

# **Albania and China**

**By**

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## Introduction

In this talk I would like to stress two points:

1 - That the social and political state of affairs in both Albania and China was decided not just by the internal and economic conditions in these countries but primarily by overwhelming external factors.

Three external factors should be stressed:

a) the October Socialist Revolution of 1917 and the establishment of the U.S.S.R.

b) the Second World War and

c) the triumph of revisionism in the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin.

2 - In a communist party the principle of criticism and self-criticism defines the true nature and seriousness of that party. If this principle is ignored then mistakes multiply and failure is the result. What happened in both Albania and China can not be explained without taking cognizance of the fact that neither party ever carried out a frank and thorough self-criticism of its mistakes. This was especially the case after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1956. Tremendous changes took place in both countries without there being an acceptable analysis by the ruling parties in which the leadership of the party accepted major responsibility.

## The similarity of events in Albania and China.

Before the success of the revolution in these two countries they were both living under primitive tribal and feudal conditions. A national industry scarcely existed in either country and what there was could only be described as rudimentary or had been imported by the imperialist powers which came to colonise and to exploit, driving both countries into further poverty. This meant

1) that there was no possibility of a capitalist revolution for lack of a

national bourgeoisie. This was especially the case in Albania and

2) that with rapid change in the outside world a corresponding change under the influence of internal and external conditions became necessary. Such change however had to rely not on the small working class but primarily on the peasant population under the leadership of a small petty bourgeois class consisting of craftsmen, teachers etc

The October Revolution and the establishment of the Comintern certainly helped to kindle the flames of revolution badly needed by the people of both countries. The Second World War definitely boosted the national liberation movement in China and Albania and indeed throughout the world. Both these countries were under the domination of totalitarian foreign powers which became involved in world war; this helped the communist parties in both countries to push for the total defeat of the Italian, German and Japanese occupiers.

When revolution did take place in China and Albania these were **peasant revolts** which unlike the October Revolution took the form of **guerilla** warfare by the peasant masses under the leadership of the intelligentsia. Many of the leaders of both revolutions were educated abroad, notably in France, Italy and the Soviet Union. Because of this the Comintern played a significant part in ensuring that the national liberation movements in both countries were led by Marxist-Leninists organised in the Communist Party.

The successes of the Red Army in the Second World War and the global defeat of Germany, Italy and Japan helped the national liberation wars in both China and Albania tremendously. As a result Albania was liberated by its own people on November 27th 1944. In China the People's Liberation Army continued its war against the forces of Chiang Kai-shek and the American army of intervention until final victory was achieved on October 1st 1949.

During our visit to Albania in 1989 the curator of the museum in Tirana informed us that "Liberated Albania in 1944 started from zero." He explained that there was no industry, no transport, roads or railways and indeed very little agriculture. Without the help of the Soviet Union and the newly established socialist camp Albania had no chance of building capitalism, let alone socialism in view of the fact that the Italian and German occupiers had left the country in ruins and that 90% of the population was illiterate. The situation in China was not very much different and famine and plague were common.

However the external conditions for the advance of both countries

were right. The Soviet Union even though itself battered by the war signed economic treaties with both China and Albania and socialist assistance became a reality. This together with the existence of a powerful, united international communist movement created the external conditions for the advance of both countries towards socialism, without the need for yet another bloody socialist revolution. At least that was the picture in both countries until Stalin died in 1953. Had these favourable conditions continued there would have been every chance for progress to socialism. But they did not.

Stalin says: "The dialectical method therefore holds that no phenomenon in nature can be understood if taken by itself, isolated from surrounding phenomena, inasmuch as any phenomenon in any realm of nature may become meaningless to us if it is not considered in connection with the surrounding conditions but divorced from them; and that, vice-versa, any phenomenon can be understood and explained if considered in its inseparable connection with surrounding phenomena, as one conditioned by surrounding phenomena." (Stalin: "Dialectical and Historical Materialism", p.5) and further he says: "Everything depends on the conditions, time and place. It is clear that without such a historical approach to social phenomena, the existence and development of the science of history is impossible...." (ibid: page 10) He then stresses: "Hence the practical activity of the party of the proletariat must not be based on the good wishes of **"outstanding individuals"**, not on the dictates of "reason", "Universal morals" etc, but on the laws of development of society and on the study of these laws". (ibid: page 17) He further stresses: "Hence, in order not to err in policy, in order not to find itself in the position of idle dreams, the party of the proletariat must not base its activities on abstract "principles of human reason" but on the concrete conditions of the material life of society as the determining force of social development; not on the good wishes of **"great men"** but on the real needs of development of the material life of society."

This scientific fact shows that "outstanding individuals" and "great men" such as Mao Tse-Tung and Enver Hoxha were inevitably overwhelmed by the counter-revolutionary tide of Khrushchev-Brezhnev revisionism which frustrated the development of the material life of society in both Albania and China. The scientific factors as presented above by Stalin resulted in the great leaders of China and Albania being frustrated in their desire to continue with the building of socialism in their own countries. Indeed these factors forced others such as Ramiz Alia, Mehmet Shehu, Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-Ping into abandoning any idea of socialism

and surrendering instead to the forces of revisionism, capitalism and imperialism. The new "surrounding phenomena" in Albania and China after the death of Stalin were such that no men no matter how great were able to alter them.

## The reaction to the 20th Congress of 1956

The counter-revolutionary events of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. stunned the leaders of both Albania and China to such an extent that for a long time they were unable to come to terms with this calamity. In fact the leaders of both countries initially accepted Khrushchev as a great Marxist. For instance as late as May 25th 1959 at Tirana airport Enver Hoxha welcomed Khrushchev with these words: "The Albanian people are extremely happy to receive an outstanding leader of the Soviet communist party and government, a great son of the Soviet people, a faithful pupil of the great Lenin, the most outstanding leader of the international communist and workers' movement, a great fighter for peace, a friend near to their hearts, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev." Without any reference to Stalin or to the 20th Congress Enver Hoxha concluded his speech by saying: "Long live the great Soviet Union and its glorious communist party! Long live the mighty socialist camp led by the Soviet Union! ..... May our dear friend Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev live as long as our mountains!" (Speech by Enver Hoxha, Tirana, May 25th 1959 translated and reported by David Floyd in "Mao against Khrushchev" page 260 - Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1964)

The Chinese communist party was equally stunned and went on hoping that everything was fine in the Soviet Union and that it was moving towards socialism. Even when the Chinese party in 1960 published its well known article "Long Live Leninism" it stated: "Lenin's ideals have been realised in the Soviet Union; socialism has long since been built and now, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government headed by Comrade Khrushchev, a great period of the extensive building of communism is already beginning." (Long Live Leninism, page 52, Peking, 16th April 1960) It further stressed: "Now the Soviet Union has entered the historical period of the extensive building of communism. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government headed by N.S. Khrushchev brilliant achievements have been scored in Soviet economic construction and Soviet science and technology have

advanced by leaps and bounds." (ibid, page 86)

In its letter of July 29th 1978 to the C.C. of the communist party of China the Party of Labour of Albania wrote, referring to the minutes of talks between the two parties on June 11th 1962: "During the Peking talks Teng Hsiao-Ping declared to the delegation of the Central Committee of our party: **"It is impossible for Khrushchev to change and become like Tito...As a socialist country the Soviet Union will never change."** (Letter of the Party of Labour and the Government of Albania to the C.C. of the Communist Party and the government of China: July 29th 1978, Tirana, pages 26, 27)

It is therefore quite clear that for three years neither the Chinese nor the Albanians were aware of the damage caused by the 20th Congress. Indeed they were confident up until 1959 or 1960 that Khrushchev was a great socialist leader moving forward in the building of communism.

