brilliant revolutionary history. We know that there are many cadres and conscious revolutionaries who oppose revisionism and social-imperialism. We are convinced that the Russian infiltrators meet resistance among the masses and among parts of the party, the state administration, and the army. In the long run, we do not think that the social-imperialists can subdue a proud, revolutionary people like the Vietnamese.

We shall continue to be friends of Vietnam, we shall continue to learn from Vietnam, and we shall continue to have confidence in the Vietnamese people.

## Imperialists: Hands Off Vietnam!

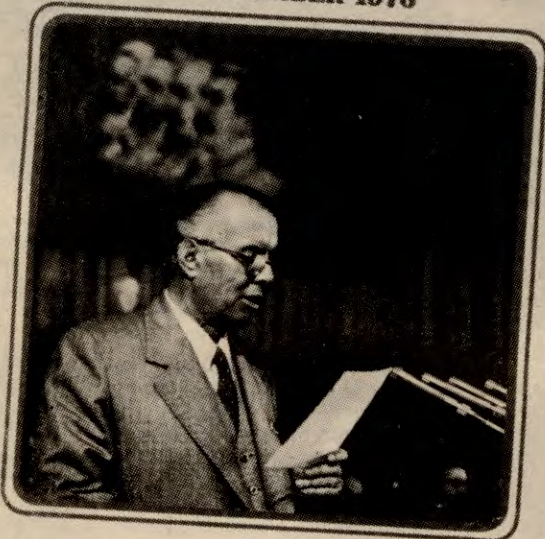
And how does this accord with the situation as presented in the «Zeri i Popullit» editorial? It appears that there is really reason to say: «Imperialists, Hands Off». But which imperialists? The social-imperialists. It is also correct that «foreigners instigate» and meddle in the war between Vietnam and Kampuchea. Who are these foreigners? The social-imperialists.

The real imperialists are not mentioned in the editorial. Instead it attacks China and Kampuchea, who are both subject to social-imperialist intrigues in that area.

Does the publication of an editorial like the one in «Zeri i Popullit» support the Vietnamese people in any way? No, it clashes with the real interests of the people of Vietnam, who must liberate themselves from the social-imperialists. It means turning things upside down, to attack revolutionaries and anti-imperialists and to praise reaction and aggression. It is support to social-imperialism. Unfortunately.

(July 22)

## ENVER HOXHA Melding til det 7. landsmøtet i Arbeidets Parti i Albania 1. NOVEMBER 1976



Oktober

The Oktober Publishers have translated and published the main works of the Albanian polemics in Norway, as well as Chinese publications such as the People's Daily editorial on the three world theory. Here are the Norwegian edi-

tions of the Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA and the Theory and Practise of the Revolution, published without any commentary. Open polemics against the wrong positions of the PLA leaders did not start until July this year.



# LETTER FROM THE AKP(M-L)

## THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

This letter from the Central Committee of the Workers' Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) AKP(m-l) of Norway was sent to the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania early in the autumn of 1977. This was done on account of the Albanian leaders' recurrent attacks on Mao Tsetung's theory of the three worlds at and since the 7th congress of the PLA. These attacks

were also directed against the Communist Party of China and all other communist parties — including the AKP(m-l) — which support this theory. Because the Albanian leaders have now provoked a rupture with China, we shall publish the complete text of this letter.

The subtitles have been written by the editors of Klassekampen.

### LETTER FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE AKP(m-l) TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

Comrades!

Between the Party of Labor of Albania and the Workers' Communist Party (m-l), Norway, there have been close and friendly relations for many years. The PLA has greatly contributed to world revolution. Our party has always appreciated the firm struggle of the PLA against Khrushchev's modern revisionism, and the courageous struggle of the Albanian people to build socialism in a small country. The AKP(m-l) has always studied the experiences of the Albanian revolution and propagated Albania as an example to the working class and the working people of Norway.

At previous talks between representatives of our party and comrade Ramiz Alia of the Political Bureau of the PLA, we discussed the fact that our two parties maintain contradictory attitudes to certain important issues. Since «Zeri i Popullit» published the editorial *The Theory and Practice of the Revolution* July 7 this year, we find it necessary to clarify our views in writing. We do this in accordance with the principles emphasized by comrade Mehmet Shehu in his report on the five year plan at the 7th congress of the PLA:

«According to Marxism-Leninism, every nation has the right to have its say, every Marxist-Leninist party has the right to air its views.» (Tirana 1976, p. 116)

#### (THE PLA JEOPARDIZES UNITY WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT)

1. The PLA has initiated a sharp polemic in the international Marxist-Leninist movement. We accept the right of every party to fight for its own views. But we think that the Central Committee of the PLA has chosen a form which jeopardizes the unity of the international communist movement instead of strengthening it.

On the basis of our talks with comrade Ramiz Alia and the program of the AKP(m-l) it will be known to the PLA that our party supports the theory of the division of the world in three. When the July 7 editorial characterizes «advocates» and «supporters» of the theory of the three worlds as «anti-Leninists», «supporters of class collaboration» etc., we must consider this as an attack on our party and on the majority of parties in the Marxist-Leninist world movement as «anti-Leninists» etc. Not only do we reject such a criticism as baseless, but we think it is wrong to carry out such polemics in public, as our enemies could easily take advantage of it.

The statement that our party, because it approves of the theory of the three worlds, should be a «supporter of class collaboration», is absurd. We can assure you that workers in Norway know very well from their own practise, that our party stands

for class struggle and not class collaboration. Our enemies: the bourgeoisie, the social-democrats, and the revisionists are also aware of this attack and attack us daily for this very reason. The program and theoretical writings of the AKP(m-l) also show that we uphold the principles of Marxism-Leninism and defend them against all kinds of revisionism.

#### (THE AKP(m-l) DISAGREES WITH THE CRITICISM OF THE THEORY OF THE THREE WORLDS)

2. We disagree with the criticism of the theory of the three worlds. The AKP(m-l) program from 1976 and our Resolution on social-imperialism from 1974 make it quite clear that we support Mao Tsetung's theory that the world today is to be divided in three: the superpowers, the small and medium-sized imperialist countries, and the third world. This is the characteristic of the objective conditions of the world today, and no correct strategy for revolution can be drawn up if it is not founded on such analysis of the world situation. It may be maintained that the theory of the three worlds has been abused by opportunists and enemies of Marxism. But this is nothing new. Lenin teaches us that opportunism can be expressed in the terminology of any ideology, Marxism included. The fact that there are groups which misuse the theory of the three worlds cannot be used as a pretext to reject the theory itself. The essential thing is that it gives a correct appraisal of the conditions in the world today.

