

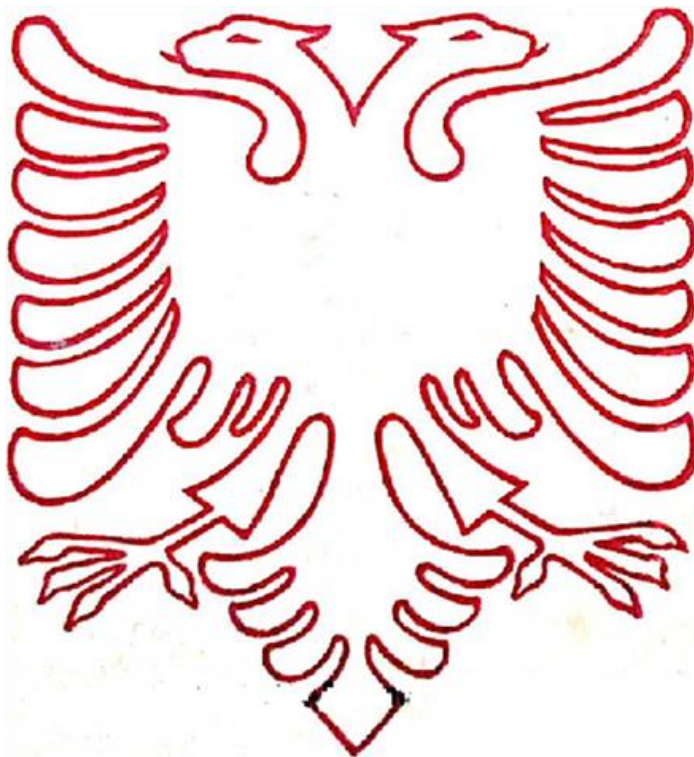
# **SOCIALIST ALBANIA**



**Nos 3 and 4**

**April-May-1979**

**Price: 1.25**



**Journal of the India-Albania Friendship Association**

**Socialist Albania:**

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

**Editorial Board:**

**K. R. Kotes, S. K. Misra, Vijay Singh, C. Subramaniam.**

**Editorial Address:**

**Socialist Albania, F-13/6, Model Town,  
Delhi-110009.**

## **Message of Sympathy**

April 20th 1979

Comrade Javer Malo,  
Chairman, Committee for  
Cultural Relations with  
Foreign Countries,  
Tirana, Albania.

Dear Comrade Malo,

We have been very distressed to learn from the newspaper reports of the severe earthquake which shook north-western Albania on April 15th in which at least thirty-five people have died and more than three hundred and thirty persons have been injured.

The India-Albania Friendship Association and all friends of Albania in India have been deeply concerned about the effects of this natural calamity. We send our heartfelt sympathies to the bereaved families, to *the* injured and to those rendered temporarily homeless by this disaster.

**With sincere wishes,  
Vijay Singh  
Convenor,  
Preparatory Committee.  
India-Albania  
Friendship Association**

## Sino-Albanian Relations

– by Attar Chand

The recent suspension of Chinese aid to Albania is a classical case of the proverbial neglect and ill-treatment of the poor relation. The termination of Chinese aid for Albania, which had looked to China as its partner in progress and development, represents blatant betrayal of a small nation. This is a characteristic case of the stab-in-the back policy of China.

In recent years China has systematically tried to exploit Albania's rich natural and mineral resources; attempting to leave the Albanians poor and helpless. The Albanians broke with Yugoslavia in 1948 and with the Soviet Union in 1961 and allied itself to China, which was then an almost isolated country.

Far from appreciating the sincere gesture, the Chinese authorities, under the guise of promoting friendly relations, set about looting the Albanian nation. By feigning to supply Albania with China-made tractors and interceptors, they tried to penetrate the Albanian armed forces. By ostensibly establishing an integrated metallurgical complex in Albania, the Chinese denuded the country of its valuable raw materials like the ore of nickel, cobalt, iron and chromium.

The Chinese authorities contend that since 1954 they have extended to Albania aid worth about ten million yuan and "large amounts of arms and equipment gratis". Six thousand Chinese experts helped Albania with new industrial production in iron and steel, copper, chemicals, fertilisers, paper, plastics and armaments and to expand its capacity in electricity, petroleum, coal, machine-tools, textiles, and other branches. Albanian economic and military technical cadres were trained by the Chinese "in keeping with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism".

Though it is true that since 1954 China has extended substantial military and economic assistance to Albania placed around 5 billion dollars, the Chinese *bona fides* were suspect for long. Actually, China wanted to use the economic and military assistance as important levers to subjugate Albania and dictate its policy. The so-called Chinese technical assistance was a clever means of keeping a tab on the Albanian activities.

Gradually the Albanians got wise to the Chinese intentions and hegemonic aims.

The Albanian and the Chinese leaders came to differ on the attitudes to be taken towards the Soviet Union. The Albanians castigated the Chinese for picking on the Soviet Union as the main enemy and supporting US presence almost anywhere in the world as a factor for defence. To the Albanians the two superpowers constitute "the same danger" and therefore the Chinese policy of regarding "the enemy of my friend" in this context was thoroughly counter-revolutionary. The Chinese attempts to increase their presence and influence in Albania in collusion with the United States were also not appreciated by Albania.

The deterioration in the relations between China and Albania apparently began in 1972 when China began to improve relations with Yugoslavia which has strained relations with Albania.

When the Sino-Albanian friendship started, both were poor countries, though China was a big one and Albania a small one. Now as the Chinese continue to grow rich they seem to be changing their ideology as well. They argue that Marxism is a flexible doctrine. Mao himself announced that the world was not politically a simple case of Communism versus Imperialism. It is divided into three groups—the two super powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, the second world of industrial nations like Japan, Western Europe and Canada and the third world of the have-nots. He argued that while opposing the super powers, it was possible to be friends with the second world. Later, China started making friendly overtures to the United States in order to

forge a common front against the Soviet Union. This was not acceptable to Albania. When Mao's moderate successors continued to stress this three worlds theory and continued their courtship with the U.S., Albania realized that it was the time to take an independent stand. Maybe China is trying to strengthen its ties with the imperialist U.S., as the Chinese dream of dominating Indo-China communist coalition has been shattered, with the emergence of a strong and assertive Vietnam.

