

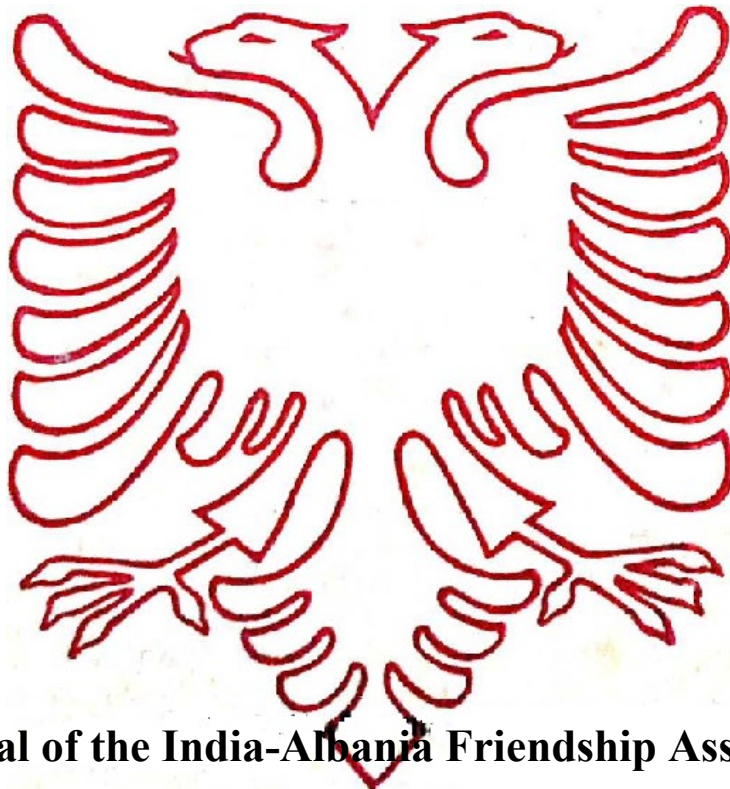
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Zeri i Popullit editorial:

United as one man around the Party of Labour, the Albanian people are determined to courageously overcome the difficulties caused by the earthquake of April 15

The powerful earthquake which shook districts of northern Albania on April 15, and as a result of which 35 people were killed and 379 others wounded, over 7,200 economic, social and cultural objects destroyed or damaged, and many other losses suffered, caused great pain among all the Albanian people. By transforming this pain into strength, the Albanian people are mobilized to liquidate the consequences of the earthquake and fulfil and overfulfil the tasks in the struggle for the country's socialist construction. In this direction a great source of inspiration has been the telegramme of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Council of Ministers addressed to the population of the areas affected by the earthquake on the measures taken to liquidate the consequences of the earthquake. As reported, it was decided that all the destroyed or damaged houses be reconstructed or repaired within a short time, that they must be built by the end of the year. Apart from this, the state decided to give immediate assistance to the families suffering heavy damage.

The newspaper *Zeri i Popullit* stresses in its editorial of April 17: This is a historical and revolutionary decision. It constitutes a living testimony of the stand which the Party of Labour takes towards society, At the same time, it constitutes a clear expression of the correct line which the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head has always pursued for the benefit of the people. It is a testimony to the vitality of the socialist social order in Albania, of the strength and stability of the socialist Albanian economy, of its character of liquidating all the consequences of such a grave natural calamity as the earthquake of April 15, relying on its own forces and in a record time. That is why the Albanian people as always in these difficult moments too are showing confidence in the Party of Labour and its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Strengthening their monolithic unity around the party, they express their willingness and determination to be united to a man in the battle to liquidate the consequences of the earthquake. The earthquake of April 15. stresses the editorial of *Zeri i Popullit*, is not only serious economically, but also a great test for the Party, the state plan and the entire Albanian people. The Party of labour of Albania and the Albanian people are fully convinced that the difficulties caused by the earthquake will be successfully overcome and that Albania will go to the golden jubilee of the 35th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the socialist revolution not only having liquidated the consequences of the earthquake but also with all the tasks of the plan fulfilled and overfulfilled. This will be another testimony to the strength of the correct line of the Party of Labour of Albania, the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Marxism-Leninism and the

unflinching revolutionary spirit of the Albanian people.

It is reported from the various areas damaged by the earthquake that a lofty morale prevails everywhere and that concrete work is going on to liquidate the consequences of the natural calamity. The work on construction and repair of the houses which have been destroyed or damaged is continuing and intensifying. Ever since the day of the earthquake, the engineers and specialists began to arrive on the spot; while the building enterprises began to prepare the necessary building material. It is reported from the district of Shkodra that the working people of the city and countryside are transforming the task of the liquidation of the consequences of the earthquake within a very short time into a big people's action. Many workers, youth, teachers and cadres in the towns have set out for the district. The Party committees are organizing all measures to liquidate the consequences of the earthquake. This is an indication of the lofty and socialist solidarity prevailing among them.

It is reported from the district of Lezha, which was heavily affected by the earthquake of the 15th of April that work is going on there to liquidate the consequences as soon as possible. On the 15th of April the staff of the executive committee of the People's Council was set up to cope with the situation created by the earthquake and to overcome the temporary difficulties caused by it. As well as this, staffs have been set up in work and production centres and agricultural cooperatives to direct the work for the liquidation of the consequences of the earthquake. The population affected by the earthquake in this district feel very closely the care the Party and state have shown to liquidate the consequences of the earthquake. Immediately after this calamity, a Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, as well as working cadres of the Party and state of the district, went to the damaged areas. The workers of the Party and state farm in the district are taking measures to shelter the families left homeless in tents and other buildings. The power and telephone lines have been completely restored to use. The work on repairs to the homes which had minor damage has commenced. Now work is going on to build new houses. Side by side with the building workers of the district of Lezha, are also building workers from other districts working to help liquidate the consequences of the earthquake.

A strong revolutionary situation prevails in all the areas affected by the earthquake. Everywhere the courage and persistence of the people in the face of difficulties is being demonstrated. The socialist solidarity is also being raised to a high level under the motto "All for One and One for All". Meanwhile in the economic enterprises in zones affected by the earthquake, the working people are showing revolutionary impetus to implement the tasks of this year's plan on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland.

