



Rally for Enver

The 7th Congress set the ideological framework in its criticism, and the emphasis placed by the Albanian PLA was on an appeal to the teleological messianic goal of 'socialist revolution' that appeal to the worldview of some. In return, those inspired engaged in sharp ideological monologues: there was an ideological price to pay – initially, criticism of China's strategic foreign policy, and then rejecting Mao all together.

This theme was repeated as veiled polemics, implicitly directed at China, surfaced in the first half of 1977 in a flurry of meetings that attracted a host of foreign delegations at a succession of pro-Albanian rallies occurring in Europe and Latin America. KPD/ML leader Ernst Aust, in February 1977, at the first in a series of 'Internationalist' rallies, affirming the 7th Congress Report as "a true Marxist-Leninist document because it affirms the correct principles of Marx, Lenin and Stalin which sweep aside all deviating and opportunist trash" ¹.

At the "Eliseo" theatre, Rome, organised by the Partita Comunista d'Italia Marxist-Leninist / PCd'I(ml) on January 23 1977, thousands of workers and militants of the party, as well as the line up of representatives of communist parties from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Germany, Greece and Spain, declaring

"We ranked ourselves alongside the Party of Labour of Albania, which was the first, together with the Communist Party of China, to denounce the Khrushchovite betrayal which manifested itself in an organized way as modern revisionism at the 20th congress of the CPSU. Let us recall our determined struggle, our contribution at the beginning of the '60s, our activity."

Comrade Fosco Dinucei, General Secretary of the PCd'I(ml) / Communist Party of Italy (M-L) stressed in his speech, "we will fulfil our internationalist duties to the end, will work ceaselessly to strengthen the ties among the sister Parties, for the unity of the proletariat of the whole world, for the unity of all the revolutionary forces...We want a militant internationalism, an active internationalism, an ever closer unity among the Marxist-Leninist Parties. Our battle-cry is and always will be: "Workers of all countries, unite". ²

This was the first of a series of mass rallies in European cities were orchestrated internationalist rally to demonstrate support for the Albanians critical view of their former comrades, as Dinucei highlighted in his speech the implicit rejection of China's promotion of the Three Worlds Theory:

"There are sham Marxist-Leninists, deceivers and intriguers in Italy and abroad, stressed Comrade Dinucci, who think they can fight against the two superpowers, or better, only against one of the two superpowers for example, against social-imperialism, by lining up with the reactionary forces, with the fascists. And to fight the one superpower, they intend to rely on the other.

¹ Zanga, Louis (12 July 1977) Albania, China and the 'Marxist-Leninist' Parties Radio Free Europe Research. RAD Background Report/ 142 (Albania).

² The Workers' Advocate Vol. 7, No 1, March 10, 1977

This is the worst form of opportunism. They forget that the struggle against foreign imperialist reaction is valuable only when it is linked with the struggle against internal reaction, while they consider the reactionary bourgeoisie as a defender of independence, of national interests. “

In a message read out to the rally, touching on the international question of the day,

“The Party of Labour of Albania expresses its internationalist support to and solidarity with the Communist Party of Italy (M-L) and sends its fraternal good wishes for further successes in its struggle for the triumph of the revolution and socialism and against the aggressive and hegemonic policy of the two superpowers and their allies.”

The "*Zeri i Popullit*" in its report of the rally described it as

“ a testimony to the internationalist solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist movement, vivid expression of the common efforts of the Marxist-Leninist Parties to act side by side with one another in the fierce class battles against the bourgeoisie, imperialism, social-imperialism, reaction, modern revisionism, all their common enemies.”³

In the early 1960s, there was far-reaching conformity between Albania and China in questions of ideology, foreign policy, and the world communist movement. In the field of foreign policy both agreed on three decisive points: branding the new Moscow leadership "revisionist" and the rejection of Soviet aspirations to hegemony; a totally negative attitude toward the United States; and condemnation of Yugoslavia. China's metamorphosis concerning the last two of these major issues has become the main source of friction between Peking and Tirana. In the post 7th Congress era (held November 1976) the Albanian attitude to the myriad of organisations that comprised the “Marxist-Leninist” movement saw an intensification of its ties, with schismatic patronage and media coverage of the most vociferous supporters of the Albanian positions.

On February 5 in Ludwigshafen of the Federal German Republic, an internationalist rally of the *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands/Marxisten-Leninisten/ KPD/ML* was held on the occasion of the closing of its 3rd Congress.

³ "*Zeri i Popullit* Feb. 10, 1977



Around 3300 people attended the rally. Also present were the delegation of the CP (M-L) of Argentina, the delegation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, the delegation of the CP of Greece (M-L), the delegation of the CP of Italy (M-L), the delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party (reconstructed), the delegation of the CP of Spain (M-L) as well as the delegation of the Marxist-Leninist organisation of Iran, "Toufan". The government of the Federal German Republic, with whom there were no formal established diplomatic relations, refused an Albanian request for visas to attend the Internationalist rally. The Ludwigshafen congress also precipitated the breaking of fraternal relations with the Norwegian AKP (ML).

The format echoed that of Rome: the participating delegations of the Marxist-Leninist Parties spoke at the rally and the messages sent by other Marxist-Leninist Parties were read out, and the rally closed with the singing of The Internationale.

The chairman of the KPD (ML) Ernst Aust noted in his speech that:

"Tiny Albania is a radiant beacon of socialism not only in Europe, but throughout the world. What constitutes the greatness of Albania? Albania is great on account of the struggle of its people, its firm reliance on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and its example in the construction of socialism. What generations of proletarians have fought for, what hundreds of thousands of people have given their lives for on the barricades of the class struggle, is achieved over there in Albania."

Rallies were not the only manifestation of the struggle to create a Tirana centred movement, bi-lateral encouragement was seen in the PLA's persistent efforts to strengthen the militant unity and collaboration among those organisations favourable to its criticisms and perspectives that stressed solidarity with Albania and euphemistically attack "opportunism" meaning the CPC's policies.

This bore fruit in joint declarations of principles and positions.



The Albanian Telegraphic Agency reported on December 9, 1976 (and the newspaper Zeri i Popullit republished) the Joint Communiqué between the CP of Germany (M-L) and the CP (M-L) of Argentina published in Roter Morgen, wherein the representatives of the two Parties discussed important questions of the international situation, the situation in Argentina and Germany, the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle in the respective countries, exchanged their experience and expressed their support for one another in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The Albanian coverage noted, “Armed with the decisions of the 7th Congress, the Party of Labor of Albania, in the future too, will continue to render its support to every activity which helps the strengthening of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement on a world scale and will always abide by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.”⁴

In February 1977, "No Transar", publication of the CP (M-L) of Argentina, published a joint statement of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America. The delegations of the Central Committees of the Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina, the Communist Party of Bolivia (M-L), the Communist Party of Brazil, the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L), the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador and the Revolutionary Communist Party of Uruguay when attending the 7th Congress of the PLA, took the opportunity to hold a fraternal meeting, in which they exchanged opinions on problems of common interest.

At this early stage in the formation of a Tirana-orientated movement, there were still references, that later were never to appear such as “The revisionists have the Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries, Socialist China and Albania in their gun-sights”. Positive references to China, Mao and their achievements would soon disappear under a different rhetoric. The declaration, speaking of the 7th Congress of the PLA in the autumn of 1976 still recalled,

“The delegations which attended this meeting honoured the memory and expressed their profound grief at the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung, chairman of the CC of the CP of China, the undisputed leader of the Chinese people, great Marxist-Leninist and great teacher of the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the entire world. Under the wise leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung, and the CP of China

⁴ Albanian Telegraphic Agency December 9, 1976

the Chinese proletariat and people carried forward the revolutionary struggle, seized power and established socialism in China. Thus, backward and dependent China has been transformed into a modern socialist country, reliable base of the world revolution. Likewise, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung, a correct solution has been found to the important problem of how to continue the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat and to prevent the restoration of capitalism in China: Comrade Mao Tsetung resolutely raised the banner of Marxism-Leninism and launched the struggle against modern revisionism, thus making a decisive contribution to the reconstruction of the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement. His road as a revolutionary fighter and his ideas, which have developed Marxism-Leninism, will remain indelible in the hearts and minds of the peoples and communists of the entire world."

The Albanian party saw that this multi-lateral meeting of the sister Parties of Latin America, and the strategic conclusion they had come too, was based on a principled Marxist-Leninist analysis, with a sound class criterion:

"The liberation struggle", the statement reads, "is aimed against the two imperialist superpowers. Although it is true that the main enemy changes according to various zones in the world, it would be a great mistake in these circumstances to neglect the threat of the other superpower to link oneself with one of them to fight the other...in face of the two superpowers' threats of war, it is necessary to develop the revolutionary class struggle, to an even higher stage, to counter the outbreak of the war, to weaken the basis of the aggressive forces or to transform the unjust inter-imperialist war into a just war for liberation. "

The PLA was open in its encouragement to other sister parties to meet and discuss the analysis it was publically developing against, in the first place, Chinese foreign policy – denying Mao any responsibility for its authorship – claiming "the theory of "Three Worlds" as a "great strategic concept" of world revolution was never adopted by any congress of the Communist Party of China during Chairman Mao's lifetime".