Sino-Albanian aid relations were ruptured on July 7, 1978 when China delivered a note to Albania informing it of the suspension of assistance on the allegation that Albania was slandering China.

The note said that the Albanians had deliberately mismanaged the oil refinery built by Chinese assistance to give a bad name to Chinese expertise. Specifically China alleged that the Albanians had caused an explosion to occur in the refinery which had been imputed to Chinese technicians.

The note added that "the Chinese people can say with equanimity that they scrimped on food and clothing and tried their best to aid Albania in the spirit of proletarian internationalism."

This had been repaid by "venomous public attacks on the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, seriously hurting their feelings."

The sudden suspension of Chinese aid will, no doubt, hit certain vital sectors of Albanian economy.

In reply to Peking, the Foreign Office in Tirana said that the withdrawal of Chinese advisers was "unilateral and arbitrary" and "a conscious and premeditated step to aggravate relations between the two countries."

Tirana further accused Peking of "big state arrogance" and "going back on every principle of Marxism and Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

As Albania is no longer willing to ally itself with China it has lost utility for the Chinese policy makers, who are twisting ideology to strengthen their military position *vis-a-vis* the Soviet Union. China is also making attempts to wean away some Eastern European countries to its side. The announcement of the end of Chinese aid just a few days before the proposed visit of the Chairman Mr. Hua Kuo-Feng to Yugoslavia and Romania is a clear pointer that China now intends to plunge into a new kind of international policy, which places self-interest before ideology.

Though initially the impact of stoppage of Chinese aid on Albanian economy may be considerable, this has afforded Albania the opportunity to assert its sovereignty and economic freedom.

*The author is Acting Librarian, Chinese and Japanese Studies Library University of Delhi.*

## Cadres Engage in Production Work

Wherever you go in Albania, in town or countryside, you are liable to come across leading cadres of all levels, workers of the administration, people of intellectual pursuits who are working directly in production, shoulder to shoulder with the workers and peasants. The school youth works with enthusiasm in building railroads and opening mountain highways.

It is a principle in the social life of socialist Albania that, with the exception of the elderly or those whose health or physical condition does not permit it, all the cadres of administration of the state, Party or economic apparatus and organs, and social organizations, cadres of the army, the intelligentsia, state enterprises and agricultural cooperatives take part regularly for definite periods in work directly in production. In addition to classroom lessons, physical and military training direct participation in production work has been introduced as an essential component in our school curriculum.

The participation of leading cadres and all the people of mental work directly in work in production is an aspect of our social life of vital importance to the cause of socialism and firmly based on principle. With what is this connected ?

Above all, it has to do with the establishment, maintenance and perfecting of genuinely socialist relations in society. In order to establish such relations it is not enough just to establish socialist ownership over the means of production. It is also essential to establish correct relations between the leading cadres and the broad masses of working people in town and countryside. This requires that on the one hand the cadres, as representatives of the dictatorship of the proletariat, must manage, lead and supervise; while on the other hand, they must consider themselves servants of the people, closely linked with the masses and integrate themselves with them, must learn from and render account to the masses and to be constantly under their effective control. This means that centralism must be correctly combined with socialist democracy.

But in socialism there exists the danger that the leading cadres may become bureaucratic, detach themselves from the masses and become opposed to them, may turn from servants of the people into rulers over them, may degenerate and thus create a new anti-socialist caste or class – a thing which leads to the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism. The existence of such a danger has already been confirmed by historical experience. Failure to take it into account is fraught with fatal consequences for the future of socialism. However, this is by no means inevitable and can be avoided if a correct Marxist-Leninist stand is maintained and effective measures are taken to prevent it from turning into reality. Among the measures which the Party of Labour of Albania has taken to ward off this danger, of great importance are the circulation of cadres from leading posts to the base, and from the administration to production and vice versa, the bringing into the leading organs of more and more persons, who work in production, especially from the ranks of the working class; the reduction of higher salaries and putting the standard of living of the cadres in correct production to that of the masses, the further deepening of the line of the masses in appointing cadres. intensification of the Marxist-Leninist ideo-political education of the cadres and fighting against manifestations of technocracy, etc The direct participation of our leading cadres in production is one of the most important steps taken in this direction. The aim of it is the revolutionary education of the cadres with correct concepts about work and the working people, to protect the cadres from bourgeois and bureaucratic degeneration, to link them closely with the people and their lives. **Comrade Enver Hoxha says: “The cadres must get oil on their hands and mud on their boots, so that they see the problems, the needs, the work, not just from above, hut from down below, because this is how we wipe out bureaucracy, symptoms of conceit and**

**arrogance, the diseases of commandism and cronyism among the people who run things, because these problems arise most among those who, vested with power, think that it is they alone who create everything, that the work wouldn't go on without them.”**

The participation of the leading cadres and the intellectuals in productive labour is a matter of great principle also because it leads to the further strengthening of the moral-political unity of the people in the struggle for the cause of the construction of socialism, serves to overcome the separation of theory from practice which, as Lenin points out, is one of the greatest evils and misfortunes inherited from the old capitalist society. It constitutes one of the concrete and effective ways of gradually narrowing the essential distinctions between physical and mental work.

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

## **The Country where the People Pay no Taxes or Levies**

In the structure and application of its whole policy of taxation on the population, the Party of Labour of Albania has always been aware that taxation is a temporary historical category. Therefore, step by step and with great care, it prepared the necessary conditions for eliminating it. On November 8, 1969, a measure of great importance was taken for the total abolition of the system of direct taxation on the population.