Real conditions in the world, however, both in the Soviet Union and in the international communist movement, forced the two parties to rectify their position towards Khrushchev and the 20th Congress. Unfortunately neither party carried out a self criticism of their failure to analyse events nor of their having been duped by Khrushchev. Nor indeed did anyone else carry out such a self-criticism.

During Khrushchev's visit to Albania it became clear to the Albanian leaders that the unity and the solidarity of the socialist camp had been undermined. Unlike Stalin Khrushchev did not have the slightest concern for the well-being of Albania. He was in fact bringing pressure to bear on the Albanians by means of economic blackmail to force them to accept his new friendship with Tito as well as to agree to the establishment of a Soviet naval base on the Adriatic.

Enver Hoxha wanted Khrushchev to help Albania to develop its oil and metallurgical plants, but Khrushchev's reply was: "Enough of this; the truth is that you have made progress, but you are not satisfied. We gave you a credit last year and now you want another one. But we have a popular saying: 'Cut your coat according to your cloth.'" (Enver Hoxha, The Khrushchevites, Tirana, 1976, page 373)

Enver Hoxha goes on: "This was economic pressure which they exerted on us in order to force us to accept their views. But they broke their heads. Our party's resistance steadily increased, but still without burning the bridges. The Soviet revisionists also operated

prudently to avoid burning the bridges with us." (ibid page 380)

But in spite of the soft tactics being used by Albania Khrushchev continued his attempts to force Albania to follow his diktat. When he failed and when Enver Hoxha openly sided with China at the Bucharest meeting in 1960, the party and government relationship between Albania and the U.S.S.R. collapsed.

On August 7th 1959 frontier clashes broke out between China and India. On September 9th Tass issued a statement which indirectly put the blame on China., hinting that the Chinese were intending to increase international tension and damage the chance of possible coexistence between socialism and imperialism. The Chinese later declared that it was this statement by Tass which first revealed the Sino-Soviet dispute to the outside world.

According to Enver Hoxha these differences were revealed to them by Mikoyan in February 1960 (ibid page 387) and later in June 1960 in Beijing at a meeting of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions when the Chinese "opposed many theses of the report which was to be delivered, because in essence they were nothing but Khrushchev's revisionist theses on 'peaceful coexistence', war and peace, the seizure of power in a 'peaceful way', etc. (ibid page 391)

On August 13th 1960 Agence France Presse reported the departure of Soviet technicians and their families from China and in November 1960 at the Conference of 81 communist parties in Moscow Albania openly sided with China against Khrushchev's revisionism. According to an account given by the Belgian communist party delegation the Chinese and Albanian parties rejected the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and accused the Soviet party of "leading the majority of the communist parties along the road of capitulation to imperialism" and of having gone over to revisionism". The Albanians and the Chinese rejected Khrushchev's ideas on "peaceful coexistence" ("Drapeau Rouge" February 22nd 1962) The Soviet government then decided on economic punishment of Albania and according to Enver Hoxha the Soviets in 1961 "...suspended action on the signed contracts and agreements of every kind and later tore them up in Hitlerite style. They began to withdraw their experts, thinking that everything in our country would come to a standstill. But they were gravely mistaken.." (The Khrushchevites, page 452)

From then onwards the Albanians and the Chinese united against

Soviet modern revisionism which swept through the parties of Eastern Europe and through the international communist movement. Needless to say the Chinese replaced the Soviets in Albania and built up Albania's entire industry. Within a relatively short time Albania became industrialised and in spite of its small size started exporting oil, chrome and electricity.

Before going into the details on Sino-Albanian unity it is necessary to say something about the Albanian position as regards the world communist movement.

### Enver Hoxha's support to the Comintern, Dimitrov and others.

Describing the views of Khrushchev and other modern revisionists on the Comintern, Enver Hoxha states: "Their opinion, which was not expressed openly, but was implied, was in complete accord with the monstrous accusations of capitalism and the reactionary bourgeoisie throughout the world, that fought the proletariat and the new communist parties formed after the betrayal by social-democracy and the Second International."

"By means of the Comintern Lenin and later Stalin consolidated the communist and workers' parties against the bourgeoisie and the rising fascist dictatorship. The activity of the Comintern was positive and revolutionary" and "The true revolutionaries never forget that it was the Comintern which helped to set up and strengthen the communist parties after the betrayal by the Second International, just as they never forget that the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin was the country in which hundreds of revolutionaries found refuge to escape the reprisals of the bourgeoisie and fascism and carry on their activity." (ibid, pages 142, 143)

He goes on to stress:

"The decisions of the Comintern and Dimitrov's direction-giving speech in July 1935 have gone down in the history of the international communist movement as **major** documents which mobilised the peoples, and first of all the communists, to create the anti-fascist front and to organise themselves for armed struggle against Italian fascism, German Nazism and Japanese militarism. In this struggle the communists and their parties were in the forefront everywhere."

He then emphasises:

**"Therefore it is a crime to attack the great work of the Comintern and the Marxist-Leninist authority of Stalin.(ibid pages 143,144)**

Enver Hoxha points out:

**"It was Stalin himself ,who,on behalf of the executive committee of the Comintern announced the decision for the disbanding of the Comintern and the reason given was that no further need was felt for its existence. This stand was completely correct, because by that time the communist and workers' parties had become mature and militant, had been tempered in class battle and in the great war against fascism and had gained colossal experience."** (ibid p.145)

According to Enver Hoxha Khrushchev and Co. engineered the sudden death of at least three outstanding communist leaders in order to make sure that he would not be challenged at the 20th Congress.

Enver Hoxha writes: "Gottwald, an old friend and comrade of Stalin and Dimitrov, died suddenly. This grieved us, but also surprised us." He goes on: "Later came the equally unexpected death of Comrade Bierut, not to mention the earlier death of the great George Dimitrov. Dimitrov, Gottwald and Bierut all died in Moscow. What a coincidence! The three of them were comrades of the great Stalin!" (ibid,p.154)

Hoxha adds: "My opinion is that after Dimitrov the **Bulgarian party and state did not have any leader equal to Dimitrov or even to come anywhere near him from the point of view of his adherence to principle, breadth of ideological and political understanding and capacity as a leader.**" (ibid page 156)

All this goes to show how deeply Enver Hoxha was attached to the Comintern, to Stalin and to Dimitrov.

### **The Sino-Albanian alliance.**

From the time of the Bucharest meeting in 1960 a strong communist alliance was established between Albania and China. This continued and flourished up until 1978 i.e. two years after the death of Mao Tse-Tung in 1976.. To demonstrate the strength of this unity between the Albanian and Chinese parties, people and government I will rely mainly on Albanian publications, specifically:-

**1 - Reference 1:-** "Oppose Modern Revisionism and uphold Marxism-Leninism and the Unity of the International Communist Movement" which is a series of articles published between 1962 and October 1963 in "Zeri i Popullit" and later collected in 1964 by the "Naim Frasheri" state publishing enterprise, Tirana.

**2 - Reference 2:-** Letter of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour and the government of Albania to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the government of China, dated July 29th 1978 and published by the "8 Nentori" Publishing House, Tirana, 1978.

The first reference is a day to day account of what happened in the international communist movement and is a true record of the Albanian attitude towards China at the time the articles were written. The second reference, the letter, was written two years after the death of Mao and when the Chinese stopped economic aid and trade with Albania. Needless to say the Albanians were deeply upset by the Chinese action as it left Albania completely isolated from the rest of the world. Nevertheless the letter gives proof of Albania's adherence to its unity with China.

I will use other references to substantiate the facts of the matter.

