

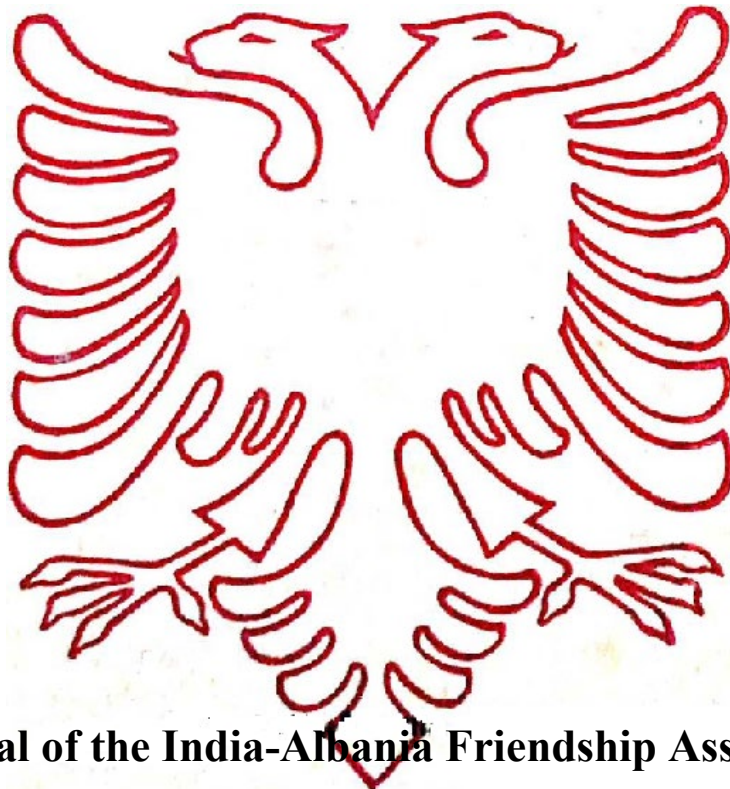
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Waves of strikes of the Indian people

The movement of the masses of the people against the reactionary policy of the government of Delhi continues to extend throughout the whole of India. Millions of workers, youth and peasants are taking part in this movement which includes entire regions of that country. These oppressed and exploited masses *of the* people are waging a stern class struggle against the savage feudal-bourgeois exploitation, against the semi-colonial rulers who are in power.

In its struggle against internal and external reaction, the working class as the vanguard part of the Indian working masses is taking part in these struggles more and more courageously. They are more and more linking their economic demands with political demands, with the struggle against the system of oppression and exploitation, against the anti-national and pro-imperialist policy of the regime in power, regarding it as the source of the misfortunes of the Indian, people.

This explains the ceaseless development of the struggle of the Indian working class, both against the government of Indira Gandhi and that of Desai, as well as against the present government led by Singh. Through these class battles, the working class is enhancing its political consciousness through its leading role in the people's struggle. It stands in the forefront of the demonstrations and strikes, which the working masses are now organizing in many cities of the country, such as in Delhi, Pondicherry, Calcutta, etc. The clashes with the police have become fiercer, the blows being dealt to the regime have become more powerful and the fury of the latter is mounting in these demonstrations in which the Indian proletariat is also taking an active part.

In Calcutta alone, for example, those days the police killed four demonstrators, arrested 66 and wounded many others. Likewise in Pondicherry, the police wounded 64 workers of the textile industry who were taking part in a strike.

This legitimate revolt of the proletariat and all the Indian people has its economic and political reasons. It has its source in the capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination. Today, India, which proclaimed its independence 33 years ago by driving out the British colonialists, is more dependent than ever on the imperialist powers, the monopolies of which, in collaboration with internal reaction, are plundering the natural assets of that country.

From all this, the Indian people are drawing the conclusion that the regime in power is the political representative and defender of the landlords, the Indian bourgeoisie and the capital of the imperialist and social-imperialist powers which are leading the country towards disaster. The Indian people live in conditions about which Comrade Enver Hoxha speaks in his book *Imperialism and the Revolution*, when he says that freedom and independence cannot be gained from imperialist domination, neo-colonialism cannot be evicted and full national sovereignty cannot be established if the internal

cliques linked and sold out to the foreigners are not fought.

The latest crimes by the regime clearly stress the demagoguery with which the government of Singh is trying to deceive the masses of the people.

The Indian people with their working class are clashing with the police forces, are shedding blood in the streets of Delhi and other cities to throw off the heavy yoke weighing on their back.

Radio Tirana, October, 18, 1979.

Message of Greetings for the November Celebrations

Cde. Javer Malo,
Chairman,
Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations,
Tirana, Albania.

22nd November, 1979

On the occasion of the November celebrations commemorating the 67th anniversary of the proclaiming of the independence of the state of Albania and the 35th anniversary of the complete liberation of Albania from the occupation of Italian and German fascism and imperialism the India-Albania Friendship Association sends its warm greetings to the people of Albania. The glorious struggle of the working class of Albania in the construction of socialism in the face of the bourgeois-revisionist encirclement continues to be a great source of great admiration amongst all progressives in India who cherish the ideals of freedom, independence and socialism.

Long Live Socialist Albania!
Long Live the friendship of the peoples of India and Albania!

Vijai Singh,
Convenor,
Preparatory Committee.
India-Albania Friendship Association

Reflections on China

—by *Enver Hoxha*

Friday, July 14, 1967

The Foreign Policy of China—A Policy of Self-Isolation

Since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, if not earlier, the Chinese comrades have been developing an ill-defined foreign policy, or to put it better, their foreign policy leans mostly towards self-isolation.

Their general tactic is: "Struggle with all, hostility with all". Such a tactic is extremely sectarian and leads only to the course, "either with me or against me"; "if you do not think and act as I say or as I act, then you are against me".

