

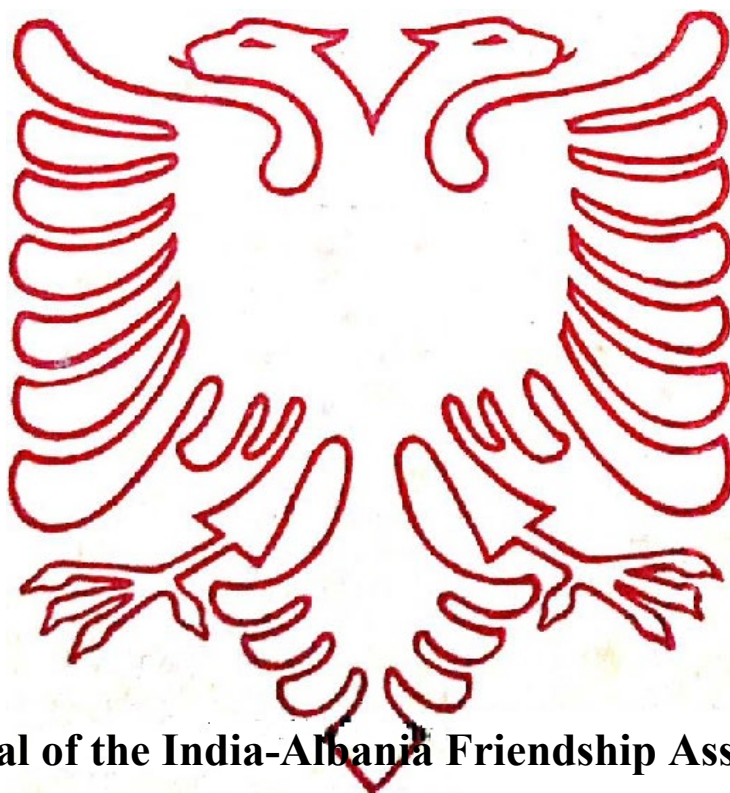
SOCIALIST ALBANIA



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Socialist Albania: **Monthly Journal of the India-Albania Friendship Association.**

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The Editorial Board of Socialist Albania and the India-Albania Friendship Association deeply mourn the death of Geeta Bharati, aged fifteen and a half years, of cancer on 26th October at Willingdon Hospital, New Delhi. Geeta Bharati, daughter of Shiv Kumar Misra of our Editorial Board was cut down at an age when she had already displayed the beginnings of social and political consciousness and we have no doubt that she would have made her mark on the working class movement in India. But this promise was to be dashed. Geeta Bharati was a victim of the capitalist system which does not permit the development of a preventative health system which would detect such diseases at an early stage. We send our deeply-felt condolences to the bereaved family-

Editorial

In the recent period shocking reports have been received of the organised massacre of the working class. The People's Union for Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights (Delhi) has confirmed the killing of workers and their families in cold blood in Faridabad. The history of the Indian police is a long sequence of the use of violence directed against the working class and working peoples. Inextricably linked with this police violence is the continual harassment of the progressive press. Typical of this has been the ongoing harassment of the Editorial Board of this journal by the police force and the intelligence organs. The Editorial Board strongly and unequivocally condemns those actions which impinge upon the democratic rights pertaining to the freedom of the press which have been won over years of struggle by the Indian working peoples.

As this journal went to press the death took place of Hysni Kapo 1915-1979. This issue of this journal is dedicated to the memory of this great revolutionary.

Reflections on China

—Enver Hoxha

Saturday, February 1965

The Chinese are Publishing Khrushchev's Speeches

The Chinese news agency reports that it is publishing the articles and speeches of Khrushchev (vol. 3), which it describes as rubbish. However, the publication of them in the Chinese press is not entirely without danger, because in that rubbish there is demagoguery, which might fool people. If it does not expose and comment on them (and not just with 9 articles), such a thing could do harm. In some things the Chinese are astonishing..

Monday, March 1: 1965

The Modern Revisionists are making demagoguery about the "anti-imperialist common front"

In this field the revisionists intend to carry on their demagoguery about the fading out of the polemic, to continue with the development of trade, and as far as conditions allow, even with official cultural exchanges. But the question of the "anti-imperialist front" is the primary field of their experiment. The Khrushchevite revisionists are fully aware of the views which the Chinese have expressed many times on this problem, indeed expressed very openly, in saying, "We must create an anti-imperialist front including even the revisionists". When the Chinese expressed this idea to us, we opposed the participation of revisionists in this front, but undoubtedly, they should have put this forward and reached agreement on it with the Communist Party of Japan, and some other parties of Asia....

...Even if the Chinese are not in accord with them in these meetings, the demagoguery of the Soviet revisionists is having its effect: the Chinese are hesitating, do not engage in polemics, and if even they do so indirectly the revisionists are not taking it up, not rising to the challenge, but keeping quiet and implying "See, we are for the anti-imperialist front, we are speaking against the Americans, like the Chinese, but they are not satisfied, do not understand us and attack us. They (the Chinese) are not for this front, but nevertheless, we (the Soviets) are keeping quiet, we are and will continue to be patient". They say this once and repeat it five times over, and in this way, the revisionists think they can achieve the cessation of the polemic in such an important direction. We must grasp this link of the chain, they think, in order to grasp the others that come after this. With this move the revisionists hope to kill not two, but three birds with one stone : to continue their line of rapprochement with the Americans, to bag the Chinese, and to blackmail the Americans, and thus, within a relatively short time, their policy will become predominant and they will gain the time and the prestige they have lost.

We must expose this demagoguery unceasingly every day, because even if the Chinese comrades see and understand these tricks of the Soviet revisionists, the revisionists of some countries around China do not see them, or do not want to see them, and to fight them as they should. They think that efforts must be made "to bring" the Khrushchevite revisionists "into line". Hence, both sides think that the two extremes

can easily be brought to terms, whereas the Soviets, on their part reckon that they can bag "these friends".