This measure is connected with the extension of the sphere of the establishment of socialist relations in production and with the rapid development of the productive forces of the country. Thus the specific weight of taxes and levies from the population in the total income of the state budget during the 1945-46 financial year (the first year after liberation) was 92 percent; in 1950 it fell to 12.6 percent; in 1960 it fell to 2.7 percent and in 1969 to 0.1 percent,

As can be seen, the process of abolishing taxes and levies from the population was not carried out all at once and simply by an administrative act, but they were abolished step by step, parallel with the development of the socialist sector of the economy, with the elimination of the economic basis of taxation, and with the change in the class structure in our country. This constitutes a major victory achieved by our people and is a brilliant example of the consistent implementation by our Party of Labour of its general line for the construction of socialist society and constant improvement of the standard of living of the people.

Article 31 of the new draft Constitution says explicitly: "The citizens pay no taxes or levies of any kind."

The complete abolition of the system of taxes and levies, which the people used to pay in our country, is not only of major economic importance but of a major political and ideological importance as well. By eliminating taxes, the personal incomes which all the working people of our country, including the peasants, achieve from their work, are inviolate.

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

Through Albanian Eyes ;

## Onomatopoeia in the “Komik”

—by *Fata Xhshnavan*

The “Komik” is a species of literature, American in origin in *in* modern form, which tells a story or stories mainly through the medium of cartoon drawings with a minimum of text.

The heroes of most “komiks” are, for the most part, criminals, gangsters, spies in the service of imperialism and racist “supermen” who treat “the lower races” with appropriate brutality. The heroines are also generally associated with the underworld and are usually depicted in a state of semi-nudity that is, no doubt, intended to be salacious.

The komiks created in the United States are now reprinted in a great many countries of Western Europe, having the commercial advantage that little needs to be spent on translation.

A feature of the “komik” is what is known as “audiowriting”, that is. the presentation of sounds in the form of onomatopoeic words. The national variations of this cosmopolitan audio-writing are of some linguistic interest.

The BANG! BANG ! of the American revolver became PIN! PIN! in France and BLING! BLING! in the Netherlands. The Spanish air-gun, on the other hand, goes POOSH! and the Austrian sword sweeps through the air with a FUAK!

BUDDA! DUDDA! DUDDA! throbs the Spanish helicopter, and the infernal liquid prepared by the mad Portuguese scientist bubbles with a PLUP! PLUP! PLUP!

A fist of most nationalities makes a TRRAK! when it impinges upon a jaw, and TUM! when it lands in the stomach. The body falls to the ground with a RRAM!, or with a PLASH! into water.

AOUH ! cries the French crook in pain, while his Swedish victim shouts HIALP! POLIS! Giants appear to signalise their presence in most parts of Europe with a loud JO ! JO ! JO ! JO !

Horses, too, announce their desire for fodder almost universally by the sound BRRRRRRRRRRRRR ! and neigh JIIIUIII! when ready to move off.

Of particular musical interest is the tonal range of the Portuguese trumpet, with its: BAGATAS ! PAGATAS! TRR ! TRAS !

Curiously enough it is the dogs of “korniks” who are the least cosmopolitan linguistically. The Swedish dog barks : VAVVA !, VVAV! the Portuguese AU ! AU !, the Spanish WOUAH! WOUAH! while the French dog renders HAW! HAW!

In the “free world” the great classics of world literature are now being produced in “komik” form, in which they can be read ... in the words of one enterprising publisher ... “without tiring the eyes, confusing the mind or wasting precious time.”

The “time-saving” character resulting may be illustrated by presenting a paragraph of “old-fashioned” prose His horse fed, the cowboy leaped into the saddle and rode off towards the lake. In the distance a dog howled. Suddenly a burly figure emerged from ranch-house and fired a shot at the rider – as he approached. In a flash he had jumped from his horse, seized his assailant by the throat, delivered one punch to the head and another to the stomach, and hurled him into the water.”

The talented audio-writers of the “komik” can reduce this passage to:  
BRRRRR! JIII? VAVVAVAV ! BANG! TRRAK. ! BUM AOUH ! PLASH !

Clearly audio-writing has been of profitable service to the commercial publishers of Western Europe. Perhaps our culture would be improved by imitating it V

Let us say with the giants: JO ! (no) JO ! JO . JO !



## **“Mao Tsetung Thought” – An Anti-Marxist Theory**

—by *Enver Hoxha*

The present situation in the Communist Party of China, its many rig-zags and wavering, opportunist stands, the frequent change, of its strategy, the policy the Chinese has been and is following to and his ideas, the so-called Mao Tsetung thought, in the Chinese revolution.

make China a superpower, quite naturally raise the problem of the place and role of Mao Tsetung “Mao Tsetung thought” is a “theory” devoid of the features of Marxism-Leninism. All the Chinese leaders, both those who were in power before and those who have seized power today, have always made great play with the “Mao Tsetung thought”, in their forms of organization and ways of action, their strategic and tactical aims *in order to put their counterrevolutionary plans into practice.*

Seeing the activity, wavering and contradictory stands, the lack of the principles and the pragmatism of Chinese internal and external policy, its deviation from Marxism-Leninism and the use of left phrases to disguise it, we Albanian communists have gradually formed our opinions and conviction about the danger presented by “Mao thought”. When our Party was founded, during the National Liberation War, as well as after liberation, our people had Tsetung very little knowledge about China. But, like all the revolutionaries of the world, we, too, had formed an opinion that it was progressive: “China is vast continent. China is fighting, the revolution against foreign imperialism, against concessions is seething in China . etc., etc.” We had some general knowledge about the activity of Sun Yat-sen, about his connections and friendship with the Soviet Union and with Lenin ; we knew something about the Kuomintang, about the Chinese people's war against the Japanese: and about the existence of the Communist Party of China, which was considered a great party, with a Marxist-Leninist, Mao Tsetung, at the head. And that was all.

Our Party had closer contacts with the Chinese only after 1956. The contact steadily increased due to the struggle our Party was waging against Khrushchevite modern revisionism. At that time our contacts with the Communist Party of China, or more accurately, with its leading cadres, became more frequent and closer, especially when the Communist Party of China, too, entered into open conflict with the Khrushchevite revisionists. But we have to admit that in the meetings we had with the Chinese leaders, although they were good, comradesly meetings, in some ways, China, Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China, remained a great enigma to us.