What was stressed in the Albanian worldview was an orthodoxy of revolutionaries led in their struggle by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and applying them in the concrete conditions of the countries where they operate.

"Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Party of Labor of Albania **and continuer of the work of Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao**, clearly described the two basic forces of today in his historic Report to the Seventh Congress of the PLA November 1, 1976." (*emphasis added*)

Late April saw the Communist Party of Italy (M-L) organized in Rome on April 17 a internationalist rally under the slogan: "Carrying on From Gramsci, the Resistance and the Partisan Struggle, We Must Fight For Marxism-Leninism, For Proletarian Internationalism, The Proletarian Revolution, For The Dictatorship of the Proletariat, For Socialism, For Communism".

Meeting once again that spring were delegations from: the Party of Labor of Albania, headed by the member of the CC of the PLA, Foto Cami, the Communist Party of Spain (M-L), the Communist Party of Germany (M-L), the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), the Communist Party of Greece (M-L), the Communist Party (M-L) of San Marino, the Communist Party of Brazil, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, the Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Uruguay.

Dinucci repeated the phraseology set at the 7th Congress of the PLA: that it would be a grave mistake to rely on one superpower to fight the other, or in order to fight a superpower to cease the struggle against the internal reaction and give up the revolution.

“To talk about the "non-aligned countries", about the "second world" or the "third world", etc., is not making a correct class analysis. On the contrary the complexity of the clash of class forces is covered up. It is clear to the genuine Marxist-Leninists that they must rely mainly on the peoples, on the progressive and revolutionary forces, first of all, on the working class. The reactionary regimes are servants of imperialism, or in any case, at the decisive moments they always rely on imperialism to suppress their own people.”⁵

Enver Hoxha’s views were recorded on April 28th 1977 in his political diary (later published in *Reflections on China II: 479*)

... THE COMMUNIST movement throughout the world. We are showing the peoples and the communists that, irrespective of the betrayal of the Soviet and other modern revisionists, irrespective of the opportunist deviation of the Communist Party of China, Marxism-Leninism will never die, but on the contrary is advancing, growing stronger, being tempered in class battles against American imperialism. Soviet



Another European rally was reported in *Bandeira Vermelha*, publication of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed). This ‘grand internationalist rally’ was held in Campo Pequeno in Lisbon on April 17, 1977 at the closing of the 2nd Congress of this Party, in which, reportedly more than fifteen thousand persons took part.

In attendance were delegations from the Party of Labor of Albania, headed by the member of the Central Committee, Gafur Cuci, the Communist Party of Brazil, the Communist Party of Spain (M-L), the Communist Party of Germany (M-L), the Communist Party of Italy (M-L), the Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, the Communist Party of Greece (M-L), the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria, the Organization of the Iranian Marxist-Leninists

"Toufan" and the Communist Organization of Angola.

As Gafur Cuci had explained when he addressed the Lisbon rally:

“between the PLA and the PCP (R) is a friendship which exists between two equal sister parties which learn from the experience of one another, which fight on the same barricade of the class struggle for the cause of the revolution in their own countries.”

The Albanian delegation noted in its report of their ten day stay in Portugal that “The true Portuguese communists are aware that the great struggle being waged between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism requires the strengthening of unity, the ties and cooperation between all the true Marxist-

⁵ Albanian Telegraphic Agency April 26, 1977

Leninist parties.” The five and half hours rally held on the 17 April in campo-Pequeno, a monumental Moorish-style bullring, in the centre of the capital, was attended by a claimed 15,000 and eleven foreign Marxist-Leninist party delegations. In his opening speech PCP (R) leader Monteiro “dwelt extensively” on the importance of the struggle of the PLA and its 7th Congress. “Then he analyzed the stands of the PCP (R) on international problems, stressed the need to combat the two superpowers, which the PCP (R) considers as the principal enemies of socialism and national liberation, as defenders of oppressive reactionary regimes and as leading the world straight to a third world war.”⁶



The core group of a new international alignment centred on Tirana was being consolidated. This grouping of European and South American organisations was joined by a Canadian led association of sister parties. At the Third Congress of the Communist party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), held between February 6 and March 13, 1977, the Internationalists trend associated with Hardial Bains, identify itself with the positions of the Albanian party.

“The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) hails the glorious leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha and considers his Political Report submitted to the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania to be the theory and practice of communism.”⁷

This relationship was cemented later that month when a delegation of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) visited the People's Socialist Republic of Albania from March 24 to May 2, 1977. They attended the May Day celebrations in Tirana. The Internationalists drew in a number of “sister” organisations, like the Communist Party of England (Marxist Leninist).

Still, there was a residue of their “maoist roots” in the internationalists’ pronouncements (Mao was not being personally attacked at that time) so the CPC (ML) would praise Enver Hoxha in these terms:

⁶ Gafur Cuci. The PCP (Reconstructed) – The true Revolutionary Party of the Portuguese Proletariat. Zeri i Popullit 22nd May 1977

⁷ From the Political Resolution of the 3rd Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist)



“Today, Comrade Enver Hoxha stands as the successor to Chairman Mao Tsetung in terms of revolutionary authority and prestige. The eyes of the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries of the world are turned towards Albania. The science and authority of revolution is embodied in the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha... not to recognize the revolutionary authority of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the leading role of the Party of Labor of Albania in the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement is to become a prey to an opportunist clique and betray revolution.”⁸

CPC (ML): IDENTIFYING THE ENEMY

The latest splitters of the international working class and communist movement are the proponents of the new international opportunist trend based on the anti-Leninist theory of "three worlds". The antics these opportunists are basically no different than those of the Khrushchovite revisionists. These opportunists hatched their peculiar anti-Leninist theory of "three worlds" and tried to shove it down the throats of the international working-class and communist movement through the most vile intrigue and conspiracy. They simply declared this anti-Leninist theory to the world and pontificated that everyone must build their strategies on it without any consultation whatsoever with the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and with the ulterior motive of revising the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. They started grooming opportunists of all hues and other agents-provocateurs and started issuing statements that these counter-revolutionaries were actually "revolutionaries". Through this method they began floating their henchmen and interfered in the internal affairs of many Marxist-Leninist parties. They gave themselves the reactionary right to interfere and hegemonize everywhere and they used the great revolutionary prestige of China and Mao Tsetung in order to launch this vicious attack on the international working-class and communist movement. But the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties are not cowed down by the reactionary bluster and intrigues of the revisionists and opportunists of all hues. The genuine Marxist-Leninist parties stood up to these splitters as well and started a big campaign against these splitters as well. ⁹

It was a rallying cry in the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism:

“There are several variants of this revisionism and the anti-Leninist theory of "three worlds" is one of its variants. The unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement can be established only by firmly opposing modern revisionism and all its currents and offshoots and by opposing opportunism of all hues. The Internationalist Rally is being organized to oppose modern revisionism and opportunism of all hues and to contribute to the building of unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Movement which is surging forward today. We have invited our fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties for the purposes

⁸ From the Political Resolution of the 3rd Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist)

⁹ People's Canada Daily News March 3, 1978

of exchanging views, with them and to provide them with an international platform through which they can put forward their Marxist-Leninist positions to the international proletariat. “

In the polemical exchanges, the Chinese media also used surrogates to express political criticism of the Albania positions by giving prominent coverage in the *People's Daily* to statements from Marxist-Leninist parties, like a statement by Petros Stagos of the Greek Revolutionary Communist movement. The statement, without mentioning Albania, alluded to the danger of “revisionism, dogmatism, splittism and opportunism”. And there was evidence of all that. The reaction from other comrades was to condemn and sever relations, as the Norwegian AKP(ML) explained about “certain leaders who desert to the enemy” referring to the leaders of the KPD/ML (“Roter Morgen”) in West Germany and PCd'I (m-l) (“Nuova Unità”) in Italy.

“The leaders of these two organizations support the bitter enemies of socialism and of the Chinese working class..... slander the Marxist-Leninist central committee of the Communist Party of China led by comrade Hua Kuo-feng. They spread lies according to which a “rightist coup” has occurred in China, and they condemn the line of Mao Tsetung as “revisionist”The leaders of the two organizations, the KPD/ML and the PCd'I (m-l), attack the CPC, repeating the arguments of the Kremlin propaganda machine.”¹⁰

More accurately they were repeating what was coming out of Albania. These Internationalist Rally were part of the trend that had unfolded in defence of what it considered the purity of Marxism coming out of the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania and were celebrated as vivid expression of proletarian internationalism.