I am afraid that "these friends" are holding back the Chinese. The latter, prompted either by their wide-ranging, long-term policy, or by their wanting (quite correctly) to preserve their unity and alliance with the neighbouring peoples and the fraternal parties (which is essential), might make concessions in their tactics, and if they are not vigilant, they might compromise the principled line.

I am not sure, but although the Korean comrades say that we are right and say that they agree with us (on the quiet), still they waver, carry on their own policy of self-isolation. The Vietnamese are different, although some of them have great vacillations, but at least the waverers express their stands openly and the determined likewise...

Saturday, March 13, 1965

Restraint exerted on China towards the activities of the Khrushchevites

Pronounced conceit has overwhelmed some Korean leaders and they are practising a kind of "Monroe doctrine", i.e., self-isolation in regard to the struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism. They pose as being with China, but in fact they are not in agreement with it. On such an important question as the anti-revisionist struggle, they pose as being, and want to stress that they are, "independent in their thinking, actions and decisions", but in fact they lean more to a centrist opportunist position, which in reality is mostly to the advantage of the modern revisionists....

...The struggle of the Communist Party of Indonesia is a furtive struggle, it shoots an occasional arrow at the revisionists and then "sends kisses" to the "dear comrades", whom it allows to operate in peace. Do you call this revolutionary struggle ?

Perhaps I am doing them an injustice but I think that the struggle of the Indonesian comrades is rather inspired by the "thoughts" and actions of Bung Karno. The Indonesian comrades say they benefit greatly from the "understanding" of Sukarno, but isn't it true that the latter is benefiting from the "understanding of the Indonesian communists"?! .

Monday, December 27, 1965

We shall support the Marxist-Leninist Parties

As a mark of international solidarity, we informed the Chinese comrades about the formation of the Communist Party of Poland, according to the facts which we had from the Polish Marxist-Leninist comrades. We did this also in case the Polish revisionist leadership might carry out some provocation. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China thanked us for the information and pointed out not only that it knew nothing about the event, about which it had not been informed by the Polish comrades, but also that it did not maintain secret links with them and did not help them apart from the open stand in its press about the struggle against revisionism.

In other words, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China is telling us that it does not meddle in these matters. It is evident that the Chinese comrades do not want the revisionists of the "socialist" countries of Europe to accuse them of interfering in their own internal affairs. Such a stand on the part of China does not prevent the modern revisionists from accusing the Chinese of interfering in their affairs and describe the Marxist-Leninists of their countries as "sold out to Chinese", and will not prevent

them from doing so in the future either. Likewise, this has not prevented the modern revisionists from interfering illegally and plotting against our parties and countries.

We do not interfere in the internal affairs of any state but when political and ideological aid is sought from us by the Marxist-Leninist comrades we on our part, with great prudence have given this aid and will continue to do so. In the case of the Polish comrades it is they themselves who are struggling, taking decisions on their own. We do not meddle in their internal affairs, except that when they seek some advice from us we tell them our modest opinion; when their great cause has needed to be backed up and supported this too, we have done and will continue to do and we think that we are not acting wrongly.

In every instance the just struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against the revisionists of their own countries rejoices us immensely, and we are not in the least afraid to express our internationalist solidarity with them just because the revisionists will accuse us of "interference". We cannot take an icy stand towards the revolutionary actions of the Marxist-Leninist comrades.

We believe, and have always believed, that the arousing of the masses to revolution in the revisionist countries of Europe is indispensable and urgent. We know also that this work is being done in difficult conditions for our Marxist-Leninist comrades. In these countries there will be fascist terror against them, there is no doubt about that. But the work cannot be done otherwise, there is no other way: either you accept the fight to the finish with the revisionist-fascist cliques, and consequently also accept great sacrifices, or you submit. For revolutionaries no other road is acceptable except the road of struggle...

Tuesday, August 1966

The Cult of Mao Tsetung

...Marx condemned the cult of the individual as something sickening. The individual plays a role in history, sometimes indeed a very important one, but for us Marxists this role is a minor one compared with the role of the popular masses, which make history, carry out the revolution, and build socialism and communism. For us Marxist-Leninists the role of the individual is a minor one also in comparison with the major role of the communist party, which stands at the head of the masses and leads them...

..In reality they are turning the cult of Mao almost into a religion, exalting him in a sickening way without giving the least consideration to the great harm this is doing to the cause...

..Mao has great merits for the Chinese revolution as well as for the construction of socialism in China. We have great respect for him as a Marxist, but we cannot reconcile ourselves to the propaganda campaign of the Chinese comrades in connection with his figure. We condemn this unrestrained, abnormal, non-Marxist propaganda. The fact is that our criticism over this question, which we made to Chou En-lai, the last time he was here, had no effect at all, indeed, it seems to me that our comradely criticism must have been distasteful to the Chinese comrades..

...In the Chinese press they are using such exalted expressions, speaking of such gestures and occurrences that one is impelled to think and ask : Are we dealing with Marxists or with religious fanatics ? Because truly, from what we are seeing with our

eyes and hearing with our ears, in China they are treating Mao as the Christians treat Christ. What is said about Mao by the Chinese or foreigners, by good people or flatterers, by ordinary people, sincere or hypocrites, all this is being raised to theory by the Chinese propaganda in a sickening chorus.

Wanting to bring out the merits of Mao, the Chinese comrades have obscured the role of the masses, obscured the role of their party, not to mention the role of their Central Committee which simply "doesn't exist" in comparison with the personality of Mao. They have replaced Marxism-Leninism with "Mao Tsetung thought".

..The question arises : Why all this unrestrained propaganda? Whom does it benefit, and is it necessary to carry on such propaganda about a renowned personality like Mao Tsetung, whom not only the Chinese communists, but also those of other countries recognize ? I cannot explain this otherwise than as the deafening beating of the drum which conceals some hostile work, either immediately or in the long term.