Radio Tirana, April 17, 1979

The Emancipation of Women

The progress of the Albanian women to their emancipation under the guidance of the Party of Labour of Albania is one of the finest examples and has yielded brilliant results. The linking of the problem of women with national liberation and the treatment of this problem by the Party of Labour of Albania as an integral part of the uninterrupted socialist revolution not only ensured real conditions for the solution of all the problems of the women, but also made a contribution of great general value in this field.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has raised before the whole society that **“the Party and the working class should measure the advance towards the complete construction of socialist society with the deepening and progress of the women's revolution within our proletarian revolution. If the women lag behind, then, the revolution marks time.”**

Before the establishment of our people's state power the situation of the Albanian woman was appalling. Not only did she suffer oppression and poverty, as all the people suffered, but as well as this, she also suffered from discrimination, inequality with man, from feudal moral norms, from backward customs and religion. Often she was treated as a chattel—her father and his relatives sold her, her husband and his relatives bought her. Where the Moslem code prevailed, polygamy was permitted. According to these mediaeval laws, a young woman could be married off to an elderly man for the interest of the clan and for money. The birth of a girl was considered a misfortune and a burden on the family. In certain regions the woman was compelled to cover her face with a veil. Under these conditions, the participation of a woman in state employment was something quite extraordinary. Throughout Albania there were only 21 women teachers, two or three women doctors, not a single woman engineer, agronomist or chemist. No woman took part in parliament or in any more or less important job in the state apparatus. In the secondary schools, girls made up only 2.4 percent of the students. Illiteracy, which kept the overwhelming majority of the population in darkness, weighed even more heavily on the women.

During the National Liberation War, the Party of Labour of Albania attached major importance in its programme to the activization and mobilization of the women. There are many examples in the history of Albania when women have fought, arms in hand, against foreign invaders, but their participation in the National Liberation War had to become a mass phenomenon and with an entirely new content. The Party called on the women to rise and smash the shackles of fanaticism with their own hands, to line up shoulder to shoulder with their menfolk in the struggle for national liberation and at the same time, in the struggle for their own emancipation. For the Albanian women, their participation in the armed struggle was a sound guarantee for their complete emancipation in the future. The Party had made it clear in its programme that after the establishment of the people's state power the struggle for the emancipation of the women would continue both in breadth and depth. In this programme, the Albanian women saw the way to their salvation, therefore they rose in whole hearted struggle. About 6,000 women and girls joined the ranks of the National Liberation Army, and many of them were leaders of partisan detachments. Thousands of others took part in underground work in the cities, in the demonstrations, and clashes with the invaders. Women and girls gave the National Liberation Army massive assistance, with food and clothing, by providing shelter and treating the wounded, by transporting arms and

ammunition. During the war, the councils of anti-fascist women were set up in villages and cities to conduct organized work with the masses of the women, political and cultural work, courses against illiteracy and so on. The Anti-Fascist Organization of the Albanian Women, which was set up in September 1943, played an outstanding role in the liberation war.

After the establishment of our people's state power, the revolution in the economy was carried out, and this required the conscious efforts of men, women, and the entire people, to fight with self-denial to carry out the collectivization and the socialist industrialization of the country, to safeguard, administer and strengthen the common property at a higher level. Men and women were trained at work, in schools in qualification courses, in political and ideological study groups, to see the emancipation of women, among other problems, as a problem of the socialist revolution.

To this end, special laws were proclaimed, guaranteeing the rights of women, old norms and customs were eliminated, replacing them with new norms and customs, based on raising the respect for and the dignity of the women in our society.

Today, the Albanian women play an important role in the whole life of the country. Let us refer to some figures: at present 47 percent of the working people employed in our Republic are women and girls. In certain sectors, like the light and food-processing industry, education, the health service and trade, this figure rises from 55 to 80 percent. Women make up 33.3 percent of the representatives in the supreme state organ, the People's Assembly, 25% of the members of the Party of Labour of Albania, 26 percent of the members of the Supreme Court, 41.2 percent of the leaders of the organization of the masses.

The people's state power abolished capitalist exploitation, established a new legislative code, and opened the way to the operation of the objective laws of socialist society. Under the people's state power, the new man has been educated, armed with Marxist-Leninist ideology, with new concepts about work, property, the family, the women, and so on. The creation of these conditions brought about a situation in which a girl is no longer treated as a slave, in which love must be the basis of every marriage. All roads have been opened to the youth to guide themselves by lofty socialist motives in the creation of the family and not by material interests, careerism and other motives which humiliate the woman.

At the present stage, the problem of the Albanian woman is more of a class struggle in the ideological field. Even under these circumstances, when all these objective conditions have been created, the processes which go on within the family must not be left to spontaneity. Therefore a direct, but tactful struggle is waged to establish socialist relations and stands in the family, such as relations of equality, love, mutual respect and aid. In order to ensure equality between the wife and the other members of the family, the struggle is now being waged in two directions: first to make family affairs, day-to-day life, children and so on, as widely as possible the concern of the whole society; second, to have every member of the family understand that these things are jobs for which they are all responsible.

Under the conditions of Albania, the participation of women in the entire life of the country has become an objective necessity. The efforts the physical and mental energies of the women, too, are necessary to promote the unceasing revolution, to strengthen the people's state power and further democratize it through the line of the

masses. The efforts of the women are necessary too, for the strengthening and defence of the homeland against any enemy through the training of the whole people.

The emancipation of women in Albania is not a "feminist movement" as in the capitalist countries, but is the advance of the women to a high level, to full equality with men, the march of women hand-in-hand with their menfolk in harmony of feelings, aims, and pure ideals, the march towards communism.

From: "Albania: General Information" Tirana, 1976.

"Mao Tsetung Thought"—An Anti-Marxist Theory – II

—by Enver Hoxha

“Mao Tsetung thought” is opposed to the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution.

In his writings Mao Tsetung makes frequent mention of the role of revolutions in the process of the development of society, but in essence he adheres to a metaphysical, evolutionist concept. Contrary to materialist dialectics, which envisages progressive development in the form of a spiral, Mao Tsetung preaches development in the form of a cycle, going round in a circle, as a process of ebb and flow which goes from equilibrium to disequilibrium and back to equilibrium again, from motion to rest and back to motion again, from rise to fall and from fall to rise, from advance to retreat and to advance again, etc. Thus, upholding the concept of ancient philosophy on the purifying role of fire, Mao Tsetung writes: 'It is necessary to 'set a fire going' at regular intervals. How often? Once a year or once every three years, which do you prefer? I think we should do it at least twice in the space of every five years, in the same way as the intercalary month in a lunar leap year turns up once in three years or, twice in five"¹. Thus like the astrologists of old, on the basis of the lunar calendar, he derives the law on the periodical kindling of fire, on the development which goes from "great harmony" to "great disorder" and again to "great harmony" and thus the cycles repeat themselves periodically. In this manner, "Mao Tsetung thought" opposes the materialist dialectical concept of development, which, as Lenin says

"...gives us the key to understand the ' of every existing thing',....gives us the key to understand the 'leaps', 'the interruption of graduality', 'the transformation into the opposite', the abolition of the old and the emergence of the new'"².

with the metaphysical concept which "is lifeless, pale and dry".