The Chinese refusal to engage in public polemics extended to the publication of its major foreign policy statement, the November 1st 1977 *People's Daily* editorial, ‘Chairman Mao’s Theory of Differentiation of the Three Worlds Is a Major Contribution to Marxism-Leninism’ which contains an indirect (and rare public) rebuttal of Albanian criticism:

In the historical conditions of today, if anyone should try to use the leading role of the proletariat as a pretext to form a so-called centre to order the peoples of various countries about in their anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle, or even try to subordinate this struggle to their private ends of one country, this would only damage and undermine the struggle of the people of the world ¹¹

The Theory and Practice of Revolution

The Chinese article appeared after the *Zeri i Popullit* editorial of July 7th, “**The Theory and Practice of Revolution**” that signified the beginning of a new round of polemical engagement on the “flagrant departure from Marxism-Leninism” centring its attack on the theory of “three worlds”. The decision to orchestrate a political offensive against the policies of the CPC had been taken by the PLA leadership at the June meeting of the Central Committee. It was a very deliberate act to ratchet up the criticisms: the Albanian Embassy in Peking had distributed copies of *Zeri i Popullit* editorial attack of 7 July 1977 to all other foreign embassies.

Hoxha was writing in his diary,

¹⁰ “KPD/ML and PCd'I (m-l): Deserters to Revisionism”. *Class Struggle*, International Bulletin of the Workers' Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Norway, No. 10, June 16-October 16, 1977.

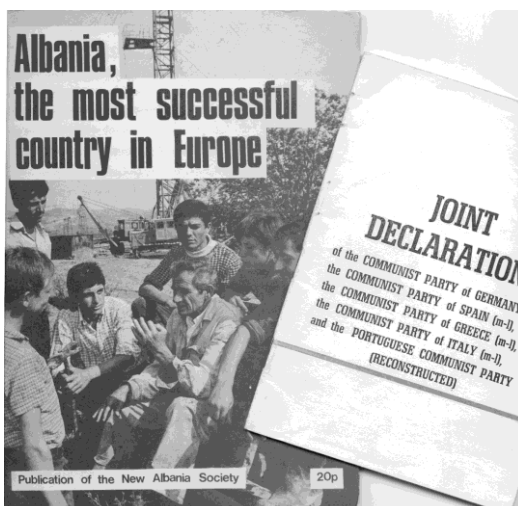
¹¹ *Renmin Ribao*1977: 49

"I am not going to dwell at length on the great effect which the article <The Theory and Practice of Revolution> has had in the world.... Now China has mobilised all its hangers-on, the pseudo Marxist parties which it finances, which are concocting muddled articles to defend the Chinese theses which cannot be defended. The Chinese have sunk so low as to wind up a lackey in support of their anti-marxist stands, using a certain Hill from Australia, a person with two faces (or better to say, with many faces, because we don't know whom else he serves...) who poses as a friend of our party."¹²

In an unpublicised speech by Huang Hua, China's foreign minister, to senior political, military, and party cadres on July 30 1977, explained the muted response from China¹³

"Because we did not want to aggravate a controversy which would merely have caused "anguish to our friends, and rejoicing among our enemies," we have, at the same time, followed the command of the late Chairman Mao to protect the friendship between Chinese and Albanian comrades as closely as we would our own eyes. Thus, while we were doing our best to win round and convince the Albanian party, we were most reluctant to argue about this matter in public."

Instrumental in solidifying the political allegiances 'Zeri i Popullit' editorial, '*The Theory and Practice of Revolution*' was praised by the, now familiar suspects: The Italian paper, *Nuova Unità* published it in pamphlet form as a supplement to its July 19th edition. That issue carried a critical editorial that urged party members to "study, discuss and circulate it". They were not alone as the Spanish party also came out with a special endorsement of the Albanian position. In the October 1977 edition of '*Vanguardia Obrera*' published by the Communist Party of Spain (ML) five European parties declared support for the Albanian criticism of the Chinese policies. The Joint Declaration (1977) of the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, West German and Greek organisations, reprinted in *Zeri i Popullit* on November 4 1977, stated¹⁴



"categorically that the 'theory of three worlds' can never constitute the strategic basis of the world communist movement, that this theory is not a Marxist-Leninist theory, but a revision and complete falsification of Marxism-Leninism... a counter-revolutionary strategy....It ranks socialist countries (i.e. Albania) alongside fascist regimes such as Brazil, Chile, or that of the Shah of Iran. And other lackeys of imperialism...."

"...even if, in fact, it were the only socialist country in the world, Albania would represent the aspirations, hopes and aims of the international proletariat and would be a bastion of world

revolution confronting imperialism and the old world of oppression and exploitation."¹⁵

¹² Reflections on China. August 11 1977

¹³ Background on China (Chinese Information Service, New York), December 26th 1977

¹⁴ Joint Declaration (1977) of the Communist Party of Germany (ML), the Communist Party of Spain (ML), the Communist Party of Greece (ML), the Communist Party of Italy (ML), and the Portuguese Communist Party [Reconstructed] Tirana: The <8 Nentori> Publishing House

¹⁵ Ditto p25

For its critics the three world theory negated the leading role of the proletariat and relegated the contradiction of oppressed people with imperialism.

Enver Hoxha's report to the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania and the *Zeri i popullit* editorial, "The Theory and Practice of Revolution." demonstrated Albania's disagreements with the "theory of three worlds," however there was hardly any indication in them that the Albanians, who had always insisted that "the name and work of Comrade Mao Tsetung are immortal," would all too soon be declaring that Mao had never been a Marxist-Leninist. So while praising the PLA and Enver Hoxha as "brilliant example of the Marxist-Leninist determination and revolutionary courage that fills our parties with enthusiasm". However, as it is not until the following year that the pro-Albanian groups are weaned away from their Maoist inspiration and publicly following the PLA in denouncing Mao as "anti-Marxist", the statement ended with a call to defend Mao's legacy against the 'revisionists' and 'opportunists' who use his name to 'falsify' and to 'treacherously' attack his teachings. It ends, honouring "the memory of comrade Mao Tsetung, on the occasion of the first anniversary of his death."¹⁶

The pro-Albanian "Marxist-Leninist" parties of Western Europe and Latin America had coalesced into the international communist trend that looked to Tirana. Some parties that had initially sided with Albania, like the Communist party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) led by leading trade unionist, Reg Birch, had retreat from full allegiance to the Albanian line, while the distant New Zealand party remain steadfast in supporting the orthodoxy associated with Tirana. Other, less public supporters, like the Tigrarian Marxist-Leninist League, were not part of the public spectacle seen in the coming years that brought together the pro-Albanian movement in celebration of its international reach. That showmanship was exemplified by those Canadian rallies chaired by Hardial Bains. *The Rally to Hail the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Founding of the Internationalists* Toronto, March 12, 1978 was followed by The Internationalist Rally in Montreal on April 30th [1978] at which nineteen fraternal Marxist-Leninist communist parties and organizations and national liberation movements from all five continents either sent representatives or messages of greeting to the Rally. Yet still large portraits of Enver Hoxha and Chairman Mao also decorated the hall; the attacks on the "anti-Marxist" Mao were still to come. But within the space of less than a year, through rallies for Enver, the contours of the emerging pro-Albanian trend could be seen.

"It was from the Seventh Congress of the PLA that the trend of the developing unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement took a decisive step forward. The Internationalist Rally is a continuation of this trend, which has been highlighted by the internationalist rallies in Rome, Ludwigshaven, Lisbon and Athens, and by the Joint Statement of the Latin American Parties and the Joint Statement of the Five European Parties. The rise of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement since the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania is a gigantic step forward in eliminating bourgeois confusion and ending splits in the proletariat."¹⁷

The Chinese press, soon after the publication of the *Zeri i Popullit* July 7th attack, began to reproduce statements from some of the parties that defended China's "three worlds" theory.

¹⁶ Ditto p32

¹⁷ People's Canada Daily News May 1st 1978

That China still had friends throughout the world was illustrated in coverage given to visits by Marxist-Leninist parties to China. *China Pictorial* No.11 1977

Not all were seduced by the Albanian positions; the French PCML leader Jurguet's banquet toast during a visit to China in December 1976, said of the three worlds theory, it "constitutes the most effective weapon for the proletariat and the peoples of the whole world to define their respective strategies and to advance world revolution."¹⁸

Initially the AKP (ML) published Norwegian language editions of both Hoxha's Report to the 7th Congress and the *Theory and Practice of the Revolution* without an accompanying commentary.

