

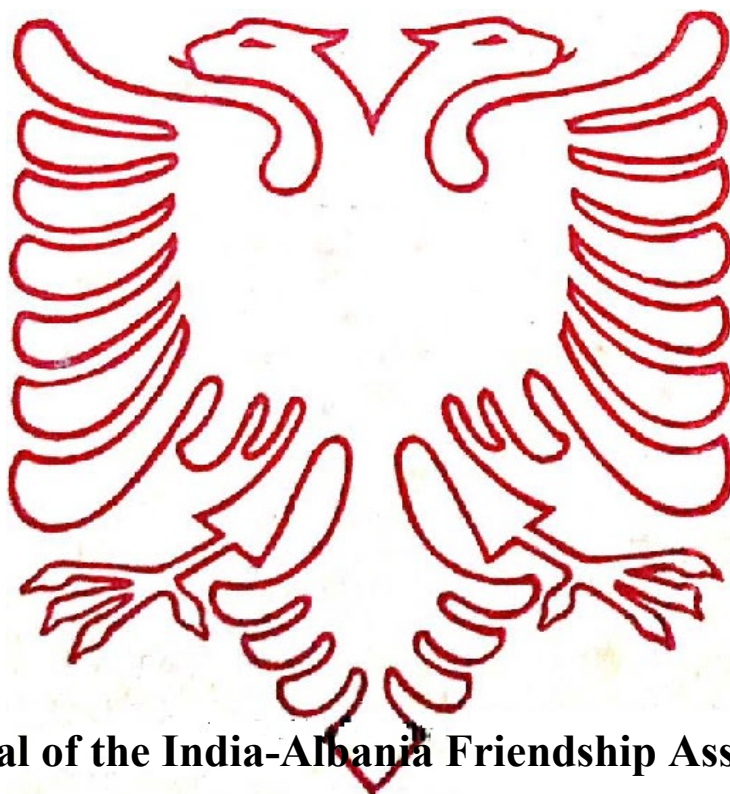
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Reflections on China

New Book by Enver Hoxha Released

The first volume of the book *Reflections on China*, which contains extracts from the political diary of Comrade Enver Hoxha, came off the press and was put on sale recently. This volume and another one following it were published for the first time and were distributed within the Party in January 1978. Now the first volume, which covers the period from 1962-1972, is made available to the public.

Reflections on China has been recorded from day to day, when the facts and events have taken place or when they have become known. These reflections go far beyond the limits of an ordinary diary. They constitute a profound Marxist-Leninist scientific analysis of the most important questions of the time. The new book by Comrade Enver Hoxha, fruit of many years of long work, is another proof of the irreconcilable principled struggle the Party of Labour of Albania has waged in defence of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism of all trends. As the author frequently stresses, the Chinese leadership intentionally avoided the granting of any accurate and concrete information on the development of events in China on the work of the Chinese party and state, on the internal and external policies of China. Under these circumstances, it was not easy to draw correct conclusions. Proceeding from separate facts gathered from various sources, Comrade Enver Hoxha makes the dialectical connections and on this basis draws the conclusions the correctness of which has been confirmed by time.

Beginning with the first reflection dated April 3, 1862, and ending with the latest reflections, in the magnificent work, Comrade Enver Hoxha provides a full picture of the profoundly opportunist line, the unexpected and conjunctural turns, the waverings and stands at times, the appliance of tactics from anti-Marxist and national chauvinist positions, which characterized the leadership of the Communist party of China with Mao Zedong at the head, both in the great confrontation against modern revisionism, the Khrushchovite revisionists in particular, and with regard to the other problems of the internal and external policies of the Chinese party and state. From the step-by-step analysis of the events and the stands of the Communist Party of China towards them, Comrade Enver Hoxha arrives at the conclusion that though this party described itself as anti-revisionist, – in reality it was marked by modern revisionism, that all its lines were thoroughly revisionist. In the numerous reflections-on the questions of the international revolutionary communist movement, Comrade Enver Hoxha thoroughly attacks and exposes the contemptuous, disruptive and nationalist stands of the Chinese leadership towards the new Marxist-Leninist groups and parties, as well as its later efforts to use some of them for its own counter-revolutionary chauvinist aims. At the same time, these reflections forcefully express the all-round support and backing the Party of Labour of Albania is giving to the genuine Marxist-Leninist groups and parties considering this as its great internationalist duty.

With the facts, the events and the deep-going and all round Marxist-Leninist analysis in *Reflections on China*, the reader better acquaints himself with the causes and reasons why from 1962 even to the present day, the axis of the Chinese policy has radically changed three times—how this policy from completely being isolated, closed and non-aligned was unexpectedly turned into a complete opening towards agreements and relations with imperialist and revisionist states; how this policy, from allegedly being anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist, was transformed into a policy of alliance with American imperialism and world capitalism, with Yugoslav revisionists and other revisionists. Comrade Enver Hoxha refutes with firm arguments the worn-out formulations, the anti-Marxist and the reactionary pragmatist features of these metamorphoses. He explains with examples and facts from the life in China that the successive changes in the strategy of China have their basis in the anti-Marxist line of the Chinese leadership, the Internal struggle in the fold of the Communist Party of China where opposite lines and trends, which had in common the “Mao Zedong Thought” Ideology amalgam, were developing, operating and confronting one another.

In the reflections belonging to the years 1966 and on Comrade Enver Hoxha devotes special attention to the events which were taking place in China in the context of the so-called “Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution”. In those difficult situations for China, the Party of Labour of Albania defended the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people, supported the main aim which was thought that the cultural revolution would achieve toward the liquidation of the capitalist and revisionist enemies. But alongside this support, our Party, as is seen also from the materials in this volume, had right from the start many reservations and doubts about the forms and methods of the development of the cultural revolution, until later on it eventually reached the firm conclusion that it was neither a revolution, nor great, nor cultural and in particular not in the least proletarian, but a confrontation of opposite factions, trends and lines for power involved in the leadership of the Chinese party and state, a confrontation in which weapons too were employed. Our Party never reconciled itself with this kind of “revolution”, as well as the lack of the leadership of the working class and its party in this so-called “Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution”. These and other reservations and doubts about the role which had been given to the army in China, putting it above the Party, about the unrestrained cult of Mao Zedong, the political tricks of Zhou Enlai, the opportunist stands towards the enemies of socialism and the revolution, like Liu Shao-chi and Deng Xiaoping and other problems which are analysed and reflected in an all-round and complete way in these reflections, led our Party, as Comrade Enver Hoxha explains, to adopt correct stands towards China, to defend it and also to be mature toward the exaggerations of the Chinese leaders and towards everything which was not clear, to make open and Marxist criticisms in a comradely way, irrespective they could not have been to their liking.