### **Chinese aid to Albania.**

On February 3rd 1961 the Chinese government granted Albania a loan of 500 million (old) roubles (as reported by Xinhua News Agency) and on April 27th 1961 the same agency reported that the Chinese government had announced it would supply Albania with grain and foodstuffs and assist in a number of Albanian projects. On December 26th China and Albania agreed to set up a joint shipping company. "Zeri i Popullit" commented on January 8th 1963 as follows: (See reference 1 page 223)

To meet our needs for economic and cultural reconstruction our socialist country has received credits and all-round internationalist aid only from the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other countries of the socialist camp. And for this we are grateful to the fraternal peoples of these countries. Now, after the economic blockade set up in retaliation against our country by N. Khrushchev's group, our country continues

to receive internationalist help and credits from the People's Republic of China alone. These credits and aid are given to the People's Republic of Albania without interest and without conditions that would in any way prejudice the independence and sovereignty of the country or of the Party. This is due to the fact that both the Albanian Party of Labour and the Communist Party of China are Marxist-Leninist and entirely internationalist parties. Tendencies towards great-nation chauvinism and the way of forcing its views and its line on other parties and on other countries, are alien to the Communist Party of China. It stands firmly on the position of proletarian internationalism, it firmly defends the principles of equality, of independence and of comradely consultations in its relations with fraternal parties and fraternal socialist countries, and grants them all its internationalist aid and backing.

On October 4th 1963 the same Albanian newspaper stressed :

**"The unity of views, the mutual support and aid between the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania springs from their common purpose, from the firm struggle of principle which they waged in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, from the fight against modern revisionism and not from dictation or submission of one party to another..."**

Even when Chinese aid was withdrawn on July 7th 1978 the Albanians wrote in their letter of reply on July 29th as follows:

"Inspired by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Albanian people, their party and government have sincerely and consistently fought for the strengthening of friendship, fraternal cooperation and mutual aid between Albania and China. They have always highly appreciated China's aid to Albania, considering it an internationalist aid of the Chinese people, an aid serving the general cause of the revolution and socialism in the world, an aid coming from a country which was called socialist." (Letter of July 29th 1978, pages 4,5)

It goes on: ( See reference 2, page 5)

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operation and mutual aid between Albania and China. They have always highly appreciated China's aid to Albania, considering it an internationalist aid of the Chinese people, an aid serving the general cause of the revolution and socialism in the world, an aid coming from a country which was called socialist. Now, as in the past, the Albanian people, their Party and Government stick to their assessments of this aid and its role, among other external factors, in the development of our country.

Socialist Albania has never considered its friendship with the peoples of other countries a means of economic profit. At the same time, it has permitted nobody to consider economic aid and cooperation an investment whereby political and ideological views, which run counter to Marxism-Leninism and socialism, are dictated to, and imposed on, our country. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never sold out its principles, it has never traded on them.

When the Party of Labour of Albania defended the Communist Party of China from the attack of the Khrushchevite revisionists at the Bucharest and Moscow Meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960, it did so in full consciousness in order to defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and not to be given some factories and some tractors by China in return. When socialist Albania, for many years on end, defended the rights of People's China at the UNO against the US plot, it was not doing so for material interests, but for the defence of a just and principled cause.

Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, who rejected Khrushchev's revisionism, united at that time with both Albania and China and were fully aware that Albanian-Chinese unity was cemented by their common fight against modern revisionism, which renounced Stalin, renounced the dictatorship of the proletariat and appeased Tito's revisionism. This unity was to defeat Khrushchev's capitulation to imperialism, to counter his theories on peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition with imperialism and peaceful transition to socialism. Chinese-Albanian unity played the most significant role in exposing all the parties of Eastern Europe which had joined hands to attack Stalin, China, Albania and the Marxist-Leninists who supported them.

## The Sino-Indian Conflict.

When the Chinese-Indian frontier clashes were renewed after Khrushchev's Cuban climb down, the Albanians fully supported the Chinese against India. On December 6th 1962 "Zeri i Popullit" stated: "It was the American imperialists who brought about the crisis in the Caribbean Sea and the threat of aggression against Cuba. Encouraged

by the imperialists the Indian reactionaries launched their attacks on the Chinese border guards and again encouraged and assisted by them they are trying to widen the conflict with China by turning down the proposal of the People's Republic of China to settle the Sino-Indian conflict by peaceful methods. Wherever and whenever the situation deteriorates, wherever there is bloodshed in the world today, the imperialists, with the American imperialists at the head, are the cause." (See ref. 1, page 178)

In their defence of China against India Zeri i Popullit, a year after the event, on October 4th 1963, stated: (See reference 1, pages 375, 376)

Are we to consider the attitude of Khrushchev's group towards the Sino-Indian border conflict as "a major contribution to the cause of peace"? The question is that Khrushchev's group did not only take the side of the Indian reactionaries led by Nehru, against a socialist and a peace-loving country — the People's Republic of China, but they collaborate with the American, British, and other imperialists in supplying Nehru with modern weapons (rockets, fighter and transport aircraft, etc.) which are used for aggressive purposes against China. This is an open incitement to the Indian reactionaries for them to carry on aggressive acts against the People's Republic of China, a thing which aggravates the international situation and endangers peace in Asia. What is more, Khrushchev's group are trying to set the neutral countries of Asia against China by very base means. All this cannot be considered otherwise but as an open betrayal of the cause of socialism and peace.

Such are the facts.

It is, therefore, high time for all to firmly expose the entire demagoguery of the modern revisionists for peace, to tear off the mask they have put on themselves as "torch-bearers of peace". The line they proclaim so loudly as "the line of peace" is in reality the line that leads to war. The way to safeguard and consolidate peace is by no means that of submission and capitulation, that of pleading and flattering the imperialists, that of spreading all kinds of illusions about imperialism and its chiefs, that of unprincipled concessions and compromises, that of alienating the peoples from revolutions and national-liberation wars, that of splitting the socialist camp and the international communist movement, that of weakening the defensive power of the socialist countries and of

Thus even on a controversial subject such as the Sino-Indian conflict the Party of Labour of Albania was convinced that justice was on the side of China, the "peace-loving country" which was fighting, shoulder to shoulder with Albania against the Indian reactionaries, the Soviet modern revisionists and American and British imperialism.

### Modern Revisionism gangs up against Marxism-Leninism.

From the time of the Bucharest meeting onwards the modern revisionists in the Soviet Union ganged up with their stooges in the ruling parties of Eastern Europe and the revisionist parties throughout the world, forming a gangster clique to attack the Chinese and Albanian parties in order to silence them and force them into submission. On February 7th 1963 "Zeri i Popullit" stated: (See reference 1, page 241)

The Party of Labour of Albania has abided and continues to abide by the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declarations in all matters pertaining to present world developments, to the strategy and tactics of the international communist and workers movement. It is futile for the revisionists to try, as they have done and are doing, to misrepresent our correct stand in these matters and the struggle of principle which it wages in defense of the cause of the revolution, of peace and of socialism. Their intention is clear: by misrepresenting the correct attitude and struggle of our Party, of the Chinese Communist Party and of the other Marxist-Leninist parties, they want to sell their policy of unprincipled compromise and leniency towards imperialism, of fear, of capitulation and submission to it, their line of withdrawal from the revolutionary and national-liberation struggle of peoples, as a Marxist-Leninist line and to legalize revisionism and reformism in the international communist movement.

It went on: (See ref. 1, pages 249, 250, 251)



At the 6th Congress of the German United Socialist Party things went so far as to maintain an unseemly attitude towards, and organize a very shameful scandal having no precedence in the history of the international communist and workers movement against, the Delegate of the great Communist Party of China who was invited to that Congress, at the same time that the frantic foe of the communist movement, the Belgrade revisionist clique, was ardently supported and its representative was received with ovation. And this all happened because the Delegate of the Communist Party of China, on the basis of the 1960 Moscow Declaration, said the truth about the Yugoslav revisionists. Moreover, the representatives of certain other fraternal parties who uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism and express themselves against the Yugoslav revisionists, among whom was the representative of the Party of Labour of Korea, were altogether denied the right to address to the Congress.

