

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

CLASS STRUGGLE

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TO OUR READERS

As our readers may have noticed, Class Struggle has not come out for quite some time. We regret this delay. However, we now hope to publish the paper regularly, four times a year.

AKP (m-l):

COMMENTS

on the open «Letter of the CC of the PLA and the Government of Albania to the CC of the CPC and the Government of China». (PARTS 5 TO 7)

The PLA rejects Mao Tsetung

They reject the cultural revolution

They hang on to the mistakes made in the Soviet-Union

INTRODUCTION

From August 14 to 29, Klassekampen printed important excerpts — amounting to more than 40 of the 54 pages of the English language edition — of the «Letter of the CC of the Party of Labor and the Government of Albania to the CC of the Communist Party and the Government of China» dated July 29, 1978. Each excerpt was accompanied by an article explaining the views of Marxist-Leninists in Norway on the issues raised by the corresponding passage of the Albanian «Letter». As an introduction to the series, Klassekampen printed an article summing up its views.

Part one to four of the comments of AKP(m-l) were printed in Class Struggle no. 1/78 in September last year. In this issue we print part five to seven.

In the first issue in autumn 79 we will print the remaining comments, number eight and nine.

Comments — part V on

The open letter from the Party of Albania to the Communist Party of China

The Albanian leaders claim in the open letter that the cultural revolution in China «lacked principles». They claim that it was not led by a genuine workers party that was aiming at establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. They say that the power of state in China after the cultural revolution was dominated by bourgeois and revisionist elements.



CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE — THE ATTITUDE TO POLITICAL OPPOSITION

The contradiction also embraces several other fields: Foreign Policy, as we have already mentioned, Mao criticised Stalin's tendency to seek hegemony, the Albanians reject it. See the dispute on border questions (part 3 in this series).

The relations between parties. Mao criticised the role of the CPSU as a «big brother party» dominating other parties. Earlier the Albanians have aired views that tended to go in the same direction. (See the report on the 5th congress of the PLA in But the report from the 7th congress has a paragraph that must be considered an attack both on Mao's stand, and on what the 5th PLA congress said (see the dispute about Comintern, especially p. 248-250 Eng. ed.).

Economy. As we have mentioned before, you can find Mao's critique of the economy under Stalin, among other places, in the ten major relationships. We believe the Albanian leaders disagree with this critique also.

The treatment of contradictions amongst the people.

Mao's way of separating contradictions between the people and the enemies is in reality also developed through his critique of faults made under socialism in Soviet and Eastern Europe.

One aspect of this line is that it does not want to punish and terrorise workers and people supporting socialism when they disagree with the government, but to permit the opposition and discussion amongst the people. Another aspect is that it wants to permit old capitalists and feudalists to work and even to keep some of their wealth if they will support socialism because of that. Under Stalin the CPSU occasionally solved contradictions amongst the people by force, and Stalin disagreed with China's tre-

that made it possible for Krutsev to take power.

IS THERE A BOURGEOISIE AT THE TIME OF SOCIALISM?

In Soviet the party and Stalin denied the existence of a bourgeoisie when collectivisation was terminated in the 1930s.

This error had to result in a lack of understanding for the bourgeois opposition. This kind of opposition was only looked on as a reactionary plot, and it was not properly understood that the reactionary plot was a form due to the continued existence of a bourgeoisie. This error also resulted in a lack of vigilance against the growth of a new bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the state and party.

Against this, Mao declared that under socialism there will still be a long time of classes and class struggle. For this reason it is always important to be vigilant and wage class struggle. The cultural revolution, which Mao initiated, was an offensive from the proletariat in the class struggle in China.

For a long time the Albanian leaders have ment that there is no bourgeoisie in Albania. Among other plac-

es this is manifested in the class analysis in the new Albanian constitution. Class struggle is not considered something that happens in reality between different classes, but something that happens in the workers', peasants', and intellectuals' thoughts, where bourgeois thoughts intrude because of the influence of the old ideology, from surviving old reactionaries, from foreign imperialist propaganda etc. We can see this subjective view of the class struggle under socialism for instance in the report for the 7th congress of the PLA. Here they say that «the remnants of the ruling class» want to restore the old bourgeois society «if the class struggle is allowed to die down» (p. 234 Eng. ed.). But in the real world the class struggle cannot die away as long as there exist classes.

In this area the Albanian leaders defend the old faults of the CPSU. But as an excuse for the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin we can say that he led the world's first socialist state and that nobody had exposed this fault. Now, however over 40 years later, Mao has exposed and criticised this fault. Now it is an even greater fault for the Albanian leaders to reject this correct criticism and hold on to the incorrect views that had so terrible results in the Soviet Union.

of the Communist Party of China in the concrete conditions of its country».

What lies behind this pompous and breath-taking exercise?

In order to understand it we must examine the differences in party line in the socialist Soviet in Stalin's lifetime and in socialist China. These differences manifested themselves in some disagreements already while Stalin was still leading the party. Later in Krutsev's time Mao developed an extensive critique of the faults in the socialist Soviet of Stalin

MAO: NO GOOD AT LEARNING FROM SOVIET?

According to the Albanian leaders the reason for the «political, ideological and organizational chaos in the Communist Party of China and in the Chinese state» was that «the great ideas of the great October Socialist revolution and the Marxist - Leninist ideology were not properly made example for, the pillar and the compass

atment of capitalists who cooperated with the government.

»Let a hundred blossoms bloom», the line for art and science, is also a part of Mao's line for the correct handling of contradictions among the people. Mao did not want questions of art and science solved through dictation, orders and bans, but he wanted different schools of thought, theories, methods of art etc. to develop and compete. This is different from the CPSU under Stalin, where we find examples of wrong scientific theory being declared correct by party dictation, where forms of scientific studies were forbidden and where we could occasionally see art becoming stereotype as a result of orders.