On the first anniversary of the October revolution Stalin elucidated its significance to world history in these words:

«1. It has widened the scope of the national question and converted it from the particular question of combating national oppression in Europe into the general question of emancipating the oppressed peoples, colonies and semi-colonies from imperialism;

2. It has opened up wide possibilities for their emancipation and the right paths towards it, has thereby greatly facilitated the cause of the emancipation of the oppressed peoples of the West and the East, and has drawn them into the common current of the victorious struggle against imperialism;

3. It has thereby erected a bridge between the socialist West and the enslaved East, having created a new front of revolutions against world imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the West, through the Russian revolution, to the oppressed peoples of the East.»

(Works, Vol. IV, p.170. Stalin's emphasis.)

Stalin explicitly assigned the imperialist oppressor nations and the

oppressed nations to different camps:

«In solving the national question Leninism proceeds from the following theses:

a) The world is divided into two camps: the camps of a handful of civilized nations, which possess finance capital and exploit the vast majority of the population of the globe; and the camp of the oppressed and exploited peoples in the colonies and dependent countries, which constitute that majority;»

(The Foundations of Leninism, ch.6, section 2, in Works Vol. 4, pp.149–150.)

«... the focal point in the Social-Democratic programme must be that division of nations into oppressor and oppressed which forms the essence of imperialism, and is deceitfully evaded by the social-chauvinists and Kautsky.» (Lenin: The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination.)

«In solving the national question Leninism proceeds from the following theses:

a) The world is divided into two camps: the camp of a handful of civilized nations, which possess finance capital and exploit the vast majority of the population of the globe; and the camp of the oppressed and exploited peoples in the colonies and dependent countries, which constitute that majority;»

(Stalin: The Foundations of Leninism.)

We explained previously that Stalin's position is irreconcilable with comrade Enver Hoxha's report to the PLA's 7th congress where the countries of the world are divided between two categories: «bourgeois-capitalist countries and socialist countries» (p.173), and it seems we must repeat this fact. The demarcation line between oppressor nations and oppressed nations is a fundamental question in Marxism-Leninism. There is no room for wavering. Lenin puts it like this:

«... the focal point in the Social-Democratic programme must be that division of nations into oppressor and oppressed which

forms the essence of imperialism, and is deceitfully evaded by the social-chauvinists and Kautsky.» (The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination, Coll. Works Vol. 21, p.409. Lenin's emphasis.)

That Marxist-Leninists divide the world in three on the basis of a concrete analysis of the relative significance of the four basic contradictions under imperialism is nothing new. As early as at the second congress of the Comintern Lenin said:

«Thus you get the broad outlines of the picture of the world as it appeared after the imperialist war. In the oppressed colonies — countries which are being dismembered, such as Persia, Turkey and China, and in countries that were defeated and have been relegated to the position of colonies — there are 1 250 million inhabitants. (Note: In this figure Lenin included socialist Russia, Austria-Hungary, Germany and Bulgaria.)

«Not more than 250 000 000 inhabit countries that have retained their old positions, but have become economically dependent upon America ... And, finally, we have not more than 250 000 000 inhabitants in countries whose top stratum, the capitalists alone, benefit from the partition of the world.»

(Coll. Works Vol. 31, p.218.)

Lenin did not explicitly mention socialism in this partitioning. On the other hand he insisted that:

«I would like to remind you of this picture of the world, for all the basic contradictions of capitalism, of imperialism, which are leading up to revolution, all the basic contradictions of the working class movement that have led up to the furious struggle against the Second International ... are all connected with this partitioning of the world's population.»

(same place)

But the fact that Lenin did not mention socialism in his partitioning of the world in three in 1920 gives us no reason to maintain that he «eliminated the existence of socialism from his system» or that he was an «anti-Leninist». Likewise there is no reason to say such things about Mao Tsetung's thesis on the three worlds.

During World War II Stalin partitioned the world in three after the German attack on the USSR, viz. the fascist block, the anti-fascist block, and the neutral countries.

In the early sixties, Marxist-Leninists, headed by the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania, carried on a sharp struggle against Khrushchev's false communism. On the question of the partitioning of the world, Khrushchev maintained in the «Open Letter» from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) dated July 14, 1963:

«... according to the new theory the main contradiction of our time is, you see, contradiction not between socialism and imperialism, but between the national liberation movement and imperialism. The decisive force in the



The attack of the Albanian leaders on the three world theory is directed against a large number of parties of the communist world movement. One of them is the Communist Party

of Kampuchea which has clearly stated that Democratic Kampuchea is part of the non-aligned movement and the third world.

struggle against imperialism, the Chinese comrades hold, is not the world system of socialism, not the struggle of the international working class, but again, the national liberation movement.»

(English text according to the quote in *Apologists of Neo-colonialism*, Peking 1963, p.24.)

The «Open Letter» of the CPSU was a reply to the CPC's *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement* (June 14, 1963). The *Proposal* divides the world in this way: «the socialist countries» (section 6), the «oppressed nations» (section 9), and the «imperialist and capitalist countries»

(section 10). Section 8 of the *Proposal* begins with these words, that were repeated in *Apologists of Neo-colonialism*, the fourth commentary of the People's Daily and Red Flag editors to the «Open Letter» of the CRSU: «The various kinds of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism.»

As far as we know, the PLA acknowledged the *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International*



# (M-L) TO ALBANIA

«Communist Movement», which we, too, consider a sound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the world situation at that time.

Today the world situation is drastically changed. In our opinion this is correctly explained in the AKP(m-l) program from 1976:

«The transformation of the Soviet Union from a socialist country to a capitalist imperialist country supported counter-revolution in most previously socialist countries and people's democracies, transformed these countries into capitalist countries, satellites and neo-colonies of social-imperialism, and demolished the socialist camp.

«While the socialist camp existed, the countries of the world could be assigned to three groups; the countries of the imperialist camp, the third world, and the socialist camp. In 1976 we have to distinguish between them in a different way. In a separate group we have the imperialist superpowers. Confronting them are the countries of the third world. In an intermediate position are the smaller capitalist and imperialist countries which have contradictions to the countries of the third world as well as to the imperialist superpowers.»

AKP(m-l): Program, Norwegian edition p.41, from section II: Imperialism and the Proletarian World Revolution, chapter 5: The Two Imperialist Superpowers. English translation forthcoming.)

## (THE PLA PUTS ALL IMPERIALISM ON THE SAME LEVEL

3. The «Zeri i Popullit» editorial of July 7, 1977 — *The Theory and Practice of the Revolution* — states:

«Any imperialism, from its very nature, is always a savage enemy of the proletarian revolution. Therefore, to divide imperialisms into more or less dangerous, from the strategic viewpoint of the world revolution, is wrong.»