The Party of Labour of Albania has openly expressed its critical opinions to the Chinese leadership, with modesty and wisdom but without violating principles in the slightest, hoping that it would take the correct road. But this desire, which is extensively reflected in these reflections, was not realized because revisionism became stronger and stronger in China with every passing day. Following the course of events for years on end in a dialectical manner, Comrade Enver Hoxha, from the reservations he had at the beginning about the non-Marxist stand and tactics of the Communist Party of China,

expressed doubts about the very essence of this party, and later on the firm conviction that the Communist Party of China had nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, that socialism had not been established nor was it being constructed in China. The Party of Labour of Albania was conscious that the ideological divergencies with the Chinese leaders could lead, just as they did in reality, to the extension of these disagreements on their part to the economic relations, in the same way that Nikita Khrushchov did. Comrade Enver Hoxha forecast the pressures, obstacles and difficulties that they would create in these relations and which would grow gradually. But nothing could or did break the Party of Labour of Albania. Nothing made it retreat from its principled revolutionary policy in general or towards the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China in particular.

This book will serve the Albanian communist and the working people of Albania to ever more profoundly acquaint themselves with the course of the development of Chinese revisionism, with the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against it and against any other kind of opportunism, against the bourgeoisie and reaction. It will serve the revolutionary ideological and political education of the masses. Volume I of *Reflections on China* will also be published in some foreign languages.

Radio Tirana, June 11, 1979

"Eurocommunism"

— by Fiqret Shehu

This is an excerpt from a paper entitled "Broadening and Deepening of the Struggle Against All the Currents of Modern Revisionism – An Historical Necessity" delivered by Fiqret Shehu, Member of the CC of the PLA and Directress of the "V.I. Lenin Higher Party School, at the Scientific Session of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist studies on "Problems of Current World Department" held in Tirana from October 2-4, 1978.

The revisionist variant called "Eurocommunism" represents that pseudo-Marxist trend which comes out undisguisedly in defence of the hated capitalist order and against Marxism-Leninism, the proletarian revolution and socialism. A characteristic of this variant is that it presents its attacks on Marxism-Leninism as adaption of an alternative concept of "socialism" and of a strategy of "transition to socialism" appropriate to the conditions of developed capitalism. In fact, this concept and this strategy are expressions and indicators of the complete degeneration of the revisionist parties of this trend, which have now become component parts of the capitalist ideological and political superstructure. Thus, despite the fact that these parties are not represented in the bourgeois governments, their chiefs are active and enthusiastic members of the bourgeois states, and, together with the most reactionary parties of the bourgeoisie, have become administrators of the affairs of the bourgeoisie. In the ideological field they come out openly in defence of the capitalist structure and superstructure with all their concepts because this is demanded of them by the bourgeoisie, which in order to overcome the grave crisis which has seized it is also putting its "fresh detachments" into motion.

The content of all the "theories" of the parties of the "Eurocommunist" trend is to spread reformist illusions among the ranks of the proletariat and the working masses, to present reforms as the partial attainment of socialism, to pose problems in a reformist way at a time when the revolution is on the agenda in Western Europe and the entire bourgeois and revisionist-capitalist world. The "theories" about the "democratic road to socialism", the "strategy of the historic compromise", the slogan "unity in diversity", the attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the principle of proletarian internationalism, against Lenin and Leninism, etc., which the revisionist parties of this trend proclaim at their congresses and in their public statements, are also intended to divert the proletariat from the solution of major problems, which cannot be solved apart from the use of force.

Thus the head of the Italian revisionists, Enrico Berlinguer, makes statements in which he seeks to assure the bourgeoisie and the church that the party which he leads "is a 'new' party", a party which has been and is committed to seeking "a transforming unity with different social, political and ideological forces".¹ Meanwhile in the recent difficult situation when Italy appears as the most decadent capitalist country and is caught up in a grave political crisis the Italian revisionists are calling on the people to defend the "public order and democratic security", the bourgeois Constitution and the Republican institutions,² because otherwise the situation would reach a state of "civil

¹ From the article, "Enrico Berlinguer Answers an 'Open letter' from the bishop of Ivrea", published in "Rinascita", October 7th, 1977.

² From the newspaper "L'Unita", March 19, 1979.

war", and they are scared to death of this like the bourgeoisie itself. And after putting up such a defence of the Italian bourgeois state institutions and Constitution, the heads of the Togliatti revisionism complain that "they treat us as watchdogs of capitalism, on the pretext that we call for the defence of the state."¹ But it is precisely because the Italian revisionist party acts as a watchdog of capitalism and plays its role very effectively in favour of perpetuating the bourgeois order that even though this party does not take part officially in the government, the government relies on it and consults it about the "fate of the order".

*"In step with the Italian revisionists march the French revisionists",*² as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said. At their 22nd Congress without a scruple they unfurled the anti-Marxist counterrevolutionary white flag, declaring through their chief Georges Marchais their abandonment of the class struggle, the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian party.

The Spanish revisionist party also stands in the same position. At its 9th Congress it went so far as to change its name from Marxist-Leninist to "Marxist, democratic, revolutionary", which is not something simple, but an expression of its counterrevolutionary reformist policy. In fact, on the one hand, this also means officially breaking with the world outlook of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, and, on the other hand, it is an attempt to separate Marx and Lenin and oppose them to each other. It is a monstrous attempt like Kautsky's, which Lenin crushed, to turn the Great Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, into a bourgeois liberal.