Mao's famous article on these questions has been much studied in Albania. For one period many of the Chinese methods were copied, amongst others the method of open discussion and critique on posters, reduction of bureaucracy and productive work a certain time of the year for party and government officials. But now the Albanian leaders refute the slogan »let a hundred blossoms bloom» (referred in excerpt 7 in our series).

As far as we can see the open discussion on posters in Albania is over.

The attitude to political opposition.

Mao has always favoured patience and broad-mindedness in dealing with people in the party and state who have done wrong, also when it comes to counter-revolutionaries. He often issued directives to make people careful in punishing too hard and especially not to execute people.

Mao was critical of the execution of a number of Stalin's opponents in the CPSU. It was in this connection he made the dry remark that the difficulty about chopping the head off a political opponent, is that so far nobody has found a way to sew it on again.

One difference is that in Albania former party leaders have been executed in the 40s, 50s, 60s and 70s.

Many of these people were certainly counter-revolutionaries who deserved punishment. Maybe some of them had to be shot because socialism otherwise was in danger? That is possible. But we would like to point out that neither Liu Shao Shi, the supporters of Lin Piao in the central committee, or the gang of four have been executed in China.

It is our opinion that in all these fields the line of Mao and CPC is better than that of Stalin and the CPSU. The Albanian leaders on the other hand consider Mao's line to be worse.

«MAO WERE UNPRINCIPLED — ALSO BEFORE 1949»

According to the Albanian leaders the »chaos under the cultural revolution» was a logical outcome of the factional and unprincipled struggle which took place within the ranks of the Communist Party of China during time of the struggle of the carrying out of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and after 1949.—»

This is a terrible accusation against Mao and CPC, for what does fighting without principles mean?

It means not fighting to defend principles, but for opportunistic reasons, for the wrong ideas, maybe for personal gain. Bakunin's fight against Marx lacked principles, just as Kautsky's and other right wing social democrats fight against Stalin, and Trotsky's fight against Stalin. But the fights Marx, Lenin and Stalin waged against these bourgeois politicians were not »unprincipled», far from it they defended the marxist principles.

In the Communist Party of China fractions fought. Yes. That has also been true of the parties of Soviet and Albania. But did they lack principles? And already before 1949?

We shall not deal with all the party fights in the CPC, but only mention some of the most important.

The fight against Chen Tu Hsiu in the 20s. Chen opposed the making of a revolution in the countryside and ended up as a Trotskyist. Was it wrong to fight Chen Tu Hsiu?

The fight against L Li-san and Wang Min.

Li Li-san favoured adventurism in military questions in order to take big cities quickly. This was a line that ended up in great losses. At first Wang Ming wanted to defend the red areas through conventional positional warfare. This line cost the lives of millions of people and resulted in the

loss of most of the liberated areas in South China.

Later he wanted the CPC to put itself under the command of Chiang Kai-shek in the fight against Japan. That was a line for giving up the liberated areas and breaking up the red army.

Mao developed his military political line and his line for front work in conflict with Li Li-san and Wang Ming. The former is summarized in the classical work »On protracted war»

the latter is to be found amongst other places in »The role of the CPC in the anti-Japanese united front». These works have guided revolutionary movements and Marxist-Leninists on all continents and with great results. Was this »fighting without principles»?

This was before 1949. After 1949 we can mention the fight against Liu Chao - chi in the 50s when Liu did not want to go on building socialism after the victory of the new democratic revolution. And the fight against Peng Teh - huai, who supported Krutsejv.

Unprincipled struggle?

We shall not comment any further on the fight against Liu Chao-chi. Lin Piao and the »gang of four» during the cultural revolution, for the Albanian leaders have presented their views on the cultural revolution and we have said we disagree.

The Trotskyists say that Mao's fight in the 20s against Chen Tu-hsiu »lacked principles», the Moscow revisionists say that Mao's fight against Wang Ming in the 30s »lacked principles» (Wang died a few years ago in Moscow as »chairman of the central committee of CPC in exile»). We disagree with them and with the Albanian leaders. We say that Mao's fight both before and after 1949 was a policy firm of principles he defended we study today in his classical works.

«AN IDEALISTIC VIEW OF THE STRUGGLES WITHIN THE PARTY»

Behind the strange conception of several decades of »unprincipled struggle» inside the CPC we also find a wrong idealistic view of how a communist party develops internally.

The international communist movement has long been aware of the differences of opinion between Mao and the Albanian leaders in this theoretical question. We saw it expressed when Mao always said that communists must develop the fight between the two lines in the party, while the Albanian leaders say - with a pronounced polemical touch - that in their party there is only one line.

Mao's starting point is that there are classes and class struggle both before and after the revolution. Wrong bourgeois ideas and some bad people will also penetrate the party. This must be, it cannot be avoided in

a society with classes. Because of this it is unavoidable that not only proletarian lines but also bourgeois lines arise within the party itself.

Communists must always be aware of this and have a conscious relationship to it. They must always develop the fight among the two lines. Mao did not consider this fight to be a bad thing, he considered it to be something that developed the party, even as a matter of life or death for it. He said: »Without contradictions the party will die».

In contrast to this the Albanian leaders mean that a fight between bourgeois and proletarian ideas within the party is not normal and natural. This is expressed in the talk of »monolithic unity» within the party. (As you know, a monolith is a stone column standing in one place without growing or moving, while gradually being worn down by the elements. Or maybe it will crack one day). This view is undialectic and idealistic through and through.