(English edition, Tirana 1977, p.29.)

Comrades, we find this opinion incompatible with Marxism-Leninism. In our opinion Stalin did not depart from the «strategic viewpoint of the world revolution» when he stated in 1939:

«The war is being carried on by the aggressive states which every day harm the interests of the non-aggressive states, above all England, France and the USA ...»

(Report to the 18th Congress of the CPSU(b), 1939.)

We also think that it is wrong that small imperialist countries, like for instance Denmark and Norway, constitute an equally serious threat to world revolution as the two superpowers. It is evident that the class character of imperialism is the same in the imperialist superpowers as in the small imperialist countries. But this does not mean that the superpowers on the one hand and countries like Norway and Denmark on the other have the same power, the same means, to threaten the peoples of the earth. Accordingly, it is correct to draw a dividing line, point out the main enemy and concentrate the attack on him. Otherwise the distinction between the superpowers and the other imperialist states would be futile.

The joint meeting of nordic Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in 1975 adopted a Statement on the international situation. When asked for an appraisal, representatives of the Central Committee of the PLA declared their full agreement with the Statement, which contains notably this paragraph:

«The Nordic Countries: Between the Superpowers and the Third World. Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway and Iceland are developed capitalist and imperialist

countries where monopoly capital is in power ... But at the same time the Nordic countries are not imperialist superpowers. They are small capitalist countries, under pressure from the really big imperialist powers, and especially from the superpowers.»

(Documents from the First Joint Meeting of Nordic Marxist-Leninists, January 1975, English edition p.26.)

Albania has also applied this correct view to its policy towards the Nordic countries. Albania acted correctly when it for instance supported a small imperialist country like Iceland against an intermediate imperialist power during the «cod war» in 1972.

The editorial of the «Zeri i Popullit» of July 7, 1977 asserts:

«It can never happen that so-called countries of the 'second world', in other words the big monopoly bourgeoisie ruling there, become allies of the oppressed peoples and nations in the struggle against the two superpowers and world imperialism.»

(op.cit. p.20.)

«Never» is a strong word, comrades. We are not able to anticipate the exact development of the international class struggle. But we would like to remind you of things that have occurred in the past:

«In this connection the Meeting of the Communist Groups considered the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States of America and all the enslaved peoples who fought against the common enemy — the German, Italian and Japanese fascists — as the allies of the Albanian people.» (...)  
«The Communist Party of Albania considered the Soviet Union as a loyal and sincere ally of the Albanian people, which would also help them to establish and consolidate people's power in Albania. Whereas Great Britain and the USA were only temporary allies in the war against the fascist states.»

(History of the Party of Labor of Albania, Tirana, pp. 96—97.)

«Our war is part and parcel of the great anti-fascist war of the whole world, and the alliance of our people with the Anglo-Soviet-American bloc and with all the national liberation movements in the world is a vital condition for us.» (Enver Hoxha, 1944)

«Any imperialism, from its very nature, is always a savage enemy of the proletarian revolution. Therefore, to divide imperialisms into more or less dangerous, from the strategic viewpoint of the world revolution is wrong.» (The Theory and Practice of the Revolution)

In a letter to the commandor of the allied forces in the Mediterranean, General Wilson, comrade Enver Hoxha wrote in 1944:

«Our war is part and parcel of the great anti-fascist war of the whole world, and the alliance of our people with the Anglo-Soviet-American bloc and with all the national liberation movements in the world is a vital condition for us.»

(Selected Works, Vol. 1, p.350)



«In the present situation it is the peoples of the third world who constitute the main force in the struggle against imperialism and the superpowers.» (From the Program of the AKP(m-l))

Does not this show that it is impossible from a Marxist point of view to exclude temporary alliances with imperialist countries as a matter of principle?

Comrade Mao Tsetung is not the first Marxist-Leninist to distinguish between large and small imperialist powers. Already Lenin said:

«An essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several great powers in the striving for hegemony.» (Imperialism ..., in Coll. Works Vol.21, p.269.)

Which great powers compete will, of course, depend on how history develops. During World War I they were above all England, France, Germany, the USA and Russia. In 1939 they were England, France, Germany, Japan, Italy and the USA. Today it is first and foremost the two superpowers, the US and the USSR, which are hegemonic powers.

In the contemporary world it is therefore important to take advantage of the schism between the two superpowers and the other imperialist countries to split the enemy and direct the attack against the main one.

As far as the AKP(m-l) is concerned this idea is not new. It was clearly enunciated in our Resolution on social-imperialism from 1974:

«Modern revisionists try to make people believe that small and big imperialists are all equally important, saying that 'all imperialists represent the same danger'. It goes without saying that, say, England, cannot possibly be as big a threat as the two superpowers, not because imperialists in these countries are 'kinder' than the superpowers, but simply because they do not possess instruments of power equal to those of the United States and the Soviet Union. The revisionist propaganda is a reactionary maneuver, intended to make people inattentive and make them ignore the most dangerous imperialists — the two superpowers.»

«The working class and the people of all countries must be able to fight the superpowers as well as the lesser imperialists at the same time. In this struggle they must be aware of the revisionist

trap, single out the most important enemies, and concentrate on the two superpowers and their attempts at gaining world supremacy.»

(Norwegian Marxist-Leninists Intensity the Struggle Against Social-Imperialism, English edition pp.57—58.)

This Resolution was published in English in 1975 and widely distributed throughout the world. It should consequently be well known internationally.

The «Zeri i Popullit» editorial talks about «the absolutization of inter-imperialist contradictions» (p.21). But this is not the point. The point is the Marxist-Leninist principle expounded by Lenin in *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*:

«The most powerful enemy can be vanquished only by exerting the utmost effort, and by the most thorough, careful, attentive, skillful and obligatory use of any, even the smallest, rift between the enemies, any conflict of interests among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various countries, and also by taking advantage of any, even the smallest, opportunity of winning a mass ally, even though this ally is temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who do not understand this reveal a failure to understand even the smallest grain of Marxism, of modern scientific socialism in general.» (Coll. Works. Vol.31 pp.70—71.)

We think that this analysis of Lenin is still entirely valid today.

## (THE AKP(m-l) DISAGREES WITH THE PLA'S ASSESSMENT OF THE RELATIVE STRENGTH OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS)

4. In the report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha states that:

«US imperialism (...) is strengthening its positions everywhere, and in every way.» (p. 167.)