...The struggle for a proletarian culture and against bourgeois culture and its influence is something correct which must be carried out by all of us. But in this Cultural Revolution which is going on in China we observe certain things which make an impression. The main issue is that "proletarian culture begins and ends in China", "nothing else in the world is any good". For the Chinese propaganda, the positive and progressive aspects of human thought have no value at all, only the "ideas" of Mao Tsetung and everything which comes from Chinese hands is of value! Such a spirit, and this is the direction in which things in China are heading, is not healthy and contains great dangers, just as the excessive persecution of the intellectuals there might have repercussions which reminds us of the actions of the Yugoslavs and their agent Koci Xoxe against intellectuals in our country in order allegedly to defend the "proletarian nucleus", as Koci Xoxe put it.

The Chinese comrades who, in many things show themselves "cautious", "slow to move", who have made "re-education" a principle, who have the theory of "a hundred flowers" and "a hundred schools", have now begun to attack things with big axes. We agree that the axe should fall where it is necessary and with great force, we agree that the broom, indeed a big broom, must be applied, but. as we see it, at least from the propaganda that is coming out, the broom is sweeping away every work, every literary creation regardless of the overall progressive spirit of the work, the time at which it was written, and the role it has played in those circumstances. While as for progressive world literature and progressive culture in general, for the Chinese comrades this has no value at all, it is barren country to them...

...The educational work of the party, its check-up, leadership and advice, are absolutely necessary and salutary. But if this great, complicated, difficult task, one of the most difficult, is left in the hands of students, to spontaneity, as I have the impression it is being done in China, this can bring great dangers. In that country at present the masses, and the students in particular have been called on to play a major role. This is correct. But in such a delicate question the instructions and leadership of the party must be clear, unequivocal, not with zigzags in principles, and above all, the implementation of these principles must be controlled and guided as in a battle, as in a revolution, and not in anarchic forms.

Up till yesterday there was the slogan of "a hundred flowers" and "a hundred schools". How was it applied and what results did it yield ? Was it understood correctly ?

Were there mistakes in its concept and application ? This is not being said by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Does the hostile activity of Peng Chen and company have its source in these directives ? Have they disguised themselves under this slogan ? This is not being said. Perhaps the Chinese comrades have reached conclusions, and we know nothing about this. However, we see that the students in China have taken the bit between their teeth and are hitting out wherever they can, up to the point that the police have to intervene to calm things down and clear the ground. It seems to me that this is not correct.

To attack, to denounce, to call even progressive things reactionary, simply because they are old, and to do this at revolutionary and progressive moments for your people, for the history of your people, is very wrong.

To allow the students to attack and denounce all the old intellectuals and scientists without exception, this, too, is very wrong.,

To allow the students to display a terrible xenophobia, as is being done in China, means to make a great mistake which has nothing at all to do with proletarian internationalism, means not knowing how to distinguish between the peoples of the world and imperialism and world capitalism, between the progressive and the reactionary.

If the students are allowed to express their "passions" as they want and as is occurring in China, at least from what we learn from the news, this leads to rejection of the correct slogan of education and re-education, even including the Emperor of Manchukuo, Pu Yi, and its immediate replacement with the slogan : Come on, men, sweep away the lot! Because nothing in the world matters, apart from the "thoughts of Lei Feng". The thoughts of Lei Feng are being propagated as good and revolutionary, which must serve the education of people, but it must not be permitted that, because of these revolutionary principles which inspire the Lei Fengs, the progressive ideas of mankind, within China or outside it, should be tossed down the drain. Progressive culture and science have universal importance, and we, as communists, basing ourselves on our Marxist-Leninist science, which is universal, do not reject the progressive world culture and science of different peoples and countries.

The communists have permanent need for the purging of their consciousness, they need continuous tempering. Then what about the elderly the non-party people, the old intellectuals ? But does this mean that dangerous excesses should be permitted, as is occurring among the students in China ?

As to whether there was a need for a great shake-up there, in my opinion, there was such a need, but the shake up ought to be well-studied, organized, guided, and continuous and neither an earthquake, nor a flash in the pan.

I think the work for people's ideological education, for their political, scientific and cultural education, should not be done with intermittent campaigns but should be a permanent campaign, a well-studied permanent campaign, safeguarding principles, correcting the mistakes which will certainly be discovered, making the necessary tactical zigzags and even making temporary concessions, if need be, in order to cope with a situation and to overcome the difficulties.

To begin a cultural revolution by attacking the revisionists, Peng Chen and company, without a clear document being issued by the Central Committee of the Party on how this revolution is to be carried out, seems to me not in order.

To solicit the opinion of five students on how the future school programmes in China should be, seems to me not at all correct, regardless of whether these five, or a hundred, are inspired from above. This is formalism. The Central Committee must formulate and present the experience of the masses for discussion by all the working people, and then let the students give their opinion, even millions of them...

Saturday, August 20, 1966

What is going on in China ?

...The question arises : How is it possible, and is it in order and Marxist-Leninist that for such a Cultural Revolution one person of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee, even if he is minister of defence, or the first secretary, or the chairman of the party himself should become the standard-bearer, while the Party and its Central Committee remain in the shade ?! No, this is not in order, this is not Marxist-Leninist. Only the Central Committee of the Party can take such decisions and actions. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China did not issue the call for this Cultural Revolution, nor did it lead it. The call was issued by others, the revolution was developed in spontaneity and disorder, and this was called the "revolutionary method". Only now, several months after the beginning of the revolution has the Central Committee finally met (the 11th Plenum after four years! Scandal!!) and issued a "set of rules" about how the Cultural Revolution should be carried out..

..Hence from the manner in which this Cultural Revolution was launched, the public facts make one think that this method of action was imposed on the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, because it took decisions and came out with resolutions should be guided much later, several months after it broke out.