This act is part of the position which the Spanish revisionists have taken in defence of the existing form of that type of the Spanish bourgeois state, the monarchy, which they consider a "positive force", which is why, according to them, any discussion about "throwing out the monarchy to establish the republic" would be a * loss of democracy". In this way they have become ardent apologists for the monarchist form of the bourgeois state and try to extinguish not merely any revolutionary movement, but even any feeling of sympathy for the republican form of the bourgeois state, let alone for the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is a new type of state entirely different from any type of state of society with antagonistic classes.

Despite some minor differences in presentation, the views and the standpoints of all the revisionist parties of the 'Eurocommunist' trend towards the present-day bourgeois state and the dictatorship of the proletariat are identical in content. Likewise, their concept about the party, which according to them "does not claim to become the leading force of the state and society"³ and accepts *"the coexistence in its ranks of different schools in the field of theory, culture and art as well as in the field of scientific research, in all the sciences, including the humanitarian sciences and that all of them must have the possibility of free consultation"*.⁴ But this means to condemn the proletariat to "eternal" slavery, because it cannot emancipate itself, together with all the oppressed and exploited, from slavery, without ensuring the leading role of the party of the proletariat in the revolution and after its victory, and that the Marxist-Leninist ideology

¹ From an AFP news item, April 19, 1978, referring to the newspaper "Lotta Continua".

² Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 278 (Emphasis by the author).

³ From the book "Eurocommunism and the State" by Santiago Carrillo, French ed., Flammarion, 1977, p. 150.

⁴ Ibid., p. 150. {Emphasis by the author}.

becomes the sole prevailing ideology after the revolution. But it is precisely the enslavement of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie which the revisionists, of all trends who preach political and ideological pluralism, want to preserve.

The entire strategy of the "Eurocommunists" is completely in the service of "their own" bourgeoisie and the European bourgeoisie. Defence of the interests of "its own" bourgeoisie and European capitalism, the transformation of the "United Europe" into a superpower, subordination of the interests of the European proletariat to the interests of European monopoly capitalism, —this is the counterrevolutionary strategy of "Eurocommunism". The idea of a "political system of Western Europe based on Parliament and on the political and philosophical pluralism", which will allegedly be achieved on the basis of a "common strategy", not just of the "communists", but of the European "Left" *as well as through co-operation with the countries of the "third world"*, serves this aim.¹ With such a strategy, the "Eurocommunists" stand against the proletariat on the barricades alongside the Chinese revisionists, who are supporting the "United Europe" which West European monopoly capital is knocking together in every way, thus helping the "Eurocommunists" to carry out their counterrevolutionary strategy.

The danger of the revisionists of the "Eurocommunist" trend is apparent also in the alternative, the future society which they propose in the type of the "new society" allegedly socialist, which they offer. This "socialism" of theirs will be "pluralist socialism with a human face", just like the "socialisms" which all bourgeois ideologists advocate. It will be a "socialism" which will be "achieved", during the so-called "stage of political and economic democracy", when "the forms of public and private ownership will coexist . *When there will also be the creation of surplus and private appropriation of it.*"² Such a recipe for "socialism" is recommended by one of the most cynical apostles of "Eurocommunism", Santiago Carrillo, who preaches the idea that this 'new society' will be achieved, among other things, through the democratization of the Army the police and the entire oppressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie(!). And after all these sermons which do not affect the foundations of the bourgeois state power in the slightest, the Eurocommunist chiefs are afraid that the "defenders of doctrines" might call this "pure reformism". But in fact this is nothing but pure reformism, for, as V. I. Lenin said. *"Capitalism and imperialism cannot be overthrown by democratic transformations, even the most "ideal" ... Capitalism cannot be vanquished without taking over the banks, without abolishing private ownership of the means of production"*³ ... *"Only the forcible overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the destruction of the entire bourgeois state apparatus—the parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, municipal, etc. apparatus from top to bottom... can ensure the real submission of the whole class of exploiters"*⁴ and make the proletariat the ruling class. Any fantasy about another road is simply the reactionary yearning of a petty-bourgeois,

In fact, the question is not that the "Eurocommunists", and the other revisionists *do not understand* the real political role they are playing when they talk about a "democratic road to socialism", or that they do not know the Marxist-Leninist teaching that *without*

¹ Ibid , pp. 156-157, (Emphasis by the author).

² Ibid., pp, 117 and 121. (Emphasis by the author).

³ Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 23, pp. 16-17. (Emphasis by the author).

⁴ Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 201. (Emphasis by the author).

preparing for the dictatorship of the proletariat one cannot be a revolutionary. They assail the idea and the practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat because they are determined counter revolutionaries, because they consciously wish to play the role of *priestlings* who lull the proletariat, the working masses, the peoples with all sorts of political charlatanry, to turn them away from the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. They consciously want to play the role of advocates of the bourgeoisie. And the lackeys of all kinds, including those who call on the proletariat to line up with it for the "defence of the fatherland", and those who call for the preservation of the "democratic" order and the monarchy, bourgeois Constitutions, etc. That is why all the reactionary bourgeoisie and the church prefer this model of 'pluralist socialism'. And if out of all world reaction, the Soviet revisionists do not support and even oppose the "theories" and strategy of the "Eurocommunists", this is not because they do not agree in essence with their counterrevolutionary views, which in fact are based on the anti-Marxist platform of the notorious 20th Congress of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union, but because some of the "Eurocommunist" "theories" are aimed at "independence" from the tutelage of Soviet revisionism, and infringe the idea of the role of the "mother party" and of the "great socialist state", which the Soviet revisionists want to play in their relations with the other revisionists. This is the cause of the mutual criticism going on between these two revisionist trends, which is an expression of the social-chauvinist and social-imperialist positions of each of them.

The Chinese revisionists are united with the so-called "Eurocommunists" by their common anti-Marxist line

In recent days, at the 15th Congress of the Italian revisionist party held in a hall of the Palace of Rome, sitting next to one of the members of the Italian leadership was a guest who was invited to attend the proceedings, a representative of the Chinese revisionists, who were among the representatives of all the revisionist parties. Further, Xinhua News Agency carried a comment and the statements of the revisionist congress. Naturally it is no accident.

Maintaining anti-Marxist positions, the revisionist Party of China has long been supporting and collaborating with the imperialists, reactionaries, fascists and revisionists of all shades against the revolution, socialism and the peoples. Recently, it has been striving to strengthen these ties. It is within this context that the participation of the Chinese revisionist delegation in the proceeding of the congress of the Italian revisionist party and its coverage in Xinhua must be viewed.