Elsewhere he says that the two superpowers «pose the same danger» (p. 186). We disagree with this assessment of the relative strength of the two superpowers. Both superpowers are the main enemies of the peoples of the world. But it is well known that US imperialism has met a series of setbacks the last decades. It is sufficient to recall that since the 6th congress of the PLA, the US has by no means strengthened its positions every where; on the contrary, in Indichina, it has suffered severe military and political defeats.

Compare the situation in Africa today with the situation there ten years ago. Can there be any doubt that the balance of power between the two superpowers has changed drastically in favor of social-imperialism? Has not the USSR recently acquired a base in the South Atlantic? Does not the Soviet Union send Cuban mercenaries here and there on the African continent?

Or consider our country, Norway. We are very happy to see that the 7th Congress of the PLA pointed out the danger of social-imperialist aggression against the Nordic countries in these terms:

«... (social-imperialism) has now begun to commit arrogant violations of the maritime sovereignty of the freedom-loving Nordic countries and to try to establish its domination over all the seas of the North.» (p.188)

This is quite true, and the development of the political situation in northern Europe proves that Soviet social-imperialism is on the offensive to assume command over territories which US imperialism has controlled until now.

Comrades, in your assessment of the relative strength of the two superpowers you disregard concrete facts and give the impression that there is a balance of power between the two superpowers. This breaks with Lenin's thesis on the uneven development of imperialist powers. Lenin states:

«... the only conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, interests, colonies, etc., is a calculation of the strength of those participa-

ting, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc. And the strength of these participants in the division does not change to an equal degree, for the even development of different undertakings, trusts, branches of industry, or countries is impossible under capitalism.»

(Imperialism ..., Coll. Works Vol.22 p.295.)

The presentation the PLA gives today of the relation between the two superpowers breaks with Lenin's scientific thesis.

## (THE PLA CONSIDERS THE DANGER OF WAR AS LESS ACUTE)

5. The AKP(m-l) holds that the tendency towards revolution and the tendency towards war are both increasing. Leninism teaches that no conferences, agreements and the like between imperialist countries can prevent war, only revolution can prevent war. After a concrete assessment of relations of power in the world today, we have drawn the conclusion that a new imperialist war, a war between the two superpowers, is inevitable. We also thought that the PLA was of the same opinion, because comrade Enver Hoxha said in his speech to the electors on October 3, 1974:

«Look out! US imperialism and Russian imperialism are leading the world into another world war, more terrible than the two previous wars!»

(Our Policy is an Open Policy, the Policy of Proletarian Principles, Tirana, 1974, pp.50—51)

But in the report to the 7th Congress of the PLA the danger of war is actually considered less acute, and is not seen in connection with the uneven development of imperialism. In the July 7 editorial, the danger of war is practically neglected. This is an error of principle as well as an incorrect analysis of the contemporary world.

In his article «On the Slogan for a United States of Europe», which you quote in another connection, Lenin says:



# LETTER FROM THE AKP(M-L) TO THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

## C'T'D FROM PAGE 5

«Under capitalism the smooth economic growth of individual enterprises or individual states is impossible. Under capitalism there are no other means of restoring the periodically disturbed equilibrium than crises in industry and wars in politics.»

(Coll. Works, Vol. 21, p.341.) Referring to the fact that Germany by-passed England's production of pig iron between 1892 and 1912, Lenin posed the following question:

«What means other than war could there be under capitalism to overcome the disparity between the development of productive forces and the accumulation of capital on the one side, and the division of colonies and spheres of influence for finance capital on the other?»

(Imperialism ..., Coll. Works Vol. 22, p.276.)

Today the USSR has long since by-passed the US in steel production and war industry. In important branches of military power the USSR has by-passed the US or is on the verge of doing so. Is it not time that Marxist-Leninists recognize that according to Leninism, this rivalry under capitalism can only be solved by war?

The AKP(m-l) program of 1976 states:

«The Soviet superpowers is still young as an imperialist power. It is still not weakened by the huge defeats which all imperialist powers unavoidably meet with sooner or later. It has been able to use the setbacks of US imperialism and of other western imperialist powers to expand itself. It is a superpower which, relatively speaking, is still advancing and expanding. The social-imperialist superpower has characteristics which make it an especially dangerous and aggressive power.»

«The USSR differs from US imperialism in that economic and political power are even more strongly centralized than in the US and in all other imperialist countries.»

«The economy of the Soviet Union is state monopoly capitalist. In politics the dictatorship of the monopolist bourgeoisie takes the form of a dictatorship of the fascist type, as Mao stated in 1964: 'The Soviet Union is today ... a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type.' (Note: this analysis by Mao was quoted by the

People's Daily, Peking, in *Leninism or Social-Imperialism*, April 22, 1970, the centenary of the birth of Lenin.)

«The strong concentration of economic and political power in the hands of the leading clique within the bureaucrat bourgeoisie gives this clique an especially good opportunity to start expansionist adventures without meeting opposition from other groups within the bourgeoisie itself. It makes it possible to concentrate great amounts of resources on military production and rearmament. It makes it possible for them to use violence and terror against all attempts by the laboring masses to show their opposition to the imperialist policies. All this makes it very easy for Soviet social-imperialism to arm for war and to go to war.»

«At the same time the fascist and imperialist leaders of the Soviet bureaucrat bourgeoisie make use of the glorious past and the international prestige of the formerly socialist Soviet Union. They use demagogic methods to infiltrate liberation movements and countries which are fighting against other imperialist powers ...»

«It is precisely this «socialist» demagoguery which makes social-imperialism an especially treacherous enemy of the peoples, an enemy which is harder to expose than the old imperialist powers were.»

(op. cit. pp.43-44, same section and chapter as quoted above.)

### (THE JULY 7 EDITORIAL OF «ZERI I POPULLIT» ATTACKS THE THEORY THAT THE THIRD WORLD CONSTITUTES THE MAIN FORCE IN WORLD HISTORY TODAY)

6. The July 7 editorial of «Zeri i Popullit» attacks the theory that the third world constitutes the main force in world history today:

«But to speak in general terms about the so-called 'third world' as main force of the struggle against imperialism and the revolution, as the supporters of the theory of the 'three worlds' are doing, without making any distinction between the genuine anti-imperialist, reactionary and fascist forces in power in a number of developing countries, means a flagrant departure from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism

and to preach typically opportunist views, causing confusion and disorganization among the revolutionary forces.»

(op.cit. pp. pp.14-15.)

These statements also apply to the program our party adopted in 1976, which notably states:

«In the present situation it is the peoples of the third world who constitute the main force in

This accords with a policy our party has practised a number of years, a policy we have published officially in several programmatic documents and which we have defended in sharp polemics against trotskysts and revisionists.»