This becomes even more obvious in the way Mao Tsetung handles the problem of contradictions, to which, according to Chinese propaganda, Mao has allegedly made a "special contribution" and developed materialist dialectics further in this field. It is true that in many of his writings, Mao Tsetung frequently speaks about opposites, contradictions, the unity of the opposites, and even uses Marxist quotations and phrases, but, nevertheless, he is far from the dialectical materialist understanding of these problems. In dealing with contradictions, he does not proceed from the Marxist theses, but from those of ancient Chinese philosophers, sees the opposites in a mechanical way, as external phenomena, and imagines the transformation of the opposites as a simple change of place between them. By operating with some eternal opposites taken from ancient philosophy, such as above and below, backward and forward, right and left, light and heavy, etc., etc, in essence Mao Tsetung negates the internal contradictions inherent in things and phenomena and treats development as simple repetition, as a chain of unchangeable states in which the same opposites and the same relationship between them are observed. The mutual transformation of the opposites into each other, understood as a mere exchange of places and not as a resolution of the contradiction and a qualitative change of the very phenomenon which comprises these opposites, is used by Mao Tsetung as a formal pattern to which

¹ Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 5, pp. 499, Peking, 1977 (French ed).

² V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 38, p. 396 (Alb. Ed).

everything is subject. On the basis of this pattern, Mao goes so far as to declare that "When dogmatism is transformed into its opposite. it becomes either Marxism or revisionism" ¹, "metaphysics is transformed into dialectics, and dialectics into metaphysics", etc. Behind such absurd assertions and this sophistical playing with opposites, lurk the opportunist and anti-revolutionary concepts of Mao Tsetung. Thus, he does not see the socialist revolution as a qualitative change of society in which antagonistic classes and the oppression and exploitation of man by man are abolished, but conceives it as a simple change of places between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. To confirm this "discovery", Mao writes: "if the bourgeoisie and the proletariat cannot transform themselves into each other, how does it come that, through revolution, the proletariat becomes the ruling class and the bourgeoisie the ruled class?... We stand in diametrical opposition to Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. As a result of the mutual struggle and exclusion of the two contradictory aspects with the Kuomintang we changed places...."² This same logic has also led Mao Tsetung to revise the Marxist-Leninist theory on the two phases of communist society. "According to dialectics, as surely as a man must die, the socialist system as a historical phenomenon will come to an end some day, to be negated by the communist system. If it is asserted that the socialist system and the relations of production and superstructure of socialism will not die out, what kind of Marxist thesis would that be? Wouldn't it be the same as a religious creed or theology that preaches an everlasting god?"³

In this way, openly revising the Marxist-Leninist concept of socialism and communism, which, in essence, are two phases of the one type, of the one socio-economic order, and which are distinguished from each other only by the degree of their development and maturity, Mao Tsetung presents socialism as something diametrically opposite to communism.

From such metaphysical and anti-Marxist concepts, Mao Tsetung treats the question of the revolution in general, which he regards as an endless process which is repeated periodically throughout the whole period of the existence of mankind on earth, as a process which goes from defeat to victory, from victory to defeat, and so on endlessly. Mao Tsetung's anti-Marxist concepts, sometimes evolutionist and sometimes anarchist, about the revolution are even more apparent when he deals with the problems of the revolution in China.

As emerges from his writings, Mao Tsetung did not base himself on the Marxist-Leninist theory in analysing the problems and defining the tasks of the Chinese revolution. In his speech delivered at the enlarged working conference called by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in January 1962, he himself admits: "Our many years of revolutionary work have been carried out blindly, not knowing how the revolution should be carried out and against whom the spearhead of the revolution should be directed, without a concept of its stages, whom it had to overthrow first and whom later, etc." This had made the Communist Party of China incapable of ensuring the leadership of the proletariat in the democratic: revolution and transforming it into a socialist revolution. The entire development of the Chinese revolution is evidence of the chaotic course of the Communist Party of China, which

¹ Mao Tsetung, *Selected Works*, vol. 5, pp. 479, Peking, 1977 (French ed).

² Mao Tsetung, *Selected Works*, vol. 5, pp. 399-400, Peking, 1977 (French ed).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 409.

has not been guided by Marxism-Leninism but by the anti-Marxist concepts of "Mao Tsetung thought" on the character of the revolution its stages, motive forces, etc.

Mao Tsetung was never able to understand and explain correctly the links between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the proletarian revolution. Contrary to the Marxist-Leninist theory, which has proved scientifically that there is no Chinese wall between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, that these two revolutions do not have to be divorced from each other by a long period of time Mao Tsetung asserted: "The transformation of our revolution **into socialist revolution** is a matter of the futureAs to when the transition will take placeit may take quite a long time. We should not hold forth about this transition until all the necessary political and economic conditions are present and until it is advantageous and not detrimental to the overwhelming majority of our people".¹

Mao Tsetung adhered to this anti-Marxist concept, which is not for the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into socialist revolution, during the whole period of the revolution even after liberation. Thus, in 1940, Mao Tsetung said: "The Chinese revolution must necessarily pass through ,, the stage of New Democracy end then the stage of socialism. Of those, the first stage will need a relatively long time...."². In March 1949, at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Party at which Mao Tsetung submitted the programme for China's development after liberation, he says: "During this period all the elements of capitalism, of town and countryside, must be permitted to exist". These views and "theories" brought about that the Communist Party of China and Mao Tsetung did not fight for the transformation of the revolution in China into a socialist revolution but left a free field for the development of the bourgeoisie and capitalist social relations.

On the question of the relationship between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, Mao Tsetung takes the standpoint of the chiefs of the Second International, who were the first to attack and distort the Marxist-Leninist theory about the rise of the revolution and came out with the thesis that between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, there is a long period. during which the bourgeoisie develops capitalism and creates the conditions for the transition to the proletarian revolution. They regarded the transformation of the bourgeois- democratic revolution into socialist revolution, without giving capitalism the possibility to develop further, as something impossible, as skipping stages. Mao Tsetung, too, fully endorses this concept, when he says: "It would be a sheer utopia to try to build socialism on the ruins of the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal order without a united new-democratic state,.... without the development of the private capitalist economy...".³

The anti-Marxist concepts of "Mao Tsetung thought" about the revolution are even more obvious in the way Mao has treated the motive forces of the revolution. Mao Tsetung did not recognize the hegemonic role of the proletariat. Lenin said that in the period of imperialism, in every revolution hence, also in the democratic revolution, the anti-imperialist national liberation revolution and the socialist revolution, the leadership must belong to the proletariat. Although he talked about the role of the proletariat, in practice Mao Tsetung underestimated its hegemony in the revolution and elevated the

1 Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 216 (Alb. ed),

2 Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 2, p. 169 (Alb. ed),

3 Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 4, p. 366 (Alb. ed),

role of the peasantry. Mao Tsetung has said: "the resistance to Japanese occupiers now going on is essentially peasant resistance. Essentially, the politics of New Democracy means giving power to the peasants"¹.