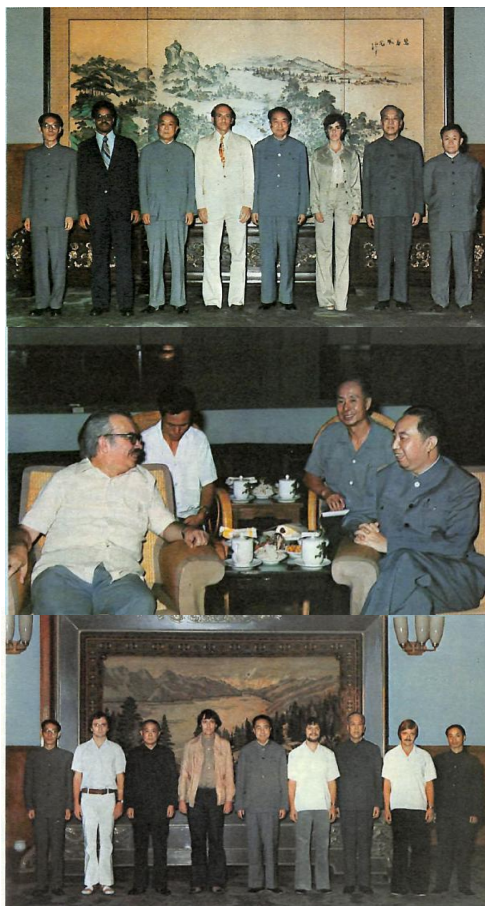
A reading of the text branded advocates of the Three World Theory, like the AKP (ML), as "counter-revolutionary". A private letter was sent to the PLA in the autumn of 1977 clarifying the Norwegians' opposition to the views of the PLA regarding the policies of the CPC. According to the AKP (ML), the PLA did not reply directly to the correspondence which was made public in July 17 1978 in *'Klassenkampen'*, the AKP's daily newspaper. The AKP (ML) commented,

"In the report to the 7th Congress of the PLA the CPC was openly criticised for the first time, although the criticisms was not textually directed against China and the CPC. Textually the criticism was directed against supporters of the three world theory, yet everybody at the Congress readily understood that the CPC was the actual target."¹⁹

Later In 1983, the AKP (ML) would reiterate its view:

"It is necessary to establish the fact that when struggling for a socialist Norway we can't copy anyone. It is necessary to point out that there is no communist centre in the world that can present to us the correct line. We don't even want such a centre to exist."²⁰

There were some desertions from those initially sympathetic to the Albanian criticism; in Britain the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (ML) had replaced the CPB (ML) in the pro-Albania camp. There were claims that Reg Birch, founder-leader of the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist), held to the line of opposing the EEC, despite "great pressure" from erstwhile allies in the Chinese leadership, relationships with the CPC had been strained since the CPB (ML) sided with the Albanian arguments in 1977. Birch's independent line was said to have been expressed when he held to the line



Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on July 20 met and had a cordial and friendly conversation with the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of the United States of America. Leader of the delegation was Michael Klonsky, Chairman of the Party, and deputy leader was Eileen Klehr, Vice-Chairman of the Party.
Present at the meeting were Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee; and Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on August 8, met with Fernand Lefebvre, First Secretary, and Emile Remy, Member of the Central Committee, of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Belgium and had friendly talks with them. Comrade Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, was present on the occasion.

Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on August 8 met and had a cordial and friendly conversation with the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Workers' Party of Denmark led by Chairman Benito Scocozza.
Present at the meeting were Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

¹⁸ 'French Marxist-Leninists Steeled in battle Against Revisionism' *The Call* December 20 1976 p6

¹⁹ AKP(ML) 'Special Issue to Support Marxism Leninism MaoTsetung Thought and the scientific Three World Theory' Class Struggle, International Bulletin of AKP(ML) No12 October 1978 p3

²⁰ Steigan 1983:9

of working in the trade unions, despite pressure from the Albanian leadership. By late 1979 the British group's relationships were effectively broken with both Albania and China.



November 1977, on the occasion of 60th Anniversary of the October Revolution, Hysni Kapo gave a contribution entitled *The Ideas of the October Revolution Are Defended and Carried Forward In Struggle Against Modern Revisionism*. Mehmet Shehu, Premier from 1954 [until his mysterious death in December 1981 denounced as an imperialist spy] rhetorical claimed that “nowadays” the banner of the October Revolution is held aloft and carried ahead by the PLA. The spectacle of the PLA claiming to have always had a “single correct Marxist-Leninist line” and attacking Mao as “anti-Marxist” was held up for ridicule by Pro-China forces. They could quote from official Albanian speeches and documents praising Mao as a ‘great Marxist’ to contradict the post-77 claims. The historic record was that they were close allies: As a talk to the Stalin Society in London on *ALBANIA AND CHINA* from Kamal Majid, argued the historic record was that from the time of the Bucharest meeting in 1960, a strong alliance was established between Albania and China. This continued and flourished up until 1978. Majid deliberately used Albanian sources:

“To demonstrate the strength of this unity between the Albanian and Chinese parties, people and government I will rely mainly on Albanian publications”²¹

²¹ Communist Party Alliance <http://www.oneparty.co.uk/>

Some organisations critical of China and the Three World theory, such as the Communist Workers' League of Germany [KABD] entered the argument against "Hoxha's Methods of Slandering Mao Tsetung: Double-talk, Falsification and Unproven Assertions"²² and Sanmugathan, came from those who identified with the radical politics of the imprisoned 'Gang of Four' published '*Enver Hoxha Refuted*'²³.

This change of policy left some politically stranded as with the case of Polish Maoist communist exile Kazimerz Mijal.²⁴ From exile in Tirana, broadcasting in Polish on Radio Tirana and producing an oppositionist bulletin against the Polish government, Mijal was eventually given political asylum in Beijing. He then returned to Poland in 1984. Albania's break with China did see the political resurrection for the British communist William Bland. In the late Sixties, Bland led a small organization that saw a Maoist organization, the Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Britain, investigate the Cultural Revolution and conclude that Liu Shao-Chi was right, and end up condemning Mao. Bland's organization, was involved in work in support of Albania arguing that the PLA had "remained faithful to Marxist-Leninist principles....Nevertheless, the cardinal error of the leadership..in presenting China as a 'socialist' state and in supporting maoist groups in various countries as 'Marxist-Leninist' have seriously retarded the urgent task of building a new Marxist-Leninist International"²⁵

The escalation of the attacks on the Chinese party and its leadership follow the actions of July 7th 1978 when the Chinese government notified the Albanian government that it was stopping its economic and military aid to Albania and recalling its economic and military experts. The Albanians replied with a letter accusing the Chinese leadership of using technical problems as a cover for the real reason – political disagreements over China's foreign policy. The PLA described the withdrawal of China's aid to Albania as demonstrating "that it knows no other way apart from dictate and imposition of its views on the others, especially smaller parties and states."²⁶ It likened the cessation of Chinese aid to Albania to "an act which is a repetition, in content and form, of the savage and chauvinistic methods of Tito, Khrushchev and Brezhnev which China, also, once condemned."²⁷ Expressions of indignation and solidarity with Albania were publicised in *Albania Today* by the Tirana authorities, reproducing extracts from seventeen Marxist-Leninist organisations.²⁸

December 1978 saw *Imperialism and Revolution* by Enver Hoxha publicly distributed (it had circulated within the PLA since April that year) and it went further condemning the theory of three worlds as 'a counter-revolutionary chauvinist theory' and part of 'China's Plan to become a superpower', and 'Mao Tsetung Thought – an anti-Marxist theory'. The Albanian analysis, rejecting the previous decades of public praise, argued that Chinese revisionism had displayed itself openly in the early 1970s but began to take shape especially after 1935, when Mao Zedong came to head the party. Furthermore, the Communist Party of China "never became a genuine party proletarian party in its ideology, policy, composition or organisational structure, and why the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China did not develop into a socialist revolution, did not lead to the establishment of a genuine dictatorship of the

²² Hoxha versus MaoTsetung. China Today 5, English ed 1981. Stuttgart: Verlag Neuer Weg

²³ Sanmugathan 1981 see also : http://website.lineone.net/~partisan_britain/ISML/isml05/isml0505.html

²⁴ <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/poland/poland-intro.pdf>

²⁵ Communist League Manifesto. COMbat (February 1977) p49/50

²⁶ Letter of the CC of the Party of Labour and the Government of Albania to the CC of the Communist Party and the Government of China (July 29, 1978) Tirana: '8 Nentori' Publishing House: p21

²⁷ Letter (1978) p4

²⁸ 'Powerful Solidarity with the unshakeable Marxist-Leninist stand of the PLA and the Albanian people' *Albania Today* No.5 (42) 1978

proletariat and did not set China on the road to genuine socialist development.”²⁹ It was a reversal of years of public pronouncements and praise and as importantly, noted in an American analysis

“In *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Enver Hoxha raises some important questions about Mao and the Chinese Cultural revolution, questions that have long been buried under uncritical acclaim for the Chinese revolution. But he raises these questions in the framework of what we will show is a stultified and mechanical dogmatism that leaves his answers far short of Marxist-Leninist critique.”³⁰