The Resolution of the AKP(m-l) on social-imperialism from 1974 stated:

«Both the Western monopoly bourgeoisie and Soviet revisio-

strengthens the peoples' united front against imperialism.» (id p.60)

The Statement from six Marxist-Leninist parties and party-building organizations of January 1975, which our party signed, asserts:

«In this situation it has become apparent that many of the states of the Third World have succeeded in uniting and rallying around

Statement, and in our 1976 program, is correct. We think that the attack on this view in the July 7 editorial is incorrect.»

In our opinion, reality shows us that the largest revolutionary movements dealing the hardest blows to imperialism and reaction in the contemporary world, are the revolutionary movements for democracy and national liberation in the large colonial,



When assessing the relations of strength between the two superpowers the Albanian leaders disregard concrete facts and give the impression that the two balance evenly. This opposes Lenin's thesis on the uneven development of imperialist powers, and disregards facts showing that the relations of strength

between the US and the USSR have become drastically changed in favor of the USSR. The photograph shows Soviet guided-missile destroyer entering the Atlantic through the Dover straits.

the struggle against imperialism and the superpowers.»

(op.cit. p.39, same chapter as above.)

nists do everything they can to slander the front of the Third World. When the peoples of the Third World get together at conferences and denounce the exploitation of poor countries by rich imperialist countries, the revisionists talk about 'the reactionary leaders in the underdeveloped countries'. When the USA is voted down in the UN, they talk about the 'unacceptable majority dictatorship of extremists that will destroy the world organization'. They call Chinese and Albanian support to the peoples of the third world 'opportunism', and they say that China is practising a 'nationalistic great power policy'. This shows that the peoples of the Third World are heading in the right direction. It shows that the foreign policy of China and Albania is a consistent and principled anti-imperialist foreign policy, hitting the superpowers where it hurts the most. Real anti-imperialists ought to fight the hateful propaganda against the front of the Third World and support the correct foreign policy of China and Albania, the most unfaltering support given by any government to fight against imperialism.»

(op. cit. pp. 60-61.)

In its polemics against the significance of the struggle of the third world, the PLA refers to king Khaled and the shah of Iran as «evidence» that it is correct to reject even the concept of the third world. Our answer to this was formulated long ago:

«It is irrelevant whether some governments at the same time represent a reactionary policy and are extremely unreliable allies. As long as they for some reason or other oppose the superpowers, this objectively weakens the superpowers and objectively

important demands directed against the imperialist countries, and especially against the two superpowers. This has notably occurred at UN conferences on raw materials, economic development, law of the sea, population etc. The countries that have supported this struggle have contributed to the weakening and the isolation of the superpowers, irrespective of the fact that many of them are governed by regimes with a reactionary domestic policy.»

«It is an important task for the working class and the people of the imperialist countries to support the struggle of the Third World.»

(op.cit. p.19)

«The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism.» (Proposition Concerning the central Line ...)

This Statement was favorably commented by «Zeri i Popullit». At a meeting with a delegation from our party in spring 1975, the PLA representative affirmed that the PLA shared the views of the Statement on all points included therein.

We think that the view expressed in the 1974 Resolution, in the 1975

semi-colonial and formerly colonial areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America. There are the areas included in the concept of the «third world».

The type of revolution which is the first step in most of these countries is what Lenin, Stalin and Mao term people's democracy or new democracy. They teach us that this kind of revolution makes it possible to proceed to the construction of socialism in such countries. It is the struggle of the masses for new democratic and socialist revolutions which is the main force in the struggle against imperialism today and the motive force in world history in the year 1977.

This view accords with the polemics conducted by Marxist-Leninists against the revisionists in the early sixties. In the *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement* (1963) the Central Committee of the CPC put it this way:

«The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism.»

«The national democratic revolutionary movement in these areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement are the two great historic currents of our time.»

«The national democratic revolution in these areas is an important component of the contemporary proletarian world revolution.»

«The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are pounding out and undermi-



Albanian leaders have explicitly stated to the AKP(m-l) that they do not recognize Mao Tsetung as a Marxist-Leninist classic.



# LETTER FROM THE AKP(M-L) TO THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

## C'T'D FROM PAGE 6

ning the foundations of the rule of imperialism and colonialism, old and new, and are now a mighty force in defence of world peace.

«In a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population.

«Therefore the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America is definitely not merely a matter of regional significance, but one of overall importance for the whole cause of proletarian world revolution.»

(Peking 1963, pp.12-13)

The Central Committee of the PLA expressed its full support of the views of the CPC, notably in an editorial in «Zeri i Popullit». Under the headline «A Document of Great International Significance» the «Zeri i Popullit» editorial commented the *Proposal* in these terms:

«It is the high internationalist duty of all socialist countries and all communist parties to give their unconditional help and support to the national democratic movement in these areas, which constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population. These movements are the most important and mightiest allies of the international communist movement. Without an alliance with them there can be no talk of any victory or consolidation of the socialist revolution in the other countries.»

(July 24, 1963, our translation.)

«The struggle that the Emir of Afghanistan is waging for the independence of Afghanistan is objectively a *revolutionary struggle* despite the *monarchist views* of the Emir and his associates, for it weakens, disintegrates and undermines imperialism ...»

(Stalin: The Foundations of Leninism)  
(Stalin: The Foundations of Leninism.)

Thus, in 1963, the Albanian and Chinese communists correctly appraised the significance of the struggles of the third world in 1963.

What is the situation in 1977? Has the revolutionary struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America decreased? No, as we know it has grown substantially in extent, assumed a clearer political orientation and won massive victories over imperialism and reaction. Many Marxist-Leninist parties head peoples' wars of considerable significance in their own country.

Class struggle in the developed capitalist countries and in the two superpowers themselves has also witnessed an upsurge. Our party itself has grown forth in the course of this upsurge, and has for many years led important class struggles in a developed capitalist country. But is it possible to consider the extent and significance of this upsurge of class struggle in the developed countries as equal to the revolutionary storms which have swept over Asia, Africa and Latin America during the same period? Reality shows us they cannot be considered equal. Class struggle in Europe has made tremendous progress. Can this progress be compared to the revolutionary victories in Indochina? Can the level of class struggle in Norway or Germany be compared to the level of the revolutionary wars in Burma or Thailand, where Marxist-Leninists are leading people's wars?

Reality gives us no reason to alter the correct appraisal of the revolutionary struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America that the Chinese and Albanian communists made in 1963. Today there is all the more reason to assert the definite significance of the struggle of the peoples of the third world.