China is a vast country with enormously sharp contradictions and great internal struggles. In this situation we consider the growth of sharp struggles in the chinese party to be normal and unavoidable. And we believe it will happen again in the future. The Albanian leaders on the other hand consider that it has its roots in insufficient studies of the October revolution. In consequence: if »the marxist-leninists nucleus the party» had studied the October revolution well enough, the great internal party fights before and after 1949 would never have happened? Is this a marxist approach to history?

No communist party in all the world is as the Albanian leaders consider a communist party should be.

They hold up Lenin's and Stalin's CPSU as an example, but that party was never like that. That party had great and sharp internal fights, amongst others in 1917, 1919, 1921, 1923, 1925, 1927, 1929, in the 30s, 40s and 50s.

Their views do not even accord with the situation in their own party. Whoever reads the history of PLA will find sharp internal fights described both before and after the revolution in 1944. Could they have been avoided if the leaders have studied the October revolution better?

On the other hand it is quite obvious that this theory leads to less vigilance. They consider party fights unnormal and therefore do not expect them. An example: in Hoxas' speeches 1971-73 you will find the speech he held before the election to the new central committee at the 6th congress of the PLA in 1971. Here it says that all the members of the old central committee had done a good

job and that none had vacillated in any question.

Before the end of the congress a number of these members who were reelected had left the central committee and the party. But did they become »bad people» over a couple of years without having made the least mistake before 1971? Now the letter even says that one of them, Beqir Balluku, cooperated with Chou En-Lai in a »counter-revolutionary plot» from 1968 (see paragraph VI in our series). We reserve our comments on this point. But in any case it shows how well the idea of a »monolithic unity» and »only one line in our party» accords with reality, even in the PLA itself.

MISTAKES UNDER DIFFERENT HISTORICAL CONDITIONS

Not only does Mao criticise revisionism, he also criticised the faults of the socialist Soviet under Stalin, that made victory of revisionism possible. We have pointed out that the

Albanian leaders reject this criticism. Instead they clutch at and glorify the very faults of the socialistic Soviet and hold them up as correct, in contrast to what Mao and China did later on. Does that mean that we do not see any difference between Stalin and the Albanian leaders? Far from it.

Stalin was a great marxist-leninist classic. Important part of the critique from the Albanian leaders against the CPC aim at lines developed by Lenin and Stalin. In principle the analysis Stalin made of the foreign policy of his time, his tactics towards other states with different social systems etc. were in principle mainly correct and rise high above the Albanians. When the Albanian leaders criticise China's policy towards Mobutu, they also in practice condemn Stalin's and Lenin's alliances with the feudal Emir of Afghanistan. When they say that all imperialists are alike, they also condemn Stalin's policy of alliance with the USA and England against Hitler.

Stalin defended the dictatorship of the proletariat, he developed the socialist society in the Soviet, and

the main aspect of his time was that the people of the Soviet had a better life, and that art and science blossomed. At the same time he made mistakes in all these fields. Some of them had serious consequences. But they were faults made because of lack of experience, and on a march that went forwards.

When the Albanian leaders today repeat the same mistakes, it is on the other hand mistakes against better knowledge because the historical experiences are summed up and we do have correct lines. Mao's work on these subjects have even been studied on a mass basis in Albania and at one time steps were taken that pointed further forward. The mistakes that the Albanian leaders now hold up and praise speak of a march backwards.

We consider the future of the communist parties and the socialist countries today to lie in following the course of Mao Tsetung. We believe the price of rejecting Mao's development of the party theory and of the theory for building socialism will turn out to be very high.

Comments on the open letter — part VI

The case of Beqir Balluku and WHO THREATENS BALKANS?



From the 7th congress of the PLA where Beqir Balluku was attacked being an »imperialistic - revisionistic» agent. The Albanian leaders accused him because he agreed with the Communist Party of China. In 1974 Beqir Balluku was executed because he agreed with the leadership of CCP.

THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST CHOU EN-LAI AND BEQIR BALLUKU

In paragraph 7 of the letter Chou En-Lai is accused of having put forward «counter-revolutionary proposals» on behalf of the Chinese leaders in 1968 and 1971.

Chou En-Lai was supposed to have said that Albania could not defend itself alone and did not need heavy military equipment. He is supposed to have advised Albania to defend itself against foreign aggression and from social imperialism and US-imperialism by relying on partisan war and an alliance with Romania or Yugoslavia.

Beqir Balluku, former vice prime minister and minister of defence, then a member of political bureau of the central committee in PLA, is accused of having supported these propositions.

We do not know what happened on this meetings, what the leaders of the CPC meant, what Chou En-Lai said and what Beqir Balluku said and did. But when it comes to the assertion that Chou En-Lai was against Albania having heavy weapons, we would like to point out that Albania did get heavy weapons from China.

Among other things they got China's best tanks, and these were sent to Albania before the Chinese army had enough for themselves. The Albanian leaders do not deny this.

But even if we cannot know what the different parties said at the meetings, we can decide on what the Albanian leaders themselves say in paragraph 7. In our opinion what they say is wrong, and the opinions they polemise against (and that are supposed to be the opinions of the CPC, Mao and Chou and to be supported by Balluku) seem to be correct.



Chinese workers study Mao Zedong Thought. In their open letter the Albanian leaders continue their polemic against Mao. They say that China is a threat to Balkan.

THE YEAR 1968

The leaders of the CPC are supposed to have presented this views for the first time in 1968 through Chou. But was that any year, like all others?

In 1968 Breznev attacked and occupied Czechoslovakia.

For some time the leaders of Romania and Yugoslavia feared a Russian attack on these countries. Especially Romania then considered the danger overhanging.