But why were China, its Communist Party and Mao Tsetung an enigma ? They were an enigma because many attitudes, whether general ones or the personal attitudes of Chinese leaders, towards a series of major political, ideological, military, and organizational problems vacillated, at times to the right, at times to the left. Sometimes they were resolute and at times irresolute, there were times, too, when they maintained correct stands, but more often it was the opportunist stands that caught the eye. During the entire period that Mao was alive, the Chinese policy, in general, was a vacillating one, a policy changing with the circumstances, lacking a Marxist-Leninist spinal cord. What they would say about an important political problem today they would contradict tomorrow. In the Chinese policy, one consistent enduring red thread could not be found.

Naturally, all these attitudes attracted our attention and we did not approve them, but nevertheless, from what we knew about the activity of Mao Tsetung, we proceeded from the general idea that he was a Marxist-Leninist. On many of Mao Tsetung's theses, such as that

about the handling of the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as non-antagonistic contradictions, the thesis about the existence of antagonistic classes during the entire period of socialism, the thesis that “the countryside should encircle the city”, which absolutizes the role of the peasantry in the revolution, etc., we had our reservations and our own Marxist-Leninist views, which, whenever we could, we expressed to the Chinese leaders. Meanwhile, certain other political views and stands of Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China, which were not compatible with the Marxist-Leninist views and stands of our Party, we considered as temporary tactics of a big state, dictated by specific situations. But, with the passage of time, it became ever more clear that the stands maintained by the Communist Party of China were not just tactics.

By analysing the facts, our Party arrived at some general and specific conclusions, which made it vigilant, but it avoided polemics with the Communist Party of China and Chinese leaders, not because it was afraid to engage in polemics with them, but because the facts, which it had about the erroneous, anti-Marxist course of this party and Mao Tsetung himself, were incomplete, and still did not permit the drawing of a final conclusion. On the other hand, for a time, the Communist Party of China did oppose US imperialism and reaction. It also took a stand against Soviet Khrushchevite revisionism, though it is now clear that its struggle against Soviet revisionism was not dictated from correct, principled Marxist-Leninist positions.

Besides this, we did not have full knowledge about the internal political, economic, cultural, social life, etc, in China. The organization of the Chinese party and state have always been a closed book to us. The Communist Party of China gave us no possibility at all to study the organization of the Chinese party and the state. We Albanian communists knew only the general outlines of the state organization of China and nothing more; we were given no possibilities no possibilities to acquaint ourselves with the experience of the party in China, to see how it operated, how it was organized, in what directions things were developing in different sectors and what these directions were concretely.

The Chinese leaders have acted with guile. They have not made public many documents necessary for one to know the activity of their party and state. They were and are very wary of publishing their documents. Even those few published documents at our disposal are fragmentary. The four volumes of Mao’s works, which can be considered official, are comprised of materials written no later than 1949, but besides this, they are carefully arranged in such a way that they do not present an exact picture of the real situations that developed in China.

The political and theoretical presentation of problems in the Chinese press, not to speak of literature, which was in utter disarray, had only a propaganda character. The articles were full of typically Chinese stereotyped formulas expressed arithmetically, such as “the Three Goods and the Five Evils”, “the Four Olds and Four News”, “the Two Reminders and Five Self-controls”, “the Three Truths and Seven Falses”, etc.. etc. We found it difficult to work out the "theoretical" sense of these arithmetical figures, because we are used to thinking, acting and writing according to the traditional Marxist-Leninist theory and culture.

The Chinese leaders did not invite any delegation from our Party to study their experience. And when some delegation has gone there on our Party’s request, the Chinese have engaged in propaganda and taken it here and there for visits to communes and factories rather than give it some explanation or experience about the work of the party. And towards whom did they maintain this strange stand ? Towards us Albanians, their friends, who have defended them in the most difficult situations. All these actions were incomprehensible to us, but also a signal that the Communist Party of China did not want to give us a clear picture of its situation.

But what attracted our Party's attention most was the Cultural Revolution, which raised a number of major questions in our minds. During the Cultural Revolution, initiated by Mao Tsetung, astonishing political, ideological and organizational ideas and actions came to light in the activity of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state, which were not based on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In judging their previous dubious actions, as well as those observed during the Cultural Revolution, and especially the events following this revolution up till now, the rises and falls of this or that group in the leadership, today the group of Lin Piao, that of Teng Hsiao-ping, a Hua Kuo-feng, etc., each of which had its own platform opposed to the other's, all these things impelled our Party to delve more deeply into the views and actions of Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China, to get a more thorough knowledge of "Mao Tsetung thought". When we saw that this Cultural Revolution was not being led by the party but was a chaotic outburst following a call issued by Mao Tsetung, this did not seem to us to be a revolutionary stand. It was Mao's authority in China that made millions of unorganized youth, students and pupils, rise to their feet and march on Peking, on party and state committees, which they dispersed. It was said that these young people represented the "proletarian ideology" in China at that time and would show the party and the proletarians the "true" road!

Such a revolution, which had a pronounced political character, was called a cultural revolution. In our Party's opinion, this name was not accurate, since, in fact, the movement that had burst out in China was a political, not a cultural movement. But the main thing was the fact that neither the party nor the proletariat were in the leadership of this "great proletarian revolution". This grave situation stemmed from Mao Tsetung's old anti-Marxist concepts of underestimation of the leading role of the proletariat and overestimation of the youth in the revolution. Mao wrote : "What role did the Chinese young people begin to play since the 'May 4th Movement' ? In a way they began to play a vanguard role—a fact recognized by everybody in our country except the ultra-reactionaries. What is a vanguard role ? It means taking the lead..."\*.

Thus the working class was left on the sidelines, and there were many instances when it opposed the red guards and even fought them. Our comrades, who were in China at that time, have seen with their own eyes factory workers fighting the youth. The party was disintegrated. It was liquidated, and the communists and the proletariat were totally disregarded- This a very grave situation.