How can such an insolent and hostile attitude be maintained towards a fraternal party like the Communist Party of China which has striven and strives heroically for the great cause of socialism and communism, which has wisely and courageously led and leads the great 700 millions of Chinese people from victory to victory, which loyally abides by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declarations, which firmly upholds the purity of the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat and the cause of the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp and of the international communist and workers movement, for the sake of a clique of renegades? It is clear to every Marxist-Leninist, to every honest man who seriously upholds the anti-imperialist line, it is very clear to all that to maintain a hostile attitude towards the glorious Communist Party of China, as the modern revisionists do—especially at these moments when world reaction with the American imperialists at the head, from Kennedy to the Indian reactionary circles and the social chauvinist traitors of the type of Dange and Company, are trying to set up a broad front against the People's Republic of China, against this powerful stronghold of the struggle against imperialism, the stronghold

of the liberation and socialist movement, when a frantic campaign of monstrous inventions and dangerous provocations and aggressive acts has been launched—means to join in the anti-Chinese reactionary chorus and to openly depart from proletarian internationalist solidarity.

These facts are very significant. They clearly demonstrate that those who undertake such acts join with those against whom they should join up and strengthen the solidarity against the imperialists and renegades for the triumph of the cause of socialism and communism. Those who follow this line actually wreck the unity of the international communist movement, for this unity can be preserved and strengthened not by joining up with the foes of socialism and communism like the Belgrade revisionists, but on the basis of the war against revisionism as the principal menace to the communist movement, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, of the Moscow Declarations.

Firm and zealous pursuance of the line of rehabilitating the Tito clique on the one hand, and the hue and cry about unity, about removing misunderstandings in the movement and about the preparations for the meeting of international communism, on the other, are two different things which are mutually exclusive. The question is posed thus: either with the renegades of Marxism, with the treacherous Tito clique against the Moscow Declarations and for the rupture of unity, or with the Moscow Declarations for exposing the activity of the Yugoslav revisionists and for the Marxist-Leninist unity of the movement.

It was clear that Khrushchev and his agents in the ruling parties of Eastern Europe were trying to bully the Chinese and Albanian parties. "Zeri i Popullit" decided to expose this plot and declared on February 7th 1963 (See ref. 1, pages 258, 259)

The leaders of certain fraternal parties, pursuing the example set by N. Khrushchev, adopted in their congresses too, the anti-Marxist practice of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by making extensive use of these platforms to launch insults and attacks not only against the Party of Labour of Albania, but also against the Communist Party of China, against the Party of Labour of Korea, against the unity of the

international communist movement itself. This was done at the Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, at those of Hungary, of Czechoslovakia, of Italy and of the German Democratic Republic. The tendency to exclude the Party of Labour of Albania from the international communist movement and the People's Republic of Albania from the socialist camp, towards which end the Soviet leaders and the leaders of certain other fraternal parties have long striven, was clearly manifested at these congresses and especially at the congress of the German United Socialist Party to which our country was not invited.

The Chinese party fully backed the Party of Labour of Albania and defended it on every occasion. Between 4th and 8th December 1962 the 12th Congress of the Czechoslovak party was held. Here again brutal attacks were made by First Secretary Novotny against China and Albania.

*December 4-8*

Twelfth Congress of Czechoslovak Communist Party in Prague. Referring to the Albanian Communist leaders, First Secretary Antonin Novotny said:

We cannot accept their conduct or the support they are given by the Chinese Communist Party.

*December 8*

The Chinese delegate Wu Hsiu-chuan handed Novotny a 'Statement' which was read to the Congress:

... It has been most unfortunate and contrary to our expectations that at your congress some comrades of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the comrades from some other fraternal parties have made use of the platform of this congress to continue attacking the Albanian Party of Labour and to deliver unbridled attacks on the Communist Party of China. A practice of this kind is not in conformity with the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, is not in the interest of the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the international communist movement, is not in the interest of the struggle against imperialism, is not in the interest of the struggle for world peace and is not in conformity with the fundamental interests of the people of the socialist countries. We cannot but express the deepest regret at such actions which are contrary to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. ...

Some people have glibly said that the Albanian Party of Labour made charges against some comrades of a certain fraternal party, and that the Albanian comrades are to blame for the distressing situation which exists today in the international communist movement. Going farther, they distort the facts and accuse the Albanian comrades of being 'anti-Soviet'. Why don't these people give a little thought to the question of who should be held responsible for such a situation? After all, who was the first to launch an attack at its own party congress

against another fraternal party, while the party attacked does not have even the right to reply? Is it possible that the launching of an attack on a fraternal party is to be called 'Marxist-Leninist' and conforming to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, but that the reply by the attacked party is to be branded as 'sectarianism', 'splittism', 'dogmatism' and a violation of the Moscow

Declaration and the Moscow Statement? If the replies of the Albanian comrades are to be called 'anti-Soviet', then, may we ask, what name should be given to those who first attacked the Albanian comrades and arbitrarily levelled a whole series of charges against them? On important questions like these, Marxist Leninists should distinguish between right and wrong and not distort the truth. We hold that the differences among fraternal parties can only be settled in accordance with the principles of independence, of equality and of unanimity through consultation, as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and by the party which made the first attack taking the initiative. Once again, we sincerely make this appeal. ...

We hold that the employment of a congress of one party to attack another party or parties and the recourse to such unusual manners as shouting and hissing can hardly prove that one is right and furthermore cannot be helpful in settling any problems.

Later the Chinese "People's Daily" on December 15th published an editorial which stated::

In the past month or so, the Eighth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Eighth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party, and the Twelfth Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party were held in Europe one after another. Unfortunately, the rostrums of these party congresses were used as platforms for attacking fraternal parties. This adverse current, which is disrupting unity and creating splits, reached a new high at the Italian and Czechoslovak Communist Party Congresses. Comrades of certain fraternal parties not only continued their attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour, but also openly attacked the Communist Party of China by name, and they even censured the Korean Workers' Party for disagreeing with the attacks on the Chinese Communist Party. This is an utterly outrageous violation of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement, which had been unanimously adopted by the Communist and Workers' parties of all countries. It is an event of the utmost gravity in the international Communist movement. ...

The erroneous practice of using the congress of one party to launch an attack on another fraternal party first emerged a year ago at the Twenty-second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Chinese Communist Party resolutely opposed this erroneous practice at that time. At that congress and subsequently too, the Chinese Communist Party made many earnest appeals to the fraternal parties having disagreements and differences to reunite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of respect for each other's independence and equality, and made the special point that the party which launched the first attack ought to take the initiative. However, it is to be regretted that this sincere effort on our part has not succeeded in preventing a continued deterioration in the situation. Instead of giving thought to changing this erroneous practice, the leaders of certain fraternal parties have intensified it and gone further along the road towards a split, and as a result this erroneous practice recently occurred at four successive congresses of fraternal parties in Europe.

On March 30th 1963 the Soviet party dispatched a letter to the Chinese party suggesting bilateral talks. The Albanian paper "Zeri i Popullit", on April 18, 1963, stated:

This letter treats, among other questions, the organization of bilateral talks between representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Party of China concerning the relations between the two Parties and the preliminary arrangements for an international meeting of the communist and workers' parties.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always expressed itself in favor of meetings, talks and comradely consultations on conditions of parity for the purpose of settling misunderstandings that arise among communist and workers' parties of different countries and in the ranks of the international communist movement as a whole.

Our Party is of the opinion that mutual exchange of views and the organization of bilateral meetings and talks is an internal affair of the parties concerned

On June 14th 1963 the Chinese sent a letter to the Soviets and on July 14th Pravda published an open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. addressed to party organisations in response to the Chinese letter.