Why did it happen that way ? Here lies the mystery and for the moment this cannot be explained. It is a fact that since 1956, when the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China was held, more than five years have gone by since the time when its 9th Congress should have been summoned. Why is this ? It is difficult to explain. Normally, each Marxist-Leninist party holds at least two plenums of the Central Committee a year. The recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held after four years' delay! Then who is leading the party ? Is the congress leading it ? Is the Central Committee leading it between congresses ? It seems that these forums have been displaced from leadership. It seems that the Political Bureau of the CC or certain main individuals are leading. Do these individuals at least lead in a collective way, and do they adhere to the norms of the party, or do they have unlimited "authority" for everything, and decide the interval of time between congresses and plenums as they please ? We cannot pronounce ourselves on this, but we see that enemies such as Peng Teh-huai and Peng Chen remain in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Other comrades in the Political Bureau, in the Central Committee and outside it have been doing a thousand and one things which are now finally being revealed and, on account of this, the Cultural Revolution begins against them. Their activity has been described as a great conspiracy intended to direct socialist China on to the revisionist course, the capitalist course, and to replace the ideas of Mao Tsetung, etc. If this is such a conspiracy, if this conspiracy had been hatched up in the army and everywhere, this is no longer a "cultural", "ideological", conspiracy but, first of all, a political conspiracy, intended to bring down the socialist regime.

The Chinese comrades are striving at all costs to avoid describing it in this way, as it is in reality. When I said to Chou En-lai, after his exposition (which was very general in connection with the participants in this conspiracy) that Peng Chen and company were agents of imperialism and the capitalists, he jumped up saying: "I have never described them in this way in the exposition I made to you..."

Friday, August 26, 1966

A Sixteen-Point document on the cultural revolution is approved

...This implies to us that the enemy had infiltrated the party deeply, to the point that it had taken over the whole leaderships of party committees..

It emerges as a logical deduction that not only has the organization of political work in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China been unsound, but there have been opposing lines, deviations and factions there, as I have said earlier, and these factionist elements have been operating freely for a long time. Many leaders at the centre and the base, irrespective of who they are, have degenerated ideologically and politically and have set out on a hostile course.

There is one thing that worries me. Although the sixteen-point document differs from the communique of the plenum, in which it came out clearly that the personality of Mao dominated the Party, again in this case, the role of the Central Committee comes out as weak, although it is the Central Committee which bought out this sixteen-point document, and the role of the party and its call to take this situation in hand is likewise weak. It speaks only of the revolutionary students, exalting and encouraging them. This makes one think that the major question, that is not just the cultural question, has not been solved conclusively in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China because previously it was said that "the minority can triumph over the majority, and the minority can be right". As to which minority and in what direction it is right, we cannot understand at present, but we shall see it in the course of events...

...Can the question of religious belief be eradicated simply by closing some Catholic churches as the students are doing, or by replacing the icons in churches with busts and portraits of Mao ?!! Of course not. Religious belief in China must be a major problem, which cannot be solved with these measures..

...Although power appears to be in the hands of the proletariat, it is possible that the bourgeoisie is still powerful and dangerous. The Chinese comrades themselves say this when they put the question: Which will win in China, socialism or capitalism ? The presentation of the problem in such a categorical manner, without defining where socialism has triumphed and where it has not triumphed, and where the bourgeoisie remains strong, has astounded us.

Many times the Chinese comrades have told us, of course, while belittling this force, that they have about 50 million enemies in China. Regardless of the fact that China has 700 million inhabitants, this enemy force is not small. Moreover, this colossal hostile force has certainly not sat and is not sitting with folded arms, but is working and exerting influence, fighting and sabotaging. This hostile force has not felt the powerful fist of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the extent it should have, either in ideology or in the economy, except up to a point in the economic field in the countryside. Industry, too, in China is declared to be socialist, but we see that the capitalists and the industrialists in enterprises still receive a set rent. It is said to be negligible, but such a thing is

unacceptable. In fact this should not have been permitted, while the Chinese leaders have permitted it and still permit it. But at the time when the Chinese have permitted the paying of this rent, all those capitalists continued to be in the possession of large amounts of liquid assets, which have not been touched at all ! Such a tolerant stand towards exploiters naturally has been associated with a soft and opportunist conciliatory policy towards them. All this "coexistence" has been covered with the campaign of "re-education" from Pu Yi, the Emperor of Manchukuo down to the old industrialists...

Thursday, September 1966

The "Red Guard"

..The "Red Guard" is made up mainly of youth, university students, middle school pupils, and now their teachers have united with them. The members of the "Red Guard" are only citizens. Since this Cultural Revolution has a pan-Chinese character, not to say any more of it (because the Chinese propaganda wants to give and is giving the revolution this tendency), it cannot be restricted to the students, and led by them alone, because this creates the impression that this revolution belongs to the students alone, and that "they are capable of carrying it out and leading in". Thus it appears to us that so extensive and profound a Cultural Revolution which has to do with the liquidation of a "bourgeois superstructure", which is in "strong" and even "threatening positions", as the Chinese comrades tell us is charged to a young stratum of the intelligentsia which is dominating the main class of *society*, the working class, although they have called this Cultural Revolution "proletarian". This, of course, is not on a correct line, even if you take it only from the formal angle, let alone if you examine it in essence. But the forms too, will express many things and are, in fact, the visible reflection of the essence of the problem.

If we speak about proletarian culture, it is a very surprising matter that the working class and the peasantry, or at least, the worker and peasant youth (since they want to give the revolution the colour of the younger generation) are sitting as onlookers and not taking part in this revolution. Whatever the Chinese comrades may say, nothing explains this equivocal stand. In socialism, culture is not an adornment of only one stratum, but belongs to the whole people, And if one has to have one's say about culture and art, it is the workers and peasants who should have their say before anyone else.