If such views predominate in the foreign policy of a state, and especially a socialist state, this is the result of an unsound analysis of the development of events and phenomena in the international arena, of the lack of an objective analysis. In this situation, it is absolutely essential that all the capacities and possibilities of a powerful socialist state be utilized.

The Chinese comrades are also maintaining an inactive stand towards the international communist movement in general, and the new revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties and groups in particular...

...For example, the question is raised: What has Mao been doing during these eighteen years and why has he allowed the party to be weakened? Why has he left it in the hands of revisionists who have eroded it from within? During this whole "dark" period, has Comrade Mao been isolated, has he been in the minority, or has he, too, been swimming in opportunist waters, and as such, permitted two lines in the

Communist Party of China?

This whole situation, all this development, is being kept in the dark, being hidden. The newspapers and dazibaos carry only quotations from the works of Mao prior to 1942! But why only before this date and not after it, precisely at the time when these things occurred? And not to mention the mistakes which are occurring now, during the Cultural Revolution.

Despite all these wrong stands, the Chinese comrades want to impose Mao by force as the "greatest Marxist in the whole history of communism", want the whole communist movement of the world to adopt and apply their experience *en bloc*, to apply their Cultural Revolution. The way the Chinese propaganda is presenting the problem is neither realistic, correct, nor acceptable..

...The Chinese comrades think that aid for the international communist movement and the world revolution consists of recommending that they carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution as China did. According to them, from now on, it is not necessary to be inspired by the Great October Socialist Revolution (perhaps by the Paris Commune, yes), but by the Cultural Revolution, because, just as Marxism-Leninism has been replaced with "Mao Tsetung thought", so the Cultural Revolution contains the October Socialist Revolution! The Chinese newspapers are writing these things! This is a disgraceful anti-Marxist stand. How does Comrade Mao allow such things to be written? I trust he has no knowledge of these absurdities, because otherwise the outlook is grim.

Not only is the necessary aid not being given to revolutionary movements (and the necessary aid does not consist only of material aid), but the Chinese comrades, when they speak about every such movement in the world, do not fail to say, "it is the ideas of Mao Tsetung which created and guide it."

Look at what they say: "In a district of Japan, a hundred communists revolted under the banner of Mao Tsetung". "The Communist Party of Burma is fighting inspired by the ideas of Mao Tsetung", regardless of the fact that it is an old party with experience in struggle. "A faction of the faction of the Indian Communist Party guided by the ideas of Mao Tsetung, is fighting together with the peasantry for land in the Punjab", and so on. The only thing they have not said directly (although they are trying to say it indirectly) is that the ideas of Mao guide also the Party of Labour of Albania, the struggle in Vietnam, etc. They go so far in their mistakes and claims that they say: "It is Mao who has created the people's wars, he is the father of people's wars". In other words, the peoples who have fought for freedom against oppression and so on for centuries have done nothing. Consequently, the Bolshevik Party and the Party of Labour of Albania which have waged people's war have done nothing. For these to be people's wars, they must bear the brand of Mao and his ideas!

Thus, the great classics are written off and the theory about the revolution and people's war is written off. This behaviour is not only unacceptable, but also intolerable.

The Chinese revolution, the liberation war, the Cultural Revolution have big pluses, but also big minuses. We must benefit from the revolutions, because the experience from them is colossal. What is correct should be utilized in the concrete conditions and the specific situations of each country. But the mistakes are mistakes and must be pointed out, so that not only they are not repeated but they must also be corrected.

The Chinese comrades, directly or indirectly, demand that everyone should proceed according to their experience. In words they say: "We learn a great deal from the Party of

Labour of Albania”, but they have never sent a party delegation to our country to see our experience, let alone to gain from it. Naturally this is their business but it does not correspond to what they say. Why this occurs only they know. To say whether they discount this experience because their conditions are different, or act in this way from conceit, is difficult for us to define at the present juncture. They may do as they please, while, as for us, we have sent party delegations to China for experience.

The Chinese comrades have arrived at the opinion that the little red book, “Quotations from Mao Tsetung”, is the “culmination of Marxist-Leninist science and philosophy, the key to revolutions and victories”. And they say: “Take it, read it, learn it by heart, and come out in the streets and make revolution”. Without decrying the value of the overall work of Mao and the correct quotations which have been drawn from his works, we have to say that these claims are infantile.

Communist comrades from abroad come to our country and relate to us that in China they tell them how to organize the front in their countries, how to concoct alliances. However, in these Chinese recommendations we frequently, see both sectarian and liberal stands. We think that, in order to advise other parties correctly, you must be very well acquainted with the political situation in the countries where they operate, and nevertheless you must still be very prudent. The matter becomes even more dangerous in the case when you have not developed the policy of the front or alliances correctly in your own country and want to serve them up to others as a model.

Concretely I think (perhaps I am wrong) that the Chinese comrades ought to be cautious in this direction. In India, for example, as far as we know, there are now three “communist parties”. Naturally, we support the genuine Marxist-Leninists there, but if you advise them to “carry out the cultural revolution”, or issue prescriptions about “how alliances and the front in India should be organized”, without first having made an analysis of the front, alliances, and the Cultural Revolution in your own country, probably the Indian comrades will be disorientated...

...Chinese diplomacy is inactive, not only in relations with the capitalist countries but also with the liberated countries of Africa and Asia. The bourgeois leaders of these countries are benefiting from the passivity of the Chinese diplomacy. They simply take some aid from China (when it provides it), but apart from this, nothing else is heard. And this sluggishness is because of the unwise policy of China.

For Chen Yi et was a great success that “the authorities of the Republic of Mali allowed the distribution of some books with the quotations of Mao”! This is lamentable. The bourgeoisie in France is printing these quotations itself and selling them freely on the market. As everyone knows, the French bourgeoisie has tight control over the authorities of Mali, who know very well how to keep China far away from their people.