It was this analysis that Mao was regarded as a “revolutionary democrat who combined some elements of Marxist-Leninist philosophy with idealism, with bourgeois-revisionist philosophy and the old Chinese philosophy in an eclectic way”³¹ that parties would also subscribe to. The Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies produced the ammunition in the struggle to consolidate the new Albanian policies, with numerous studies like Selim Beqiri’s *The Opportunist Stands of the Chinese Leadership Towards Khrushchevite Revisionism During The Years 1960-1964*³² published in various languages for distribution to the Marxist-Leninist movement. The pro-Albanian trend had some of these groups, which had been among the most zealous proponents of “Mao Tse-Tung Thought,” they now viewed with each other to prove who was the most critical of Maoism and the most vociferous opponent of Chinese “social imperialism”. Each argued that a red core had existed throughout their organisation’s existence that had maintain Marxism-Leninism inspite of the malignant influence of Mao Zedong Thought. The Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists expressed this theme that “The Red Thread Running Through All the Fights and Controversies of the Last Decade in the U.S. Marxist-Leninist Movement Has Been the Struggle Between Revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and Opportunist Neo-Revisionism”³³. What it reflected, beside an inability to address historical question with an honesty, is the approach that the Albanian polemics had enshrined, “Lenin and Stalin said it all; we only need to apply their truths to the present situation.”³⁴ As Costello and Eriksen-Schmidt note, Enver,

“makes no reference to advances in Marxist-Leninist theory since the 20’s and 30’s. Lenin and Stalin are Hoxha’s constant reference, not for theoretical insights that help clarify a specific point, but rather for slogans that dovetail into his own sloganeering rhetoric.”³⁵

The vulgar denunciations of Mao by the Albanians provides less a critique than a means to identify and solidify their own supporters in a public expression, as too a large extent the polemics had not won any new adherents to the Albanian side. While the pro-Albanian parties were left in political aspic, those whose allegiance remain with a former Maoist tendency weakened numerical, divided politically in their attitude to the post-Mao leadership and domestically declining.

The start of the 1980s the changes in the foreign policy priorities of the Chinese state had had an effect on the nascent Maoist movement. It raised fundamental questions for the remaining Maoists; Roger Rashi, chair of Canadian WCP publically addressed the elephant in the room:

²⁹ *History of the Party of Labour of Albania 1966-1980*. The <8 Nentori> Publishing House, Tirana 1981: 274

³⁰ Neil Eriksen-Schmidt & Paul Costello, Enver Hoxha and the Crisis of Anti-Revisionism. *Theoretical Review*, No. 10, May-June 1979.

³¹ *History of the Party of Labour of Albania 1966-1980*. The <8 Nentori> Publishing House, Tirana 1981: 274

³² The Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the CC of the PLA, *Soviet Revisionism and the struggle of the PLA to unmask it*. The <8 Nentori> Publishing House, Tirana 1981

³³ U.S. Neo-Revisionism as the American Expression of the International Opportunist Trend of Chinese Revisionism (1979)

³⁴ Neil Eriksen-Schmidt & Paul Costello, Enver Hoxha and the Crisis of Anti-Revisionism. *Theoretical Review*, No. 10, May-June 1979.

³⁵ Ditto

The re-establishment of relations between the CPC and the 'Eurocommunist' parties raised doubts on the demarcation with modern revisionism that was drawn in the sixties and therefore fundamentally questions the very existence of the new Marxist-Leninist parties.³⁶

Although most of the Maoist forces had not arisen out of the Polemic of the PLA and CPC against the CPSU, the argumentation and line of the Polemic was regarded as their theoretical foundations. The majority of the new Marxist-Leninist organizations in Europe had arisen out of the radicalized student movement and counter culture of the late Sixties but regarded "the Great Debate" on the "general line" as part of their ideological legacy. Mao was being denied in China, when an article in *Renmin Ribao* [People's Daily] repudiated the 'Nine Commentaries' which had defined CPC ideological differences with the CPSU in 1963-64. [April 2 1980] it underlined ideological what had been happening domestically since the pivotal meeting of the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in late December 1978.

A further re-evaluation was needed as the movement had been partly inspired by the Cultural Revolution in China, and when the legacy of that experience was being questioned in China; what was the consequences for the international movement that grew out of that now discredited period?

The development of a Marxist-Leninist movement revolving around Tirana was hardly more stable. October 1978, the month Enver Hoxha turned 70, saw a three-day conference organized by the Institute of Marxist Leninist Studies attended by 12 fraternal Marxist-Leninist party representatives of Brazil, Canada, Chile, Ecuador, Germany, Iran, Italy Japan, Mexico, Portugal, Spain and Venezuela. These, having abandoned a Maoist allegiance, formed the core of the pro-Albanian movement included others like Klaus Riis in Denmark (eventually leader of the DKP/ML). Those embraced the orientation promoted by the PLA, and ironically the organizations that joined the PLA attack on the anti-Marxist Mao were often the most vociferous in their praise of "Mao TseTung Thought" prior to 1976. The allegiance of the Communist Party of Canada (ML) led by Hardial Bains brought with it a constellation of political groups influenced by 'The Internationalist' trend: such as the Communist Party of England (ML) and (later) Communist Ghadar Party of India.

Albanian leader Ramiz Ali praised and flattered those present and criticised the perceived attitude of the Chinese party in passing:

"The attempt of our enemies to create an atmosphere where the Marxist-Leninist parties would be underrated and mistrusted will not succeed. The strength of the genuine revolutionary parties of the proletariat never depends on the number of the members but, above all, on the great ideas and the just cause for which they stand, on the revolutionary struggle they wage."

The significance of this intense polemical period was emphasised at the three day meeting on "Problems of Current World Development" held in October 1978. The meeting was told:

"Like the emergence of Khrushchevite revisionism earlier, the crystallization of the Chinese revisionist trend, which has found its embodiment in the anti-Marxist theory of <<three worlds>>, now has caused another sorting out in the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist communist movement. Most of the Marxist-Leninist parties have adopted a clear cut stand in opposition to the Chinese variant of modern revisionism and resolutely rejected the counter revolutionary theory of <three worlds>."³⁷

³⁶ WCP, *October*, Spring 1981 p16-17

³⁷ Problems of Current World Development (1978) : 87

In that struggle the Chinese were accused of having tried to undermine, engaged in splitting activity, and hinder the growth and consolidation of ML parties in many ways, to disorientate them ideologically and politically and to divert them from the road of revolution. The absence of multilateral meetings when only bilateral talks between parties were favoured by the Chinese leadership was “because in this way it could exert pressure and impose its opportunist line on the others and disorientate the Marxist-Leninists”.³⁸ The fundamental criteria for establishing relations, it was “well-known to both the PLA and the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties”, was not adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, but adherence to the Chinese line. The Chinese party, now with ambitions to transform China into a superpower said the Albanians, “has never shown any interest, and has not given them any support, in carrying out their revolutionary activity.”³⁹

There can be only one genuine Marxist-Leninist party in each country. That long-established Albanian position was reiterated in the consolidation around its struggle against “the anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary theory of <three worlds>.” The argument had a familiar logic: the working class comprised a single entity with a fundamental class interest. It only had one revolutionary ideology – and there could only really be one truly revolutionary strategy at each stage of its development. It needed only one organisation to act upon this, a revolutionary party of the working class. And of course, the precedent was that Lenin and the Comintern consistently adhered to this clear Marxist position in their time.

Privately Hoxha was recording his opinion that: “The Communist Party of China has no confidence in the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups which are being created....The Communist Party of China, with two or more lines in its ranks, maintains contact with any kind of party or group which allegedly calls itself Marxist-Leninist and praises it.”⁴⁰

“From the very start the Chinese leadership had not the least confidence in them. This view was expressed openly by Keng Piao, the person in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, who makes the decisions on relations with the international communist movement. He has said, “China does not approve the creation of Marxist-Leninist parties and does not want the representatives of these parties to come to China. Their coming is a nuisance to us but,” he stressed, “we can do nothing about them, for we cannot send them away. We accept them just as we accept the representatives of bourgeois parties”. (From Keng Piao's conversation with comrades from our Party in Peking, April 16, 1973) Such a policy, which had nothing in common with proletarian internationalism, was followed at the time Mao Tsetung was alive, when he was fully capable of thinking and directing, hence it had his full approval.”⁴¹

The Albanian argument was that with the position advanced that “countries of the Third World were the main force” in the present era, the CPC were advocating giving a leading role to the bourgeoisie of plainly reactionary states and negated the hegemonic role of the proletariat. This would appear heresy in a Marxist discourse with its emphasis and interpretation of the importance of class.