How is it possible that neither the thought nor the action of the working class and the peasantry is being sought on such a major issue ? How can this occur when the school and university youth, allegedly, have the right of entry everywhere, to make the law, to set the orientation in this revolution, and for its leadership to be taken over precisely by that stratum which has made the mistakes, and which, from its very nature, is in a vacillating position ? Only the proletarian reinforced concrete can make this anti-bourgeois and anti-revisionist wall impregnable, and if it requires the "iron broom" to clean up the filth there can be no such broom without iron, that is, without the working class.

If we say that the "Red Guard" is made up of the youth down to the young pioneers, then what has become of the Communist Youth, at one time a famous organization in China ? Its voice is not being heard at all, it seems as if it does not exist, or is on the point of "fading out" Why ? What has it done..

..What has the "Red Guard" done concretely for the "Cultural Revolution" up till now ? It has come out in the streets, has begun the work with actions over which one could laugh and cry; it has violated the laws of the Republic, has frequently gone in opposition even to the directives of Mao, which the Chinese comrades publicize greatly; it has upset the good, let alone the bad, and has made a great commotion through the streets. However, this unrestrained, orchestrated and encouraged commotion has led the "Red Guard" into clashes with the working class in some cities in which hundreds have been injured...

...An anti-Marxist xenophobia, which is becoming especially worrying, is being built up and developed in China especially against the Soviet peoples. The way they are acting in China at least as I see it, turns out that the struggle against Soviet revisionism, which has to be stern and uncompromising, has wiped out the distinction between the revisionist traitors and the Soviet people..

From the speech which Chou En-lai delivered in Tien An Men Square the day before yesterday it is apparent that he is the main one in all this situation, regardless of the fact that it is Lin Piao that is being publicized. His speech was a programme of work for the "Red Guard". Apart from other things, what strikes the eye in this programmatic speech is the fact that Chou En-lai made a great issue of : "We must leave the masses free to speak, to act and to make the revolution", etc. Who has stopped them acting freely up till now ? Moreover, the masses, in the real meaning of the term, are not speaking yet, only one category of people is speaking, a small and most exalted part of the masses, but at the same time the most immature and unsuitable part, especially for the specific work which needs to be carried out.

In China today everything revolves around the Cultural Revolution and the clamour of the "Red Guard", as if there were no other problems, as if the Central Committee which met had only to decide on the famous sixteen points! But let us accept for the moment that only these sixteen points were discussed and decided. These decisions are for the party, first of all, therefore they should first be presented to the party, for it to discuss them, to adopt them, and for it to lead. There is not a word in this direction; not a whisper that these directives are being discussed in the party; no support is being heard from the party, is it for or against ?...

Monday, September 26, 1966

The Army is Recommended as a model for all, even for the Party

For more than a year the Chinese press has been publicizing the army more than it should, although it is trying to do this without making it very obvious. Truly, the tense international situation requires that importance must be given to the army, that its strength, armaments, etc., etc., should be publicized This is normal, but on the basis of the above hypothesis, certain expressions of Mao's which especially attract attention, are appearing in the Chinese press. The army is recommended as a model for all... even for the party This implies that Mao and the army men behind him are wanting to impose everything of the army, from its education down to its "modesty", on the party, that is, it emerges that "in the army the line of Mao, the ideas of Mao are being applied in a brilliant way" but not in the party and elsewhere...

...In May this year, when a delegation of ours was in China, Mao said to our comrades, among other things : "They say that I am a philosopher, a thinker..., no. this

is not true; I am an army man..."

Another thing. Mao also told our comrades about the cadres of the Communist Party of China: "Things have gone so far that our district secretary will sell himself to the enemy for a pound of pork..."

Monday, October 10, 1966

Theses on the Unity of the International Marxist-Leninist movement

Following the split unity is required.

The struggle against modern revisionism cannot be waged without Marxist-Leninist unity.

The 1st and 3rd Internationals.

There are two concepts about unity:

(1) Revisionist "unity" (with its variants).

(2) Marxist-Leninist unity.

We must expose the former and consolidate the latter.

Does complete Marxist-Leninist unity of thought and action exist in the international Marxist-Leninist movement ?

Yes and no, but not to the extent and in the way it should, because of the growth of this movement and the lack of experience, because of the isolated positions of each Marxist-Leninist party or revolutionary group and because there is not complete identity of views on many capital common problems, as well as because of the organized and combined struggle which revisionism and imperialism are waging against Marxism-Leninism...

...There is a need for an analysis of the current situation, which cannot be done by one party alone, the view of which would be the guiding light for the others. It is necessary also to have consultations among Marxist-Leninist parties or groups from which correct guidelines will emerge for the struggle in the overall and specific conditions.

Capital problems which should have a common definition, which tempers unity and boosts the struggle against modern revisionism:

(1) The definite break with the revisionists requires a special meeting.

(2) The birth of revisionism, its causes, etc. etc.

(3) The question of Stalin.

(4) The stand towards the Soviet Union, in the first place, and the other countries where the revisionists are ruling.

(5) A more studied stand about more organized political, ideological, technical and material aid to the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups, the national liberation struggle, about alliances with the progressive anti-imperialist bourgeoisie, and many other problems of this type of great importance to our common struggle...

..The strategy and tactics of our struggle. The former must be the same for all, the tactics may be different, but must serve the former and be developed for the correct application of Marxism-Leninism.

–Why were the twenty-five points of the Communist Party of China issued and what is their fate ?

–The tactics of the People's Republic of China and of the People's Republic of

Albania.

The tactics of all Marxist-Leninist parties and groups which operate in the opposition or illegality.

- (a) The question of borders with the Soviet Union.
- (b) The Indian question.
- (c) The question of Korea and Japan.
- (d) The question of the Communist Party of Poland (Marxist-Leninist).
- (e) The aid that should be given the Marxist-Leninist groups.