This whole mistake lies in the fact that, although they say that their links with the peoples must be strengthened they have not found the way to achieve this aim. These links cannot be achieved in subversive ways and without finding the splits between the capitalist leaders of these countries themselves. These splits must be exploited.

..The communist comrades throughout the world are not finding the necessary aid in the Chinese policy and diplomacy. Let us take the Arab-Israeli conflict. What is China doing in the diplomatic field in these delicate moments? Nothing organized.

When Nasser asked for aid, China gave it to him immediately. There is no doubt that it did well, but Nasser only thanked it for its aid and thought: “That is all I need China

for". We think that possibilities ought to have been found to publicize the assistance and support for the Arab people. But what are these possibilities? In this direction one of them is the utilization of the ties of friendship which exist between the Albanian people and the Arab peoples. But does it cross the minds of the Chinese to utilize the links with and the trust the Arabs have in the Albanian people and the principled policy of socialist Albania for the deepening of the friendship and collaboration of our countries, China and Albania, with these peoples? Not in the least! We propose it to them, they do not reply ..

Despite the respect we have for the Chinese comrades, such things cannot be left uncriticized or uncorrected, especially at a time when they are doing everything in their power to impose themselves as the leadership of international communism. If such a glorious role might pertain to China, this cannot be achieved with a line containing mistakes and without collaboration and consultation with the Marxist-Leninist parties. In relations between Marxist-Leninist parties there must be unity and equality and not such considerations as: "big and small parties", "mother and daughter parties". We must not eat our words. Our Party has never done this and never will do it in regard to anybody. Our guide is the Marxist-Leninist theory. For our Party there are four classics of Marxism-Leninism: Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. All other are their pupils.

Friday, January 19, 1968

Good news from China: The party is being reorganized

Good news from China The main newspapers are writing about and publishing the directive on the reorganization of the Communist Party of China and the mass organizations. This made me very happy, because, without a strong, organized party, with sound democratic centralism, nothing can be achieved, nothing can be successful. Thus it is confirmed that up till now the Communist Party of China has been suspended or broken up and that the Cultural Revolution was led by Mao and "the Main Group of the Cultural Revolution" But such a situation must not be prolonged; indeed, whatever the needs of the existing situation the whole period without the party in the leadership has had many negative consequences and will have them in the future. Nevertheless, this is a positive result for the Cultural Revolution because it has struck a heavy blow at the revisionist danger, if it has not liquidated it altogether. Certainly, a greater struggle inside and outside the party, iron discipline, extreme revolutionary vigilance will still be necessary in order to completely liquidate the foundations and roots of revisionism in China...

Monday, January 22, 1968

Defeats and Victories of the Chinese Revisionists

...Mao, knowing the weak positions he had in the party, and in the state administration, having a reliable reserve in the army, and relying on his authority and on the great love the masses nurtured for him and for socialism and communism, raised the masses of the youth in the Cultural Revolution, which was called cultural, although, in fact, it was a political and ideological revolution for the liquidation of the revisionist group of Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping. Millions of youths rose in the revolution, which was a strategic and tactical act of Mao's. The Chinese revisionists did not foresee this action. It was like a powerful political strike, under the regime of the dictatorship of

the proletariat, which had as its primary protagonists the youth, and not the working class.

As it seems, Mao thought that if he raised the workers in revolution even armed clashes might occur between the workers and the "Red Guard", which would require the intervention of the army of the working class and its dictatorship, and this would "hurt both the innocent and the guilty".

Perhaps these were the reasons that the various orders which Mao gave the army were that it should not open fire, should avoid the provocations which might be, and in fact, were made against it, and should display its powerful presence at the decisive moments. And the army showed its presence when it was necessary to liquidate the disturbances of the "red guards", or to intervene and take over the key positions itself, wherever the revisionists resisted. Such activity of the army implied to the working class that the army belonged to it, to the working class, to the dictatorship of the class, under the leadership of Mao, and defended the dictatorship and the socialist state. These stands helped the working class and the peasantry to be ready, vigilant, and to avoid the confusion, chaos and any other form of revisionist sabotage. They also assisted to make the workers and peasants politically clear so that they, too, could carry out the Cultural Revolution in the factories, in the work centres, and in the cooperatives, but not with the forms of the "red guards", among whom the question of demonstrations was the most important aspect, although necessary, because of the role with which they had been charged in the Cultural Revolution...

Thursday, March 28, 1968

The Chinese "are very busy with the revolution", therefore they are unable to meet the comrades of the Marxist-Leninist Parties

They told me that the Polish comrade Michal has received word from Peking that "the comrades are unable to receive him at present, because they are very busy with the revolution". He was annoyed at this 'excuse' and expressed this to the Chinese charge d'affaires in Albania. "It is two years since our party was formed," he told him, "and China has not said one word about it", etc. We have a right to ask: What aid will be given to the new parties if they are not recognized and not publicized?! Astonishing!

Thursday, October 15, 1968

Chou En-Lai's incorrect views on revisionism

Even after all this struggle against Titoism and the Khrushchevites, even after the Cultural Revolution, Chou En-lai continues to make mistakes.

The fact that he arrogantly told us to go to Moscow after the fall of Khrushchev is well known. The question was that we were to reach a reconciliation with the Brezhnev-Kosygin revisionist group, in which the Chinese had great expectations.

Our reply to his proposal, dignified both in its content and tone, is also well known. Chou En-lai went to Moscow without us and there he suffered the ignominious defeat of which I have spoken earlier. Later we were told: We made a mistake in going to Moscow and in proposing it to you, too, etc. However, these were only words, because Chou is repeating the same mistake.

Speaking with Beqir Balluku about the international situation, and especially the

situation created in the Balkans after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, Chou En-lai proposed that we should enter into negotiations with the Titoites and sign a treaty of friendship and mutual aid with them...