On October 4th 1963 "Zeri i Popullit" published the Albanian reply to the open letter and stated: ( See reference 1, pages 357 to 360 and 365 )

- The open letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a general attack on the Communist Party of China and the other fraternal parties which defend Marxism-Leninism, it is a general attack on the revolutionary line of the international communist and workers' movement, on the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations. It is a collection of slanders and monstrous trumped-up charges made purposely to discredit the Communist Party of China and to aggravate the divergencies within the ranks of the international communist movement. It departs altogether from serious discussions of principle on these divergencies, makes no analysis of and gives no reasons for matters on which these divergencies have arisen, resorts to disgusting banalities and vulgarities and distorts in a monstrous way the correct Marxist-Leninist views and position of the Communist Party of China. It is full of foul invectives against and basest insults to the Communist Party of China and its leaders and the chauvinist spirit of the big state permeates it from top to bottom.

The whole core of divergencies between Khrushchev's group and the Communist Party of China, which in fact is a difference of principle between modern revisionism and revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, is reduced in the letter in a very vulgar and slanderous manner to the issue in which it is pretended that the Communist Party of China is in favor of a new world war and opposed to peaceful coexistence, whereas the Soviet leaders are in favor of peace and peaceful coexistence. The propaganda machine of the Soviet leaders and of those who follow him is raising a deafening noise to present Khrushchev as "a great champion of peace", etc.

But the indisputable facts of present-day life prove the contrary: they show that the Communist Party of China as well as all the Marxist parties, which Khrushchev and his group brand as warmongers, are the real fighters for the maintenance and effective strengthening of peace, whereas Khrushchev and his group, in spite of their loud clamour for peace and peaceful coexistence, are by their views and deeds seriously prejudicing the cause of peace and are facilitating the work of the imperialist aggressors in the preparation and launching of wars.

#### A "NEW" THEORY: THE DANGER OF WAR COMES FROM THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES (! ?)

The Communist Party of China as well as the other fraternal parties which firmly uphold the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism and oppose Khrushchev's revisionist line of action, are reproached for being allegedly in favor of spreading socialism through a nuclear war which would destroy hundreds of millions of people, for being presumably in favor of the armaments race and opposed to peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems and so on. "The Chinese comrades openly ignore and belittle the whole danger of nuclear warfare," the open letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has it. "Certain Chinese leaders holding positions of responsibility have expressed themselves likewise in favor of the possibility of sacrificing hundreds of millions in war," it adds, and continues: "We would like to ask the Chinese comrades who propose to build the beautiful future on the ruins of the old world, on the dead of the nuclear war: did they consult, on this issue, the working class of countries where imperialism is in power?"

It is not the first time that Khrushchev's group make a charge of this kind against Marxist-Leninist parties.

All these Albanian statements prove that the unity between Albania and China was solid and the two parties were united against Khrushchev's revisionism. There is no shadow of doubt that the Albanians fully supported their Chinese comrades on every aspect of Marxism-Leninism. At that time Marxist-Leninists throughout the world were guided by these two parties against the slanders being spread by the modern revisionists. It was a memorable and inspiring struggle in the battle against Khrushchev's revisionism and against imperialism.

### **The Cultural Revolution and the thoughts of Mao.**

At no time did the Chinese announce the end of the "Great Leap Forward" or admit to its failure. It was quietly forgotten in 1959 when the Chinese people, party and government had to face up to the consequences of a major disaster which culminated in the withdrawal of Soviet aid. Thousands of major contracts were cancelled, many of which were left unfinished and all Soviet blueprints, technicians, engineers and experts were removed. Contracts which were abandoned included the seven kilometre long Yangste River bridge, major dams, electricity and steel plants and all military and weapons manufacturing projects. Sino-Soviet trade abruptly came to a halt; Soviet oil deliveries were stopped and unemployment resulted. This caused panic in the top leadership. Recriminations led to the removal of Mao Tse-Tung from the chairmanship of the republic and his replacement by Liu Shao-Chi. While Mao was kicked upstairs and given the post of chairman of the party, the party itself was under the control of the General Secretary Teng Hsiao-Ping.

This disaster took place while the Vietnam war was being escalated by the U.S. imperialists and the Macnamara plan for the containment of China isolated the Chinese from the outside world. The situation was worsened when the Sino-Soviet border dispute resulted in military clashes. This meant the Chinese had to exert every effort not on solving their new and acute economic problems but on the development of military equipment, including the nuclear bomb, sending their armies to the Soviet and Vietnamese borders and digging tunnels in every city. One such reinforced concrete tunnel which I visited in Peking in 1974 was 36 kilometres long and was equipped with shops, hotels, restaurants and power stations.

Still worse was that in 1962 and 1963 China suffered from two acute

droughts which ended in exceptionally poor harvests. Famine became a reality of life and the socialist dream was turning into a nightmare. Instead of building socialism all the objective and subjective conditions imposed a return to capitalism. Indeed Liu Shao-Shi and Teng Hsiao-Ping resorted to bureaucratic government and party directives, which encouraged capitalist and private individualist manufacturing and farming. Every effort had to be made to save China from total collapse.

At this point splits began to develop among the leadership of the Chinese government and party. According to Han Suyin ("Wind in the Tower", page 252) it was in September 1962 "that Mao was planning the cultural revolution" and "in January 1965 Mao came to the conclusion that he could no longer go working with Liu Shao-Chi" (page 260) This split was reported to the National People's Congress in December 1964 by Chou En-Lai." In January 1965 also Mao placed before the Politburo a draft program for the cultural revolution to come and a draft program for China's economic advance." (page 260) This was "to keep China from changing colour, to stop any chance of capitalist restoration in China" (page 261) "Where mistakes had been very serious, where leadership had been taken over by counter-revolutionaries or degenerate elements, there must be a seizure of power, to be achieved with the masses and by arousing them." (page 261) "For it was now clear to Mao that he could no longer use the party organisation, because the party was being used organisationally against him." (page 262) The central committee was indeed dominated by an "anti-Mao" majority. Mao's real power was not in the Party but in the army because "The focus of power in military affairs resided in the Military Affairs Committee...The Party Chairman, Mao Tse-Tung, was also chairman of the Military Affairs Committee." (page 263) In 1959 Lin Piao became Minister of Defence replacing Peng Teh-Huai. "While the Party constitution of 1956 had written out Mao Tse -Tung's thought, the P.L.A. from 1960 onwards wrote Mao Tse -Tung Thought into its curriculum as a compulsory course." (page 264) "In mid 1964 a committee in charge of the cultural revolution was formed. It was headed by Peng Chen, Mayor of Peking" (page 279) who happened to be a supporter of Liu Shao-Chi and Teng Hsiao-Ping. In other words the cultural revolution misfired from the start. This was an objective reality because "The Peking Municipal Party Committee was solidly pro Liu." (page 305) At the January 1965 meetings of the Central Committee, Politburo and the enlarged work conference Mao said: "If revisionism appears at the centre, what will you do about it? There is the possibility and it is a real danger." (page 305) By mid

1966 the struggle between the two factions was in full swing and in May Peng Chen was dismissed. Mao together with Lin Piao and Chou En-Lai became the leaders of the cultural revolution. . But the struggle intensified and ended in widespread violent clashes between two opposing camps, both claiming to support Mao. In the Central Committee meeting of May 1966 Lin Piao was already Vice-Chairman of the party, but Mao "was in a minority and the first task was to get rid of the 'capitalist-roaders in the Party'. " (pages 317,318)

Throughout the period of the cultural revolution, the Party of Labour of Albania supported it enthusiastically. Even in its last letter of July 29th 1978 the Albanian Party and government stated: "When the Party of Labour of Albania and the working class supported the strategic aims of the cultural revolution in China, they were not doing so for the sake of compensation but out of their will to assist the working class, the communists and the people of China to save their country from the capitalist elements who had usurped power in China."" (Albanian letter, pages 5& 6) The Albanians did not criticise themselves for taking this stand, even although they later, in 1979 went against the cultural revolution.