The Communist Party of China is avoiding general meetings.

a) It proposed the meeting of our nine parties. When we accepted, the CP of China cancelled it.

b) Without holding a meeting, it proposed the creation of an "anti-imperialist front even with the revisionists", and then retracted it.

c) It holds meetings with other parties, one at a time, which it is entitled to do and after such meetings these parties come out with statements and articles which defend everything which China says and does.

d) Now the entire concern of the Communist Party of China is that the Marxist-Leninist communist movement should accept that the ideas of Mao Tsetung lead the world, accept the cult of Mao, the Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the entire line of the Communist Party of China with its good points and its mistakes.

All these things pose many threats to unity...

...Just as the opinions of one party cannot be accepted *en bloc*, neither can those of two parties be accepted *en bloc*. All must state their opinion. Therefore, the joint meeting and the taking of joint decisions is important. The meeting will be informed of and study the forms of the word and organization and set tasks for each individual party.

Up till now China has avoided this kind of meetings. Why ?

- a) To avoid being accused of seeking hegemony, an opinion which is not correct.
- b) Lest we, the others, take a wrong view of its stand about those meetings. (We have demonstrated our internationalism.)
- c) It doesn't want partners in its decisions. Such a view and stand is dangerous.

In view of all these things :

Is it right and necessary for us to present this idea in broad outlines at our Congress ? I think it is. This is normal, one of the forms of our struggle.

Sunday, October 23, 1966

Nothing is solved correctly without the Party

...The fact is that their last Congress, the 8th which was held in 1956, was under the direct influence of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Many main theses of the 8th Congress, in Liu Shao-chi's report, are Khrushchevite theses adopted by the Chinese comrades completely. It is quite obvious that they were in agreement with Khrushchev in his main theses against Stalin, pro-Titoism, for peaceful coexistence, etc. Apart from this, a very dangerous revisionist opportunist internal line was developed extensively and at length at the 8th Congress.

In a few words, the Chinese comrades minimize the class struggle, and one may say, have shared the economic power with the capitalist bourgeoisie to which they guarantee a third of the profits, guarantee its remaining at the head of the

administration, and vigorously recommend coexistence with it etc. In the Front they give the bourgeois parties almost the same political rights as the Communist Party of China, and indeed say that these parties have the right of control over the party. In regard to the old intelligentsia, not only do they maintain a "correct" stand toward it, but they almost exalt it. On top of all this, in the report to the 8th Congress everything is put forward in connection with "the education and re-education" even of big landowners, about whom it says that "they must take part in the co-operative", and the capitalists, who "have enthusiastically accepted the leadership of the working class and the Communist Part/of China"...

...Mao should have mobilized the party against the revisionist factionists, should have aroused the party and the working class to put the line, the norms, the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order, and that would have been enough. This might have been painful for them, too, both for those who had gone to sleep and for those who had acted but this would have led to a correct and complete solution, and not to patching things up. Either the opportunist line of the 8th Congress will be radically changed, or things will proceed lamely...

...To fail to put the working class into action in order to correct things on the spot, allegedly because the working class must not be raised "against the party", and on the other hand, to arouse the students to "elect" the party committees for the working class and dictate to it what it should do, this is not at all on the right road. Moreover, if you set the working class in motion you do not set it against the party, but against revisionists, against their resistance...

Thursday, November 1966

Kang Sheng's Explanations

...Comrade Kang Sheng described Peng Chen as an enemy and disguised agent who had betrayed as early as 1925. Investigations about him are continuing. Peng Chen, with his associates Lu Ting-yi, Lo Jui-tsin, etc., were revisionists bourgeois capitalist agents who plotted to usurp power in China. Of course, they had a network of their people everywhere, at the centre and at the base, and no doubt in the army, too, but Kang Sheng did not go deeply into these things. Thus, it turns out that the danger was real and very serious.

Meanwhile, the Chinese comrades described Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping as elements with bourgeois capitalist views, not on the scale of the group of Peng Chen, who had violated Mao's directive which they, too, had jointly accepted but had acted "in the working groups and with white terror", trying to suppress the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Kang Sheng said, "These two comrades although stubborn, recognized their mistakes and made self-criticism, in writing and orally, to the extended Central Committee of the Party and remained on the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau."

According to Comrade Kang Sheng's exposition, Liu's group opposed Mao's line of the masses and attempted to smother this. It turns out. also, that the "Red Guard" "was created as a further development of the line of the masses in the exposure of the activity of Peng Chen and company".

. He said no more in this direction and did not imply that there were other differences in the leadership. However, I think that, from the general spirit of the exposition, it

emerges that this Cultural Revolution is not only cultural, but is also political, as we have thought. Thus the Chinese comrades, without saying so are trying to correct many political, organizational, economic, educational and other mistakes through the Cultural Revolution.

Comrade Kang Sheng did not mention the role of the "Red Guard" at all but only the role of "the party and Mao in this revolution"...

Monday, November 14, 1966

The Events in China are being Explained to us

. Kang Sheng did not tell us any more, but following our questions he admitted, agreeing with our opinion, that the 8th Congress, Liu Shao-chi's report to this Congress and the resolution, had many mistakes in line.

On the question of the "anti-imperialist front including even the revisionists", he said that this was not the opinion or the decision of the Central Committee, hence he implied that it was the idea of Liu Shao-chi and Chou En-lai, because it was they who put it forward to them.

In regard to going to Moscow after the fall of Khrushchev, he said that this had been Mao's idea, and added: "You (Albanians) were completely right and did well not to go to Moscow"...

Tuesday, January 3, 1967

Reading an article about the proletarian cultural revolution in Chinn

I cannot agree with the Chinese comrades on the question of Stalin, either. They blacken the work of Stalin. On this question of principle they are not objective and are not completely on the Marxist course. The Chinese comrades are still judging Stalin according to their opportunist views...

Stalin fought resolutely against secret and open enemies until the day he died. And after the war, what was the question in Leningrad? What were the reforms in the Central Committee and the bringing into the leadership of a large number of new people? What was the meaning of the condemnation of Zhukov about whom it came out later what he was? What was the removal of Kosygin, who also showed himself for what he was? What was the significance of Khrushchev's statement that Stalin did not trust them and told them, "You will capitulate to imperialism"? And everything that Stalin and turned out true.