Thursday, October 24, 1968

Chou En-Lai's proposal of a Yugoslav-Albanian "Defensive Alliance"

According to reliable facts which we have, it emerges that at a time when the situation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and the situation between the Soviet Union and Albania were becoming acute September-October 1968, the top Yugoslav leadership discussed the possibility of concluding a Yugoslav-Albanian defensive alliance, it was said that this proposal should come from the Yugoslav side. However, after much discussion and being convinced that it would be rejected by the Albanian side, this matter was left unmentioned.

The astonishing thing is that this idea of the Yugoslavs coincides with the proposal of Chou En-lai. It is certain that the Yugoslavs must at least have suggested it to the Chinese, if they have not discussed it together, in secret.

Even the latter is possible, because the proposal Chou En-lai referred to was accompanied with his opposition to the strategic and tactical principles of our defence. Such a thing became clear to us, because Chou did not display readiness to supply us with heavy weapons; he suggested to us that at the very first attack of the enemy we should give way to it and take to the mountains to wage partisan war; he suggested to us that we should co-operate with Tito, and finally, in order to intimidate us, he capped it all by saying: Following the presidential elections in the United States of America, by spring or summer of 1969, you may be in danger.

In other words Chou En-lai said to us: Hurry up, link up with Tito form a unity and alliance with him, for that is your road to salvation.

Tuesday, April 29, 1969

The Chinese are silent about the events in Czechoslovakia and Europe

There is not even a peep out of the Chinese comrades about what is occurring in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Europe. In the newspapers and what they say on their radio, they are not giving the slightest indication of what we are writing and saying against the revisionists. Astounding!

We are informed from Prague that the strict surveillance by the Czechoslovaks around the Chinese Embassy has been lifted, those who enter the Chinese Embassy are not controlled, the Chinese only listen to what they say and that is all. Astonishing!

The employees of the Chinese Embassy have told our comrades: Our stand towards the Czechs depends on their stand towards the Soviets, that is to say, even if the Czechs of Dubcek are fascists, they need only *be* anti-Soviet, and they are fine. Astounding!!

Monday, September 15, 1969

Chou En-Lai met Kosygin

After Ho Chi Minh's funeral, Rita was invited by Li Hsien-nien and went for a visit to Peking. To Rita, or to us here in Tirana they said nothing. On the day of Chou En-lai's meeting with Kosygin in Peking, the 11th of September 1969, Rita also had a meeting with Kang Sheng and others. Just as they were leaving, Kang Sheng told Rita. It is possible that Kosygin, on his return from Hanoi, will stop at Peking airport, indeed it is possible that right now, while we are here, Chou En-lai is talking with Kosygin at the airport. Rita said in astonishment: How is such a thing possible? What will they talk about? Kang Sheng replied with the greatest shamelessness: We know nothing. And after these words, which had deliberately been left to the end of the meeting, they parted.

Not only did they not tell their closest friends and comrades anything in connection with this meeting before it took place, but even at the eleventh hour, when the talks with the revisionist had ended, this was hidden from us, and we were told about it by Chou En-lai two days later in the presence of Kang Sheng. Such a thing proved clearly that negotiations about this meeting at the level of prime ministers had been going on for a long time before, and indeed conditions had been laid down on the part of the Chinese. This stand towards us on the part of the Chinese is wrong, insincere, and bad.

From the first radiogram Rita sent us, it turns out that Chou En-lai informed him that, with Kosygin, he had talked about these things:

1 – The border problems should be settled, and until they are settled:

a) the status quo should be maintained;

b) the attacks should be stopped:

c) the two sides should withdraw their troops from the disputed zones;

d) the herdsmen from the two countries should be free to move about in the

summer, as before, to pasture their flocks;

2 – The problems connected with railways, rivers, seas and airspace should be solved;

3 – Certain problems of trade should be solved.

4 – Ambassadors should be exchanged,

The pre-conditions of the Chinese for these talks:

1 – The ideological polemic is not to be stopped,

2 – The Chinese atomic bases must not be attacked by the Soviets because then it would be all out war.

According to Rita's radiogram Chou En-lai added: Kosygin accepted these things in general, and he will present them to the leadership. These talks were held on the instructions of Mao Tsetung and Lin Piao. The Soviets asked for the talks because their internal situation is one of great crisis; Kosygin is the 'dove' who has handed in his resignation on three occasions. Through these talks, they want to exert pressure on the United States of America and will have a reduction of tension for a time, without knowing how long it will continue, but we (the Chinese) will not make any concessions to the Soviets.

Friday, September 19, 1969

The Chinese have been frightened by the Soviet Blackmail

When Rita expressed his opinion that the meeting with Kosygin was a wrong action, Chou En-lai replied to him angrily, in an uncomradely way, You are extremist. There is no doubt that this revisionist definition of Chou En-lai's was aimed at all our leadership.

In his exposition, Chou En-lai did not take even the slightest precaution to conceal his opportunist views, full of contradictions, arranged especially in this way to give us to understand that we should reduce the tension with the Soviet Union.

Here is his reasoning:

1 – The Soviet Union is going to attack us, has massed troops, but now is not in a situation to act.

2 – The Soviet leaders *are* fools. Nixon has said this, too.

3 – The Soviet generals and marshals are incompetent, Nixon has said this, too.

4 – The Soviet leadership is divided into hawks and doves. The Soviet Union is for peace, we must reduce the tension, assist the doves so that the trend to peace will triumph there and we (the Chinese) can gain time to arm ourselves, while the Soviet Union should disarm (a brilliant strategy!).

5 – The Soviet Union has lost its authority and control over its satellites. (Hence China ought to help it to regain them.)

6 – The Soviet Union was discredited at the Moscow Meeting. (Hence China ought to help it recover.)

7 – The Soviet Union must exert pressure on the United States of America. (Hence China ought to help it do this).