Albanias reaction to the occupation was to break with the Warsaw pact formally. In reality Albania had been put outside all the leading organs in the Warsaw pact many years before. Albania mobilised. The Albanian leaders said they feared a Soviet attack.

Was it «reactionary» and «warmongering» to suggest measures to prepare the defence of Albania in 1968? Or was it reacting to the strong and dramatically growing threat from social imperialism?

IS ALBANIA TO BE DEFENDED BY A «SHELL DEFENCE»?

Balluku's delegation in 1968 was to strengthen the defence power of Albania. The Albanian leaders now accuse Mao and Chou of advising them to «applying the tactics of partisan warfare in the country».

Yes, and so what? The social imperialists have the world's greatest war machine. It is mechanized and has enormous firing power. Albania is a small country with limited human resources and fewer and less modern weapons and military equipment.

Then what is the alternative to letting social imperialism in and «making use of the method of partisan war in the country»? Logically it means to reject this line and support a «shell defence». That is to use every means to defend the frontiers and by no means to let the enemy in. There are some remarks from the 70s to support the theory that such an idea exists in the Albanian leadership.

And what does that mean? It means that the limited human and military resources of Albania are concentrated in a positional war on the border, a place where the social imperialists will be able to concentrate all their overwhelming numbers and technical equipment against Albania. Such a struggle would have to end in

terrible losses, and the end would have to be defeat for the Albanian soldiers.

The Albanian revolution succeeded through waging a partisan war. The Albanian masses have much experience in partisan war, they have great and heroic courage, and in addition they are dispersed all over a country that nature made well suited for partisan warfare. Earlier the Albanian military writings also stressed the importance of beating an enemy by using this.

Then why was it so wrong to suggest to the Albanians in 1968 that they should prepare themselves for the growing external threat by preparing for partisan warfare?

ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA IMPOSSIBLE AS ALLIES?

Further the Albanian leaders criticise are supposed advice to ally themselves with Romania and Yugoslavia if they should be attacked. If such advice had been given would it then have been wrong? Both Romania and Yugoslavia are opposed to social imperialism. Both countries were against the occupation of 1968. Both felt, and feel, threatened by Breznev.

At the time, and far into the 70s, Albania had party relations with Romania. Officially they counted Romania as a socialist country. There were three countries, and they were all threatened by social imperialism. Would it be «counter-revolutionary» to want them to prepare for joint resistance? We consider it to be quite the opposite. We consider that it would be in Albania's own national interest.

In the beginning of the 70s Enver Hoxa himself stretched out a hand to Romania and Yugoslavia in speeches. He pointed out that despite their differences they were threatened by the same enemy. For a time the words of the Albanian leaders themselves made people believe in a firmer cooperation between the three countries in the future.

When the Albanian leaders now are so energetic in condemning a joint defence with Romania and Yugoslavia against external aggressors, this is a variance with the interests of the people of the Balkans. It weakens the fighting front, especially the one against social imperialism, and that is not in the interest of the Albanian people themselves.

WHAT ARE THE CRIMES OF BEQIR BALLUKU?

Beqir Balluku was turned out and executed. Previously we have printed the Albanian leaders' story of the dispute with Balluku without reservation. In view of what is now revealed in the open letter we must put in some question marks.

Let us first see what the report to the PLA's 7th congress says of Balluku. It says that the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th plenary meetings in the 6th central committee of the PLA «uncovered and made short work of hostile groups of Padil Pacrami and Todi Lubonja, of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Cako, of Abydyz Kellezi, Koko Theodosi and Nico Ngjela». (Report to the 7th congress of the PLA p.122 Eng.ed.). This was a major and extremely dangerous conspiracy. These enemies, in close collaboration among themselves and in coordination with certain foreign revisionist states, intended to liquidate the Party, to overthrow the people's power, to open the way to revisionism and to restore capitalism in Albania.» same volum p.122.

Further it says of Beqir Balluku: «The traitor and putschist group of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Cako was a faction at the head of the army, a group of plotters seeking to overthrow the Central Committee by force, by means of an armed putsch, and to wipe out the Party of Labour of Albania and the dictatorship of the proletariat, while relying also on armed intervention from abroad. To achieve their ends, they worked to weaken the organization of the Party and its leading role in the army, to replace the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our Party with revisionist ideology, to sabotage the military line of the Party and impose their capitulationist and traitor theses on it. They tried to undermine the defence potential of the country and to introduce in the army the detestable methods of the bourgeois and revisionist army.» (the same place p.122-123. It also says: «These groups were imperialist-revisionist agencies in the bosom of the Party and the states». (same place p.123).

What does this open letter tell us? That Balluku considered partisan war the best foundation for the defence of Albania, and that an alliance with Romania and Yugoslavia against possible attack was in the interest of Albania.

It further says that Balluku was supposed to have had contact with China - hardly surprising as it was his duty to negotiate with CPC and the government of China on behalf of the party and the government of Albania. The letter does not accuse Balluku of having cooperated with other countries - for instance Romania or Yugoslavia. It says: «We do not know if Romania or Yugoslavia were informed of these plans...» If we see this in relation to the report to the 7th congress of the PLA we get this picture:

Balluku had contact with «certain foreign revisionist powers». As the letter says China was the only power Balluku had contact with, and as Balluku was turned out in 1974, it means that the letter describes China as a revisionist power long before 1974. But this is not anything new. Further China worked with Balluku to «liquidate the party, overthrow the power of the people, open the doors to revisionism, and regenerate capitalism in Albania.» They also say that Balluku wanted to destroy the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania by trusting in «armed intervention from abroad». This simply means that Balluku before 1974 wanted an armed intervention from China in order to overthrow socialism in Albania! Further: «these groups» (including Balluku) were «agents for imperialism and revisionism». That is to say that China was not only revisionist before 1974, at the time of Balluku's fall, but also imperialist.