³⁸ Ditto page 46

³⁹ Ditto page 106

⁴⁰ Reflections On China Vol. 1:597

⁴¹ Hoxha, Enver (1979) Imperialism and the Revolution Tirana: the <8 Nentori> Publishing House p442

Against the Chinese call for “unity” and alliances between the Third World, with the Second World against the USSR, the PLA flattered the small ML groups , calling for these “constituent parts of the social forces which are carrying the world revolutionary process forward” to rally round on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

China’s attitude towards the international movement was clarified in the aftermath of the Albanian intervention. Retaining the form of its previous position, the CPC gutted its ideological judgments in the restoration of formal party-to-party relations after a lapse of nearly two decades that saw rapprochement on the basis of the acceptance of differences and of agreement that every party should “formulate its policies independently and develop relations with other parties on the basis of equality”. The ideological sting was taken out of these relationships as a wave of normalisation followed the visit to Beijing in April 1980 of General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer. The concept of modern revisionism was quietly buried under the rubric of acceptance of unspecified differences on some questions. A succession of revisionist parties sent delegations to China: the leaders of the Spanish CP (November 1980), the “interior” Greek CP (December 1980), the Communist Party of the Netherlands’ (June 1982) and the French CP (October 1982), the Swedish VKP, Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Belgian CP were feted and fed like the anti-revisionists before them.

While the CPC analysis, according to the PLA, concluded that there lacked a revolutionary situation in Europe and defined Soviet Social Imperialism as the main and most dangerous enemy and called for “defence of the Fatherland”, in contrast, Agim Popa spoke of the formation and tempering of new proletarian parties as part of the inevitable historical march of revolution.⁴² They

“have set themselves the lofty and vitally important internationalist duty of doing everything in their power to strengthen the militant unity, cooperation and coordination of the international Marxist-Leninist movement, and raise them to a new, higher level.”⁴³

Appealing to the historic messianic goal, the “world historic mission of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist Party”, Albanian political message was of the necessity of the struggle for the reorganisation or re-construction of the untainted proletarian Marxist-Leninist parties. The new Marxist-Leninist parties had been born and grew in the struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism against the revisionist betrayal. The “close fraternal, internationalist links” that Tirana favoured involved further strengthen the unity, collaboration and international solidarity of all the revolutionary forces on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. What did calls for the further strengthening of its unity mean practically?

- 1) An uncompromising principled struggle against all who betray Marxism-Leninism and thus split the revolutionary unity, be they Soviet, Yugoslav, Italian, French, Spanish, Chinese or others.
- 2) A unity based upon respect of the principles of independence and complete equality, non-interference in one another’s internal affairs, consultation, talks and mutual comradely criticism in working out common views and overcoming differences which might arise, mutual help and fraternal internationalist support.
- 3) To work out a common line and stand on important questions related to the struggle , to undertake joint actions and their co-ordination, to organise mutual solidarity and support in the

⁴² The Marxist-Leninist Parties – the leading force of the Revolutionary movement Today pp77-108

⁴³ Ditto page102

course of struggle; to provide more profound knowledge of, and exchange views and revolutionary experiences among fraternal parties working in different conditions.

The suggestion was raised by editor-in-chief of «Zeri i Popullit», Agim Popa that such collaboration may even include “general international meetings of Marxist-Leninists when the conditions necessary for this has been created”⁴⁴

The PLA was consciously a detachment of the international communist movement that following the 7th Congress had striven to assist the revolutionary revival. As Enver Hoxha’s report to the 7th Congress pointed out, “this aid is by no means interference in the internal affairs of other states or export of revolution.” The Party of Labour of Albania had tried to consolidate what it regarded as the emergent international Marxist-Leninist communist movement through regular contact with the sister parties, consulting them and exchanging opinions. It had send representatives to take part in meetings organised by different parties to strengthen them ideologically and organisationally, considering “such aid as its great internationalist duty.

“The Party of Labour of Albania not only proceeds from the interests of its own country, but also expresses and represents very great interests, near and dear to the entire proletariat , the interests of genuine socialism, the interests of all those who base themselves on and are guided by Marxism-Leninism for the revolutionary transformation of the world.”⁴⁵

A constant refrain throughout the ideological contribution from the Albanian communists was the need for "purity of Marxism-Leninism".

Unlike the other parties, our Communist Party, which later was called the Party of Labour, was formed in different circumstances, in the conditions of the National Liberation War. It was formed on virgin ground, on which no other bourgeois or peasant parties existed. Our Party was formed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology at its foundations. [Political Diary January 26, 1978]

Enver Hoxha worked on an article on “*The Marxist – Leninist Movement and the World Crisis of Capitalism*” that had a disappointed tone throughout its explanation of what was expected of Marxist-Leninists. The emphasis was that

“Our Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us: Every revolutionary activity must be guided by the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory which the Marxist-Leninist party masters, defends and faithfully applies. The objective of every genuine revolutionary movement must be to establish the hegemony of the working class. This hegemony does not in any way imply that the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party should not link up with all those classes and strata of the population which are very interested in opposing the oppressive capitalist and revisionist order. On the contrary, the hegemony of the working class presupposes alliance with the working peasantry, the progressive intellectuals, etc.”

The background to the political struggle was provided in this analysis;

“In the metropolises, the working class, students and progressive working people have been and are subject to twofold oppression: that of internal capital, on the one hand, and that of foreign monopoly capital, on the other; they live under the terrible pressure of local monopolies and multinational companies. This is the new characteristic of capitalist society and its highest stage, imperialism, which is quite indiscriminate in regard to its oppression of peoples and the extraction of huge profits from their

⁴⁴ Problems of Current World Development (1978) : 108

⁴⁵ Hoxha (1979) Imperialism and the Revolution: 455

sweat and blood, both within the metropolises and outside them. Capital has become international, without a homeland.

Thus, the group of international monopolist makes no distinction between peoples and states, provided that the profits are great. Thus, the monopolies and the multinational companies recognize neither the freedom, independence, nor the sovereignty of the peoples, which for them are only formal. In this feverish activity they have made common cause with one another in order to share in the profits. But in capitalism the law of the jungle prevails in every direction: the great fish eat the small. This law prevails also in the division of profits.

Our Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionaries are aware that the people living in the developed capitalist countries are more favoured than those of the former colonial or neo-colonial countries. It is an indisputable fact that the people are exploited more in in the neo-colonialist countries where the big joint companies invest their capital. The actions of capital on the workers in the metropolises are somewhat less burdensome than in other countries, but the aim is the same.

Of course, in the various countries of the so-called third world, or non-aligned world, there are very weak points for big and local capital, but there are weak points, also, for the working class and the revolutionary elements, because of their political and ideological backwardness. Therefore, in order to ensure its financial, commercial and military potential, big capital is strengthening the local capitalist cliques in power day by day in order to keep their peoples in subjection, darkness and ignorance and to drown in blood any attempt at uprising by the people or interference by rival foreign capital in those countries.

The time has come when the mentality of the working class in the developed countries, one of the main obstacles of the revolution is the trade-unions which have been transformed into tools of the bourgeoisie to restrain movements of the working class. The owning class and their agents, one of which is the worker aristocracy which is bound to the various parties of social-democracy and modern revisionism, make the law in the unions.

The social democratic parties and the parties of modern revisionism are reformist parties, opposed to the revolution and for the defense of capital, for reforms of the structure and for a corrupted anti-proletarian superstructure, in order to undermine any revolutionary sentiment and action. Just like the parties of social-democracy which were exposed by Marx and Lenin long ago as lackeys of the bourgeoisie and preparers of the terrain for imperialism, the present-day revisionists are precisely those elements who come to the direct aid of ageing social-democracy against socialist society, in order to quell the uprising of the working class and the peoples, the revolution.

Therefore, the trade-unions in the capitalist countries must be considered as tools of the parties of capital and must be fought as such, but without hurting or damaging the unity of the working class. In my opinion the trade-unions in the capitalist countries will play a major role only if their dependence on parties of the bourgeoisie, whether social-democratic or revisionist, is broken and only if the influence of the worker aristocracy in them is totally eradicated. In other words, the unions will be placed in the service of the working class only if true representatives of that class, educated with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, place themselves at the head of them, mobilize them and hurl them into struggle against the state power of capital. Hence, it must be understood that this power, with all its forms, means, laws and constitution, has nothing democratic and revolutionary about it, as those in its service try to make out.

They are the same forms and mechanisms of the old capitalist state, but dressed up with new elements which respond and are adapted to new situations.”⁴⁶

Hoxha described the experience of the anti-revisionist movement thus:

“At present there are difficulties and dangers for the new Marxist-Leninist parties which emerged after the 1960s, and especially for some that were created under the influence of the Chinese cultural revolution. In some of these new “Marxist-Leninist” parties, especially in certain countries of Europe and Latin-America, their emergence on the scene, the organization and uniting of their ranks was done not by sound elements of the working class, but by isolated elements, who had the experience of the weak, anti-Marxist, reformist work of revisionist parties. On top of this, these parties were formed and developed, so to say, in complete legality, and together with others, many elements who posed as Marxist-Leninists but were not such, entered their ranks.