After listing all these things Chou En-lai concluded that the reduction of tension is useful,

The question arises: For whom it is useful? According to Chou En-lai, for China. According to us, for the Soviet Union and the revisionist faction in China, as well as for modern revisionism throughout the world. Even children understand this, let alone political people. Imperialism, together with its agency, modern revisionism, has fought, is fighting and will fight for such positions.

Chou En-lai tried to conceal this rotten course with phraseology, with slogans or historical events of the past. But this course of his has nothing to do with the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist tactics or strategy, which cannot bear comparison with the events of the past.

Two things are clear:

1 – The Chinese are afraid and are making concessions in principle.

2 – The Chinese have been frightened by the Soviet blackmail, while the Chinese revisionist wing, disguised behind the Cultural Revolution, knows this is a bluff and is also aware of the unconsolidated situation within the country. Therefore this revisionist wing is taking advantage of the situation to strengthen its position in the state and party under the banner of Mao, and at the same time is assisting its Soviet revisionist friends who are in great difficulties, both within the Soviet Union and in the international arena.

There is a great deal of talk in China about measures to prepare for war, as well as about sharpening vigilance. This is very good. Chou En-lai said this, too. But what vigilance can you call it when, first of all, you have completely lost your political and ideological vigilance?...

Sunday, May 23, 1971

Ceausescu is to visit China

In the first place, the diploma, which Ceausescu is seeking from China to prove that he is a communist should not be given to him. But the Chinese comrades have given it to him and are strengthening his positions. The Chinese maintain party relations with and speak about the Communist Party of Rumania in terms which could not be more eulogistic. Now Ceausescu is to go to China, also, as the representative of the party as its First Secretary, and no doubt he will receive a magnificent welcome there with crowds, with dances, with gongs and millions of people in the streets...

From the time Ceausescu asked to go to China, we were not opposed to it, were not in favour of his being refused permission to go, but as the representative of the Rumanian state only, and not of the party. Then, in this case, he should not have been given an extraordinary welcome but an ordinary official welcome.

Let us come now to the question of credits which China is giving Rumania. We do not know how much it is giving, but we hear indirectly that the credits accorded are very big and, moreover, in foreign currency. It is not right for credits to be given by a socialist state to a revisionist state linked with the capitalists and imperialists, a state which is destroying the foundations of socialism and building a Titoite-capitalist economy. It is not right that credits should be given to a revisionist leadership which is reviving and strengthening the new Rumanian bourgeoisie. In our opinion, this is a grave political, ideological and economic mistake of the Chinese leadership.

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

The Chinese and Ceausescu

Chou En-lai made a pompous of exceptional warmth, filled with such expressions as the Rumanian people have fought heroically, they liberated themselves, the Communist Party of Rumania is an heroic revolutionary party, socialist Rumania is fighting heroically against imperialism, the Communist Party of Rumania and Ceausescu are fighting for the greatness of socialist Rumania, the Chinese people are inspired by them, the Chinese people will assist them to the end, and many other expressions like these...

Mao received Ceausescu. Hsinhua reported only that he said to him: Rumanian comrades, we should unite to bring down imperialism. As if Ceausescu and company are to bring down imperialism!! If the world waits for the Ceausescus to do such a thing imperialism will live for tens of thousands of years. It is the proletariat and the peoples that fight imperialism.

Durres, Saturday, July 24, 1971

The welcoming of Nixon to China is a major opportunist mistake

Nixon is to go to Peking. We are not in agreement therefore I think we should write the Chinese a letter. These are what should be the main theses...

It must be shown that our two parties, two governments and two peoples have fought on one line at the head of the front against American imperialism, Soviet revisionist imperialism and world reaction, and have scored successes, etc., etc. These

enemies *have* attacked our countries, our parties, and Marxism-Leninism, but have failed, have been exposed, and our unity has grown stronger..

With the advance of the Cultural Revolution and the alteration of the balance of forces the enemies begin "to smile on China, false friends pose as its sincere friends, the revisionist traitors, long in the service of American imperialism, and temporarily with the Soviet revisionists, pose as friends of China, enemies of the Soviets, enemies of the United States of America, and resolute friends of the third world. They all speak about peaceful coexistence; many states recognize China and Albania. We ought to respond in a favourable manner to those advantageous circumstances created not from the desire or our enemies, but by our resolute struggle, wherever the opportunity itself, while always safe-guarding the principles and dignity of our socialist states.

We have been and are for China to come out in the international arena as a great and powerful socialist state and together with it, all of us, all the peoples of the world to have our say, impose our will and destroy the fiendish, warmongering, colonialist, enslaving plans of the Soviet, American and other big imperialist powers.

We think that co-ordination of our common struggle is necessary, especially when it is a matter of a "major strategy". Hence, they must understand clearly that we have not been, are not and never will be for the stand that great China should not talk with whom it likes, and establish diplomatic relations with whom it likes, even with American imperialism. But, when it comes to the matter of alteration of a tactic, let alone of the strategy, towards American imperialism, we think that consultations are necessary between close friends in order to weigh up both the minuses and the pluses of the step which is to be take when this step has a major international effect and repercussions.

To receive President Nixon and talk with him, without having diplomatic relations with the United State of America but on the contrary, having a state of hostility between the two states, and above all, knowing that he is the number one enemy of the peoples, is not correct and will not be accepted by the peoples, the revolutionaries and the genuine communists. We are among those who do not accept this decision and will not support it.

It seems to us that the continuation of talks with the Americans about problems which are important to the People's Republic of China and about world problems, has importance in certain given conditions and precisely when they are in the interest of China and the cause of the revolution in general; when these talks are held in conditions at least of equality, especially for China; when the United States of America has recognized the People's Republic of China as the only lawful government of the Chinese people, when it has withdrawn its troops from Taiwan, etc., and when the interests of the peoples, the revolution and Marxism-Leninism are not infringed by these talks. In these conditions we are not against talks and understand that in order to reach this point, the talks may be upgraded, naturally, with great care, but we are not in agreement that such upgrading should go from "contacts without any value" in one leap to the meeting of top personalities of the two states, China and the United States of America, because Nixon has allegedly expressed the desire many times!...