We think that the July 7 editorial incorrectly underestimates the significance of the struggle for socialist and new democratic-revolution in the third world.

The «Zeri i Popullit» editorial of July 7 has also this to say about certain politicians in the third world:

«In essence, according to the theory of the 'three worlds', the peoples of those countries must not fight for instance against the bloody fascist dictatorships of Geisel in Brazil and Pinochet in Chile, Suharto in Indonesia, the Shah of Iran or the King of Jordan etc., because they allegedly are part of 'the revolutionary motive force which is driving the wheel of world history forward'.»

(op.cit. p.15)

Our party holds that it is not correct that these men are «the leaders of the third world». The leaders of the third world are revolutionaries like the Marxist-Leninist parties in Burma, Thailand, Malaya who are waging people's wars, like the freedom fighters of Azania and Zimbabwe, etc. It is these revolutionary combatants who are the vanguard of the movement for new democratic revolution in the third world. It is therefore not correct to say that various reactionary heads of state are the leaders of the third world.

Furthermore, it is the opinion of our party that Marxist-Leninists must develop revolutionary tactics with respect to the heads of state of the various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, on the basis of what Lenin teaches us. Since only a few of these countries have carried out real socialist revolutions, most of their heads of state represent domestic exploiting classes, foreign imperialists, or both. Revolutionary Leninist tactics do not imply creating any illusions about these politicians, but make it imperative that we take advantage of the situation if they turn against imperialism on certain issues.

The Resolution of the AKP(m-l) from autumn 1974 asserted:

«All real anti-imperialists welcome this development. We do so without any vain hopes that diplomatic action from countries with different forms of government — including regimes with reactionary domestic policies and imperialist countries — can possibly replace people's war as a means to defeat the superpowers.

«However, the united front of states is not opposed to the struggle for revolution. Because if as many as possible of the world's countries go against the imperialist superpowers, then this will limit their scope of action and weaken them. This again strengthens those forces waging wars of independence and the masses fighting for revolution.»

(Norwegian Marxist-Leninists ... op.cit. p.59)

As mentioned above, the Statement from the nordic parties and party building organizations pointed out:

«The countries (of the third world) that have supported this struggle have contributed to the weakening and the isolation of the superpowers, irrespective of the fact that many of them are led by regimes with a reactionary domestic policy.»

(Documents ... op.cit. p.18)

This line accords with Stalin's correct assessment of the Emir of Afghanistan in 1924. This assessment is not based on the fact that this feudalist played any revolutionary role in his own country, but points on the contrary to the fact that he represented reactionary monarchist ideas. At the same time Stalin emphasized that communists had to support the struggle conducted by the Emir for the independence of the country, because it weakened imperialism and was objectively revolutionary:

«The struggle that the Emir of Afghanistan is waging for the independence of Afghanistan is objectively a *revolutionary struggle* despite the *monarchist views* of the Emir and his associates, for it weakens, disintegrates, and undermines imperialism ...»

(The Foundations of Leninism, in Works Vol VI, p.148; see chapter 6, section 1).

This correct Leninist assessment did not imply that Stalin directed the Afghan people to refrain from fighting against the monarchism of the Emir. At the same time it correctly took advantage of the conflict between the Emir and British imperialism. Stalin shows that this is a policy which strengthens and does not weaken the revolutionary movement.

It is our opinion that the «Zeri i Popullit» editorial is incorrect when it

does not point out that Leninists must also take advantage of conflicts between such heads of state and imperialism. The editorial errs when claiming that correct Leninist tactics require the revolutionary forces to «give up the revolution». On the contrary, the result of their application is the strengthening of the revolutionary movement.

We support our Marxist-Leninist comrades in the third world when they say that the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the prole-

serted that the theories of the «third world» and «non aligned countries» oppose revolution and defend capitalism.

These are blows directed against the Communist Party of China and comrade Mao Tsetung who personally worked out the theory of the three worlds. They are directed against our party, since we in our program, in articles and in conversations with you have expressed our support of the theory of the three worlds. They are also directed against a large number

Our own party, the AKP(m-l), is still small and young and has not yet achieved much. But it is undoubtedly fighting against the superpowers, the Norwegian monopoly bourgeoisie and for socialist revolution.

It is accordingly quite incorrect to identify these parties with revisionism and imperialism. It is entirely wrong to say that these parties have betrayed the revolution.

We find it very harmful that the «Zeri i Popullit» editorial of July 7 can be interpreted in this way.

to create unity on a correct basis. On the contrary, they can be misused to further factionism and disruption.

We have observed that the organization of Hardial Bains, the so-called «Communist Party of Canada (M-L)» has propagated these meetings. We will therefore once more draw your attention to the fact that we are utterly convinced that Bains operates as an agent for an imperialist superpower.



The Albanian leaders attack the theory that the third world is the motive force in world history. In their polemics against this theory they emphasize some of the reactionary leaders of these countries, and disregard the significance of the

opposition of such reactionary leaders against the superpowers. The photograph shows a demonstration in Zaire against the Soviet-Cuban intervention.

tariat is not yet the main contradiction in their country. This does not imply that they «give up class struggle», but that they realize that the main contradiction at the moment is between imperialism and the oppressed nation, and that class struggle must be conducted with regard to this fact. In our opinion the «Zeri i Popullit» not only wrongly criticizes these comrades, it also contradicts the Marxist-Leninist view which is put forward in the PLA's own history:

«The Communist Party of Albania did not call for the intensification of class struggle within the country, nor did it launch slogans calling on the people to rise against the landlords, the tribal chieftans and the bourgeoisie; to the end it directed its main efforts against the fascist invaders. The class struggle was intensified by the open treachery of the exploiting classes ...»

(History ... op.cit., p.233.)

(THE PLA ATTACKS BOTH THE CPC AND THE AKP(m-l))

7. The «Zeri i Popullit» editorial states:

«To follow this 'theory' (of the three worlds) means to divert the revolutionary movement from the right road, to abandon revolution half way, to separate it from the proletarian revolution in the other countries, to set the struggle of the peoples and the proletariat of those countries on an anti-Marxist and revisionist course.»

«The present theories about the so-called 'third world', 'non-aligned countries' etc., are intended to curb the revolution and defend capitalism, which must not be hindered in the exercising of its hegemony, but should practice some forms of domination which are slightly more acceptable to the peoples.»

(op.cit. p.11 and pp.16-17)

In these paragraphs the theory of the three worlds is characterized as anti-Marxist and revisionist. It is as-

serted that the theories of the «third world» and «non aligned countries» oppose revolution and defend capitalism.