Mao Tsetung expressed this petty-bourgeois theory in his general thesis that the "countryside must encircle the city". "...revolutionary villages", he wrote, "can encircle the cities ... rural work should play the primary role in the Chinese revolutionary movement and urban work a secondary role"². Mao expressed this idea also when he wrote about the role of the peasantry in the state. He has said that all other political parties and forces must submit to the peasantry and its views. "... millions of peasants will rise like a mighty storm, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back ...", he writes. "They will put to the test every revolutionary party and group, every revolutionary, so that they either accept their views or reject them"³. According to Mao, it turns out that the peasantry and not the working class should play the hegemonic role in the revolution.

Mao Tsetung also preached the thesis on the hegemonic role of the peasantry in the revolution as the road of the world revolution. Herein lies the source of the anti-Marxist concept that considers the so-called third world, which in Chinese political literature is also called "the countryside of the world", as the "main motive force for the transformation of present-day society". According to the Chinese views, the proletariat is a second-rate social force, which cannot play that role which Marx and Lenin envisaged in the struggle against capitalism and the triumph of the revolution, in alliance with all the forces oppressed by capital.

The Chinese revolution has been dominated by the petty-and middle bourgeoisie. This broad stratum of the petty-bourgeoisie has influenced the whole development of China.

Mao Tsetung did not base himself on the Marxist-Leninist theory which teaches us that the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie in general, is vacillating. Of course, the poor and middle peasantry play an important role in the revolution and must become the close ally of the proletariat. But the peasant class, the petty-bourgeoisie, cannot lead the proletariat in the revolution. To think and preach the opposite means to be against Marxism-Leninism. Herein lies one of the main sources of the anti-Marxist views of Mao Tsetung, which have had a negative influence on the whole Chinese revolution.

The Communist Party of China has not been clear in theory about the basic revolutionary guiding principle of the hegemonic role of the proletariat in the revolution, and consequently it did not apply it in practice properly and consistently. Experience shows that the peasantry can play its revolutionary role only if it acts in alliance with the proletariat and under its leadership. This was proved in our country during the National Liberation War. The Albanian peasantry was the main force of our revolution, however it was the working class, despite its very small numbers, which led the peasantry, because the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the ideology of the proletariat, embodied in the Communist Party, today the Party of Labour, the vanguard of the working class, was the leadership of the revolution. That is why we triumphed not only in the National Liberation War, but also in the construction of socialism.

1 Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 3, pp. 177-178 (Alb. ed),

2 Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 4, pp. 257, 259 (Alb. ed),

3 Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 1, pp. 27+28 (Alb. ed),

Despite the innumerable difficulties we encountered on our road we scored success one after another. We achieved these successes, in the first place, because the Party thoroughly mastered the essence of the theory of Marx and Lenin, understood what the revolution was, who was making it and who had to lead it, understood that at the head of the working class, in alliance with the peasantry, there had to be a party of the Leninist type. The communists understood that this party must not be communist only in name but had to be a party which would apply the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution and party building in the concrete conditions of our country, which would begin the work for the creation of the new socialist society, following the example of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin. This stand gave our Party the victory, gave the country the great political, economic and military strength it has today. Had we acted differently, had we not consistently applied these principles of our great theory, socialism could not have been built in a small country surrounded by enemies, as ours is. Even if we had succeeded in taking power for a moment, the bourgeoisie would have seized it back again, as happened in Greece, where before the struggle had been won, the Greek Communist Party surrendered its weapons to the local reactionary bourgeoisie and British imperialism.

Therefore, the question of hegemony in the revolution is a very important matter of principle because the course and development of the revolution depend on who is leading it.

"Renunciation of the idea of the hegemony" stressed Lenin, "is the most vulgar form of reformism"1.

The negation by "Mao Tsetung thought" of the leading role of the proletariat was precisely one of the causes that the Chinese revolution remained a bourgeois-democratic revolution and did not develop into a socialist revolution. In his article "New Democracy", Mao Tsetung preached that after the triumph of the revolution in China a regime would be established which would be based on the alliance of the "democratic classes", in which, besides the peasantry and the proletariat, he also included the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. "Just as everyone should share what food there is", he writes, "so there should be no monopoly of power by a single party, group or class"2-. This idea has also been reflected in the national flag of the People's Republic of China, with four stars which represent four classes: the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.

The revolution in China, which brought about the liberation of the country, the creation of the independent Chinese state, was a great victory for the Chinese people, and for the world anti-imperialist and democratic forces. After the liberation, many positive changes were made in China; the domination by foreign imperialism and big landowners was liquidated, poverty and unemployment were combated, a series of socio-economic reforms in favour of the working masses were carried out, the educational and cultural backwardness was fought against, a series of measures were taken for the reconstruction of the country ravaged by the war, and some transformations of a socialist character were made. In China, where people died by millions in the past, starvation no longer existed, etc. These are undeniable facts, and are important victories for the Chinese people.

1 V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 17, p. 252 (Alb. ed).

2 Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 3, p. 235 (Alb ed).

From the adoption of those measures and the fact that the Communist Party came to power, it appeared as if China was going to socialism, But things did not turn out that way. Having "Mao Tsetung thought" as the basis of its activity, the Communist Party of China, which after the triumph of the bourgeois-democratic revolution ought to have proceeded cautiously without being leftist and without skipping the stages, proved to be "democratic", liberal, opportunist, and did not lead the country consistently on the correct road to socialism.

The non-Marxist, eclectic, bourgeois political and ideological views of Mao Tsetung gave liberated China an unstable superstructure, a chaotic organization of the state and the economy which never achieved stability. China was in continuous disorder, even anarchic disorder, which was encouraged by Mao Tsetung himself with the slogan "things must first be stirred up in order to clarify them".

In the new Chinese state Chou En-lai played a special role. He was an able economist and organizer, but was never a Marxist-Leninist politician.. As the typical pragmatist, he knew how to implement his non-Marxist views and adapt them perfectly to each group that took power in China. He was a *poussah*¹ who always managed to stay on his feet, although he always rocked from the centre to the right but never to the left.

Chou En-lai was a past master of unprincipled compromises. He has supported and condemned Chiang Kai-shek, Kao Gang, Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Mao Tsetung, Lin Piao, "The Four", but he has never supported Lenin and Stalin, Marxism- Leninism.