Some leaders of these parties took the problem very lightly, a thing which, naturally, was reflected in their work. They considered the breaking away from the revisionist parties as a very important act. In fact this really was an important act, but the course they were to follow, the forms and methods of organization of their work, especially the political and the organizational line which were adopted and applied, were to have greater importance. As was seen, on certain international problems and theoretical issues they took more or less correct stands, but still, in some aspects, their political line was developed in the same forms as the line of the revisionist parties were unable to make a proper judgment of the situations within their own countries and in the international field. This was so over major events in the international communist movement, for example, over the struggle against Soviet revisionism and, later, in the analyses which should have been made of the development of the situation in China, the factional struggle which was developing there and the Chinese cultural revolution. In many instances it was clear that they lacked Marxist-Leninist depth in their judgments and opinions, but had sufficient arrogance to consider their actions as indisputable.

In fact, right from the formation of some of these parties it was apparent that among their members there were elements who were not properly tempered with the Marxist-Leninist ideas or whose mastery of them was superficial and rather for sentimental reasons. For example, many of them made no effort to gain a thorough understanding of the major role of the party as the vanguard detachment of the working class and of the major difficulties they would encounter in their work and struggle in the conditions of savage, oppressive and exploiting capitalist regime, a regime hostile, first of all, to Marxist-Leninists.

For these reasons, then, in some of the small parties, right from the start frictions appeared and splits occurred, no measures were taken against factionalists, because the leaders and members of the party were not properly acquainted with the Leninist-Stalinist organizational forms of the party in the dangerous and complicated conditions of their countries. Moreover, they did not foresee that reaction would have the activity of the party and its members under permanent surveillance, and would infiltrate dubious elements, their agents or wavering sympathizers into their ranks.

Performing our internationalist duty, wherever we had the possibility and contacts with some of these parties, we, the Party of Labour of Albania, stressed our experience to them and told them that in its whole line, including the problems of its organizational structure, our Party remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism, which it did not consider a dogma or a theoretical ornament, but applied it in practice with

⁴⁶ Institute of Marxist – Leninist Studies. Socio-Political Studies 3 1986

the greatest strictness and seriousness in the difficult conditions of our country, that is, in the struggle against the occupiers of the country and the local bourgeoisie which placed itself in their service.

Thus, in the organizational field, some of these new Marxist-Leninist parties which broke away from the revisionist parties, were organized, so to say, in those same legal forms as the revisionist and social-democratic parties, so the entire political and ideological opinion of the country could not fail to exert an influence within their ranks. To this day there are members of these parties who still think they can militate in legal ways as Marxist-Leninist communists without being disturbed by capitalism and its apparatus of oppression. In these circumstances, then, it can hardly be said that there exists that sound nucleus, as strong as it could be in conditions of illegality, which is able to withstand a sudden attack which reaction is sure to make against the party.

The very dangerous consequences of this work and this practice in some of these parties, especially in Europe, became apparent after the exposure of the Communist Party of China and the ideas of Mao Zedong. Splits occurred, anti-Marxist ideas and opinions emerged, which in some cases were embraced even by their leaders. That explains why some of those small, still unconsolidated parties, which began their activity with correct aims on the Marxist-Leninist road and were for revolutionary actions, deviated. This is what happened with the Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Parties of France, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian countries and recently with the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist), etc.”

“The new Marxist-Leninist parties cannot content themselves merely with the publication of a newspaper or magazine, which, naturally, have very limited circulation. These means of propaganda have their own importance, but frequently they fail to produce the desired effect among the masses, let alone penetrate and organize the work within big groupings of the masses.... Of course, legal work must be carried out, but parallel with this work the party must create its clandestine force which will direct the legal work. Precisely this force of the party is the soundest, most resolute part which will understand the situation thoroughly and correctly and will direct the activities. Some new Marxist-Leninist parties do not bear in mind this teaching of Marxism-Leninism.”

We notice with regret that some Marxist-Leninist parties do not understand this question properly, do not operate actively, that is, they do not accompany their propaganda, however weak, with concrete actions, which they can do only if the militant spirit exists in their ranks..... At these difficult moments, when capitalism in crisis is seeking to establish its savage dictatorship, sacrifices on the part of Marxist-Leninists, the working class and progressive elements are indispensable, **but every revolutionary action requires courage, intelligence and vigorous actions.** There must be no retreat in the face of this situation.”

Unconsciously echoing a maoist precept that “political line decides everything”, Enver concluded his analysis with

“profound and correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism, that unerring guide which leads and directs us in every step of our life and ideological line, as well as in the organizational field, the effective co-ordination of illegal with legal activity, the selection of reliable allies and alliances, etc. will make our struggle and the overcoming of difficulties easier and will lead us to victory over the bourgeois-revisionist enemies.”

With the acrimonious break between Albania and China after the death of Chairman Mao Zedong, the Albanians succeeded in ideologically winning over a large share of the Maoists, mainly in Latin America but they also had an international following in general as the pro-Albanian “Marxist-Leninist” parties of western Europe and Latin America had coalesced into the international communist trend that looked to Tirana.

(left to right) With the General Secretary of the CC of the CP of Peru (M-L), Saturnino Paredes Macedo and the First Secretary of the CC of the CP of Ecuador (M-L), Rafel Echeveria



With the First Secretary of the CC of the CP of Denmark (M-L), Klaus Riis Klausen and with the Chairman of the CP of Germany (M-L) Ernst Aust

(left) Comrade Enver Hoxha together with Comrade Hardial Bains, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), at the Eighth Congress of the PLA.



Original caption reads:

As a genuine internationalist, Comrade Enver Hoxha tirelessly supported the new Marxist-Leninist parties and their revolutionary struggle. The photo above shows him meeting with delegates of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Communist parties during a reception held for the sister parties at the premises of the Central Committee of the PLA during the Eighth Congress of the PLA in 1981.

But not all was calm solidarity between the parties: KPD/ML issued an open letter to “brother parties” in October 1979 with regards to the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria, MLPA and its 1st Secretary, Franz Strobl, long recognised by the Albanian party. Acknowledging its historic contribution,

“the *Rote Fahne* of Austria was founded in 1963 as one of the first new Marxist-Leninist newspapers and the MLPA in 1967 as one of the first new Marxist-Leninist parties in Europe. Through the spreading of Marxist-Leninist literature it also helped the West German Marxist-Leninists within and without the KPD which had degenerated to revisionism, in creating the Marxist-Leninist party and supported the foundation of the KPD/ML under the leadership of Comrade Ernst Aust.”⁴⁷

The KPD/ML’s judgement was that “The MLPA has never been a truly Marxist-Leninist party”, now “degenerated to a sect extremely detached from the masses” and condemned its “The counter-revolutionary subversive activity of Strobl to undermine and liquidate the international unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement.”

While expressing its’ own restraint, the KPD/ML stated,

“in the early seventies he started to interfere with the affairs of our party and supported a faction of liquidators who wanted to destroy our party then. In accordance with Strobl's logic and practice their demands ended in the following: dissolution of all the industrial cells in the party, suspension of practice, the pure study of theory, the disavowal of discipline and of the binding force of the party statute, etc. They received the deserved answer from the party and were unsparingly purged from the party.”

Attacks continued with pamphlets and they “concentrate their attacks on the chairman of our party, Comrade Ernst Aust, and insult him grossly.”

“With their swelled head they simply maintain that the struggle against modern revisionism was never - until they started doing it themselves ----- consistently carried on, by the Party of Labour of Albania just as little as by the CP of China. They maintain that the Marxist-Leninists accepted inadmissible compromises in the Moscow Declarations”

“Our party considers it its absolute Marxist-Leninist duty to defend the Party of Labour of Albania and the Marxist-Leninist world movement against the brazen anti-Marxist-Leninist attacks of these charlatans and political swindlers.”

The Marxist-Leninist party of Austria (MLPÖ) was not an organisation that rallied to Tirana despite its previous long association.

Unification Efforts of Pro-Albania Groups in the USA⁴⁸

In America many new communist movement groups quickly took sides in the dispute. A number of groups which had previously opposed the “theory of three worlds,” including the Central Organization

⁴⁷ Letter To all Marxist-Leninist brother parties. Dortmund, 26.10.79

⁴⁸ This section draws heavily upon the work on EROL <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-5/index.htm#albania>

of U.S. Marxist-Leninist, the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee, and the Leninist Core, quickly expanded their critique of Chinese foreign policy to open opposition to Maoism. Like elsewhere, some of these groups, that had been among the most zealous proponents of “Mao Tse-Tung Thought,” now viewed with each other to prove who was the most critical of Maoism and the most vociferous opponent of Chinese “social imperialism”.

The distinct Pro-Albania trend in the New Communist Movement emerged in 1978 in response to the open polemics between the Party of Labor of Albania (PLA) and the Communist Party of China. The main organizations in this trend were:

- * the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee (MLOC), one of the groups which had its origins in the Black Workers Congress;
- * the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists (COUSML);
- * the U.S. Leninist Core, which derived from remnants of the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization-Revolutionary Workers League alliance that formerly called itself the Revolutionary Wing;
- * Demarcation, which came out of the Red Dawn Committee (M-L), which itself had come out of the New York section of the Workers Congress (M-L);
- * a number of smaller collectives, primarily in the Midwest and on the West Coast.