Our Party supported the Cultural Revolution, because the victories of the revolution in China were in danger. Mao Tsetung himself told us that power in the party and state there had been usurped by the renegade group of Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping and the victories of the Chinese revolution were in danger. In these conditions, no matter who to blame that matters had gone so far, our Party supported the Cultural Revolution. Our Party defended the fraternal Chinese people, the cause of the revolution and socialism in China, and not the factional strife of anti-Marxist groups, which were clashing and fighting with one another, even with guns, in order to seize power.

The course of events showed that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was neither a revolution, nor great, nor cultural, and in particular, not in the least proletarian. It was a palace putsch on an all-China scale for the liquidation of a handful of reactionaries who had seized power.

Of course, this Cultural Revolution was a hoax. It liquidated both the Communist Party of

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\* Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 3, p. 19 (Alb. Ed.).

China, and the mass organizations, and plunged China into new chaos. This revolution was led by non-Marxist elements, who have been liquidated through a military putsch staged by other anti-Marxist and fascist elements.

In our press, Mao Tsetung has been described as a great Marxist-Leninist, but we never used and never approved the definitions of the Chinese propaganda which described Mao as a classic of Marxism-Leninism, and “Mao Tsetung thought” as its third and higher stage. Our Party has considered the inflation of the cult of Mao Tsetung in China to be incompatible with Marxism-Leninism.

The chaotic development of the Cultural Revolution and its results further strengthened the opinion, still not fully crystalized, that Marxism-Leninism was not known and was not being applied in China, that in essence, the Communist Party of China and Mao Tsetung did not hold Marxist-Leninist views, regardless of the facade and the slogans they used about “the proletariat, its dictatorship, and its alliance with the poor peasantry”, and many other such shibboleths.

In the light of these events, our Party began to look more deeply into the causes of the vacillations which had been observed in the stand of the Chinese leadership towards Khrushchevite revisionism, such as the instance in 1962, when it sought reconciliation and unity with the Soviet revisionists, allegedly in the name of a common front against American imperialism, or in 1964, when, continuing the efforts for reconciliation with the Soviets, Chou-En-lai went to Moscow to hail the coming to power of the Brezhnev group. These vacillations were not accidental. They reflected the lack of revolutionary principles and consistency.

When Nixon was invited to China, and the Chinese leadership, with Mao Tsetung at the head, proclaimed the policy of rapprochement and unity with American imperialism, it became clear that the Chinese line and policy were in total opposition to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Following this, China’s chauvinist and hegemonic ambitions began to become clearer. The Chinese leadership started to oppose the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples, the world proletariat, and the genuine Marxist-Leninist movement more openly. It proclaimed the so-called theory of the “three worlds”, which it was trying to impose on the entire Marxist-Leninist movement as its general line.

For the sake of the interests of the resolution and socialism, and thinking that the mistakes observed in the line of the Communist Party of China were due to incorrect assessments of situations and to various difficulties, the Party of Labour of Albania has tried, more than once, to help the Chinese leadership correct and overcome them. Our Party has openly expressed its views, in a sincere and comradely way, to Mao Tsetung and other Chinese leaders, and on many of China’s actions which directly affected the general line of the Marxist-Leninist movement, the interests of the peoples and revolution, it has made its remarks and disagreement known to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China officially and in writing,

Bui the Chinese leadership has never welcomed the correct and principled remarks of our Party, it has never replied to them and has never agreed even to discuss them.

Meanwhile the anti-Marxist actions of the Chinese leadership at home and abroad became more flagrant and more obvious. All this compelled our Party, like all the other Marxist-Leninists, to reappraise the line of the Communist Party of China, the political and ideological concepts by which it has been guided, its concrete activity and its consequences. As a result we saw that “Mao Tsetung thought”, by which the Communist Party of China has been and is being guided, represents a dangerous variant of modern revisionism, against which an all-round struggle on the theoretical and political plane must be waged.

“Mao Tsetung thought” is a variant of revisionism, which began to take shape even before

the Second World War, especially after 1935, when Mao Tsetung came to power. In this period Mao and his supporters launched a "theoretical" campaign under the slogan of the struggle against "dogmatism", "ready-made patterns", "foreign stereotypes", etc., and raised the problem of elaborating a national Marxism, negating the universal character of Marxism-Leninism. Instead of Marxism-Leninism he preached the "Chinese way" of treating problems, and the Chinese style "lively and fresh, pleasant to the ears and eyes of the Chinese people"\* , in this way propagating the revisionist thesis that in each country Marxism should have its individual, specific content.

"Mao Tsetung thought" was proclaimed as the highest stage of Marxism-Leninism in the present era. The Chinese leaders have declared that "Mao Tsetung has achieved more than Marx, Engels, and Lenin...". The Constitution of the Communist Party of China approved at its 9th Congress, which was held under Mao Tsetung's leadership, says that "Mao Tsetung thought is the Marxism-Leninism of the era...", that Mao Tsetung "...has inherited, defended and **developed** Marxism-Leninism and has raised it to a new higher stage"<sup>†</sup>

Basing the activity of the party on "Mao Tsetung thought" instead of on the principles and norms of Marxism-Leninism opened the doors even more widely to opportunism and factional struggle within the ranks of the Communist Party of China.

"Mao Tsetung thought" is an amalgam of views in which ideas and theses borrowed from Marxism are mixed up with idealist, pragmatic and revisionist principles from other philosophies, it has its roots in ancient Chinese philosophy, and in the political and ideological past, in the state and militarist practice of China.