After liberation, as a result of the views and stands of Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai and others, many waverings in all directions were observed in the political line of the Party. The tendency advocated by "Mao Tsetung thought" that the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution had to continue for a long time, was kept alive in China. Mao Tsetung insisted that in this stage the premises for socialism would be created parallel with the development of capitalism, to which he gave priority. Also linked with this is his thesis on the coexistence of socialism with the bourgeoisie for a very long time, presenting this as something beneficial both to socialism and to the bourgeoisie. Replying to those who opposed such a policy and who brought up the experience of the October Socialist Revolution as an argument, Mao Tsetung says: "The bourgeoisie in Russia was a counterrevolutionary class, it rejected state capitalism at that time, organized slow-downs and sabotage and even resorted to the gun. The Russian proletariat had no choice but to finish it off. This infuriated the bourgeoisie in other countries, and they became abusive. Here in China we have been relatively moderate with our national bourgeoisie who feel a little more comfortable and believe they can also find some advantage"². According to Mao Tsetung such a policy has allegedly improved China's reputation in the eyes of the international bourgeoisie, but in reality it has done great harm to socialism in China.

Mao Tsetung has presented his opportunist stand towards the bourgeoisie as a creative implementation of the teachings of Lenin on the New Economic Policy (NEP). But there is a radical difference between the teachings of Lenin and the concept of Mao Tsetung on allowing unrestricted capitalist production and maintaining bourgeois

1 French in the original (a popular type of Chinese doll)

2 Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 5, p. 338 Peking, 1977 (French ed.).

relations in socialism. Lenin admits that the NEP was a step back which allowed the development of elements of capitalism for a certain time, but he stressed:

*"...there is nothing dangerous to the proletarian state in this so long as the proletariat keeps political power firmly in its hands, so long as it keeps transport and big industry firmly in its hands"*¹

In fact, neither in 1949 nor in 1956, when Mao Tsetung advocated these things, did the proletariat in China have political power or big industry in its own hands.

Moreover Lenin considered the NEP as a temporary measure which was imposed by the concrete conditions of Russia of that time, devastated by the long civil war, and not as a universal law of socialist construction. And the fact is that one year after the proclamation of the NEP Lenin stressed that the retreat was over, and launched the slogan to prepare for the offensive against private capital in the economy. Whereas in China, the period of the preservation of capitalist production was envisaged to last almost eternally. According to Mao Tsetung's view, the order established after liberation in China had to be a bourgeois-democratic order while the Communist Party of China had to appear to be in power. Such is "Mao Tsetung thought".

The transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution can be realized only when the proletariat removes the bourgeoisie from power and expropriates it. As long as the working class in China shared power with the bourgeoisie, as long as the bourgeoisie preserved its privileges, the state power that was established in China could not be the state power of the proletariat, and consequently, the Chinese revolution could not grow into a socialist revolution.

The Communist Party of China has maintained a benevolent opportunist stand towards the exploiting classes, and Mao Tsetung has openly advocated the peaceful integration of capitalist elements into socialism. Mao Tsetung said: "Actually all ultra-reactionaries of the world are ultra-reactionaries, and they will remain such tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, they will not remain such unto death, and in the end they change... Essentially, ultra-reactionaries are die-hards but not stable.... It may happen that ultra-reactionaries may change for the better... they come to see their mistakes and change for the better. In short ultra-reactionaries do change"².

In his desire to provide a theoretical basis for this opportunist concept, and playing on the "transformation of the opposites", Mao Tsetung said that through discussion, criticism and transformation, antagonistic contradictions are transformed into non-antagonistic contradictions, the exploiting classes and the bourgeois intelligentsia can turn into their opposite, that is become revolutionaries. "However, given the conditions of our country", Mao Tsetung wrote in 1956. "most of the counterrevolutionaries will eventually change to a greater or lesser extent. Thanks to the correct policy we have adopted towards counterrevolutionaries, many have been transformed into persons no longer opposed to the revolution, and a few have even done some good to it."³.

Proceeding from such anti-Marxist concepts, according to which with the lapse of time the class enemies will be corrected, he advocated class conciliation with them and allowed them to continue to enrich themselves, to speak and to act freely against the revolution. To justify this capitulationist stand towards the class enemy Mao Tsetung

1 V. I Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 32, p. 434 (Alb. ed).

2 Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 3, p. 239 (Alb. ed).

3 Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 5, p. 321, Peking, 1977 (French ed).

wrote: "We have a lot to do now. It is impossible to keep on hitting out at them day in day out for next fifty years. There are people who refuse to correct their mistakes, they can take them into their coffins when they go to see the King of Hell"¹. Acting in practice according to these views of conciliation with the enemies, the state administration in China was left in the hands of the old officials. Chiang Kai-shek's generals even became ministers. Indeed, even Pu Yi, the emperor of Manchukuo, the puppet emperor of the Japanese occupiers was protected very carefully and turned into a museum piece so that delegations could go to meet and talk with him and see how such people were re-educated in "socialist" China. Besides other things the aim of the publicity given to this former puppet emperor was to dispel even the fears of kings, chieftains, and puppets of reaction in other countries, so that they would think that Mao's "socialism" is fine and have no reason to fear it.

Stands which do not smack of class struggle have been adopted in China also towards those feudal lords and capitalists, who have committed innumerable crimes against the Chinese people. Elevating such stands to theory and openly taking counterrevolutionaries under his protection, Mao Tsetung stated: "...we should kill none and arrest very few....They are not to be arrested by the public security bureaus, prosecuted by the procuratorial organs or tried by the law courts. Well over ninety out of every hundred of these counterrevolutionaries should be dealt with in this way."² Reasoning as a sophist. Mao Tsetung says that the execution of counterrevolutionaries does no good, that such an action allegedly hinders production, the scientific level of the country, and will give us a bad name in the world, etc., that if one counterrevolutionary is liquidated "we would have to compare his case with that of a second, of a third, and so on. and then many heads would begin to roll ... once a head is chopped off it can't be restored, nor can it grow again as chives do, after being cut"³.

As a result of these anti-Marxist concepts about contradictions, about classes, and their role in revolution that "Mao Tsetung thought" advocates, China never proceeded on the correct road of socialist construction. It is not just the economic, political, ideological and social remnants of the past that have survived and continue to exist in Chinese society, but the exploiting classes continue to exist there as classes and still remain in power. Not only does the bourgeoisie still exist but it also continues to gain income from the property it has had. Capitalist rent has not been abolished by law in China because the Chinese leadership has adhered to the strategy of the bourgeois-democratic revolution formulated in 1935 by Mao Tsetung, who said at the time: "The labour laws of the people's republic ... will not prevent the national bourgeoisie from making profits...."⁴. In conformity with the "policy of the equal right to land", the kulak stratum, in the forms which have existed in China has retained great advantages and profits. Mao Tsetung himself gave orders that the kulaks must not be touched, because this might anger the national bourgeoisie with which the Communist Party of China had formed a common united front, politically, economically and organizationally⁵.