The desires of this fascist president to go to China can be understood, they are the desires of an aggressor, a murderer of peoples, an enemy of communism, of socialism, especially of China who has occupied Taiwan and hatched up plots together with the Soviet revisionists against China.

Therefore, for our part, it has never crossed our minds to take any notice of "these desires" of this hangman, whose purpose was to discredit the People's Republic of China, to detach it from its friends, to enable him (Nixon) to come out waving the olive branch, at a time when terrible quantities of bombs were being dropped on Vietnam and elsewhere. But we have proceeded from the idea that the People's Republic of China, like Albania, stood solid as a granite rock and exposed and fought this hangman...

It is said that "the Warsaw talks were open and known to the whole world". It might have been so for the whole world, but not for us, for Albania, the loyal ally of China, which has never been informed about these talks at any time, except now.

Likewise, we are hearing now, for the first time, that at Warsaw China had agreed that the United States of America should send special top level functionaries to China to prepare for the coming of the President, at a time when the war and the American attacks were continuing furiously, one after the other, on the peoples of Indochina. We consider this very wrong in principle, strategy and tactics.

We think that the visit of the table-tennis team is no accident. The visit of the table-tennis team was not for the purpose of establishing "links with the American people" but, on the contrary was a pretext to re-establish the broken-off relations and to put into practice the agreements reached.

The considerations and conclusions about the situation in the United States of America have been absolutized and treated unrealistically. with the intention that they should serve to explain the political step which is being taken: "The American people do not like the war", "the people are holding demonstrations", "there is fighting in the streets, and four students have been killed", "decorations are being thrown into the park around the White House", "the American people are not against the regime, but against Nixon". And this Nixon whom the American people "hate", is summoned to Peking!.

Our assessment is that, the revolution is mounting, the peoples are struggling for freedom, American imperialism is being weakened, and not it alone but the whole capitalist system is experiencing a grave crisis and this is taking place outside their control, regardless of their predatory and blood-thirsty wars.

However the tableau which Comrade Chou En-lai presents to us, citing a series of completely true facts, cannot confirm the conclusion that "American imperialism is utterly exhausted and only a puff of wind is needed to bring it down", even though he quotes Nixon himself to us.

We must neither overrate nor underrate the enemy. It is true that in the United States of America there are protests and demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, but these are still sporadic and we cannot say that "the United States of America is experiencing a great revolutionary storm". We do not evaluate this thing so. From their economic situation, from the ideology which inspires them, from their way of life, customs, traditions contacts, etc., the American people are far from being in a revolutionary position. A great deal of water will pass under the bridges over the rivers of America before that time arrives. We are convinced that time will certainly come, but this requires a great deal of work, a major struggle. We must not create illusions.

The theory of contacts with the people

"We carry on the diplomacy of the people," they say, but in fact they implement the diplomacy of chiefs. Here we should develop our example with the Yugoslavs.

By analogy the Chinese ought to act with the Americans and the Soviets alike.

Hence Brezhnev should go to Peking.

We do not believe that the United States of America will withdraw the troops and dismantle the bases which it has in the world without being forced to do so by war. The example of Libya does not prove much. If the United States of America thinks that its puppets themselves are to fight the peoples who rise, while America assists them with money, this means that the United States of America must sign its own death warrant and that of its puppets. We must have no illusion that such a thing will occur through America's own desire. Withdrawal from one country following defeat does not mean non-intervention in another country.

The talks on the war in Vietnam are in order only if they have been held following consultation with the Vietnamese and on a correct and principled basis. We have determined our line on the war in Vietnam and we are defining it again for them to see.

Imperialism and world capitalism benefit from this action of China. With what it has done China has helped the fascist Nixon. Given him great possibilities of triumphing again in the presidential elections, has brought about that he can pose as a "president of peace, a great president". With this Nixon gains the role "arbiter" between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Both of them allegedly seek the friendship of the American people, but settle things and reach agreements with the presidents. The two sides pretend that by reaching agreement with the presidents they are making contact with the American people and "in this way, are rocking the throne of American imperialism". All this means to throw dust in the eyes of the public, because there is no need for Nixon or any other president to go to Peking so that the American people will be influenced by China. Struggle and ideas recognize no borders.

It is true that the "throne" of American imperialism "must be shaken within", but it is equally true, if not more so, that it must be shaken and overthrown outside, too. The power of American imperialism is based not only within the United States of America but also abroad, and its weakest point is abroad. American imperialism is exploiting the peoples of the world and supports this exploitation with force, with armies, with bases, with plots, which it is not reducing, as Chou says, but on the contrary, will increase them. This is where it should be hit hardest. We must not weaken this front in any way. If the United States of America loses here, its empire is finished, like that of Britain, and only then can we envisage grave crises within the United States of America.

Durres. Wednesday. July 28. 1977

China, Vietnam, Korea and Nixon's visit to Peking

The fight of the Vietnamese is admirable. The Soviet revisionists have made every effort to make the Vietnamese stop the war, to enter into negotiations and reach a compromise with the Americans. The Soviet revisionists have been the scabs in the Vietnam war. They sought to save the United States of America with an "honourable" withdrawal, while defending their own interests in Vietnam afterwards, in order to become "participants in the victory achieved". The great pressure, scandalously exerted by the Soviets on the Vietnamese, achieved a result: The Vietnamese began the talks with the Americans in Paris according to the slogan: "Both war and politics and negotiations".