The same Albanian letter of July 1978 goes on to state: (See pages 34 to 37 of ref 2 )

Our Party supported the Cultural Revolution at the personal request of Mao Tsetung, who declared to our Party that China was facing a colossal danger, and that no one knew who would win in China, the socialist forces or the revisionists (From minutes of the talk with the delegation of the Albanian Party and Government, May 1966). The Party of Labour of Albania assisted China at a very critical moment, when it was going through great upheavals and was being savagely attacked by the united imperialist-revisionist front. It supported the general line of the Cultural Revolution for the liquidation of the capitalist and revisionist elements who had usurped key positions in the Party and state power, though it did not agree over many questions of principle and methods which guided this revolution and were used in it. By supporting the Cultural Revolution, our Party nurtured the hope that it would find the road of true revolutionary struggle, led by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party. The entire period of the great Cultural Revolution was a very difficult period for socialism in China, it created a complicated and chaotic si-

tuation. This situation was the logical outcome of the factional and unprincipled struggle which took place within the ranks of the Communist Party of China during the time of the struggle for the carrying out of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and after 1949, around the road which China would follow for the further development of the revolution.

The great ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Marxist-Leninist ideology were not properly made the example for, the pillar and the compass of, the Communist Party of China in the concrete conditions of its country. This accounts for the fact that the Marxist-Leninist nucleus of the Party slipped into dangerous eclecticism, which gave rise to a chaos of unbridled struggle for power between factions, persons and groups holding various non-Marxist-Leninist views, something which seriously hampered the laying of the foundations of socialism in China. This political-ideological and organizational chaos in the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state enabled capitalist and revisionist elements to seize key positions in the Party, in the state power and in the army. In these conditions, the Cultural Revolution, inspired and led by Mao Tsetung personally, broke out.

The Party of Labour of Albania supported the general strategy of the Cultural Revolution. But we want to stress that our Party supported the strategy of this revolution and not all its tactics, it defended with determination the cause of socialism in China, defended the fraternal Chinese people, the Communist Party of China and the revolution, it did not defend at all the factionalist struggle of the anti-Marxist groups, whoever clashed and wrangled with each other, resorting even to arms, overtly or covertly, in order to retake state power.

The Cultural Revolution, more often than not, preserved the spirit and actions of an unprincipled struggle, which was not led by a genuine party of the working class which should strive for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, these clashes among factionalist groups ended in the establishment in China of a state power dominated by bourgeois and revisionist elements.

The present Chinese leadership wanted and wants the Party of Labour of Albania to denounce the Cultural Revolution according to the will and the reasons of the Chinese leadership. The Party of Labour of Albania will never accept such a dictate. Together with all the world revolutionaries it is expecting the Communist Party of China to make the true analysis of this Cultural Revolution, to have the courage to state the truth on the ideas which guided

this revolution, the groups and people who carried out and led it, on those against whom this revolution was directed, and to assume clear-cut stands on these questions. To this day, the leadership of the Communist Party of China has not done such a thing, because it is afraid of facts, events and their true Marxist-Leninist interpretation.

In 1967 "An editorial in "Liberation Army Daily" on August 12th extolled Lin Piao and said that the eleventh plenum 'confirmed Comrade Lin Piao as the closest comrade in arms, best pupil of Chairman Mao and the deputy supreme commander of the party' 'It is the greatest happiness of the people, the Party and the nation that the meeting confirmed Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as Chairman Mao's successor.'" (Han Suyin page 362)

Furthermore in April 1969 the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China officially designated Lin Piao as Mao's successor and "his succession was even written into Party statutes." (ibid, page 366)

An editorial by "Renmin Ribao", "Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao", which was published in Peking Review on June 13th 1969 stated:

"The congress was convened after ample conditions had been prepared for it politically, ideologically and organisationally. It has successfully carried out Chairman Mao's call to make it "a congress of unity and a congress of victory." It elected the new central committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader. And the new constitution of the Party clearly reaffirms that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the Party's thinking and clearly stipulates that Comrade Lin Piao is the successor to Chairman Mao."

The Communist Party of China has nowhere criticised itself for drafting this constitution or for electing Lin Piao as Mao's successor.

On April 29th 1969 Enver Hoxha as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour sent a very strong message congratulating the Ninth Congress of the Chinese party. The full text reads: (See Peking Review No 19, May 5th 1969 )

Peking

The Central Committee of the Communist  
Party of China,

Comrade Mao Tsetung,

Dear Comrades:

Allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, of the Albanian Communists and the whole Albanian people, who followed with indescribable enthusiasm and great attention the proceedings of the Ninth National Congress of the fraternal Communist Party of China, to express to you the most cordial revolutionary congratulations on the full success of the Ninth National Congress of your glorious Party and on the historic decisions it adopted.

The Ninth Congress marks a brilliant page in the long history of the great Communist Party of China, which is full of heroic and legendary struggles. It affirmed the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line of Chairman Mao and the decisive victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It firmly held and raised higher the red banner of revolution and socialism. It further strengthened and tempered the Party, its unity of thought and action on the basis of the invincible thought of the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tsetung.

The programmatic documents, Chairman Mao's speeches, the political report by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, and the new Party Constitution, which were unanimously approved at the congress, have opened brilliant prospects for the Chinese Communist Party and the 700 million Chinese people to achieve greater new victories throughout the country, to carry the revolution through to the end, to advance at a faster speed in the building of socialism and communism in China.

We are exceptionally glad that the historic Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China unanimously elected, in an ardent revolutionary atmos-

May 5, 1969

where, the Party leadership with Comrade Mao Tsetung, the founder and great leader of the Communist Party of China, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist and the strategist of genius of revolution, as its leader, and with his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao as its deputy leader. We heartily greet the new Central Committee elected by the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China. This Central Committee is made up of revolutionaries tested in fierce class battles and in the flames of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and boundlessly faithful to Chairman Mao Tsetung and to his invincible thought.

The Albanian Communists and people, who are with the Chinese Communists and people, and all other Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries in the world, see in the decisions of the Ninth National Congress of your glorious Party the great guarantee that the Communist Party of China will always hold high the inflexible banner of Marxism-Leninism, of socialism and proletarian internationalism, will further consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and will make great People's China a still more powerful fortress and prop of the liberation struggle of the peoples and of the world revolution.

The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, a congress of proletarian unity and of victory over the traitorous, revisionist and counter-revolutionary line of the renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, marks a new stage not only in the carrying out of socialist revolution and socialist construction in China, but also in the fight for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism, of socialism over capitalism and of revolution over counter-revolution in the world. This is why the hearts and eyes of the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries of the whole world were directed in these days towards your great congress, this is why their hearts are filled with joy at this great historic event. The solemn declaration of the congress that "the Communist Party of China, nurtured by the great leader Chairman Mao, always upholds proletarian in-

ternationalism and firmly supports the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations of the whole world" inspires all the Communists and revolutionary peoples and gives them strength and courage to broaden and push forward incessantly their struggle against imperialism led by U.S. imperialism, against modern revisionism led by Soviet revisionism, and against all the reactionaries, in order to create a new world without capitalism, without imperialism, without oppressors and exploiters.