All these things show that "Mao Tsetung thought" could not guide China on the

1 Ibid., p. 512.

2 Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 5, p. 323, Peking, 1977 (French ed).

3 Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 5, p. 323, Peking, 1977 (French ed).

4 Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 209 (Alb. ed).

5 Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 5, p. 22, Peking, 1977 (French ed).

genuine road to socialism. Indeed, as Chou En-lai declared in 1949, when secretly applying to the American government to help China, neither Mao Tsetung nor his chief supporters were for the socialist road. "China," wrote Chou En-lai, "is not yet a communist country, and if the policy of Mao Tsetung is implemented properly, it will not become a communist country for a long time"¹.

In a demagogic way, Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China have subordinated all their declarations about the construction of the socialist and communist society to their pragmatic policy. Thus, in the years of the so-called great leap forward, with the aim of throwing dust in the eyes of the masses who, emerging from the revolution, aspired to socialism, they declared that within 2-3 five year periods, they would pass directly over to communism. Later, however, in order to cover up their failures, they began to theorize that the construction and triumph of socialism would require ten thousand years.

True, the Communist Party of China called itself communist, but it developed in another direction, on a chaotic liberal course, an opportunist course and could not be a force capable of leading the country towards socialism. The road it followed, and which concretized even more clearly after Mao's death, was not the road of socialism, but the road of building a great bourgeois, social-imperialist state.

As an anti-Marxist doctrine, "Mao Tsetung thought" has substituted great state chauvinism for proletarian internationalism.

From the very first steps of its activity, the Communist Party of China displayed open nationalist and chauvinist tendencies, which as the facts show, could not be eradicated during the succeeding periods either. Li Ta-chao, one of the founders of the world Communist Party of China, said, "the Europeans think that the world belongs exclusively to the whites and that they are the superior class, while the coloured peoples are inferior. The Chinese people," Li Ta-chao continues, "must be ready to wage a class struggle against the other races of the world, in which they will once again display their special national qualities." The Communist Party of China was imbued with such views right from the beginning.

Such racist and nationalist views could not have been eliminated completely from the mentality of Mao Tsetung, let alone that of Liu and Teng. In the report which he delivered to the Central Committee of the Party in 1938, Mao Tsetung said, "Contemporary China has grown out of the development of the China of the past....We should sum up our history from Confucius to Sun Yat-sen... and take over this valuable legacy. This is important for guiding the great movement of today"².

Of course, every Marxist-Leninist party says that it must base itself on the legacy of its own people from the past, but it also bears in mind that it must base itself not on everything inherited but only on what is progressive. Communists reject the reactionary legacy in the field of ideas, as well as in any other field. The Chinese have been very conservative, even xenophobic, in regard to their old forms, content, and ideas. They preserved the old as a treasure of great value. From the talks we held with them, it turns out that the Chinese placed little value on all the revolutionary experience of the world. To them only their own policy, their struggle against Chiang Kai-shek, their long march, the theory of Mao Tsetung were of value. As for the progressive values of other peoples

1 "International Herald Tribune", August 14, 1978.

2 Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 2, pp. 250-251 (Alb. ed).

the Chinese considered them of little or no worth, indeed they did not take the trouble to study them. Mao Tsetung proclaimed, "the Chinese should cast aside the formulas created by foreigners". But precisely which of these formulas, he does not define. He has condemned "all the cliches and dogmas borrowed from oilier countries". Here the question arises: is the theory of scientific socialism, which was not worked out by the Chinese, also included in these "dogmas and "cliches alien to China?

The leadership of the Communist Party of China considered Marxism the monopoly of the Soviet Union, towards which Mao Tsetung and company nurtured chauvinist views, great state views, and had, you might say, a sort of bourgeois jealousy, They did no! consider the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin the great fatherland of the world proletariat, on which proletarians of all the world had to rely in order to carry out the revolution, and which they had to defend with all their strength against the furious onslaught of the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

Decades ago, Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai, the two chief leaders of the Communist Party of China, spoke and acted in opposition to the Soviet Union which was led by Stalin. They even spoke against Stalin himself. Mao Tsetung accused Stalin of subjectivism, saying, "he failed to see the connection between the struggle of opposites and the unity of opposites"¹, that he allegedly made "a number of mistakes in connection with China. The 'Left adventurism' pursued by Wang Ming in the latter part of the Second Revolutionary Civil War period and his Right opportunism in the early days of the War of Resistance Against Japan can both be traced to Stalin"², that Stalin's actions towards Yugoslavia and Tito were wrong, etc.

. Although for the sake of appearances Mao Tsetung would now and then speak in defence of Stalin, saying that he was only 30 percent bad, in fact he mentioned only Stalin's mistakes. Mao's statement at the Moscow Meeting of the communist and workers' parties in 1957, when he said, "in Stalin's presence I felt like the pupil before his teacher, whereas now that we meet Khrushchev, we are like comrades, we are at ease", Is not fortuitous. With this he publicity hailed and approved Khrushchev's slanders against Stalin and defended the Khrushchevite line.

Just as the other revisionists, Mao Tsetung used the criticisms against Stalin in order to justify his deviation from the Marxist-Leninist principles which Stalin consistently defended and further enriched. With their attack against Stalin, the Chinese revisionists intended to disparage his work and authority, to raise Mao Tsetung's authority to the rank of a world leader, a classic of Marxism-Leninism, who allegedly has always pursued a correct and infallible line! These criticisms also expressed their accumulated discontent against Stalin over the censure and criticisms he and the Comintern made of the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Mao Tsetung over their failure to implement the principles of Marxism-Leninism consistently on the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution, proletarian internationalism, the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle, etc. Mao Tsetung expressed this discontent openly saying, "Stalin suspected that ours was a victory of the Tito type, and in 1949 and 1950 his pressure on us was very strong indeed"³. Likewise, during his talks with us here in Tirana, Chou En-lai said, "Stalin suspected us of being pro-American or that we might

¹ Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 5, p. 400, Peking, 1977 (Franch ed.)

² Ibid., p. 328.

³ Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 5, p. 328, Peking, 1977 (French ed.)

go the Yugoslav way". Time has proved that Stalin was completely right. His forebodings about the Chinese revolution and the ideas guiding it turned out to be accurate.