Today, when the question of the revolution is a problem that has been laid down for solution, the revisionists of every shade are doing their utmost to organize a so-called "historic compromise" on an international scale so that together with the imperialist bourgeoisie they can participate in the oppression and exploitation of the world's people. The different variants of revisionism join hands in their counter-revolutionary strategy. Therefore, it is no accident that today the Chinese revisionists are strengthening their ties and collaboration with the traitors of the "Eurocommunist" way. As Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses in his book *Imperialism and the Revolution*, the Chinos© revisionists are attaching ever-greater importance to these relations, because ideologically they are united with the Communist Party of China, regardless of the differences they have in tactics which depend on the nature, strength and power of capitalism in each country. Reality fully proves this. It is a known fact that in their efforts to preserve the status quo of the capitalist order, the revisionist so-called "Eurocommunist" parties are striving to become government parties, so they are negating the role of the idea of the socialist revolution and the revolutionary methods of struggle and they are emerging as champions of ideological and political pluralism. The Chinese revisionists are also promoting a line of class conciliation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. By calling for close collaboration with the reactionary West European bourgeoisie and seeking a policy of agreement between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, they are calling upon the proletariat to renounce the class struggle, the proletarian revolution. Like the "Eurocommunists" they too are implementing the principle of political pluralism, the principle of the existence of many parties including various bourgeois parties which according to them will remain in China as long as the Communist Party continues. On the other hand, the "Eurocommunists" have shown such loyalty to capitalism, and the transformation of "United Europe" into a superpower, that they have won the trust of this bourgeoisie.

In their efforts to get as much investment of West European capital as possible, the Chinese revisionists are also supporting its strengthening. Like the "Eurocommunists" who are defending NATO and the presence of United States imperialism in Europe, and guaranteeing them that there will be no change in them if they were to form the government, the Chinese revisionists are also defending NATO, calling for strengthening its potential, considering American imperialism as their best partner for

aid on the road of becoming a superpower, and instigating the subjugation of the "second world" to American imperialism. It is no coincidence that the "Eurocommunists" are supporting the links of the Chinese revisionists with the reactionary regimes, because these links also assist the bourgeoisie of their countries of whom they have become accomplices. It is precisely this identical anti-Marxist line, which both the Chinese revisionists and the so-called "Eurocommunists" are pursuing, that has developed further and strengthened their relations. These relations were not born today, but have existed for a long time, something which provides evidence of absence of Marxist-Leninist principles and of the total inconsistency in the line of the revisionist party of China when Mao Zedong was alive. It is a known fact that Carrillo was given a rousing welcome in Beijing in 1971, and he was appraised at that time by the Chinese leadership as a 'fighter for the revolution.' It is a known fact that the Italian revisionists as well as representatives of other bourgeois parties have gone to China for many years. The Italian and French revisionist leaders are also welcomed by the Chinese revisionists.

All this is no coincidence. For a long time, the most conservative revisionists considered the Chinese revisionists as an ally on their reformist road of capitulation and alliance with the national bourgeoisie. They expose here the coinciding of their bourgeois views, of their views for the strengthening of NATO and American imperialism, of their conformity with their dark strategy for the defence of the capitalist order and the suppression of the revolution. It is precisely their open emergence of defence of the hated capitalist order and American imperialism against Marxism-Leninism, the proletarian revolution and socialism that makes the so-called "Eurocommunists" and Chinese revisionists strengthen their relations today. The facts prove what Comrade Enver Hoxha has said in his book *Imperialism and the Revolution* that the relations of the Communist Party of China and the traditionally revisionist parties will extend and their actions will be coordinated. In these conditions, it is necessary to fight all revisionist currents even more powerfully, because all these anti-Marxist trends, regardless of their different forms of struggle as far as their tactics and strategy are concerned, emanate from one source, they have the same aim: to wage ceaseless struggle against the proletariat and the peoples.

Radio Tirana, April 10, 1979.

The Experience of the Revolution and Socialist Construction in Albania

—On the initial measures which the Party of Labour and the people's power took immediately after the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power for the establishment and consolidation of the foundations of socialism—

After the liberation of the country, the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania) was faced with the major problem of maintaining state power, strengthening it, and making it invincible. Precisely for this reason, it pursued the colossal revolutionary transformations open for the people to lay and consolidate the basis of the new order in all fields. The magnificent ideas of Marxism-Leninism on the new society free of all manifestation of oppression and exploitation, and the programme of the Party for the construction of the base of socialism began to be carried into life. A series of democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist measures were adopted, which were closely combined with initial revolutionary transformations.

The Communist Party of Albania had no time to wait, and did not wait for the solution of all democratic tasks, and then commence the tasks of a socialist character. The relation of the forces in Albania enabled the simultaneous and rapid implementation of democratic transformations and immediate transition to carrying out transformations of a socialist character. The initial measures were a severe blow to, and severely limited, the capitalist elements. Such revolutionary measures were; the establishment of state control over production and distribution of industrial commodities, including foreign and native capitalist enterprises; the fixing of prices by the state organs on both retail and wholesale trade; taxes on the war profits which the different capitalists and traitors had realized during the war; the prohibition of the sale of gold; the withdrawal from circulation of the old banknotes and the issue of the new ones; the establishment of the eight-hour working day; the cancellation of all taxes on the peasants imposed by the anti-people regimes; etc. Those measures greatly weakened the economic positions of the bourgeoisie and helped consolidate the economic positions of the people's power. But to carry out the tasks of reconstruction and the further development of the revolution successfully, foreign capital had to be liquidated first of all. It had usurped the key positions of the economy, especially industry and mining. The solution of this urgent problem demanded profound economic and social transformations, and the construction of the socialist basis of the economy.