We do not accept the claim that Mao Tsetung and China were imperialist and revisionist. We reject the absurd accusations that Mao Tsetung and China in the beginning of the 70s were supposed to conspire to overthrow socialism and regenerate capitalism in Albania by armed intervention. But this means that we cannot trust the accusations against Balluku either.

The only thing left is the accusation that he was in favour of partisan war and for military cooperation with Romania and Yugoslavia against a possible military attack. We do not know if that is correct, but if it is we cannot see anything wrong in that. It is the duty of a minister of defence in a socialist country to work for a strengthening of the country and the revolution's defence against imperialist attacks. If we are to believe this letter, the late minister of defence, vice prime minister and member of the political bureau Balluku wanted to defend the socialist Albania against attack.

Balluku himself cannot plead his cause. As Mao Tsetung pointed out, the problem with cutting off the heads of your political opponents is that no-one has found a way of putting them on again later.

IS CHINA A THREAT TO THE BALKANS?

The open letter is chemically clean from a proper appraisal of the international balance of power, both in the world in general and in the Balkans. There is no argument as to who is the most dangerous enemy of Albania and the other countries of the Balkans. Instead they launch a new fantastic theory of a «Chinese threat» against the people there.

The proposition put forward by Chou En-Lai... (was) «an attempt of reactionary character on the part of the Chinese leadership to drive socialist Albania into the trap of warmongering plots through military alliances, with the final aim of turning the Balkan area into a powder keg.»

«But even at present we are witnessing that the Chinese leadership is displaying unusual zeal to interfere in the affairs of the Balkans, to mix up the cards and to kindle the fire of war in this very sensitive area of Europe. But we are confident that the Balkan peoples will never accept to be set at loggerheads with each other, they will never accept to become tools either of US-imperialism, Russian social imperialism, or Chinese hegemonism.»

While we are at it we also add that in paragraph 9 in the letter (this paragraph will be printed in the seventh excerpt in this series) the Albanian leaders talk about the Chinese «intrigues» and «suspicious alliances» in the Balkans and they say that China is «a great danger to the peoples of this peninsula, for the Yugoslavian, Albanian, Greek, Turkish and other peoples. What relationship have these accusations to reality? Whom do they serve?

Is there a Chinese «hegemonism» in the Balkans? Does China have battleships, military planes, rockets or submarines in the area? Does China have political «control» over any government in the Balkans or is there any government there that can be said to have a policy that is identical to China's? Does China exploit any country in the Balkans economically? All these questions must be answered no.

For marxist-leninists hegemonism is an exact term. It is connected with Lenin's theory of imperialism. Lenin uses the term for strong imperialist states with a supremacy over other states and areas. China has no such supremacy over any areas in the Balkans, she has never had it, has no plans for getting it and has no possibility of getting it either. Therefore talk of Chinese «hegemonism» in the area becomes empty nonsense with no relation to reality.

Who do have bases and hegemony in the Balkans? The two superpowers. USA has bases and troops amongst other places in Greece and Turkey. But the power that has strengthened its grip more than any is the social imperialistic. It is fishing in troubled waters in the relationship between Turkey and Greece, in the conflict on Cyprus, in the conflict between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, in the internal contradictions in Yugoslavia, etc.

Bulgaria is the country that more than any other is a troop deployment area for imperialism in the Balkans. Enver Hoxa has earlier correctly accused the Bulgarian leaders of being accessories to letting their country be used as a starting point for possible Soviet attacks on other Balkan countries. In later years Soviet troops in Bulgaria have been used as a threat to pressure Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey in different situations.

Why does not the letter from the Albanian leaders mention Bulgaria amongst the countries in the Balkans?

The way the letter describes the situation in the Balkans is completely false. The greatest threat is not mentioned. It seems as though the social imperialist threat is systematically underestimated. On the other hand the «yellow peril» is conjured up. That is to say, China, who does not threaten anybody in the Balkans, but who supports the people and states in their fight for independence in the area, is presented as «a threat to peace in the Balkans».

These ghost stories have nothing whatsoever to do with reality. But objectively they serve the interests of Soviet social imperialism.

Commentator.



MAYDAY CELEBRATION IN OSLO



SEIER FOR ERITREAS FRIGJØRINGSKAMP!
 MOT Regjeringens KRISEPOLITIKK
 NETTILTVUNGEN VOLDGIFT OG LØNNSNEDSLAG



Blood in the street were the bomb exploded and Ulf Andersen were hurt. In the background foreign workers from Pakistan with slogans in Norwegian and Urdu.



Workers in a factory who wer in strike last autumn protest against the governments prohibition of wage increase.

POLARBEIDERNE KREVER
 OPPHEV LØNNSSTOPPEN
 REELLE FORHANDLINGER I 1980

Bomb attack against class struggle demonstration

Mayday celebration in Oslo this year was darkened by a fascist attack at the class struggle demonstration of «Faglig 1. mai Front». A fascist named Petter Kristian Kyvik threw a bomb into the demonstration, and seriously hurt Ulf Andersen, who made duty as a guard in the demonstration.

Kyvik threw a bomb into a mass of people, seriously hurting Thomas Wenneberg. These criminal acts have aroused the anger and hatred of the Norwegian people towards nazism. Many mass organizations and trade unions now demand that the nazi party must be forbidden.



6100 persons took part in a class struggle demonstration in Oslo this year. 2000 marched in Bergen and 1900 in Trondheim.