Given their shared agreement with the line of the Party of Labor of Albania, efforts were undertaken in 1978-1980 to unify these groups in a single organization and/or party building process. In the end, however, all of these ended in failure.

Initially, the MLOC sought to bring together pro-Albanian forces in support of a joint statement in support of the PLA, but in the end, only two California-based groups, the Committee for a Proletarian Party and the Sunrise Collective, united with the MLOC in its final document. A similar effort, initiated by a group of collectives in the mid-west to issue a joint statement in support Albania after China cut off aid to it, likewise united only a handful of groups.

The MLOC made further attempts to unite pro-Albanian forces around its party building work, but the only significant independent group to join in this process was the San Diego-based Committee for a Proletarian Party. In December 1978, the MLOC became the Communist Party, USA (Marxist-Leninist) (CPUSA,ML). However, within less than a year, it underwent a number of damaging splits. Chapters in New Orleans and Birmingham broke away to form the Revolutionary Political Organization (M-L) while the former Committee for a Proletarian Party and a group in Chicago also departed.

In 1979, a number of groups in the Midwest and the San Francisco Bay Area that had attempted to unify pro-PLA forces after China’s aid cut-off, proposed a multilateral conference (MULC) to advance the party-building efforts of this trend.

The Conference took place in the San Francisco Bay Area in 1979. About a dozen independent M-L groups (and a few individuals) from across the nation came together in agreement that party building was the chief task, that they would not join any of the recently created sectarian parties (CLP, CP(ML), RCP, CWP), and that theoretical work was a prime component at that time in party building. The groups also shared an opposition to the theory of three worlds, and had a favorable view of the Party of Labor of Albania as perhaps the leading international party at the time.

The Wichita Communist Cell (WCC) offered to coordinate the conference and undertook the extensive work of doing so. Considerable written discussion took place in advance about points of unity for the conference and the purpose and structure of the MULC.

The following groups took part in the Conference: Amilcar Cabral/Paul Robeson Collective (AC/PRC), ex-Committee for a Proletarian Party (XCPP), ex-Marxist Leninist Collective (XMLC), Kansas City Revolutionary Workers Collective (KCWCC), Marxist Leninist Collective (MLC), Marxist-Leninist League (MLL), Pacific Collective (M-L) (PC), Red Dawn Committee, Revolutionary Workers Collective (RWC), Revolutionary Workers Press (RWP), Some Comrades in the Bay Area (SC) (aka B.R. Johnson), and the WCC. Involved in the pre-conference discussions, but not taking part in the conference itself were the Communist Committee, Sunrise Collective, and Workers Revolutionary Organizing Committee (WROC).

Two viewpoints emerged in the planning process and at the conference itself. One was that the “Focus of struggle” at the MULC should be on party building line, by which was meant questions like the key link, fusion, advanced workers, the possibility of a joint journal, etc. The other viewpoint was that the main focus should be on identifying (and struggling over) the existing views of the circles on international and domestic line to see whether we constituted a single tendency or more than one tendency. That is, two different views on “party building line” were expressed.



In the end, the chief result of the MULC was agreement by some of the participating groups to undertake a National Joint Study (NJS), which took place in 1980.

A similar initiative to the MULC was proposed by the California-based Pacific Collective (M-L) in their lengthy book, *From Circles to the Party*.

During this same period, the U.S. Leninist Core and Demarcation drew closer together, uniting in 1979 in the Committee of U.S. Bolsheviks which later that year renamed itself the Bolshevik League of the United States (BL). The Bolshevik League drew close to the Bolshevik Union in Canada and the two organizations soon broke with the PLA, denouncing it with the same vehemence with which they had previously criticized the Communist Party of China.

The final pro-Albania group to declare itself a Party was COUSML which, in 1980 became the Marxist-Leninist Party (MLP). At the time of its founding, the MLP was in the process of breaking with its long-time mentor in Canada, the Communist Party of Canada (M-L) (CPCML). As a result of this break, it too, underwent a split, with forces loyal to the CPCML reforming themselves as the U.S. Marxist-Leninist Organization.

This national manoeuvring (repeated elsewhere) among the small pro-Albanian formations in the wake of the Sino-Albanian break did not strengthen the Marxist-Leninist *internationale* in the making by creating united single organisation. The recognition given by Tirana, acknowledged in visits by fraternal parties - delegations from Germany, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Columbia, Portugal, Britain, Togo and the Dominican Republic were received in 1981 - brought about a movement that looked to Tirana and reflected its political stance but the eclectic collection of twenty-three parties – one ruling party

and minnows from elsewhere - invited by the PLA as international guests at the 8th Congress in November still did not constitute an international in terms of Comintern orthodoxy.

1. Delegation of the CP Vietnam, led by comrade Song Hao, Secretary of the Central Committee.
2. Delegation of the CP Brazil, led by Joao Amazonas, First Secretary of the Central Committee.
3. Delegation of the CP Germany, led by Ernst Aust, chairman of the party.
4. Delegation of the CP of Spain (ML), led by Raoul Marco, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.
5. Delegation of the Peruvian CP (ML), led by Antonio Fernandez, General Secretary of the party.
6. Delegation of the CP Colombia (ML), led by the First Secretary of the Central Committee.
7. Delegation of the Portuguese CP (Reconstructed), led by Jose Alves, political secretary of the Central Committee.
8. Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Ecuador, led by Pasqual Prado, Secretary of the Central Committee.
9. Delegation of the CP Canada (ML), led by Hardial Bains, chairman of the party.
10. Delegation of the CP Danmark (ML), led by Klaus Riis Klausen, First Secretary of the Central Committee.
11. Delegation of the Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan), led by Khalil, General Secretary of the party.
12. Delegation of the Communist Workers Party of France, led by Chantal.
13. Delegation of the CP Japan (Left), led by Toshio Jusudo, member of the Polit Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the party.
14. Delegation of the CP of Togo, led by Kokou Jules, First Secretary of the party.
15. Delegation of the CP New Zealand, led by Jack Lock, member of the Central Committee of the party.
16. Delegation of the Communist Party of Labour of Dominican Republic, led by comrade Chalub Mejia, General Secretary.
17. Delegation of the Revolutionary CP of India, led by Lal Sing, General Secretary of the party.
18. Delegation of the Revolutionary CP of Britain, led by David Williams, General Secretary of the party.
19. Delegation of the CP of Mexico (ML), led by Sergio Barlos, member of the Central Executive Commission.
20. Delegation of the Central Committee of the CP of Indonesia.

21. Delegation of the CP of Dahomey.

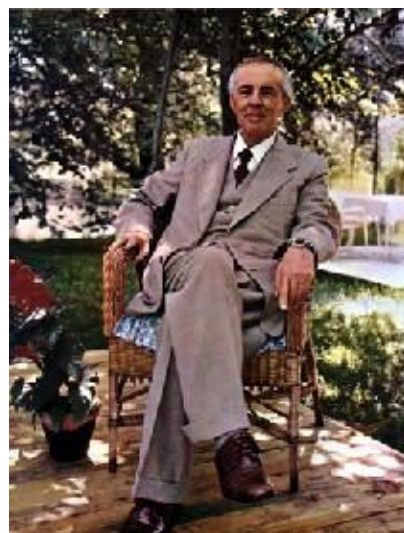
22. Delegation of the Organization for the foundation of the CP of Sweden, led by Nils Anderson, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

23. Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist movement "Proletarian Action" of Chile, led by Miguel Asenjo, member of the central leadership and the political secretariat.

Those who had rallied to Enver since the 7th Congress were appreciated "as an expression of internationalist solidarity and friendship", who in turn "expressed their admiration of the major successes scored by the Albanian people under the Leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, of the determined struggle of principle the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha wage for the preservation of the purity of Marxism-Leninism against the revisionists of all hues. They made a high assessment of the proceedings of the Congress which they consider as a very valuable experience for the Marxist-Leninist parties."⁴⁹

Enver told the Congress : "The importance of the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania lies in the fact that it destroyed two myths: that of China as a country in which socialism was being built, and that of Mao Zedong thought as the Marxism-Leninism of our time.... A principled and determined struggle had to be waged in order to undeceive the deceived. The Party of Labour of Albania undertook this struggle. This is an experience we have lived through and proved, both in the time when Mao Zedong himself was alive and after his death."⁵⁰

How sustainable the result of this major ideological split amongst the anti-revisionist parties would be tested by the 'unforeseen events' in the collapse of the Eastern bloc led by the Soviet Union, and the foreseen mortal departure of the architect of that split, Enver Hoxha.



⁴⁹ Albania Today NO.6 (61) 1981 p5

⁵⁰ Ditto p34