In December 1944, not even a month since the day of liberation, the first nationalizations took place. Not long after this, the law on the confiscation of the property of the Italian and German citizens was promulgated. On the basis of this law, the national banks and other banks and the property of 111 foreign share-holding companies passed into the hands of the Albanian state without remuneration, as the property of the people. These nationalizations were of outstanding importance. They enabled the state to gain control of the key positions of the economy, and put them in service of the masses. Thus, the means of production which were formerly in the hands of the local capitalists and the foreign imperialists, began to pass into the hands of the working masses, into their full and direct service. 'Therefore these nationalizations were in essence the nationalizations of the main means of production, and this act had a

profoundly socialist character. On the basis of these nationalizations, a socialist state sector was born in the people's economy.

By November 1947, the output of the private capitalist industry was almost entirely liquidated. The socialist nationalization of the main means of production created an entirely new situation. It put an end once and for all to the economic domination of the foreign and local bourgeoisie, and on this basis the social ownership of the means of production was born, the socialist sector was established in industry. Socialist relations were established in production in this important branch of the country. At the same time, this enabled the transition of the commanding positions of the economy into the hands of the people's state power. Consequently, the economic foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat were laid.

All this created the economic positions for the rational and planned development of industry in harmony with the other branches of the people's economy. On the other hand in the field of agriculture, the people's state power implemented the agrarian reform according to the principle "land to the tiller" to eliminate all the old agrarian relations. Meanwhile, the entire irrigation system which was private property was nationalized and placed at the disposal of the peasantry in general.

The creation of the socialist sector of the economy was accomplished with important measures which benefited the workers and the employees. Equal pay was established for equal work done regardless of age or sex. Unemployment was almost entirely liquidated. The deep-going revolutionary socio-economic transformations carried out by the state power after the liberation of the country, says Comrade Enver Hoxha, such as the nationalization of industry, transport, the banks, internal and foreign trade, led to the establishment of the social ownership over the main means of production and created the first economic possibilities for the commencement of the construction of the new socialist society.

Radio Tirana, June 19, 1979

In Defence of Great Stalin and the PLA

The Communist Information Service likes to draw your reader's sharpest attention through your esteemed Journal to the Comment on the Letter of the C.C. of the Party of Labour and the Government of Albania to the C.C. of the Communist Party and the Government of China known as the July 29, 1979 letter, by the Workers' Communist Party (M-L) of Norway in its international bulletin *Class Struggle* No. 11, September 1978 issue, which was approvingly reproduced in the Journal of the Third Worldists of India *Third World Unity*, published from Delhi in its January 1979 issue. Recently, the New China News Agency has also issued a statement reiterating the demand of handing back the Kuril islands "occupied" by the Soviet Union to its "rightful owners" Japan with the strange argument that otherwise the USA would remain weak in the Pacific region. The line-up is clear. However, it is not our business, the business of the Communist Information Service, to poke our nose into the manner in which Soviet Social imperialism and Japanese imperialism will settle the issue. The business of the Communist Information Services is to enlighten the people with the facts exposing the conspiracy of the falsification of history and the slanderous campaign against Stalin.

Mao Zedong, in his talk with the Social Democratic delegation of Japan in the 1960's raised the question of the rectification of borders accusing Stalin of annexing 'foreign territories' both in Asia and Europe, thus slandering Stalin as "great-nation chauvinist". In this connection, the Party of Labour of Albania in its letter said:

"The Party of Labour did not approve of Mao Tsetung's raising the problem of rectification of borders... by calling into question the rectification of the borders of the Soviet Union,... J.V. Stalin was *unjustly* attacked, and the accusation levelled by international reaction against him for creating "spheres of influence was *backed up...*" (emphases supplied).

The Party of Labour of Albania, by way of its just and timely protest proved its worthy leadership.

In commenting on the above lines, the international bulletin of the Workers' Communist Party (M-L), the *Class Struggle* of Norway said, "The Albanian leaders were afraid that to raise border problems would imply criticism of Stalin. The four *Japanese islands* were *occupied* by the USSR towards the end of World War II. They were *not returned* to Japan and are today *integrated in the USSR*. *That this raises objection to parts of Stalin's policy is evident...* Should we try to conceal historical facts?" (emphases supplied).

It is clear from the above that both to Mao and the Workers' Communist Party (M-L) of Norway (and also to the Third Worldist organisers of the Journal *Third World Unity*) "occupation" of four islands "of Japan" by Stalin, "not returning" those to Japan and "integration" of those islands "in the USSR" are the only "historical facts" and the slanderous campaign against Stalin is being continued on the basis of those "facts". Unfortunately, the history of these islands did not begin "towards the end of World War II", when Stalin "occupied" these islands, as the Chinese Communist Party of Mao and the Norwegian Communist Party like the people to believe. It is not Albania who is concealing facts. On the contrary, it was Mao who concealed the facts to curry favour with Japanese and US imperialism. And now the Norwegian Workers' Communist Party

(M-L) comes to Mao's rescue after Albania's effective exposure of Mao's design. Let us hear about more "historical facts" from Stalin himself. Stalin, among other things, said the following, in his "Address to the people" on September 2, 1945:

"Comrades!

"Fellow Countrymen and Country Women!

•'To day, September 2, political and military representatives of Japan, signed an act unconditional surrender.'

"It must be observed that the Japanese aggressors inflicted damage not only on our Allies—China, the United States of America and Great Britain. They also inflicted extremely grave damage on our country. *That is why we have a separate account to settle with Japan.*

"Japan commenced tier aggression against our country as far back as 1904, during the Russo-Japanese War.... As we know, in the war against Japan, Russia was defeated, Japan took advantage of the defeat of tsarist Russia to *seize from Russia* the southern part of Sakhalin and *establish herself* on the Kuril islands...

"....the defeat of Russian troops in 1904 during the Russo-Japanese War left bitter memories in the minds of our people. It lay like a black stain upon our country. Our people believed in and waited for the day when Japan would be defeated and the stain would be wiped out. We of the older generation waited for this day for forty years and now this day has arrived. Today Japan admitted defeat and signed an act of unconditional surrender.

"This means that the southern Part of Sakhalin and Kuril islands *revert* to the Soviet Union...." (All the emphases supplied) J. Stalin: *On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*; Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. 1952),

These are the "historical facts" which Mao Zedong and the Norwegian Workers' Communist Party (M-L) conveniently managed to conceal altogether.