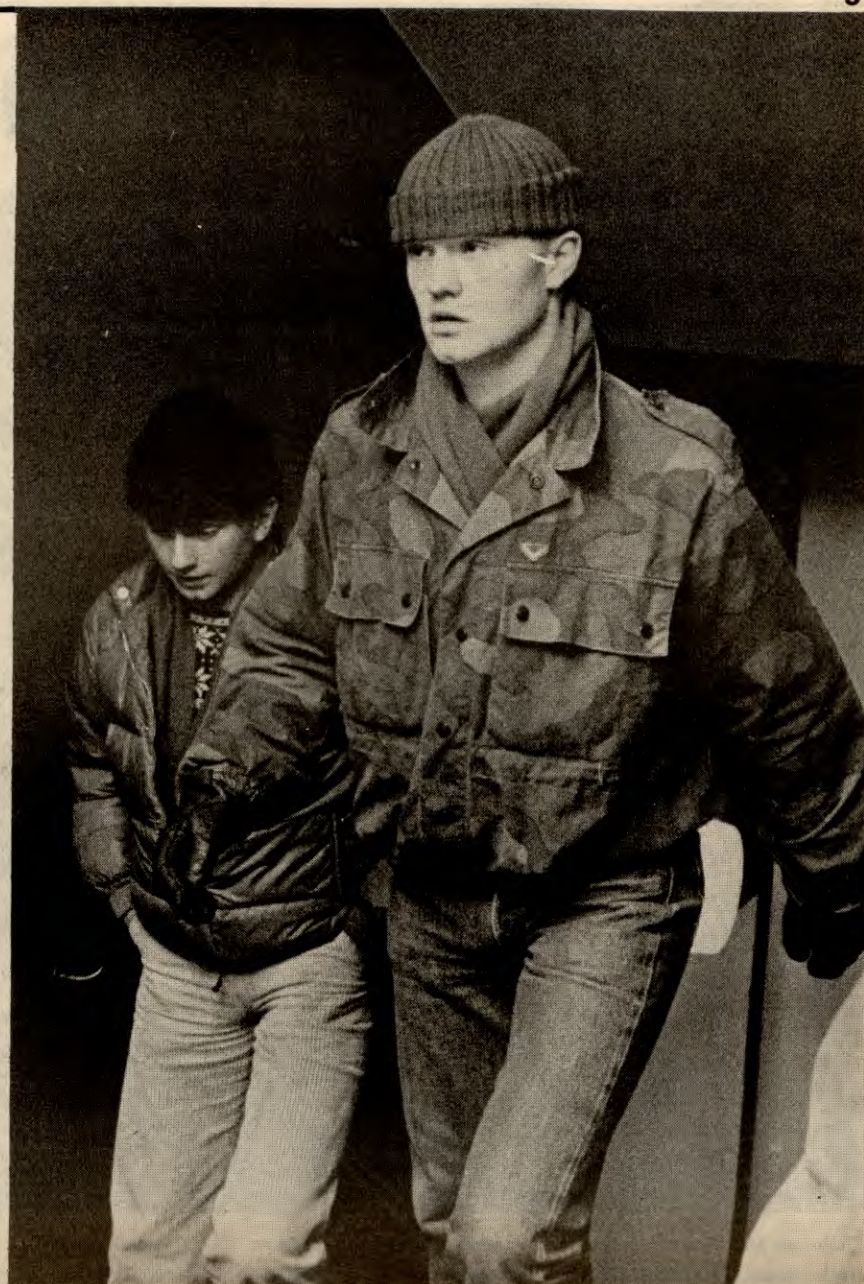


The protest against the government's policy of forbidding wage increases made an important part of the demonstration. The anti-racist section also gathered many people.

The fascist Kyvik belongs to the new nazi party in Norway, the so-called «Norwegian Front». The research of the crime has made it clear that this organization stands behind the bomb attack.

It was not only the act of one single person. The night before Mayday anarchists started a revolt in the centre of Oslo. The nazis interfered in this revolt. Also here

Petter Kristian Kyvik, the nazi terrorist who threw the bomb. The dynamite used in the bomb was stolen and given to him by officers in the military forces. Kyvik is one of the leaders of the «Action Group» of the new-nazi party «Norwegian Front».



On May Day the demand to ban the «Norwegian Front» - the nazi-organisation was strongly supported.



The victim of the bomb: Ulf Andersen (33) at the hospital with 4 fingers damaged, one toe lost and eyes hurt. In another room at the same hospital is the victim of the bomb that was thrown by the neo-nazis the night before the Mayday. Together they issued a statement encouraging people to fight the new nazis.

Comments on the open letter — part VII



Chairman Mao heartily greets the vietnamese comrades Le Duan, Pham Van Dong and Le Than Nghi and wishes them welcome to China. This was in 1973, one year after China, according to the albanian leaders, betrayed the vietnamese liberation struggle by receiving president Nixon.

NIXON'S VISIT TO CHINA - DEFEAT FOR US IMPERIAL

DID NIXON CHANGE THE COLOUR OF CHINA

The Albanian leaders are furious with Mao for inviting the American President Nixon to China in 1972. The arguments are not new. We have heard them from Trotskyists and modern revisionists for years. What is new is Albania's officially joining this sinister alliance attacking the foreign policy of China. The open letter says that »with the Nixons visit, China joined the dance of imperialistic alliances and rivalries for redivision of the world, where China too, would have its own share.»

The powers ascribed to Nixon are not small when he is supposed to be able to make China change colour in a few days. But let this lie. The most important part is to note that the Albanian leaders now declare that this marked the end of Chinas' time as a »genuine socialist country» and that China left the marxist-leninist global movement.

We naturally disagree violently with this insinuation. But before we present our own arguments let us cite what Enver Hoxha said about China, three years after she was supposed to have ended her period of being a »genuine socialist country».