The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China dealt a fresh crushing blow to the Soviet Khrushchovite revisionists, to these renegades to the great Lenin-Stalin cause, who have transformed themselves into social-imperialists and social-fascists and who are in a close counter-revolutionary alliance with the U.S. imperialists, the most ferocious enemies of the peoples. The imperialist-revisionist aggressive plans against great socialist China and the freedom-loving peoples of the world will fail ignominiously, and the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists will be completely and definitely smashed. There is no force on earth that can stop the victorious march of the People's Republic of China. There is no force on earth that can stop the victorious march of revolution. There is no force on earth that can save the imperialists and the revisionists from their thorough defeat. The revolutionary cause of the peoples will surely triumph.

The Albanian Communists and people who are bound by an unbreakable friendship with the Chinese Communists and people, immeasurably rejoice at the great victory of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China and they regard it as their own victory. Our hearts throb as one. We are inseparable brothers and comrades-in-arms. Our unity is steel-like. The Ninth National Congress of your heroic Party will certainly strengthen still more the great friendship and solidarity between our two Parties and countries, it will further enhance our common struggle for the triumph of the great cause of Marxism-Leninism and of the liberation of the peoples.

The Albanian Party of Labour and the entire Albanian people wholeheartedly wish that the Communist Party of China and the great Chinese people, armed with all-conquering Mao Tsetung Thought and under the wise and far-sighted Marxist-Leninist leadership of Mao Tsetung, will achieve new and ever greater

successes and victories on the bright road of socialism established by the Ninth National Party Congress.

Long live the great and glorious Communist Party of China!

May Chairman Mao, great leader, great Marxist-Leninist and the closest friend of the Albanian people, live as long as the mountains!

May the unbreakable friendship and militant unity between our two Parties and peoples last for ever and grow with each passing day!

**Enver Hoxha**

First Secretary of the Central Committee  
of the Albanian Party of Labour

April 29, 1969, Tirana

Enver Hoxha and the Albanian Party of Labour did not carry out a self-criticism for upholding **"the invincible thought of the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tse-Tung."** Nor did they criticise themselves for having considered the new Chinese party constitution unanimously approved at the Congress as having "opened brilliant prospects for the Chinese party and the 700 million Chinese people..." nor that **"the Central Committee is made up of revolutionaries tested in fierce class battle and in the flames of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and boundlessly faithful to Chairman Mao Tse-Tung and to his invincible thought."**

It was clear that Mao and Lin Piao had the upper hand at the Ninth Congress. However objective conditions in China had altered drastically and these two "great men" were unable to change things. In fact it was U.S. imperialism and Teng Hsiao-Ping's faction that imposed themselves on events in China. This happened in spite of the will or the wishes of the "great helmsman". For in spite of the "happiness of the people, the party and the nation" Lin Piao was soon to be disgraced as a "traitor" and all of a sudden people, party and nation were obliged to change course. All of a sudden Edgar Snow arrived in Peking with the full approval of President Nixon. Until then the main slogan of the cultural revolution was **"Peoples of the world**

**unite to defeat U.S. imperialism and its running dogs."** Now the top leadership of the Chinese party were split on their attitude to American imperialism. In September 1970 the Lushan conference was held for several days. Lin Piao opposed the faction which insisted that China should change its policy towards U.S. imperialism and he lost. Han Suyin reports (page 397):

"There was also (again) a dispute on external policies. In December 1970 the change in American policy towards the People's Republic of China was clear and Mao in his interview with Edgar Snow had invited President Nixon to Peking. But at the conference held by the Politburo to discuss the matter Lin Piao objected, contending that **'imperialism will never lay down the butcher knife.'**"

The struggle in the top leadership lasted for nine months and ended on September 12th 1971 when all aeroplanes in China were grounded for three days i.e. **September 12th, 13th and 14th.** Han Suyin reports (page 400): "In Tsunyi in Kweichow province at the historical museum, on the contrary, the cult of Lin Piao was still profound, though it was **September 14th.** The museum had not yet been informed of Lin Piao's death which had occurred the previous day."

Thus when all planes were grounded on **September 13th** Lin Piao was already dead! Clearly he must have died on the ground in China and not in the air as reported, since **no planes were flying on that day.**

Soon - without any unanimous decision by a congress of the party - Lin Piao was denounced as a "swindler"; the "happiness of the people, the party and the nation" was no more; and Teng Hsiao-Ping, that leading party member in authority who had taken the capitalist road, was back in the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

In its letter of July 29th 1978 the Albanian party states: ( See pages 40 to 44 of reference 2 )



others, so that the latter would follow its strategy and tactics.

The events that were taking place revealed ever more clearly that the political and ideological struggle of the Communist Party of China against the Khrushchevites did not proceed from a sound basis, in reality, its aim was not to defend Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and the liberation of peoples. It was waged simply for pragmatic ends and selfish interests. This became evident in the radical change of the Chinese strategy, to which Nixon's visit to Peking officially set the seal.

In the summer of 1971, Albania, considered the closest ally of China, learned from foreign news agencies the report spread all over the world that Kissinger had paid a secret visit to Peking. Negotiations, which marked a radical change in the Chinese policy, had been held with Kissinger. As in other cases, this time too, though the question was about a major political turn, a change in the strategic line, the Communist Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China did not deem it necessary to hold preliminary talks with the Party of Labour and the Government of Albania, too, to see what their opinion was. The Chinese leadership put others before an accomplished fact, thinking they had to obey it without a word.

It was clear to our Party that Nixon's visit to Peking was not an upgrading of the talks that were going on till then in Warsaw between the Chinese and US ambassadors, that it was not made to promote "people's diplomacy" and to pave the road to contacts with the American people, as the Chinese leaders claimed. Nixon's visit to Peking was laying the foundations of a new policy on the part of China.

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approved by, the peoples, the revolutionaries and the communists of various countries.

"... Welcoming Nixon to China, who is known as a frenzied anti-communist, an aggressor and blackest US reaction, as a representative of will have negative consequences for the revolutionary movement and our cause.

Nixon's going to China and his talks there cannot fail to arouse harmful illusions among the rank-and-file, the peoples and the revolutionaries, about US imperialism, its strategy and policy.

"... Talks with Nixon provide the revisionists with weapons to negate the entire great struggle and polemics of the Communist Party of China to expose the Soviet renegades as allies and collaborators of US imperialism, and to put on a par China's stand towards US imperialism and the treacherous line of collusion pursued by the Soviet revisionists towards it. This enables the Khrushchevite revisionists to flaunt their banner of false anti-imperialism even more ostentatiously and to step up their demagogical and deceitful propaganda in order to bring the anti-imperialist forces round to themselves.

"... The visit of the US President to China will give rise to doubts and misunderstandings among the rank-and-file who may suspect that China is changing its stand towards US imperialism and involving itself in the game of the superpowers.

"... Our strategy calls for close alliance with the peoples fighting all over the world, with all the revolutionaries, on a joint front against imperialism and socialimperialism, and never for an alliance with Soviet socialimperialism allegedly against US imperialism, never for an alliance with

With Nixon's visit, China joined the dance of imperialist alliances and rivalries for the redivision of the world, where China, too, would have its own share. This visit paved the road to its rapprochement and collaboration with US imperialism and its allies. At the same time, the inauguration of the alliance with the United States of America also marked the abandoning on the part of the Chinese leadership of the genuine socialist countries, the Marxist-Leninist movement, the revolution and the national-liberation struggle of the peoples.

This alliance and meeting in Peking, between the Chinese leadership and the American President Nixon, were taking place at a time when the US was waging its predatory imperialist war in heroic Vietnam, when it was using all its most up-to-date means of war, except for the A-bomb, to kill the fraternal heroic Vietnamese people and to reduce Vietnam to ashes. This monstrous alliance and the Sino-US contacts were condemnable acts of disastrous consequences for the peoples.