If raising of the border questions that arose out of the unequal treaties of Aigun of 1868, Nerchinsk of 1869 and Beijing of 1860, which delineated the northern and the north-eastern boundaries of present day Manchuria by Mao and the Chinese Communist Party can be considered quite justified, how can, then, the *reversion* of the lost four islands by the Soviet Union from Japanese unjust occupation, only forty years ago, raise objection by Mao and his Norwegian and Indian tails?

Why did Mao during his talk with Japanese delegation not raise the question of rectification of other "misdeeds" of Stalin, that is regarding Liaotung Peninsula and Port Arthur? These were also under Japanese occupation and it was the Red Army of the Soviet Union under the commandship of Great Stalin, the generalissimo of the Red Army which emancipated this peninsula driving away the Japanese Kwantung army "towards the end of World War II" and handed them back to their rightful owner—the Chinese people. Was it not an "objectionable policy" on the part of Stalin, which needed rectification? It was Stalin who compelled Truman to admit that the Liaotung peninsula was "an integral part of Manchuria". (See, the *Correspondence between the Chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the President of the USA and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain during the Great Patriotic War*, Vol. 2, pp. 261-69; Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1957).

Stalin emancipated the occupied territories of the Soviet Union and China and handed back the territories of China to the Chinese people and retained the territories of

the Soviet Union and integrated them into the USSR. The integration of Manchuria, Liaotung peninsula in the People's Republic of China was justified while the integration of the four islands in the Soviet Union was "objectionable". This is the queer logic of the opportunists.

1st July, 1979.

The Communist Information Service,
25/1. Jyotish Roy Road,
Calcutta-700053.

I learn that you have brought out booklets like "Socialist Albania" and I want to go through them before clearing some of my gnawing doubts about the present ideological controversy between Albania and China. May I request you to send these things free of cost or at a concessional rate. Please enclose a full catalogue of your releases.

Thanking you,

K. V. Ramana Reddy,
Secretary,
Revolutionary Writer's Association,
Kavalli.
Andhra Pradesh.

We were so delighted when we received the Special National Day Issue and No. 1, 2, 3 and 4, and 5th issue of SOCIALIST ALBANIA. It is useful for us to understand the path of Socialism in Albania. We are expressing our thanks for your immediate response to our request. Renewed thanks to your Editorial Board and staff.

Intharamana Reddy,
Political Prisoner,
Central Jail,
Visakhapatnam-4.
Andhra Pradesh.

Socialist industrialization—one of the greatest achievements of the people's power

This year the Albanian people will magnificently celebrate the 35th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution. This jubilee marks an important historic date, an heroic and successful road traversed by our people in the uninterrupted development of the revolution and socialist construction under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

Major victories have been achieved over these 35 years, especially in the setting up and development of national industry. Its fast rate of development is one of the greatest achievements of the people's power in the field of the development of the productive forces and the construction of the material and technical basis of socialism. Viewing socialist Albania from the heights of these 35 years, everyone clearly sees the great and radical changes which have been made in all directions.

Over these 35 post-liberation years socialist Albania has created a developed national economy, a modern industry, a collectivized agriculture, which ever better fulfil not only the growing demands of the people's economy, but also the range of the commodities for export. The rates of the average annual growth of the development of our people's economy have been two to three times larger than the rates of the increase of the country's population. The successes achieved from one five-year plan to the other speak of this development. If we take the First Five-Year Plan (1951-1955) equal to 1.0, the index of industrial production in the Second Five-Year Plan (1956-1960) was two times larger, in the Third Five-Year Plan (1961-1965) it was 3.4 times larger, in the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1966-1970) it was 5.7 times larger and in the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1971-1975) it was 9.4 times larger. Beginning with 1976, the local production of Albanian pig-iron and steel, and iron beams began, a good part of which are destined for export.

As for the proportions and the rates of development priority has been and continues to be given to heavy industry. This policy has led to an ever better assessment of the natural riches, fuels, hydro-electric resources, useful minerals according to the principle of the self-reliant construction of socialism.

The development with priority to the heavy extracting and processing industries, and alongside them of the light and foodstuff industries, has ensured the strengthening of the industrial and economic potential of the country.

The fast rate of development of industry has been and continues to be preceded by the development of fuel and electric power industries on the basis of the most complete exploitation of the energetic resources such as oil, gas, coal and particularly of hydropower energetic resources.

The Sixth Five-Year Plan (1976-1980) has opened new prospects to the development of the socialist industrialization of the country. In 1980 as compared with 1975 the total volume of industrial production has been foreseen to increase by 41-44 percent, out of which the production of the means of production by 62 percent. With such rates of development, heavy industry will represent about two-thirds of the total volume of industrial production. In this context the processing industry will assume a good development with the setting up to a great number of important projects. A good part of these projects such as the first stage of the "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine, the "Light of the Party" hydro-power station, the "Enver Hoxha" automobile

and tractor combine, the deep oil processing plant, the PVC and caustic soda plant as well as a number of other projects were put into operation in 1978 whereas recently the ferro-chromium plant was commissioned.

Fighting to carry into practice the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the Albanian working people have achieved other fresh successes in the development of industry and the increase of the overall industrial production. During the years 1975-1978, the overall industrial production grew by 26 percent. In 1978 as against 1960, the overall industrial production grew five-fold, out of which the chromium industry grew 3.6 times, the copper industry 25 times, the electric power industry 10.7 times, the chemical industry 61 times and the engineering industry 19 times. The country's economy meets today more than 85 percent of the needs of the people for foodstuff and mass consumer goods and about 90 percent of the needs for spare parts.

(Albanian Telegraphic Agency News Bulletin, May 14, 1979)

On the Pope's visit to Poland

In a commentary on the visit of Pope John Paul II to Poland, the newspaper "Zeri i Popullit" emphasizes, among other things, that the revisionist bourgeoisie is interested to use the Church to "calm" the broad masses of the people, who are suffering from capitalist exploitation, with the religious opium.

The revival of religion as an obscurantist ideology and counter-revolutionary practice, the newspaper emphasizes, is linked with the entire process of capitalist degeneration which occurred in the Soviet Union and in the countries of Eastern Europe. Religion, as part of the superstructure, is already playing the same old role it has played over the centuries, in the countries where the revisionist cliques are in power.