»The greatest enemy of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism are the people of the world with the great China and Mao Tsetung at the head.... All the peoples of the world pin their hopes of liberty, independence and welfare on their own efforts and the China of Mao. They are not mistaken, and their conviction does not have its root in propa-

ganda but in reality, shining as sunlight on the building of socialism in China, which is done in a correct way according to the doctrine of Marx and Lenin and the teachings of Mao Tsetung. It is built on the firm political standpoint of the people of the Republic of China in the international field, on the concrete moral, political and economic help it gives the peoples of the world.» (»The policy of our party is an open policy...» - speech to the voters Oct. 3, 1974).

There is more of the kind in these speech. Three years after China according to the Albanian leaders was supposed to have stopped being a »genuine socialist country» and had »joined in the fight for world domination» China was »the leader of the peoples of the world against imperialism» who had a correct »attitude on the international field».

There are only two possibilities: either Enver Hoxha was right in 1974, and then we must condemn the Albanian leaders of 1978 because they attack a country that is building socialism in a correct manner and that has well deserved prestige amongst the peoples of the world, or the Albanian leaders in 1978 are right and Enver Hoxha must be criticised for proclaiming a coming imperialistic superpower as »the leader of the peoples of the world».

We do not doubt for a moment that Hoxha was right in what he said about China on October 3, 1974, and that what the Albanian leaders now say is counter-revolutionary through and through.

THE ALBANIAN ATTACK IS DEMONSTRABLY UNTRUE

The open letter says »Nixon's visit..... marked the Chinese leaders' betrayal of the real socialistic countries, the Marxist-Leninist movement, the revolution and the peoples' national liberation struggle». This is what the Albanian leaders claim. Let us now view the facts.

National liberation struggles. After 1972

China has helped the liberation movements in Mosambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Timor, Vietnam, Laos, to mention only a few examples. Our sources are the liberation movements themselves as China does not brag about such help.

The Marxist-Leninist movement.

China does not meddle in communist parties of all countries. But after 1972 CPC has received Marxist-Leninists from all over the world, let them see China and exchanged experiences with them. We know that communists that from instance Indonesia and Burma have stayed in China because they were unable to go home. We also know of other cases that we do not refer to here.

Revolution.

After 1972 China was the main support of the revolution in Kampuchea, the only socialist revolution in the world for the last 20 years.

Genuine socialist countries.

China supports Kampuchea - a real socialistic country - against aggression from the USA (the Mayaguez affair in 1975) and from Soviet - Vietnam (up til today). Albania on the other hand supports the aggression against Kampuchea! After 1972 Chi-

na has given Albanin many hundred million crowns worth of help. If the Albanian leaders consider their own country to be »really socialist», how can they then make out that China stopped supporting »real socialist countries» in 1971?

Everyone hwo knows the historical facts must know that this Al-

banian assertion is ridiculous. After 1972 The Albanian leaders have supported the revolutionary movement with words and some deeds, only to turn against it later. The Chinese leaders have strongly supported it in deeds and still do. The comparison is not to the Albanian leaders' advantage.



In the real world there are two imperialistic superpowers, the USA and the Soviet-Union. The USA is on the defensive and Soviet on the offensive. China supports none of the superpowers, but tries to take advantage of the contradictions between the two. These two men have had good reasons for being worried by Chinas foreign policy.

From 1949 and onwards the US imperialism has kept on trying to isolate China, encircle her military and prepare an invasion in China. US imperialism kept China out of the UN and other international bodies, and stopped a number of countries from establishing normal diplomatic relations with China. In spite of the fact that China managed to defy the blockade by relying on her own strength, there is no doubt that the US imperialism in this way made great difficulty for China. Consequently China was interested in changing this situation. That was impossible as long as US imperialism was the leading super power. However, at the time of Nixon's visit to China, USA was losing the war in Indo-China. They were losing their grip on their allies and they were met with resistance from the people everywhere.

That was when Mao found the time opportune to invite Nixon. He saw the possibility of pressuring US imperialism to end the blockade of China and he grabbed the moment. Mao had judged the relative strength correctly. Shortly after Nixon's visit a big part of the blockade which US imperialism had built around China withered. China has a seat in the UN and has established diplomatic relations with a great number of states. In signing the so-called Shanghai communique, set up after the talks between Nixon and Mao, US imperialism was forced to give up a fundamental principle of their postwar foreign policy, while China did not give up one single principle, neither for their own part or vis a vis the liberation movements and the peoples of the world.

CHINA MUST NEGOTIATE WITH REACTIONARY LEADERS OF STATES

The Albanian leaders make a lot of fuss about Nixon being respon-

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sible for murder on a national scale in Vietnam, for the Watergate scandal etc. and they make it a crime to negotiate with this kind of leader of a state.

But as a state China has problems vis a vis USA that were not solved, and they still have. China can not solve these problems in talks with American Marxist-Leninists, for they do not have power in USA. If China wishes to solve problems of state between China and USA, the Chinese government must negotiate with the reactionary rulers in the USA.

The Albanian leaders know perfectly well that this is so, for they behave in the same way themselves. For instance they negotiate with the Ethiopian hangman and whole-scale murderer Mengistu. This is obviously necessary if there is anything they wish to discuss with Ethiopia as a state. If they suddenly developed a principle for not negotiating with reactionary leaders of state, why have they not criticised themselves for their connection with Mengistu? Why do they not criticise the nonaggression pact between Stalin and Hitler's Germany in 1939?