These are a few isolated things which we know, but if we have full knowledge of Stalin's activity after the Second World War then we will see his titanic Marxist-Leninist greatness more clearly.

Our Party benefited from the teachings of Stalin, followed them faithfully, and therefore it did not go wrong. It is for this reason that those things which are occurring in China today do not occur in Albania. What the Communist Party of China is doing today by means of Cultural Revolution our Party has long been doing, continuously, consistently, step by step, in a revolutionary manner, and with quality.

It is not right at all that, in order to boost oneself, the major role of Stalin, who fought with great consistency, should be blackened; it is not at all Marxist to appropriate to oneself what other Marxist-Leninist parties have done and are doing consistently say :

"See, the fact is that in the Soviet Union the revisionists seized power". Yes, this is a bitter fact, however, the revisionists seized power there after the death of Stalin. Why did they not take it while he was alive?

Let us suppose that Stalin "had not been vigilant" and "had not taken preventive measures", then why did it take you Chinese comrades, who criticize Stalin, ten to fourteen years on end to see through Khrushchev, eighteen years on end to see Tito, and at least sixteen years the groups of Liu Shao-chi and Peng Chen? And you had the great revolutionary experience of Lenin and Stalin and the bitter experience of Tito, Khrushchev, Kao Gang, Wang Ming, etc.

No. no ! Stalin was a great man, a great revolutionary, a great Marxist-Leninist and so will he remain through the centuries. The mistakes of Stalin, if they exist, are minor ones. And to list them you must find them and when you find them you must judge them in the circumstances of the time.

Liu Shao-chi, this revisionist, had delivered a whole report to the comrades of one of our delegations about the alleged rightist mistakes of Stalin, alleging that Stalin had said that the class struggle was over, etc. What irony ! And who was saying this ? The person who, at the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China advocated coexistence with the capitalists! Liu Shao-chi emerged as the Chinese Khrushchev!

Thursday, January 12, 1967

We must support the correct objectives of the Cultural Revolution in Chinn

I gave instructions on how we must act in connection with the urgent "Proclamation" of 32 revolutionary organizations of Shanghai. As it seems the Chinese revisionists began the sabotage activity in the economy of the city of Shanghai. They have taken advantage of the wrong line, have had the committee in their hands, have "coexisted well and beautifully with the capitalists", and now judging the situation desperate, have set themselves in motion. Of course, they have been encouraged also by the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not striking them as it ought to, that their leaders, such as Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping and other disguised ones, are still not being struck the final blow. The reactionary Chinese bourgeoisie which has infiltrated the party and the state is acting vigorously.

The urgent "Proclamation" of 32 revolutionary organizations of Shanghai has great importance at this stage of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution because now this revolution is going beyond the bounds of dazibaos and the severity of the dictatorship is coming into action. Hence, it has been decided to strike the reactionary elements physically, too, to arrest them, try them and punish them. As last! Perhaps the Chinese comrades arrested reactionary elements before, but in the forms in which they are presenting things now, this is a different kettle of fish. The form and methods used were such as to give the impression that this revolution would be only "peaceful". You have to be naive to think that the revisionists will fold their arms in the face of this defeat.

Therefore we must publish this urgent "Proclamation" and accompany it with an article in which we defend the correct Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line and, now that we are given the occasion, say openly in the press what we have always thought, namely, that the enemies' heads must be smashed, not just with words, with dazibaos, but even with bullets. The enemy must feel the blow of the dictatorship of the proletariat right to the marrow of its bones.

We must activize our propaganda even more, both at home and abroad, in defence of China, the Communist Party of China, Mao, and the correct objectives of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Obituary

Hysni Kapo 1915-1979

On September 23, 1979, following a grave illness, our most beloved comrade, a glorious member of our heroic Party, a cherished son of the people, one of the most outstanding leaders of our Party state and people, Hysni Kapo, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, member of the Council of Defence, Deputy to the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, member of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, passed away.

Comrade Hysni Kapo was born in March 1915 in the district of Vlora in a peasant family of patriotic traditions. At a young age, prior to the formation of the Communist Party of Albania, he took part in the Communist movement of the country. In the first days of April 1939 he distinguished himself as a resolute anti-fascist fighter, an ardent patriot, inspirer and organizer of the resistance of the heroic people of Vlora against the fascist Italian occupation.

With the creation of the Communist Party of Albania on November 8, 1941, he was admitted as a member and charged with the important duty of political secretary of the regional committee of Vlora. Implementing the teachings of the Party with unwavering loyalty, as an ardent agitator and propagandist, as an organizer and leader of rare qualities, and a courageous fighter, he has always been a lofty example of inspiration for the communists, for the partisans, for the people whom he loved so much.

Comrade Hysni Kapo worked with real determination and ability for the organization of the partisan units and was charged with the task of commissar of the first unit of Vlora which became the nucleus of other partisan units in this region. Later he was put in charge of all military affairs in the whole of the region of Vlora as commissar headquarters of the operational zone Vlora Gjirokastra. He was a great commissar, and became commissar of the first shock Brigade, a member of the headquarters of the First Shock Division, and political commissar of the first Army Corps which took part in liberation of districts of the north.

From the very beginning he was a member of the General Staff of the National Liberation Army. As early as the First National Conference of the Communist Party of Albania in March 1943 Comrade Hysni Kapo was elected member of the Central Committee, and since the First Congress continuously through to the end he had been elected member of the Political Bureau, while since the Third Congress he was also a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party.

Comrade Hysni Kapo was an outstanding state and social personality. In 1943, in Labinot, at the meeting of the General National Liberation Council he was elected a member of this council. In 1944 at the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Congress of Permet, he was elected a member of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council. After liberation, he was charged with high-level state and social duties and he directed with full success many important sectors of the Party, the state, the economy, the army and diplomacy.