«The Communist Party of Albania did not call for the intensification of class struggle within the country, nor did it launch slogans calling on the people to rise against the landlords, the tribal chieftans and the bourgeoisie; to the end it directed its main efforts against the fascist invaders.»  
(The History of the PLA)

Reality shows that the «Zeri i Popullit» editorial's characteristic of the three world theory is incorrect. The Communist Party of China is and has been a mighty force in the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and revisionism, and a powerful supporter of the liberation movements and the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The Communist Party of Kampuchea has won victory in a mighty revolution, beaten US imperialism in the battlefield, defeated the intrigues of social-imperialism, established the dictatorship of the proletariat and commenced the construction of socialism.

Several of the parties we mentioned are leading revolutionary liberation wars in their own countries. Many others contribute significantly to the struggle against US imperialism, social-imperialism, and reaction in their own country.

(THE PLA HAS SUPPORTED INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS WHICH HAVE ATTACKED THE CPC)

8. The Albanian press has loudly supported the meetings which were held in Ludwigshafen, Rome, etc., during the first half of 1977.

We have another opinion on these meetings. As you know, the AKP(m-l) does not oppose multi-national meetings on principle. But such meetings must advance and not weaken unity in the international Marxist-Leninist movement, and they must advance and not weaken the struggle against the two superpowers. We support and participate in such meetings only on very strict conditions. We hold that the meetings in Ludwigshafen etc. have broken with demands that must necessarily be advanced with regard to the relationship between parties and international meetings. In the spring of 1977 we informed the Central Committee of the PLA that we had broken our party relationship with the KPD/ML (Communist party of Germany/ML, weekly paper «Roter Morgen»), because the leaders of the KPD/ML support the revisionist «gang of four» in China and slander comrade Hua and the Central Committee of the CPC as «bourgeois revisionists». On this background, our party could no longer recognize the KPD/ML as a revolutionary Marxist party. The Ludwigshafen meeting was organized by the KPD/ML. This organization has also participated in the other meetings. We think that the participation of Marxist-Leninist parties at meetings together with parties like the KPD/ML is harmful because it distorts the lines of demarcation between real Marxist-Leninists and revisionists.

These meetings have been used by some of the participants to launch attacks on the Communist Party of China, and also to spread other ideas which we consider incorrect. It is our opinion that such meetings are not fit

(THE PLA DOES NOT CONSIDER MAO TSETUNG A MARXIST-LENINIST CLASSIC)

9. In conversations with representatives from the AKP(m-l), Comrade Ramiz Alia has explicitly stated that the PLA does not consider Mao Tsetung a Marxist-Leninist classic on a par with Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We think this is a mistake, an underestimation of Mao Tsetung. In the point of view of the AKP(m-l), Mao is not only a Marxist-Leninist classic, but he is one of the greatest. It is he more than anybody else who has developed the Marxist-Leninist theory that the revolution must continue under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He has defended and further developed dialectic and historic materialism and made a comprehensive analysis of contemporary imperialism and the conditions for revolution today. To disregard Mao as a classic means to disregard one of the sharpest weapons against imperialism, social-imperialism and modern revisionism. This is our position on this matter. It has been ours since our movement was established more than a decade ago.

Comrades, We have repeatedly declared how highly we value the significant experience of the Party of Labor of Albania, how highly we value friendship with the heroic Albanian people. The experience of the PLA constitutes an important reserve for the international struggle of the working class. The Albanian revolution is an important contribution to the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism, and all reaction. The AKP(m-l) will continue to study your experience and the PLA may rest assured that our party will always fight against imperialism, social-imperialism, and modern revisionism.

Long live proletarian internationalism.

Comradely greetings from the Central Committee of the AKP(m-l)



## A SAD AND DANGEROUS SITUATION

— comments on the social-imperialist offensive against Vietnam and Albania.

### C'T'D FROM PAGE 3

and is instead directed against the U.S. China, and Kampuchea.

### Mobutu, but not Castro

In their polemics against the advocates of Mao's three world theory, the Albanian leaders have strongly emphasized the fact that many state leaders in the third world are reactionary.

This rather trivial fact represents nothing new to Marxist-Leninists. However, we want to point out that the PLA leaders have omitted every pro-Soviet element in their list over reactionary heads of state.

The PLA leaders have for instance mentioned the shah of Iran and king Khaled of Saudi Arabia. Both are undoubtedly reactionary. But they have never mentioned Agostinho Neto or Mengistu Haile Mariam, both of whom are at least as reactionary and as big butchers as the shah or king Khaled.

This spring, «Zeri i Popullit» has repeatedly and violently criticized Mobutu. As for us, we have never concealed the fact that we consider Mobutu a reactionary. But the Albanian criticism has not defended Zaire's right to remain an independent state, and it has refrained from attacking social-imperialist aggression.

On no occasion since 1976 has Fidel Castro been criticized by the Albanian leadership.

The Chinese government has developed its diplomacy towards states governed by various regimes, and rarely criticizes the domestic policies or state leaders of other countries in public.

In recent years the Albanian leaders have adopted a different policy. They allegedly think it is a serious mistake not to publicly criticize reactionary heads of state. But if this is the case, they commit a grave mistake by sparing a particular group of pro-Soviet state leaders that are very reactionary and extremely blood-stained.

### An Important Part of Reality is Eliminated

It is a remarkable feature of Albanian commentary on foreign affairs over the past few years, that every fact susceptible of pointing to the increasing danger of war, such as Soviet provocations in Europe, Soviet military expansion etc., has been systematically neglected.

This expresses the official thesis of the Albanian leaders: that the threat of war is not increasing.

This represents a change of policy. In the past, «Zeri i Popullit» carried reports about events such as provocative Soviet violations of Norwegian airspace. The report to the 1976 congress expressed support to the nordic countries against Soviet pressure in the North. We appreciated this, but we do not know that it has been repeated.

(July 24)

# 5. We Must Learn From Historical Experience

## A Deplorable Development

We hold that current Albanian appraisals of the world situation do not accord with objective facts.

People whose access is restricted to Albanian publications will not get a correct impression of the social-imperialist offensive. Several Albanian commentaries even glorify this offensive and can be used to propagate it. The editorial of July 7, 1977, was favorably cited by Pravda. The editorial of June 24, 1978, has also been favorably received by the brezhnevites.

We deeply regret this.

## Support to Albania

Albania is a small country. Albania cannot menace anybody. The Albanian people and the Albanian communists have made great contributions to the struggle against revisionism, the defense of socialism and the independence of Albania.

We will not forget this. We will always be grateful for everything we, Norwegian communists, have learned from the Albanian communists and the Albanian workers and peasants.