China has assisted and is assisting the Vietnamese in the war. It has been ready even to send volunteers at any time. The Chinese were against the talks of the

Vietnamese with the Americans. They had told them this many times, and have told us officially, too. The Chinese considered the talks of the Vietnamese with the Americans incorrect, unfruitful, and indeed harmful and dangerous, but this was a matter for the Vietnamese themselves while China's stand towards the war of the Vietnamese people and its aid did not alter.

Our Party, without consulting with China (because the Chinese do not bother to consult with our Party even over these capital problems), when a stand towards the war in Vietnam had to be taken, took the stand which is publicly known and never spared its aid to this war. We were not in agreement with the talks which the Vietnamese began with the Americans. We have told the Vietnamese comrades of our opinion on several occasions. This is how matters have stood right up to now.

Irrespective that China and Albania were not in agreement with the Paris talks, in the final analysis, this was the business of the Vietnamese. We could not stop them. On the other hand, we had to continue and did continue to assist their liberation war even more, to expose the atrocities of the Americans, and to be consistent in our stand. We remained consistent in our support for Vietnam's war, but not China. When the war was still going on, when the Americans were killing and bombing in Vietnam and the whole of Indochina, China held secret talks with the Americans in which the agreement was reached that Nixon should go to Peking and, as it turned out, discussions about Vietnam were also held.

These disgraceful, anti-Marxist, uncomradely negotiations were held without the knowledge of the Vietnamese, let alone any knowledge on our part. This was scandalous. This was a betrayal of the Chinese towards the Vietnamese, towards their war, towards us, their allies and all the other progressive peoples. This is revolting...

What attitude must the Vietnamese have taken? This we do not know. Chou doesn't give a hint, and we can guess, = why. The Vietnamese were opposed to Nixon's going to Peking at a time when the Americans were fighting them. Of course, the Vietnamese consider China's stand, as we do, too, aid to the fascist Nixon, the number one murderer of the Vietnamese, so that he can pose as a pacifist and be re-elected president of the United States of America. This means to talk with an enemy about the fate of a people who are fighting and have taken their fate in their own hands, it means to talk with the arch-executioner of a people, without consulting them or asking them, when, China, have been most sternly opposed to talks with the Americans on the question of the Vietnam war. On the one hand China criticizes the Soviets and the Vietnamese for talking with the Americans, and on the other hand, reaches agreement itself and talks with them in secret! This is cheating, this is neither honest nor Marxist. The Vietnamese immediately published an article in which they expressed their displeasure while attacking the United States of America and Nixon, and said that they would not allow the great powers to gamble with their fate.

This about-turn of China in its stand towards Vietnam is disgraceful and is explained with the change of its line to a rapprochement with the United States of America. The Chinese are making another major mistake to justify this shitty business of theirs. In the information which he gave our ambassador, Chou En-lai said: "We foresee that the war in Vietnam will continue; therefore, as we told the comrades in Hanoi, they should fight and, at the same time we should talk"

Of course, this has revolted the Vietnamese, and quite rightly so, because those

who were against talks now come and tell them: "You go on fighting, shed your blood and we shall talk here in Peking and in Washington". This means, in other words, if victory comes in Vietnam, the Mao-Nixon talks brought this, that is, the victory is due to the Chinese and not to those who were killed and burned. No! Such things are unacceptable, in no way are they acceptable...

[To be continued]

The Murderer

—A short story by Sotir Naci

I was twelve years old when it happened.

My mother had died some years before, and I lived with my father in the little village of Pinez. It stood on the edge of a lake, surrounded by dense forest and with high mountains behind it, down which fierce streams rushed to hurl themselves into the lake.

My father was a woodcutter, and every few days he would take a load of wood over the mountains to sell in the town—for the townsfolk liked to be warm and would pay well for such fuel in winter. But that year all the paths over the mountains had been completely blocked by deep drifts of snow, and no-one had been able to reach the town for more than a month. The villagers, of course, gathered their own fuel and had no need of our wood, so that we had not eaten at all for several days, for my father was too proud to beg, as he put it.

It was the middle of January. The snow seemed to hang over the village like a dark blanket, so that the countryside—even at midday—was lit by a dim bluish light like that from an oil-lamp. It was bitterly cold, and even the fast-running mountain streams were fringed with icicles, while snowflakes swirled continually in the air like tiny pieces of cotton-wool.

That day was marked in the church calendar as "the day of the blessing of the waters". The priest would bring the silver cross out of the church and hurl it into the waters of the lake; whoever recovered it would, it was said, have great good fortune. My father was convinced that if he found the cross, all our troubles would be over. "God sees everything from on high", he would say; "who knows, perhaps it is our turn to be rich!"

"No, father", I would urge; "the water is freezing. Don't do it."

He shook his head. "At least we shall have something to eat", he said—for the priest always arranged that whoever recovered the cross from the lake was given a little feast from all the food the villagers could spare.

"But it's so silly", I said; "Why should anyone want to throw a cross in the lake in the middle of winter?"

"Be quiet, my boy" replied father: "It has always been done".

I remember holding my father's big calloused hand as we walked over the frozen ground to the lake. The wind cut into my face like a knife. I thought of the one man in the district who always had plenty to eat, the Aga. Why, I asked myself, should God have chosen him of all people to reward?"

When we reached the lake, the priest was already standing on the great rock which overhangs the water, holding the cross in his hand. He had a brownish face, the colour of tea, and his thick bushy eyebrows half concealed eyes which people said were those of

a saint. A few people, as warmly dressed as they could afford, stood at the water's edge and watched as the priest murmured a few words and then threw the cross out into the lake.

No-one moved except my father who, after squeezing my hand affectionately, waded out into the water and then swam to the place where the cross had disappeared. He dived beneath the surface and it seemed hours before his head reappeared above the grey water. He looked towards me, shook his head, and dived again. The third time he came to the surface I could see that his whole body was shaking violently but he dived again and this time, as he came up, he raised his arm above his head to show that he held the cross.