The contradictions between the Communist Party of China, led by Mao Tsetung, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led by Stalin as well as those between the Communist Party of China and the Comintern, were contradictions over principles, over fundamental questions of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics. For instance, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China ignored the thesis of the Comintern on the correct and consistent development of the revolution in China, its orientation about joint action of the working class in the city and the liberation army, the theses of the Comintern on the character and stages of the Chinese revolution, etc. Mao Tsetung and the other leaders of the Communist Party of China have always spoken disparagingly of the delegates from the Comintern to China, calling them "stupid", "ignorant" people, who "did not know the Chinese reality", etc. Regarding each country as an "objective reality in itself", "closed to others", Mao Tsetung considered the assistance of the delegates from the Comintern unnecessary and simply impossible. In speech to the Enlarged Working Conference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in January 1962, Mao Tsetung said: "China, as an objective world, was known by the Chinese and not by the comrades from the Comintern who were engaged with the question of China. These comrades from the Comintern knew little or nothing about Chinese society, the Chinese nation and the Chinese revolution. Thus why should those foreign comrades be referred to here?"

When speaking about their successes. Mao Tsetung leaves the Comintern out. Whereas for the defeats and deviations of the Communist Party of China, for the failure to understand and draw **correct** deductions from the situations which developed in China, he casts the blame on the Comintern and its representatives in China. He and other Chinese leaders accuse the Comintern of having allegedly impeded and complicated things for them in the waging of a consistent struggle for the seizure of power and the construction of socialism in China. But the facts of the past and especially the present Chinese reality confirm that the Comintern's decisions and directives about China were correct in general, and that the Communist Party of China did not act on the basis and in the spirit of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The consequences of the narrow nationalism and big state chauvinism which characterize "Mao Tsetung thought", that have been and are at the basis of the activity of the Communist Party of China, are also reflected in the stands towards, and activity of that party in, the international communist movement.

This is apparent concretely in the stand of the Communist Party of China towards the new Marxist-Leninist parties which were created after the Khrushchevites' betrayal. 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”¹. 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.

When, contrary to the desires of the Chinese leaders, these Marxist-Leninist parties began to grow strong, then they pursued another tactic: the recognition of all new parties and every group without exception and without any distinction, provided only that they called themselves “Marxist parties”, “revolutionary parties”, “red guards”, etc. The Party of Labour of Albania has criticized this stand and tactic of the Communist Party of China, the other genuine Marxist-Leninist parties have done the same thing. Nevertheless, the revisionist Chinese leadership has continued on the same course.

Later, in conformity with their pragmatic policy towards the newly formed parties and groups, the Chinese leaders adopted differentiated attitudes. They called the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties their enemies, whereas the groups and parties which opposed these parties, came to be very dear to them. At present, the Chinese revisionists not only maintain ties with these anti-Marxist parties and groups, which laud “Mao Tsetung thought” to the skies, but also invite their representatives one by one to Peking, where they work on them, give them financial assistance and political and ideological instructions and brief them on how to act against the Party of Labour of Albania and the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties. They require them to propagate “Mao Tsetung thought”, the theory of “three worlds” and, in general, the foreign policy of China, to create the cult of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping and condemn “The Four”. To the Chinese revisionists, that Party which meets these demands is “Marxist-Leninist” while those parties which oppose them are declared anti-Marxist, adventurist, etc.

All this shows that in their relation with the Marxist-Leninist parties, the Chinese revisionist leaders have not implemented the Leninist principles and norms which regulate relations between genuine communist parties. Like the Khrushchevite revisionists, proceeding from the anti-Marxist concept of the “mother party”, they have resorted to dictate, pressure and interference in the internal affairs of the other parties, and have never accepted comradely advice and suggestions from sister parties. They have opposed the multilateral meetings of Marxist-Leninist parties, meetings to discuss the great problems of the preparation and triumph of the revolution, the fight against modern revisionism for the defence of Marxism-Leninism, to exchange experience and co-ordinate actions, etc. The reason for such a stand among other things, is that they have been afraid to confront the genuine Marxist-Leninists in multilateral meetings, because their anti-Marxist and revisionist theories in the service of world capital and of the strategy intended to transform China into a superpower, would be exposed and unmasked.’

Another indication of the anti-Marxist essence of “Mao Tsetung thought” is the relations the Communist Party of China has maintained and continues to maintain with many heterogenous fascist, revisionist and other parties and groups. Now it is striving to prepare the ground to infiltrate or build relations also with the old revisionist parties of various countries, as for example those of Italy, Franco, Spain and the other countries of Europe, Latin America, etc. The Chinese revisionists are attaching ever greater importance to those relations because, ideologically, they are all in line with the Communist Party of China, regardless of the differences they have in tactics which

¹ From Keng Piao’s conversation with comrades from our Party in Peking, April 16, 1973, CPA.

depend on the nature, strength and power of capitalism in each country.

The ties of the Communist Party of China with these traditionally revisionist parties will gradually be expanded, their actions will be concerted while it will continue to use the small groups, which call themselves "Marxist-Leninist" and follow the Chinese line, to fight and disrupt the existing genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, which remain unwavering in their stand, as well as the other parties which are being born or will be born. With these actions the Chinese revisionists are openly assisting capitalism, the social-democratic and revisionist parties, sabotaging the outbreak and triumph of the revolution and, especially, the preparation of the subjective factor, the strengthening of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties which will lead this revolution.

The Communist Party of China applied this same tactic in its relations with the so-called League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which has worked with all its might to split the international communist movement and has fought socialism and Marxism-Leninism relentlessly. The present Chinese leaders want to march together with the Yugoslav revisionists and co-ordinate their actions with them in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and all the Marxist-Leninist parties, against the revolution, socialism and communism.

Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China have maintained a pragmatic stand towards Yugoslav revisionism and have made a great evolution in their views about Tito and Titoism. At first, Mao Tsetung said that Tito was not wrong, but it was Stalin who had been wrong about Tito. Then the same Mao Tsetung ranks Tito with Hitler and Chiang Kai-shek and says that "such people as Tito, Hitler, Chiang Kai-shek and the Czar cannot be corrected, they should be killed". However, he changed his stand again and expressed his great desire to meet Tito. Tito himself declared recently: "I was invited to China when Mao Tsetung was alive. During the visit of the Chairman of the Federal Executive Veche, Djemal Bijedich, to China, at that time, Mao Tsetung expressed to him his desire that I should visit China. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng also told me that, five years ago, Mao Tsetung said that he should have invited me for a visit, stressing that in 1948, too, Yugoslavia was in the right, a thing which he (Mao Tsetung) had declared even then, to a narrow circle. But, taking into consideration the relations between China and the Soviet Union at that time, this was not said publicly"¹.

The revisionist leadership of China is loyally carrying out the "will" of Mao Tsetung. Hua Kuo-feng seized the opportunity of Tito's visit to China and especially of his own visit to Yugoslavia, to eulogize Tito, to present him as a "distinguished Marxist-Leninist", a "great leader" not only of Yugoslavia but also of the international communist movement. In this way the Chinese leadership also openly endorsed all the attacks of the Titoites on Stalin and the Bolshevik Party, on the Party of Labour of Albania, the international communist movement and Marxism-Leninism.