All the Chinese leaders, those who have taken power at present as well as those who have been in and who have fallen from power, but who have manoeuvred to put their counterrevolutionary plans into practice, have had and have "Mao Tsetung thought" as their ideological basis. Mao Tsetung himself has admitted that his thoughts can be exploited by all, both by the leftists and the rightists, as he calls the various groups that comprise the Chinese leadership. In the letter he wrote to Chiang Ching on July 8, 1966, Mao Tsetung affirms, "the rightists in power might use my words to make themselves powerful for a certain time, but the left can use other words of mine and organize itself to overthrow the rightist"<sup>‡</sup>. This shows that Mao Tsetung was not a Marxist-Leninist, that his views are eclectic. This is apparent in all Mao's "theoretical works" which, although camouflaged with "revolutionary" phraseology and slogans, cannot conceal the fact that "Mao Tsetung thought" has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism.

A critical survey of Mao's writings, even of part of them, of the way he treats the fundamental problems concerning the role of the communist party, the questions of the revolution, the construction of socialism, etc., makes the radical difference between "Mao Tsetung thought" and Marxism-Leninism completely clear.

Let us first consider **the question of the organization of the Party and its leading role**. Mao pretended to be for the application of the Leninist principles on the party, but if his ideas on the party and, especially, the practice of the life of the party are analysed concretely, it becomes evident that he has replaced the Leninist principles and norms with revisionist theses.

Mao Tsetung has not organized the Communist Party of China on the basis of the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. He has not worked to make it a party of the Leninist type, a

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\*.Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 4, p. 84(Alb. Ed.).

† The 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China, Documents, pp. 79-80, Tirana, 1969 (Alb. Ed.)

‡ "Le Monde", December 2, 1972.

Bolshevik party. Mao Tsetung was not for a proletarian class party, but for a party without class restrictions. He has used the slogan of giving the party a mass character in order to wipe out the distinction between the party and the class. As a result, anybody could enter or leave the party whenever he liked. Oh this question "Mao Tsetung thought" is identical with the views of the Yugoslav revisionists and the "Eurocommunists".

Besides this, Mao Tsetung has always made the building of the party, its principles and norms dependent on his political stands and interests, dependant on his opportunist, sometimes rightist and sometimes leftist, adventurist policy, the struggle among factions, etc.

There has been and there is no true Marxist-Leninist unity of thought and action in the Communist Party of China. The strife among factions, which has existed since the founding of the Communist Party of China, has meant that a correct Marxist-Leninist line has not been laid down in this party, and it has not been guided by Marxist-Leninist thought. The various tendencies which manifested themselves among the main leaders of the party were at times leftist, at times right opportunist, sometimes centrist, and going as far as simply anarchist, chauvinist and racist views. During the whole time Mao-Tsetung and the group around him were at the head of the party, these tendencies were among the distinctive features of the Communist Party of China. Mao Tsetung himself has advocated the need for the existence of "two lines" in the party. According to him, the existence and struggle between two lines is something natural, is a manifestation of the unity of opposites, is a flexible policy which unites in itself both loyalty to principles and compromise. "Thus" he writes, "we have two hands to deal with a comrade who has made mistakes: one hand to struggle with him and the other to unite with him. The aim of this struggle is to uphold the principles of Marxism. which means being principled ; that is one aspect of the problem. The other aspect is to unite with him. The aim of unity is to offer him a way out, to reach a compromise with him"\*.

These views are diametrically opposed to the Leninist teachings on the communist party as an organized vanguard detachment which must have a single line and steel unity of thought and action.

The class struggle in the ranks of the party, as a reflection of the class struggle going on outside the party, has nothing in common with Mao Tsetung's concepts on the "two lines in the party". The party is not an arena of classes and the struggle between antagonistic classes, it is not a gathering of people with contradictory aims. The genuine Marxist-Leninist party is the party of the working class only and bases itself on the interests of this class. This is the decisive factor for the triumph of the revolution and the construction of socialism. Defending the Leninist principles on the party, which do not permit the existence of many lines, of opposing trends in the Communist party, J.V, Stalin emphasized:

*"...the communist party is the **monolithic** party of the proletariat, and not a party of a bloc of elements of different classes"*†.

Mao Tsetung, however, conceives the party as a union of classes with contradictory interests, as an organization in which two forces, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the "proletarian staff" and the "bourgeois staff", which must have their representatives from the grassroots to the highest leading organs of the party, confront and struggle against each other. Thus, in 1956, he sought the election of the leaders of right and left factions to the Central Committee, presenting to this end. arguments as naive as they were ridiculous. "The entire country," he says, "the whole

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\* Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 5, p. 560, Peking 1977 (French edition, first published by the Chinese this year).

† J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 180 (Alb. Ed.).

world knows well that they have made mistakes in the line and the fact that they are well known is precisely the reason for electing them. What can you do about it ? They are well known, but you who have made no mistakes or have made only small ones don't have as big a reputation as theirs. In a country like ours with its very large petty-bourgeoisie they are two standards"\* . While renouncing principled struggle in the ranks of the party. Mao Tsetung played the game of factions, sought compromise with some of them to counter some others and thus consolidate his own positions.

With such an organizational platform, the Communist Party of China has never been and never could be a Marxist-Leninist party, The Leninist principles and norms were not respected in it. The congress of the party, its highest collective organ, has not been convened regularly. For instance, 11 years went by between the 7th and the 8th congresses, and after the war, 13 years between the 8th and the 9th congresses. Besides this, the congresses which were held were formal, more parades than working meetings. The delegates to the congresses were not elected in conformity with the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms of the life of the party, but were appointed by the leading organs and acted according to the system of permanent representation.

Recently, "Renmin Ribao" published an article by a so-called theoretical group of the "General Directory" of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China†. This article says that under the name of the "General Directory". Mao had set up around himself a special apparatus which kept the Political Bureau, the Central Committee of the Party, the cadres of the state, the army the security service, etc., under surveillance and control. Entry to this directory and knowledge of its work was forbidden to all, including the members of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. Here plans for the bringing down or elevation of this or that factionalist group were worked out. The men of this Directory were present everywhere, they eavesdropped, watched and reported independently, outside the control of the party. Apart from them, this Directory had at its disposal entire armed detachments, hidden under the name of the "Guard of Chairman Mao". This praetorian guard more than 50,000 strong went into action whenever the chairman wanted "to act with one blow", as has frequently occurred in the history of the Communist Party of China and as occurred recently with the arrest of "Th» Four" and their supporters by Hua Kuofeng.