He began to swim slowly and heavily towards the shore. As he came nearer I saw that the movements of his arms were becoming more and more difficult and a few yards from the shore they stopped altogether and he sank slowly to the bottom. I cried out and, with two men who had been standing on the bank, ran out into the shallow water where he lay. We raised him gently and carried him to our hut; his whole body was quite blue, and the drops of water in his hair turned to ice in the freezing air. Although we dried him and covered him with blankets, he died that afternoon without opening his eyes or saying another word to me.

That evening, as my father's body lay cold and still on his narrow wooden bed, I glanced out of the window and saw the black, crow-like figure of the priest walking up the path towards the church. I remember, my eyes filled with tears screaming out through the closed window: "Murderer!" But he did not hear....

Songs from Socialist Albania

The Proletarian Barricades

Rise invincible proletariat!
Prepare for the revolution!
All the world's peoples support us.
The task is taken up for solution.

Shatter the chains of the fascists!
Seal the doom of the traitors!
Take up your weapons, comrades, hurrah, hurrah!
-Stand to the barricades, brave proletarians, hurrah, hurrah!
Smash the bourgeois society!
Take up your weapons, comrades, hurrah, hurrah!
Stand to the barricades, brave proletarians, hurrah, hurrah!
We'll build the new society.

Everywhere millions are rising.
Brothers in arms, we unite.
This is the hour of battle,
Workingmen, into the fight!

Overthrow capitalism!
Crush underfoot all oppression!
Take up your weapons, comrades, hurrah, hurrah!

Stand to the barricades, brave proletarians, hurrah, hurrah!
Smash the bourgeois society!
Take up your weapons, comrades, hurrah, hurrah!
Stand to the barricades, brave proletarians, hurrah, hurrah!
We'll build the new society.

Two Million Soldiers

Matching day and night,
Militarily,
Prepared to give our lives
Defending our country.
Even our soil is
Against the enemy
Two million soldiers,
We stand ever ready.

Chorus:

Workers, peasantry,
From fields and factories,
Builders and soldiers,
We stand ever ready.

We are two million Albanians,
Each worth one hundred men
Of the enemy.
Every woman and man
Defends today gun in hand
The socialism we build in this land.
(*Chorus*)

March of the Twentieth Brigade

In the din of bloody struggle,
A call rings out loud and long.
That is the call of our fighting youth,
That is the voice of the new song.

Chorus:

And that is the sound of our brigade
Fighting to free our land.
Of no tyrants are they afraid—
The pride of the partisans.

From the mountain tops the thunder
With a mighty crash resounds.
Yoke and chains are burst asunder
With the trembling of the ground.
The small nation has arisen
Filling the tyrants' hearts with dread.

Like a volcano's explosion.
Turning the sky a brilliant red.
(Chorus)

The Eagle Partisans

Again we scale the craggy heights.
From our old nest we'll wage the fight.
We'll gather there our fierce proud band—
For us, the eagle partisans!

The naked earth provides our bed.
The starry sky is overhead.
And our weapons are close at hand—
For us, the eagle partisans!

Hold High the Banners of the Congress

With two hundred eagles
Communist flowers
Albania opened
Its red history
(Repeat twice)

The years went by
We climbed high,
From the first Party call
To the Seventh Congress
(Repeat twice)

The congresses bring to us
Light and prosperity
Keeping the eye on the gunsight
Mother Albania

Higher and higher, comrades
Raise the banners of the Congress
Battles and victories
Are in store for us
(Repeat twice)

Facing every storm
Throughout the world like lightning
Is the light of the Party
Full of fire and gunpowder
Through the seven congresses
We rose up like mountains
Our red light
Became a great light.

Enver and the Party Are Our Guides

The songs of our fresh new life resound
Through fields and our mountains so grand.
Alert we will always stand and hold our ground,
On guard for the people and the land.

Chorus:

Enver and the Party guide us through the flood,
The struggle for peace will persevere,
Our borders will flow with dark and crimson blood,
There will be no fascism here.

Already there's shooting and a call to arms
In face of their guns' threatening blast!
Against those who try to crush our towns and farms
Our soldiers fight bravely and stand fast.

(Chorus)

Our schools and our industry take firmly in hand.
All things in our new life guard well
Because they gave everything to save our land,
All glory to those heroes who fell.

{Chorus}

I. A. F. A. News

Resolution adopted at the meeting of India-Albania Friendship Association (Maharashtra Branch) held on 15th November 1979

The India-Albania Friendship Association (Maharashtra Branch) deeply mourns the death on 23rd September, 1979 of Comrade Hysni Kapo, of an illness of the cancer of the pancreas. Comrade Hysni Kapo who gave his life's work for the liberation of Albania from the Nazi oppressor and the subsequent construction of socialism, was a vanguard fighter, an untiring builder and defender of the socialist order and a friend of the oppressed masses the world over. The death of Hysni Kapo is a deep loss to the Albanian working class, collectivist peasantry and working people, as well as friends of Albania the world over. The India-Albania Friendship Association shares the deep sense of grief felt by the Albanian people, and is one with them in this hour of sorrow. The India-Albania Friendship Association also conveys its sincere condolences and heartfelt sympathies to members of the bereaved family.

In order to get in touch with the I. A. F. A. in different parts of the country contact the following: **West Bengal:** Bijoy Sarkar, 3-B Gobinda Mandal Lane, Calcutta-700002; **Chandigarh:** Lashkar Singh, 1668/2, Sector 30-B, Chandigarh; **Delhi:** Vijay Singh, F-13/6, Model Town, Delhi-110009; **Maharashtra:** Jehangir Merwanji, 43 Cuffe Parade, Colaba, Bombay-400005; **Uttar Pradesh:** S. K. Misra, 97 Gandhi Bazar, Pilkhuwa. Dist. Ghaziabad, U. P.