THE WORLD IS CHANGING

The Albanian leaders proudly declare that the attitude of the PLA will continue to be »firm of principle and unchangeable». We cannot very well see other »firm principles» in Albania's present policy that consistent



Chairman Hua Kuo Feng talking to Robert Mugabe, one of the leaders of Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe. This was in 1977 - 6 years after China »betrayed the struggles of liberation of the peoples», according to the Albanian leaders.

attacks on Marxism-Leninism and socialist China. But it is quite revealing that people that call themselves consistent »Marxist-Leninists» brag about an »unchangeable policy». The world is known to change continually. New things develop, old things erupt and disappear. This demands a continual development of the political line. A Norwegian poet once said that »he who stands still goes backwards». This is a good depiction of the attitude of the Albanian leaders.

They still speak about the world as if it has not changed since 1960. In his report to the 7th congress of the PLA Enver Hoxha says: »Imperialism with the US imperialism in front» is »strengthening its grip all over the world», while he criticises »the Krutjev revisionists» (the Soviet leaders) for making »innumerable concessions without principle» vis a vis US imperialism. In real life the situation in the world has changed drastically since 1960. Now we have two imperialistic super powers, the USA and Soviet. And USA is on the defensive and Soviet on the offensive. The Albanian leaders paint a thoroughly false picture of the situation in the world, and after that they blame CPC for not adopting her policy to the Albanian leaders' fairy tales.

CHINA'S POLICY CORRESPONDS TO REALITY

Apart from the alliance with US imperialism, the Albanian criticism of China has its roots in the fact that China in the beginning of the 60s mainly attacked USA but changed her policy to attacking both the imperialistic super powers and lately mainly attack Soviet imperialism. According to the Albanian leaders this is »vaccillating» and »lack of principle» and it is supposed to show that China never meant her criticism of revisionism.

The world is changing and the Albanian leaders blame China, and so show us that they never understood Lenin's analysis of imperialism. »A smooth development of different enterprises, trusts, industrial branches or countries is impossible under capitalism..... Can we imagine the relationship of power between imperialist powers to remain unchanged in ten or twenty years? No, it is unthinkable». (Lenin: Selected Works, Volume 5, Eng. ed.)

But the Albanian leaders can not only imagine it, for them it is a »principle». This is nothing but a new edition of Kautsky's theory of »ultra-imperialism», the idea of the possibility of imperialist countries creating lasting alliances for the joint exploitation of the peoples of the world. Lenin proved this to be impossible. Reality shows that Lenin's theory applies today. While USA was the country to wage colonial wars on several continents at the beginning of the 60s, Soviet is playing this part today. This is an undeniable fact, and the Albanian leaders only get round it by refusing to examine the situation today. This subjectivism can make them claim that both super-powers gain from the war in Angola, as they do in the report to the 7th congress, even though social imperialism actu-

ally won a temporary victory and moved their positions forwards in their struggle for world domination.

If we cut out all the misrepresentations of the Chinese point of view, the complaints from the Albanian leaders about CPC moving through »three phases» is most revealing for themselves. It reminds us of the forced attitude of our domestic »NKP»-revisionists, who still 33 years after 1945 pretend that Nazi Germany is Norway's enemy number one.

It is not only wrong to polemise like the Albanian leaders and the »NKP»-revisionists without bothering about time and place and without caring whether we live in 1940, 1960 or 1978 in question of foreign policy. It is a conscious tactic to make people unaware of the danger from social imperialism, which is the greater danger today.

Unlike the Albanian leaders, China has accepted the real conditions in the world today and planned a revolutionary policy accordingly.

THE LETTER POSES NEW QUESTIONS ABOUT ALBANIAN POLICY

En passant the Albanian leaders reject mao's theory of »letting a hundred flowers blossom» and his thesis about the fight between two lines in the party. We shall not discuss it in full here, but only point out that

the Albanian leaders not only deviate from Marxism-Leninism on a few points. The rejection of »letting a hundred flowers blossom» sets a big question mark at the whole of the Albanian domestic policy. These are questions that we can only answer through studying and investigation. We will probably return to these questions at a later date.

Commentator



In his report to the 7th congress of the PLA Enver Hoxha says: »Imperialism with the US imperialism in front» is »strengthening its grip all over the world», while he criticises »the Krutjev revisionists» (the Soviet leaders) for making »innumerable concessions without principle» vis a vis US imperialism. In real life the situation in the world has changed drastically since 1960. Now we have two imperialistic superpowers, The US and Soviet. And US is on the defensive and Soviet on the offensive. These are two Soviet destroyers.



VIETNAM OUT OF KAMPUCHEA!



The Vietnamese - Soviet invasion of Democratic Kampuchea in January this year, aroused a storm of protests all over Norway. In Oslo about 2000 people took part in a protest march at the 12th of January. In many other towns and places people showed their firm support for the Kampuchean people in their just struggle against the aggressors. Here are some pictures from the events.

In many towns and places in Norway people demonstrated to show their anger towards the Vietnamese - Soviet invasion of Kampuchea. Here people in Hammerfest in northern Norway burn the Vietnamese flag.

Outside the Soviet embassy in Oslo the demonstration stopped. Paint and burning torches were thrown at the embassy. This slogan demands that the Norwegian government must condemn the occupation in the UN.



»Vietnam out of Kampuchea!»



»Vietnam out of Kampuchea» - slogans like this could be seen on many walls in Oslo at the time of the vietnamese invasion in Kampuchea.



In front of The Soviet Embassy in Oslo. They demand Soviet and Vietnam out of Kampuchea.

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- of superpower aggression against Norway.
- of class struggle in Norway,
- of struggle against modern revisionism in Norway.
- of the activities and policy of the Norwegian Marxist-Leninist movement, comprising the AKP (m-l) and its two youth organizations, the Red Youth - RU Rød Ungdom - and the Communist Student League of Norway - NKS Norges Kommunistiske Studentforbund.

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