Under the pretext of maintaining contacts with the masses, Mao Tsetung had also created a special network of informers among the population who were charged with the task of keeping the cadres of the base under surveillance and investigating the conditions and state of mind of the masses, without anybody's knowledge. They reported directly to Mao Tsetung alone, who had severed all means of communication with the masses and saw the world only through the reports of his agents of the "General Directory". Mao said, "For myself, I am a person who does not listen to the radio, either foreign or Chinese, but I only transmit". He also said, "I have stated openly that I shall no longer read the newspaper 'Renmin Ribao'. I told its Editor-in-chief, 'I do not read your paper'"‡

The article of "Renmin Ribao" provides new information which enables one to understand even more clearly the anti-Marxist direction and personal power of Mao Tsetung in the Chinese party and state. Mao Tsetung did not have the slightest respect for either the Central Committee or the congress of the party, let alone the party as a whole and its committees at the base. The

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\* Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 5, p. 348, Peking 1977 (French ed.).

† "Always Keep in Mind the Teachings of Chairman Mao", "Renmin Ribao", September 8, 1977

‡ From Mao Tsetung's conversation with comrades from our Party, Feb. 3, 1967, Central Archives of the Party of Labour of Albania (CPA).

party committees, the leading cadres and the Central Committee itself received orders from the “General Directory”, this “special staff”, which was responsible to Mao Tsetung alone. The party forums, its elected organs, had no authority whatsoever. The article of “Renmin Ribao” says, “no telegram, no letter, no document, no order could be issued by “anybody without first going through Mao Tsetung’s hands and being approved by him”. It turns out that as early as 1953, Mao Tsetung had issued a clear-cut order: “From now on, all documents and telegrams sent out in the name of the Central Committee can be dispatched only after I have gone over them, *otherwise they invalid*”<sup>\*</sup>. Under these conditions there can be no talk of collective leadership, democracy within the party, or Leninist norms.

Mao Tsetung’s unlimited power was so far-reaching that he even appointed his heirs. At one time he had appointed Liu Shao-chi as his successor. Later he declared that his heir to the state and the party after his death would be Lin Biao. This, a thing unprecedented in the practice of Marxist-Leninist parties, was even sanctioned in the Constitution of the party. Again it was Mao Tsetung who designated Hua Kuo-feng to be chairman of the party after his death. Having power in his hands, Mao alone criticized, judged, punished and later rehabilitated top leaders of the party and state. This was the case even with Teng Hsiao-ping, who, in his so-called self-criticism of October 23, 1966, stated: “Liu Shao-chi and I are real monarchists. The essence of my mistakes lies in the fact that I have no faith in the masses, do not support the revolutionary masses, but am opposed to them. I have followed a reactionary line to suppress the revolution. In the class struggle I have been on the side not of the proletariat, but of the bourgeoisie... All this shows that... I am unfit to hold posts of responsibility”<sup>†</sup>. And despite these crimes which this inveterate revisionist has committed, he was put back in his former seat.

The anti-Marxist essence of “Mao Tsetung thought” on the party and its role is also apparent in the way the relations between the party and the army were conceived in theory and applied in practice. Irrespective of the shibboleths of Mao Tsetung about the “party being above the army”, “politics above the gun”, etc. etc., in practice, he left the main political role in the life of the country to the army. At the time of the war, he said, “All the army cadres should be good at leading the workers and organizing trade-unions, good at mobilizing and organizing the youth, good at uniting with and training cadres in the newly Liberated Areas, good at managing industry and commerce, good at running schools, newspapers, news agencies and broadcasting stations, good at handling foreign affairs, good at handling problems relating to the democratic parties and people’s organizations, good at adjusting the relations between the cities and the rural areas and solving the problems of food, coal and other daily necessities and good at handling monetary and financial problems”<sup>‡</sup>.

So the army was above the party, above the state organs, above everything. From this it emerges that Mao Tsetung’s words regarding the role of the party, as the decisive factor of the leadership of revolution and socialist construction, were only slogans. Both at the time of the liberation war and after the creation of the People’s Republic of China, in all the never-ending struggles that have been waged there for the seizure of power by one faction or the other, the army has played the decisive role. During the Cultural Revolution, too, the army played the main role; it was Mao’s last resort. In 1967, Mao Tsetung said, “We rely on the strength of the army... We had only two divisions in Peking, but we brought in another two in May in order to settle

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

† From the self-criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping. CPA.

‡ Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 4, p. 355, Peking, 1962 (French ed.).



accounts with the former Peking Party Committee”\*.

In order to liquidate his ideological opponents, Mao Tsetung has always set the army in motion. He raised the army, with Lin Pao at the head, against the Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping group. Later, together with Chou En-lai, he organized and threw the army against Lin Piao. Inspired by “Mao Tsetung thought”, the army has played the same role even after the death of Mao. Like all those who have come to power in China, Hua Kuo-feng also, relied on and acted through the army. Right after Mao’s death, he immediately roused the army, and together with the army men, Yeh Chien-ying, Wang Tung-hsin and others, engineered the putsch and arrested his opponents.

Power in China is still in the hands of the army, while party tails behind it. This is a general characteristic of countries where revisionism prevails. Genuine socialist countries strengthen the army as a powerful weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to crush the enemies of socialism in case they rise up, as well as to defend the country from an eventual attack by the imperialists and foreign reaction. But, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, for the army to play this role it must always be under the direction of the party and not the party under the direction of the army.

At present the most powerful factions of the army, the most reactionary ones, which aim to turn China into a social-imperialist country, are making the law in China.

In the future, along with the transformation of China into an imperialist superpower, the role and the power of the army in the life of the country will steadily increase, it will be strengthened as a praetorian guard, armed to the teeth, for the defence of a capitalist regime and economy. It will be the tool of a bourgeois dictatorship, a dictatorship which, if the people's resistance is strong, may even assume open fascist forms.