What the Polish revisionists are doing today had its start in Moscow. It was Khrushchov who opened this road when he bowed before the Pope in the Vatican. In the Soviet Union, religion is a part of the official ideological "nourishment" served to the people.

The newspaper writes further on that while the Polish revisionist chiefs accorded a pompous reception to the boss of the "holy see", certain dissatisfaction is being felt in Moscow and even a warning has been made lest "some circles" try to exploit the visit for aims against "the socialist community". Concern is expressed in Moscow lest the Polish Pope, who is a "specialist on the East" will also play the game of the United States of America and its allies, to exploit the divergencies and dissatisfaction manifested in the relations between the revisionist countries and the Soviet Union, to disrupt and alienate the satellites from Moscow as much as possible. In one of his speeches, the Pope called on the countries of Eastern Europe to unite with the West under the "common ideal, Christianity". In this context, Poland holds a particular place. In this regard, let us recall Nixon's visit in the past and Carter's and Brzezinski's visits now. In this context is also evaluated the activation Soviet policy, especially in the countries neighbouring Poland, as for example Kosygin's visit to Czechoslovakia, where he hardly smiled once, the visit which Brezhnev himself made to Hungary, and what is more, the military manoeuvres of the Warsaw Treaty in that country, about which unusual publicity was made. In one way or another, they are reminding the Gierek clique of Czechoslovakia in 1968, of Dubcek's fate. This is already clear both in Warsaw as well as in the Vatican, Washington and its allies.

At the end, the newspaper "Zeri i Popullit" exposes the aims of the bourgeois propaganda to discredit Marxism-Leninism, through the dissemination of the idea of the coexistence between Catholicism and Marxism. The old desire of all oppressors, the slave-owners, religion and popes to rule in peace are now illusions which are being destroyed and will be completely destroyed in the face of the resolute and ever mounting struggle of the working masses, the proletariat, for a new life.

(Albanian Telegraphic Agency News Bulletin, June 8, 1979)

Failures in the Polish capitalist agriculture

The private sector is growing more and more in the Polish capitalist agriculture. According to the Polish news agency 'PAP' private agricultural economies with an area up to five hectares of land exist there. These economies constitute about 60.5 percent of all the country's agricultural economies. The other economies with an area from 0.5 to 2 hectares of land, the news agency adds constitute 30 percent of all the agricultural economies of the country.

in the conditions of capitalist fragmentation, Polish agriculture is rapidly heading towards its complete ruination. It is unable to meet the minimum demands of the population with the most important agricultural products, such as cereals, milk, meat and other products. Therefore, the Polish revisionist clique is forced to stretch out its hand to the Western countries in order to feed the population, it is more and more buying agricultural products from the capitalist countries and has already become a permanent buyer in the international market of cereals. It is envisaged that this year it will buy another 15 million tons of grain.

The restoration of capitalism in agriculture, which is accompanied with a decline in production, affects the broad working masses. As a result of the failure in agriculture, many agricultural products have disappeared from the market while the prices of many other products are continually rising, something which has led to the worsening of the living conditions of the broad working masses.

(Albanian Telegraphic Agency News Bulletin, May 22, 1975)

STORY

A Problem of Conscience

— *Siri Sulejmani*

Fatri Duka was sitting in his office with his elbows leaning on the table. The telephone bell aroused him from his thoughts. The Secretary of the Party Committee was criticizing him for the delay in appointing five specialists who were to be sent to work on the construction of big industrial projects being built far from the capital.

"He's quite right", said Fatri to himself, "it shouldn't be delayed!"

"But how are we to sort them out from the 12 specialists, all of whom are in nearly the same situation. All of them have worked five or six years in enterprises in remote places after they finished their studies. To take them away now from their families, from the social environment they have built up is no light matter. On the contrary, it is a sacrifice people make for the interests of the Homeland. A thing like this cannot be done on order of the Director. No, when people make a pledge it must come from the heart, so that wherever they go, they will work wholeheartedly, giving everything they've got. *

Fatri Duka was now in his fifties. He had linked himself with the ideas of socialism in his youth. At 17 years of age he had joined the partisans in the mountains to fight the regime of exploiters. He had lost the index finger of his left hand in the war. A bit of shrapnel had lopped it off neatly. After the liberation of the Homeland he became a cadre with schooling. For the next 30 years he had worked in a number of different cities and districts of the Homeland. Five years before our story begins, he had been elected Secretary of the Party Bureau of a big enterprise in the capital. With his modesty, with his persistence in solving the problems which he had to face, with his natural way of sharing the joys and sorrows of the people about him, he had earned an honoured place amongst them. There was a knock at that door and engineer Theodor Leka came into his office.

"I hope you are well, comrade Fatri", said the engineer.

"The same to you", said the Secretary standing up.

"I've come about a problem comrade Fatri".

"So?"

"I have been appointed to go to Fierza, building the hydropower plant".

"Well?"

"It's difficult for men to go, Comrade Fatri".

"It's difficult? As far as I know, there's only you and your wife".

"That's just it comrade Secretary, I haven't any children. Ten years we've been married and unfortunately we've had no luck starting a family. We don't have that joy every family should have. And what are we to do. It's very difficult for my wife to part from her parents. She is their only child. They have taken me to their hearts as their son-in-law in place of their own son. If I am to go to Fierza, I will be staying for several years, till the end of the job. Hence, I must take my wife with me. But how can we leave the old people in Tirana".

Fatri Duka glanced at the embarrassed face of the engineer and then at his own hands which he was rubbing together instinctively. Unconsciously his gaze settled on the gap left by the finger which the shell had lopped off. His mind went back to the days of the war. He was back in his village, standing at the foot of the steps, parting from his

mother and ten-year old sister. He had decided to join the partisans in the mountains. "Go my son, bless you, and don't disgrace the blood of your father. Go and return with freedom", his mother had said, kissing him with tear filled eyes. "Why do these memories come back at this moment?" he wondered, and recalled the engineer waiting there in front of him.

"Very well then Theodor, you put the matter bluntly and to the point, and that's what I shall do, too. I want to ask just one question; What is it that characterizes our new men? What is that virtue which distinguishes him from the people of all other times?"