A harmful aspect of the current polemics of the Albanian leaders is that sincere people who respect Albania because of their record of struggle against revisionism, may now become confused. Therefore we have to put forth our criticism and point out our disagreement. But we do not want to bring up more than we consider absolutely necessary. We do not want to harm Albania. Therefore we shall continue to restrain our criticism.

Since we wish Albania the best of everything, we are worried about the direction taken by the Albanian polemics. On the other hand, we are happy as long as Albania steers clear of both superpowers. That is a positive aspect. We regret the fact that the Albanian leaders attack revolutionaries. They do not consistently criticize the social-imperialism of the USSR. However, they still criticize certain aspects of Soviet policy. We think it would be better for them to continue to do so, rather than discontinuing all criticism of the USSR.

If social-imperialism or any other imperialist power makes any attempt to seize control over Albania, we will support Albania, despite our disagreement with the Albanian leaders on certain questions. We are still hoping for a turn to the best.

## We Must Learn From Historical Experience

This series of articles bears the title

## CLASS STRUGGLE

Class Struggle is the international bulletin of Klassekampen, the daily paper of the Workers' Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) WCP(M-L), Norway - Arbeidernes Kommunistparti (marxist-leninistene AKP(m-l)). It is published 4 to 6 times a year. Its purpose is to inform readers:

- of superpower aggression against Norway.
- of class struggle in Norway,
- of struggle against modern revisionism in Norway.
- of the activities and policy of the Norwegian Marxist-Leninist



The Albanian people and the Albanian communists have made an important contribution to the struggle against modern revisionism, to defend socialism and Albania's independence. But the current polemics waged by the Albanian leaders are harmful and may confuse some honest people who respect Albania because of their previous struggle against revisionism. Therefore we must criticize their views and point out our disagreements.

«A Sad and Dangerous Situation», because it deals with a negative development in two countries that have carried out socialist revolutions: Vietnam and Albania.

As far as the general world situation is concerned, there are both promising and somber factors. The progress of social-imperialism is a negative factor. The intensification of the struggles in the third world, the growing resistance against the two superpowers and the advance of the Marxist-Leninist world movement are all positive factors.

In the long run we are optimistic. Social-imperialism is basically weak. Ravage and plunder will only serve to isolate it more and more both at home and abroad. It will never succeed in achieving world hegemony, but will certainly be defeated.

But before being defeated it will probably launch a third world war. Tendencies developing today point clearly to the outbreak of such a war.

A typical feature of pre-war situations is rapid fluctuations caused by the constant sharpening of the most important contradictions. Similar rapid fluctuations and sharper contradictions must necessarily also arise within the communist and anti-imperialist movements. Sharp polemics, struggles and ruptures are inevitable.

The essential question prior to World War I was this: revolutionary struggle against the war, or let the workers be mobilized to slaughter each other?

The essential question prior to World War II was this: to mobilize or not to mobilize to crush the fascist imperialist powers?

The distinction between correct and incorrect answers to these questions drew the dividing line between revolutionaries and opportunists, between victory and defeat.

The current situation is such that we must be prepared to cope with sharp contradictions and rapid and surprising fluctuations. To study the main contradictions, to learn from them, to improve our ability to distinguish between correct and incorrect lines: all this is essential. Then we will be able to turn bad things to good things. Ruptures and struggle can make us work out a clearer policy, and help us find the right path to victory.

In our opinion the present contradictions must teach us to improve our studies of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and Mao's three world theory, and to improve our ability to wage struggle against the two superpowers and in particular the more dangerous: social-imperialism. (July 25)

movement, comprising the AKP (m-l) and its two youth organizations, the Red Youth - RU Rød Ungdom - and the Communist Student League of Norway - NKS Norges Kommunistiske Studentsforbund.

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## SPECIAL ISSUE TO SUPPORT MARXISM-LENINISM MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT AND THE SCIENTIFIC THREE WORLD THEORY

### Polemics in the World Communist Movement

Norwegian Marxist-Leninists have traditionally had good relations with both the Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of China, as well as with many other parties and organizations of the world communist movement. We hold that the existence of contradictions is natural and that while everybody should clarify their positions on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, contradictions should not be discussed in full view of the enemy.

The AKP(m-l) held its 2nd congress in November 1976. The PLA leadership greeted it in these terms: «They (the Albanian communists) solidarize with the revolutionary line and activity of your party» (see «Zeri i Popullit» Nov. 24, 1976). Yet at the 7th congress of the PLA some days earlier, several positions held by the AKP(m-l) were criticized. July 7, 1977, «Zeri i Popullit» published an editorial which branded advocates of the three world theory, like the AKP(m-l), as «counter-revolutionary».

The AKP(m-l) replied to the July 7 editorial by a letter to the PLA of which only party members were informed. We still refrained from any public criticism of the PLA leadership. But we published Norwegian translations of key documents from the CPC and the PLA. We clarified our own views in a number of articles, and pointed out that the three world theory is contained in our party program.

Events this summer made it impossible for the AKP(m-l) to continue to avoid an open criticism of the new line of the PLA leadership. This issue of Class Struggle and the previous one contain our main contributions to this criticism.

## LETTER FROM THE AKP(M-L) TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

This letter was written last autumn, as a reply to «The Theory and Practice of the Revolution» published by «Zeri i Popullit» July 7, 1977. It was only made known to party members, and not published until July 17, 1978. The PLA leadership has not replied.

The letter rejects the criticism of the three world theory, and criticizes important mistakes committed by the PLA leaders, such as their incorrect assessment of the relative strength of the superpowers, and disregard of the war threat and the significance of the struggles of the third world. It emphasizes the role of Mao Tsetung, and concludes that the AKP(m-l) will always fight against imperialism, social-imperialism and modern revisionism.

SEE PAGE 4



The letter from the AKP(m-l) to the PLA shows that the new line of the PLA leadership is contrary to basic principles defended and applied by these three classics of Marxism-Leninism. It was sent to the PLA last autumn as a reply to attacks against the AKP(m-l), the Communist Party of China, and other Marxist-Leninists, contained in the July 7, editorial of «Zeri i Popullit», «The Theory and Practice of the Revolution».

## A SAD AND DANGEROUS SITUATION Comments on the «Zeri i Popullit» Editorial «Imperialists, Hands Off Vietnam» of June 24



In January 1978, the PLA affirmed a formal «neutrality» towards the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea. But June 24, «Zeri i Popullit» supported Vietnam against Kampuchea, insinuated that China has become imperialist, and presented an analysis of the situation in south-east Asia that does not even mention social-imperialism.

SEE PAGE 1