By preaching the need for the existence of many parties in the leadership of the country, the so-called political pluralism, “Mao Tsetung thought” falls into complete opposition to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the indivisible role of the communist party in the revolution and socialist construction. As he declared to Snow, Mao Tsetung considered the leadership of a country by several political parties, after the American model, the most democratic form of government. “Which is better in the final analysis,” Mao Tsetung asked, “to have just one party or several?” And he answered, “As we see it now, it's perhaps better to have several parties. This has been true in the past and may well be so for the future; it means long-term coexistence and mutual supervision”.† Mao regarded the participation of bourgeois parties in the state power and the governing of the country with the same rights and prerogatives as the Communist Party of China as necessary. And not only this, but these parties of the bourgeoisie, which; according to him “were historical”, should wither away only when the Communist Party of China also withers away, that is they will coexist right up till communism.

According to “Mao Tsetung thought”, a new democratic regime can exist and socialism can be built only on the basis of the collaboration of all classes and all parties. Such a concept of socialist democracy, of the socialist political system, which is based on “long-term coexistence and mutual supervision” of all parties, and which is very much like the current preachings of the Italian, French, Spanish and other revisionists, is an open denial of the leading and indivisible role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the revolution and in the construction of socialism. Historical experience has already proved that the dictatorship of proletariat cannot exist and socialism cannot be built and defended without the indivisible leading role of the

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\* From the conversation of Mao Tsetung with the Friendship Delegation of the PRA, Dec. 18, 1967, CPA.

† Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 5, p. 319, Peking, 1977 (French ed.).

Marxist-Leninist party.

*“...the dictatorship of the proletariat,” says Stalin, “can be complete only when it is led by a party, the party of the communists, which does not and should not share the leadership with other parties”.*<sup>\*</sup>

The revisionist concepts of Mao Tsetung have their basis in the policy of collaboration and alliance with the bourgeoisie, which the Communist Party of China has always applied. This is also the source of the anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist course of “letting 100 flowers bloom and 100 schools contend”, which is a direct expression of the coexistence of opposing ideologies.

According to Mao Tsetung, in socialist society, side by side with the proletarian ideology, materialism and atheism, the existence of bourgeois ideology, idealism and religion, the growth of poisonous weeds along with “fragrant flowers” etc., must be permitted. Such a course is alleged to be necessary for the development of Marxism, in order to open the way to debate and freedom of thought, while in reality, through this course, he is trying to lay the theoretical basis for the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and coexistence with its ideology. Mao Tsetung says, “...it is a dangerous policy to prohibit people from coming into contact with the false, the ugly and the hostile to us, with idealism and metaphysics and with the thoughts of Confucius, Lao Tze and Chiang Kai-shek. It would lead to mental deterioration, one-track minds, and unpreparedness to face the world... “<sup>†</sup>. From this Mao Tsetung draws the conclusion that idealism, metaphysics and the bourgeois ideology will exist eternally, therefore not only must they not be prohibited, but they must be given the possibility to blossom to come out in the open and contend. This conciliatory stand towards everything reactionary goes so far as to call disturbances in socialist society inevitable and the prohibition of enemy activity mistaken. “In my opinion,” says he, “whoever wants to provoke trouble may do so for so long as he pleases; and if one month is not enough, he may go on for two, in short, the matter should not be wound up until he feels he has had enough. If you hastily wind it up, sooner or later trouble will resume again”<sup>‡</sup>.

All these have not been academic contributions to a “scientific” discussion but a counter-revolutionary opportunist political line which has been setup in opposition to Marxism-Leninism, which has disorganized the Communist Party of China, in which a hundred and one views and ideas have been circulating and today there really are 100 schools contending, This has enabled the bourgeois wasps to circulate freely in the garden of 100 flowers to release their venom.

This opportunist stand on ideological questions has its roots, among other things, also in the fact that throughout the whole period from its foundation up till it achieved the liberation of its country and later, the Communist Party of China has made no effort to consolidate itself ideologically, has not worked to inculcate the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin into the minds and hearts of its members, has not struggled to master the fundamental questions of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and apply them consistently, step by step, in the concrete conditions of China. From: *Imperialism and the Revolution*”, Tirana, 1979. (To be continued).

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<sup>\*</sup> J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 10, p. 97 (Alb. Ed.).

<sup>†</sup> Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 5, p. 397, Peking, 1977 (French ed.).

<sup>‡</sup> Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, vol. 5, pp. 405-406, Peking, 1977 (French ed.).

## I. A. F. A. News

The Inaugural meeting of the Delhi State Preparatory Committee was held in New Delhi on 7th April. 1979, At this meeting a talk was delivered on the subject of the "Party of Labour in the Great Debate" in which the principled theoretical struggle of the PLA against modern Soviet revisionism was clearly brought out and where it was also shown that the current differences of the PLA and the CPC have their roots in the Great Debate itself as a consequence of the continuous vacillation of the leadership of the CPC on the question of the struggle against Soviet revisionism.

The meeting unanimously passed the following resolutions: 1. It demanded that the Indian government establish full diplomatic ties with the P. S. R. A. 2. It condemned the heinous act of the cutting-off of economic aid by the Chinese government to Socialist Albania. 3. It considered that the primary orientation of the I. A. F. A. must be directed towards the working class and working people. 4. It strongly recommended that materials from and about Socialist Albania should be translated into Hindi as speedily as possible. 5. It called for full moral and material support to be given to "Socialist Albania", the monthly journal of the I. A. F. A.

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 Mindal Lane, Calcutta-700002; **Chandigarh:** Lashkar Singh, 1068/2, Sector 30-B, Chandigarh; **Delhi:** Vijay Singh, F-13/6, Model Town, Delhi-110009; **Maharashtra:** Jahangir Merwanji, 43 Cuffe Parade, Colabo, Bombay-400005; **Uttar Pradesh:** S. K. Misra, 97 Gandhi Bazar, Pilkhuwa, Dist. Ghaziabad. U. P.