The other reflected for a moment and replied,

"Self-denial, the spirit of sacrifice, putting the general interest above personal interest when the good of society requires this".

"Well, if this is the case, if I must go, I am ready to leave tomorrow".

"I knew that is what you would say Theodor, however we will sort this matter out carefully at a meeting".

"Then, I am going, comrade secretary. Perhaps I raised the question without thinking about it properly".

"No, no, you did very well. See you again".... He stood up and shook hands with the engineer, clapped him on the shoulder and said as they left the office:

"Don't you worry, we'll examine the problem fairly".

That evening Fatri Duka ate his dinner somewhat thoughtfully. He went to bed and began to tell his wife about the problem of the day. When he told her of the criticism he had received from the Secretary of the Committee, his wife retorted, tartly.

"It's your own fault Fatri. You should have called the Bureau together and decided long ago".

"No, no, my dear, you're not speaking like a communist now. Call them together and give an order, you say. But this is not a case for orders. Of the five engineers which our enterprise has to find, four volunteered to go, but for the fifth there are problems which must be looked at. They are all married and in just about the same circumstances. Those who are going far away will have to take their families later, and such a shift is not so easy.

"Then appoint the newest ones on the job. They haven't all graduated in the same year", said his wife, in a tone as though satisfied she had solved the whole problem.

"Is that so? All right then, our son is one of the newest".

"Our son! What are you talking about?" said his wife in a tone of surprise.

"Ah ha, that touches you on a soft spot! But why should you be surprised? Have you forgotten that we went back and forth across the Homeland in the years of the war for freedom? Then what's wrong with our children following in our footsteps?"

"Just hang on a minute! Our son worked three years in the Korça district after he completed his studies. Now his bride is only a month off giving birth to their first child ..."

"The others have worked even more", cut in Fatri. "For the Homeland, everybody should be equal in joys and sacrifice. Should Secretary's sons be exempted? On the contrary".

Silence fell in the room, softly lit by a bedside lamp. Fatri Duka reached out and switched off the lamp. In the darkness husband and wife were each turning the matter over. It was a complicated problem.

In the corridor they heard the footsteps of their son and his wife returning from the

theatre.

"They are home", she said.

"Yes, they are home", he replied. Silence fell again, that heavy silence. His wife knew that Fatri Duka did not use words lightly. On serious matters, his words were the essence of his thoughts. Both of them wanted to break the silence but neither knew how to take up their broken off conversation. They had run into a very difficult problem of conscience, a dilemma which left them without words, which challenged their ideas and put their ideals in doubt. To untangle this dilemma required the hands of a real communist. Instinctively Fatri Duka put his thumb in the space left by the index finger which the war time shell had removed. How light that wound had felt at that time when the commissar had shouted. "Forward, partisans!" and had led them in their charge. And now, lying beside his wife, the fine comrade of his life, in their comfortable bed, he couldn't find where to begin to break the silence.

Three years before, their son had returned to Tirana. The executive committee had appointed him to a sector of the enterprise where Fatri Duka worked.

The movements in the kitchen and the other room died away.

Thus wrapped in their individual thoughts, Fatri Duka and his wife dropped off to sleep.

The following day there was a meeting of the Party Bureau of the enterprise.

"Well comrades, what new ideas have we from the sectors' Party basic organization?" asked Fatri Duka, looking at his deputy. The deputy handed the secretary a list of names. Five names were written there: four engineers had volunteered, while the fifth, Theodor Leka, had been appointed by the Party organization.

Fatri Duka took the list, glanced at it thoughtfully, and said, "I think that engineer Theodor Leka should be removed from this list and Ilir put there in place of him".

Silence followed his words. All present had their eyes fixed on the Secretary of the Bureau. "Which Ilir", someone asked. "Ilir Duka, my son, said the Secretary. "I don't agree", said the Secretary of the Party basic organization of the first sector. "Ilir has worked three years in a distant district. For the past four years he has very well here, and there is another aspect which should be looked at. As far as I know, his wife is in the last months of her pregnancy..."

"Don't carry on with this, comrade Spiro, these are petty reasons", said Fatri.

"But why shouldn't Theodor Leka go from the factory, he has no children, no..."

"Precisely because he hasn't any children because they haven't been able to have a child, while my son will very soon be a father. Besides, Theodor has to look after his wife's parents".

"Ilir was the first to get up at the meeting of the Party basic organization and pledge to go, comrade Fatri, but considering his circumstances, the comrades removed him from the list".

"We have to weigh people up well, in the Party spirit", said Fatri in a resolute tone. We mustn't permit the slightest shadow of favouritism to gain ground and to develop into a swamp, because then our pledges will be turned into empty words which bring great damage. Therefore, comrades, if you can't solve the dilemma in your own soul, you'll never be able to link yourself with anyone else. Let us send the list to the committee with the respective personal histories, and now let's get on with the next question".

I.A.F.A. News

A meeting of the Uttar Pradesh State Preparatory Committee of the India-Albania Friendship Association was held in Pilkhuwa on 30th July, 1979. At this meeting a resolution condoling the victims of the earthquake of April 15th was passed. The resolution referred to the indomitable and courageous struggle of the Albanian people against imperialism, and its offspring, revisionism. The resolution further expressed its profound grief and sorrow for the victims of the severe earthquake in which more than thirty-five persons lost their lives and three hundred and eighty-nine persons were injured. The resolution further acclaimed the great self-sacrificing spirit of the Albanian people under the glorious leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania led by Comrade Enver Hoxha in combatting the effects of the natural calamity and referred to the solidarity of the friends of Albania in Uttar Pradesh with the Albanian people.

In order to get in touch with the I.A.F.A. in different parts of the country contact the following: West Bengal: Bijoy Sarkar. 3-B Gobinda Mandal Lane. Calcutta-700002. Punjab: Lashkar Singh, 1668/2, Sector 30-B, Chandigarh. Delhi: Vijay Singh. F-13/6. Model Town, Delhi-110009. Maharaashtra: Jehangir Merwanji, 43 Cuffe Parade, Colaba, Bombay-400006. Uttar Pradesh: S. K. Misra. 97 Gandhi Bazar. Pilkhuwa, Dist. Ghaziabad, U.P.