The close political and ideological of the Chinese revisionists with the Titoites, "Eurocommunists", like Carrillo and company, the backing they give the anti-Marxist, Trotskyite, anarchist and social-democratic parties and groups, show that the Chinese leaders, inspired and guided by "Mao Tsetung thought", are setting up a common ideological front with the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, against the revolution, against the interests of the peoples' liberation struggle. That is why the enemies of communism are rejoicing over the Chinese "theories", because they see that "Mao

¹ From Tito's speech at the meeting of activists of the SR of Slovenia, September 8th, 1978.

Tsetung thought", the Chinese policy, are directed against the revolution and socialism.

These questions which we have analysed do not cover all the anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist content of "Mao Tsetung thought". However they are sufficient to permit the conclusion that Mao Tsetung was not a Marxist Leninist, but a progressive revolutionary democrat, who remained for a long time at the head of the Chinese Communist Party and played an important role in the triumph of the Chinese democratic anti-imperialist revolution. Within China in the ranks of the party, among the people and outside China, he built up his reputation as a great Marxist-Leninist and he himself posed as a communist, as a Marxist-Leninist dialectician. But this was not so. He was an eclectic who combined some elements of Marxist dialectics with idealism, with bourgeois and revisionist philosophy, indeed even with ancient Chinese philosophy. Therefore, the views of Mao Tsetung must be studied not only in the arranged phrases of some of his published works, but in their practical application, while also considering the practical consequences they have brought about.

In appraising "Mao Tsetung thought" it is also important to bear in mind the concrete historical conditions under which it was formed. Mao Tsetung's ideas were developed at the time of the decay of capitalism that is, at the time when proletarian revolutions are on the agenda and when the example of the great October Socialist Revolution, the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have become an unerring guide for the proletariat and the revolutionary peoples of the world. The theory of Mao Tsetung "Mao Tsetung thought" which was born in these new conditions, had to try to deck itself out, as it did, in the garb of the most revolutionary and scientific theory of the time, Marxism- Leninism, but in essence it remained a 'theory" opposed to the cause of the proletarian revolution and which comes to the rescue of imperialism in crisis and decay. Therefore we say that Mao Tsetung and "Mao Tsetung thought" are anti-Marxist.

When one talks of "Mao Tsetung thought" it is difficult to discern a single clear line in it, since, as we said in the beginning, it is an amalgam of ideologies, from anarchism, Trotskyism, modern revisionism a la Tito, a la Khrushchev, a la "Eurocommunism", and down to the use of some Marxist phrases. In all this amalgam the old ideas of Confucius, Mencius and the other Chinese philosophers who have directly influenced the formation of the ideas of Mao Tsetung, his cultural and theoretical development also occupy an honoured place. Even those aspects of Mao Tsetung's views which come out in the form of a distorted Marxism-Leninism bear the seal and features of a certain "Asiocommunism" with heavy doses of nationalism, xenophobia and even Buddhist religion, and were bound to come into open opposition with Marxism-Leninism eventually.

The revisionist group of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping, which is ruling in China today, has "Mao-Tsetung thought" as the theoretical basis and ideological platform for its reactionary policy and activity.

In order to strengthen its shaky positions the group around Hua Kuo-feng and Yeh Chien-yi, which came to power, unfurled the banner of Mao Tsetung. Under this banner it condemned the Tien An Men demonstration and liquidated Teng Hsiao-ping, to whom they attached the label of the revisionist, which he deserved. Under this banner this group seized power in a putsch and smashed "The Four". However the chaos which has always characterized China, continued at an even greater intensity. This troubled situation brought Teng Hsiao-ping to the fore and imposed his return to power, and he

set out again on his course of right extremism with fascist methods.

Teng's objective was to strengthen the positions of his own group, to follow his undisguised course of alliance with American imperialism and the reactionary world bourgeoisie. Teng Hsiao-ping brought out the programme of the "four modernizations", put an end to the Cultural Revolution, liquidated all that mass of cadres promoted to the organs of state power, the party and the army by this revolution, and replaced them with the men of the blackest reaction, who have been exposed and condemned in the past.

Now we are witnessing a period which is characterized by the big character posters against Mao Tsetung with which Teng Hsiao-ping's followers are decorating the walls of Peking. It is the period of "revenge" which has two aims: first, to liquidate the "prestige" of Mao and eliminate the obstacle of Hua Kuo-feng and, second, to make Teng Hsiao-ping an all-powerful fascist dictator and to rehabilitate Liu Shao-chi.

Against this background of reactionary manoeuvres there are those in China as well as abroad, who draw a comparison between Teng Hsiao-ping's struggle against Mao, who was never a Marxist-Leninist, and the crime of Khrushchev, who threw mud at Stalin, who was and remains a great Marxist-Leninist. No one, however little the brain in his head, can accept such an analogy.

The most correct comparison possible is that, just as Brezhnev and the revisionist group around him toppled Khrushchev, now, the Chinese Brezhnev, Teng Hsiao-ping, is toppling the Chinese Khrushchev, Mao Tsetung, from his pedestal.

This whole business is a revisionist game, a struggle for personal power. It has always been so in China. There is nothing Marxist about it. Only the Chinese working class and a true Marxist-Leninist party purged of "Mao Tsetung thought", "Teng Hsiao-ping thought", and all other such anti-Marxist, revisionist, bourgeois thoughts, will correct this situation. It is the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin which can rescue China from this situation through a genuine proletarian revolution.

But we are confident that one day Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian revolution in China will triumph and the enemies of the Chinese proletariat and people will be defeated. Of course, such a thing will not be attained without a fight and bloodshed because, it will take many efforts to form the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party in China, the leader indispensable to victory over the traitors and the triumph of socialism.

We are convinced that the fraternal Chinese people, the genuine Chinese revolutionaries will free themselves from illusions and myths. They will come to understand politically and ideologically that in the leadership of the Communist Party of China there are no Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, but, men of the bourgeoisie, of capitalism, who are pursuing a course which has no connection with socialism and communism. But for the masses and the revolutionaries to understand this, it is necessary that they realize that "Mao Tsetung thought" is not Marxism-Leninism, and that Mao Tsetung was not a Marxist-Leninist. The criticism we Marxist-Leninists make of "Mao Tsetung thought" has nothing in common with the attacks which are aimed at Mao Tsetung by the group around Teng Hsiao-ping in the struggle it is waging for power.

By speaking out openly and frankly about these questions, we Albanian communists are fulfilling our duty in defence of Marxism-Leninism, and at the same time, as internationalists, also helping the Chinese people and revolutionaries to find the correct path in these difficult situations they are going through. (Concluded)

From: "Imperialism and the Revolution", Tirana, 1979