From the founding of the Party, during the stormy years of National Liberation War, in the reconstruction and the socialist construction of the country and in the class struggle against tire enemies of the Party and people, against the conspiratorial and

subversive activity of the imperialists, social-imperialists and revisionists of different shades, Comrade Hysni Kapo has always been a resolute and consistent fighter. He carried out extremely valuable and intensive activity for the strengthening of the Party, for the preservation of its ideological and organizational unity, for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the modernization of our armed forces, for the implementation of the principled foreign policy of our Party.

He worked with exemplary ability and self-sacrifice for the economic, cultural and social development of the country. Always in all circumstances and everywhere he has been, he has faithfully and courageously implemented and defended the correct line of our Party, the life-giving teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

As a member of the highest leading organs of the Party, Comrade Hysni Kapo has worked and fought with the Marxist-Leninist maturity and determination of a glorious leader. With his principled stand and lofty proletarian spirit which characterized him, his tireless and persistent work with a steel-like drive, with modesty and love for the people and with severity for the enemies, with all those lofty qualities and virtues which he had as a communist and leader as a faithful son of the people, Comrade Hysni Kapo has been and will remain a brilliant and very beloved figure of the Party and of our armed forces.

His whole life as a militant and communist revolutionary, Comrade Hysni Kapo devoted to the magnificent goals of the Party, the revolution, the construction of socialism, the triumph and triumphant ideas of Marxism-Leninism. In the magnificent achievements of socialist Albania, these 35 years, in the setting up, strengthening and modernization of industry, in the successful development of our socialist agriculture, in the raising of the cultural level and well-being of the people, in the all-round flourishing and prosperity and the strengthening of the defence potential of our socialist homeland, everywhere, the outstanding contribution of this cherished son of the Party and people is present.

Highly evaluating his merits and contributions both during the war and following liberation, the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has awarded Comrade Hysni Kapo with the high titles of Hero of the People and Hero of Socialist Labour, as well as with many different orders and medals.

Comrade Hysni Kapo has departed from our ranks at a time when the Party and the people had such a great need for him, for his abilities as a leader, for his very rich experience, for his intelligence and wisdom.

With the death of Comrade Hysni Kapo, the whole Party, the entire people, the workers, the cooperativists, the soldiers, the young men and women, the cadres all over the country, his family, all his comrades, co-fighters and co-workers have suffered a very great loss. But all of them, like one man with ropes tightened around the Party, will learn how to turn this loss with great grief and pain into revolutionary strength to realize the magnificent Programme of the Party for the construction of socialism, for the defence of the freedom and independence of our cherished homeland, to realize everywhere the tasks which the Party has set in all fields, as our unforgettable Comrade Hysni Kapo desired and fought for with real heroism to the last moments of his life.

Signed by:

Comrades Enver Hoxha, Mehmet Shehu, Adil Carcani, *Ramiz* Alia, Kadri Hazbiu,

Haki Toska, Hekuran Isai, Manush Myftiu, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, Spiro Kole, Simon Stefani, Pilo Peristeri, Lenka Cuko, Llambi Gegprifti, Qiriako Mihali, Haxhi Lleshi, and other comrades.

Correspondence

18th October 1979

I am the Editor, Printer and Publisher of "Viplava Sandesam" a Telegu Marxist monthly published from Hyderabad. I am steering an independent course in Indian Marxist politics and am trying to propagate the necessity of independent application of the principles of scientific socialism to Indian conditions.

As such I consider it extremely necessary to be acquainted with all trends of Marxian thought and policy in India and the world. So I request you to send "Socialist Albania", and allied journals and publications to me.

I. M. Sharma
Hyderabad, A. P.
31st October, 1979

Thank you for sending us your excellent journal "SOCIALIST ALBANIA". I have pleasure in enclosing the last few issues of our own journal. At a public meeting held in the Conway Hall, London, on October 28th., one of the resolutions passed reads as follows :

"This London meeting, organised by the Albanian Society to commemorate the 35th anniversary of the Liberation of Albania, sends warm greetings to the newly formed India-Albania Friendship Association and wishes it success in its work." With best wishes.

W. B. Bland,
Secretary,
The Albanian Society.

Last night they were My Guests

—A poem by Fatos Arapi

Last night they were my guests and slept with me:
The worker' lands of future days.
The restless turbines and the quiet rooms,
The voyages to far-off worlds.

Last night they were my guests and slept with me:
The unknown stars and unnamed planets,
New loves and new uneasiness.
The haunting rhythm of revolutionary songs.

We met within this very room,
Sipping tea and talking, far into the night,
Then all together in my little bed.
Lay down to sleep.

If I Die Young

—A poem by Fatos Arapi

If I die young,
Do not close my eyes I
Let me gaze up at the sky, towards the stars,
If I die young.

Night on the water front

—A poem by Llazar Siliqi

In the port, the lighthouse,
Blinks its never-sleeping eye,
A Distant train glides on its eye,
Gleams for a moment in the goods-yard lamps,
And disappears into the night.
The water ripples round the silent wharves,
The lights,
The movement,
The song of the waves,
Are ours for ever more.

The Guitarist

— A poem by Ismail Kadare

Your head lies over the guitar like a cavern;
Its six strings stretch into the twilight like six roads,
What do you see in these strings
That you make them vibrate so sadly ?

To whom are you calling with your strings
When you pluck them so softly and sweetly ?

Have you found her you were seeking
When your hand beats so joyfully at the strings,...
Only to leave them deserted for a moment
Like a street where only the north wind blows ?

O guitarist,
Do not let your strings turn to icicles!
Sweep the snow from them,
That they may become passages
Leading to the open road...

Bend your head once more over your guitar;
Release from its depths the sadness and the joy
Imprisoned by its strings.

In order to get in touch with the I. A. F. A. in different parts of the country
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