Therefore, in view of this dangerous turn in the foreign policy of China, on August 6, 1971, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania sent a long letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, stressing in no uncertain terms that it was against this turn of China, which ran counter to the interests of People's China itself, the revolution and socialism. The letter reads in part:

"... We regard your decision to welcome Nixon in Peking as incorrect and undesirable, we do not approve of, nor do we support, it. We also hold the view that Nixon's announced visit to China will be inconceivable to, and will not be

US imperialism allegedly against Soviet socialimperialism."

In conclusion, the letter points out that "the line and attitudes of the Party of Labour of Albania will always remain principled, consistent, unchanging. We will combat US imperialism and Soviet revisionism uncompromisingly and consistently". The letter expressed the hope that the remarks the Party of Labour of Albania made to a sister party "would be taken up in a cordially spirit and understood correctly".

The Chinese leadership adopted its usual stand also towards this letter. It did not deign to give any answer. By so doing, it betrayed not only big state megalomania but also its fear to face the correct and principled Marxist-Leninist arguments of our Party. It is a fact that two months after our letter, the 6th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania was held. That was a good occasion to exchange views with the Chinese delegation invited to the Congress and to clarify each other's positions. But in this case, too, the Chinese leadership, consistent on its road of refusing consultations and the settling of disagreements through talks, adopted a stand in contravention of all practice and international relations between sister parties. It concocted some absurd excuses for its failure to send a delegation to the Congress of our Party. Practically, the Communist Party of China has ever since reduced contacts with our Party, turning relations between the two parties into a purely formal relationship.

The change of China's strategy has come about as a result of an internal struggle within its Communist Party where deep contradictions existed, "a hundred flowers blossomed and a hundred schools contended", where there were pro-Khrush-

chevites, pro-Americans, opportunists and revolutionaries in the leadership. This accounts for the successive changes in the political line of the Communist Party of China, its vacillating, opportunist, and contradictory attitudes towards US imperialism, modern revisionism and international reaction. The axis of the Chinese policy has changed three times over ten years, from 1962 to 1972. First, the Communist Party of China abided by the strategic formula of a «united front with the Soviet and other revisionists against US imperialism and its allies». Later on, the Communist Party of China came forward with the slogan of a «very broad united front of the proletariat and the revolutionary peoples of all countries against US imperialism, Soviet revisionism and reaction of various countries». After Nixon's visit to China, the Chinese strategy again speaks of a «broad united front», but this time it includes «all those who can be united», incorporating in it even the United States of America against Soviet socialimperialism.

In 1974 when I visited China Chou En-Lai was very ill in hospital, Mao was out of the way in Hanchow meeting Madam Marcos and other capitalist dignitaries like the Queen of Iran and Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and Teng Hsiao-Ping's "Three Worlds" speech was being widely distributed. I was first given the speech in the Chinese Embassy in London to read on the plane, a second copy was awaiting me in my hotel bedroom in Peking and a third one was handed to me on my arrival in a smart restaurant in Kantong where I was a guest at a banquet!

On September 9th 1976 Mao Tse-Tung died. On the same day the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, the Praesidium of the Albanian People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers sent a joint message of condolences to the Communist Party of China, the National People's Congress and the State Council. The message read as follows:

"With deep sorrow we learned the sad news that on September 9th the heart of our **beloved comrade Mao Tse-Tung**, the founder of the Communist Party of China, the **great leader** of the fraternal Chinese people, the **Marxist-Leninist** an **unflinching proletarian revolutionary**, the **great and beloved friend** of the Albanian people, stopped beating."

The message goes on:

"Death has taken Comrade Mao Tse-Tung from the Party and people from his comrades-in-arms and the Marxist-Leninists in the world **but his memory and work will remain immortal.**"

"**Armed with the Marxist-Leninist thought of Chairman Mao Tsetung** and always loyally adhering to his revolutionary teaching the Chinese communists and multi-million Chinese people have always come out victorious from every storm..."

"**Comrade Mao Tse-Tung was an outstanding thinker and theoretician of Marxism-Leninism who continued the brilliant work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin....He personally led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution** and directed the struggle smashing the counter-revolutionary revisionist traitor groups of Lin Shao-Chi, Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-Ping and other enemies of the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China.

"**As a great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao-Tse Tung** waged a resolute struggle against the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, led the Khrushchevite revisionists."

"The Albanian communists and the Albanian people keep for ever in their hearts and minds the memory of Comrade Mao Tse-Tung, the most beloved and respected friend, the architect of the revolutionary fraternal friendship and the unbreakable unity between our two parties, two peoples and two countries. **They will never forget the great love and respect that Comrade Mao-Tse Tung cherished for our people and party....**" (Peking Review, September 24th 1976)

Even when China under the leadership of Teng Hsiao-Ping stopped aid to Albania in July 1978, the Albanian reply of July 29th 1978 stated: (See reference 2, pages 50 to 52)

This was evident especially after the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, when the Chinese leadership, breaking every norm of relations between sister parties, hurried to attack the 7th Congress of our Party, under the pretence that it had allegedly attacked China, the Communist Party of China and Mao Tsetung.

The accusation of the Chinese leadership is groundless. For this suffice it to read the documents of the 7th Congress, which are all made public. It is not difficult for anyone to see that it contains no attacks either against China, or against the Communist Party of China or Mao Tsetung. The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania has asked the Central Committee of the

Communist Party of China through a letter dated December 24, 1976, to indicate when and where our Party has attacked the Communist Party of China and Mao Tsetung. To this day the Chinese leadership, as usually, has given no reply.

The present Chinese leadership wanted the Party of Labour of Albania to support its acts with regard to the changes made at the head of the Communist Party of China. As we did not do it, it comes to the conclusion that we are partisans of Lin Piao and "the gang of four". It is wrong in both aspects, and this is one of the unavowed major political, ideological reasons which have urged the Chinese leadership to cease aid to Albania. The present Chinese leadership has wanted our Party to support its illegal and non-Marxist-Leninist activity to seize state power in China. Our Party has not fulfilled and will never fulfil this desire of the Chinese leadership. The Party of Labour of Albania never tramples on the Marxist-Leninist principles, and has never been, nor will it ever be anybody's tool.

All this proves that the Albanian Party of Labour continued for two years after Mao's death to respect and praise him for his contribution to Marxism-Leninism and for his leadership in the Cultural Revolution.

In 1979, however, two volumes by Enver Hoxha called "Reflections on China" were published. Volume Two which was produced in Toronto contains statements which are contrary to the views which were held previously by the Albanians from 1952 to 1978. In "Reflections on China" Mao is described as an "opportunist", a "rightist reactionary" and "not a Marxist-Leninist but an eclectic and a bourgeois democrat" and that "China is pursuing a certain policy, a certain ideology which is based on a non-Marxist theory which is called Mao Tse-Tung Thought" and further "...the myth of Mao Tse-Tung, that myth which described him as a 'great Marxist-Leninist', had and has to be exploded."

Needless to say dialectics teach us that everything changes and using Stalin's words even "outstanding individuals" and "great men" like Mao Tse-Tung and Enver Hoxha also change, so do China and Albania, but "not on the dictates of reason" or of "universal morals" but "on the laws of development of society". (Stalin, page 17)

Nevertheless Marxist-Leninists should remember that the great alliance between China and Albania was the light which guided the struggle against Soviet revisionism. This was proved in 1959/1960 with the publication inside the Soviet Union of the "Program and Principles of the Revolutionary Soviet Communists (Bolsheviks)". In their booklet (reproduced in 1979 by Workers Press, Chicago) they say: "The moment when the first blow, whatever its form, was directed against the Soviet opportunists was a great historical event, an event of revolutionary heroism. The peoples of China and Albania, who have passed through a most difficult test in this regard, have earned the most profound gratitude and admiration of the world proletariat."

They further say: "He who wants to fight can do nothing without the leader. And since Stalin is not alive today, we will fight in the ranks led by Mao Tse-Tung and Enver Hoxha."



