

LIBERATION
SUPPORT
PRINTING

RADICAL FAGGOT LABOR DONATED

Copies of this pamphlet may be ordered
from the author, Andrea Gabriel, 57 So.
Bannock, Denver, Colorado 80223, USA.
Also available in Spanish.

Single copy, 75¢ post paid
Five or more copies, 50¢ each post paid
Payment must accompany order.

H-K
**GETTING A GRASP
ON THE SITUATION**

**a women's perspective on the
ussr, china, albania and
the theory of the 'three worlds'**

andrea gabriel

GETTING A GRASP ON THE SITUATION: A WOMEN'S
PERSPECTIVE ON THE USSR, CHINA, ALBANIA,
AND THE THEORY OF THE "THREE WORLDS"

Introduction

I am writing an essay about the USSR, China, and Albania, and addressing it especially to women, because too often women have let men do our work for us when it comes to figuring out where our movement fits into the international situation. And this can have some terrible consequences not only for us as women but for all people.

Leftist women have written analyses of international political importance. Yet we lack analysis that comes from active involvement in struggles for the emancipation of women, from a perspective that sees these struggles as critically important in advancing toward socialist revolution and in preventing capitalist restoration once a proletarian victory has been won.

Many of us who are involved in daily battles over health care, child care, union bureaucracy, welfare hassles, violence against women in the streets or at home, or simply in the battle for survival in the face of unemployment, discrimination, cutbacks in public services, and forced work programs, consider ourselves socialists or communists. Some of us have developed distrust (often for good reasons) of "communist" groups we have tried to work with, or else we rely too much on these groups and concentrate only on our own immediate struggles as women, leaving the long-range definition of revolutionary strategy up to people who don't take women's needs and problems seriously.

I am a feminist who has been studying and organizing politically among women for more than fifteen years, in the United States and Latin America. I am also a communist who is convinced there will never be justice or genuine liberation for anyone under capitalism. I have witnessed enormous triumphs and terrible disasters for working and oppressed peoples. I have gained a sober appreciation for the importance of "having the correct line." At the same time I have gained a healthy distrust of those who are absolutely certain they (or more often someone they are following) knows all that needs to be known about revolutionary struggle.

Returning from South America in the fall of 1976, just at the time of the death of Mao Tse-tung and the subsequent purge of many members of the Chinese Communist Party who were close to him, I found myself unable to become oriented politically in the United States. I realized the need to assess the importance of these events for the communist

movement. Others whom I was close to politically were similarly disoriented. It seemed to us that the events in China immensely overshadowed all the other theoretical and practical problems facing the movement.

We had been seeing in Chile and Peru the influence of reformism and revisionism in holding back popular movements. We read documents and books that helped us understand ways in which these tendencies were related to the process of restoration of capitalism that was taking place in the Soviet Union and why they had to be defeated.

Nothing prepared us better than this experience and study to confront the reality of what seemed to be taking place in China. So we undertook to make as thorough an assessment as we could of the situation in China and were able to publish a 100-page analysis by March of 1977. The study focussed on the campaign against the "Gang of Four" who were arrested after Mao Tse-tung's death and on other developments, such as new trade policies and changes in Party leadership at the local and provincial level. We concluded from our study that what was in fact taking place was a consolidation of power by the right-wingers in the Party, something that had already been evident in Chinese foreign policy since 1971. We titled our study The Capitalist-Roaders are still on the Capitalist Road: the two-line struggle and the revisionist seizure of power in China. (see bibliographical references) The title came from a line in one of Chairman Mao's writings where he had declared that capitalist restoration was a real possibility in China and that the "capitalist-roaders" likely to attempt usurpation of power were "right inside the Party."

We updated the study several months after initial publication, on the eve of the restoration to power of Teng Hsiao-ping, who had been removed from his posts during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, "rehabilitated" in 1973, and once again removed from his posts in the spring of 1976, at the initiative of Chairman Mao.

The general direction we saw the Chinese government taking has been confirmed by a great many new developments, which can now be summarized in simplified form. The first study lays out the general areas in which the class struggle in China is unfolding, contrasting the political line prevailing inside China before the events of October, 1976, with that being pursued by the new government, and putting both of these in historical perspective. However, it does not compare these specifically with the similar events that had occurred in the USSR a generation earlier, and it does not discuss the role of Albania in the current international communist movement, nor the implications of these events for our own struggles.

In the present essay I would like to address these last issues and to summarize a critique of the foreign policy first enunciated by Teng Hsiao-ping before the United Nations in 1974, and recently elaborated and defended by the new government as the Theory of the "Three Worlds."

While there is no direct evidence other than the new government's accusations that the "Gang of Four" tried to sabotage implementation of the Theory of the "Three Worlds" (and it is evident they did not defend or explain it in their writings), the theory itself has been the subject of more intense debate among leftists throughout the world than any of the other policies of the present Chinese government because it affects us all more directly. Any study of the situation in China that does not take up this question is seriously incomplete, especially since the debate has inspired the formation of a new anti-revisionist movement worldwide, headed by the Party of Labor of Albania, and we must decide as women how to relate to that movement.

Both my understanding of the two-line struggle in China, and my understanding of the process of restoration of capitalism in the USSR are based primarily on analyses of official publications of these countries made by members of the China Study Group and by others. The bibliographical references at the end of this pamphlet, together with those listed in The Capitalist-Roaders..., are the major sources of the analysis made in this essay, and these are subject to review, elaboration and/or correction as more information becomes available. The sources of data on which the analyses are based do not tell us much regarding the effects of current political struggles on the situation of women. My own writing therefore reflects this lack and is not as consistently woman-oriented as I would like it to be.

In order to make the pamphlet readable and accessible to people who need a general orientation before undertaking more study on their own, I have purposely avoided footnoting the many assertions made, or backing them up with quotations from important people. Only in the case of new assertions (those which have not been published previously) have I presented several pages of verification as part of this essay (see pages 11-15). These have to do with the feminist critique I am making of those who are looking to Albania for salvation from revisionist leadership in the worldwide communist movement.

I hope an attempt to write about these issues in a way that can bring more people "into the fray" will not be seen as an effort to further confuse an already divided movement. We know that disillusionment with developments in the nations where great social revolutions have taken place has been the basis for many of our divisions and for many of our difficulties in winning over our sisters and brothers to revolutionary action. Such setbacks cannot be wished away, however.

under capitalism (individual bonuses for hard work and responsibility) or the accumulation of profits at the enterprise level (pitting one enterprise against another). This drive was called the Great Leap Forward. Some leaders resisted change and fought for the restoration of capitalism at this point, but they were exposed and defeated. In spite of drought and other hardships, the Chinese economy surged forward on the basis of self-reliance and increased equality among workers and between workers and peasants. Divisions between intellectual and manual work were lessened, as were differences in work roles between women and men. No one could be exclusively an administrator, as supervisory responsibilities were delegated by workers and everyone was expected to do manual work. Industries were developed in the countryside. By building up larger and larger units of communal organization, great feats were accomplished to level the land, build irrigation systems, and control flooding. The mechanization of agriculture was undertaken without forcing peasants to move to the big cities, since industries for processing agricultural products, tool-making, etc. were established on the communes. Local initiative was spurred on by the central government to encourage conservation and to develop health and education facilities throughout China. Schools were moved to the people, and "barefoot doctors" brought both preventive and curative health care to the village level, combining traditional and modern techniques. Teachers were expected to serve the immediate needs of the people instead of teaching from foreign textbooks, and both students and teachers spent part of their time doing practical work.

In order to make these gains permanent, and to defeat the backlash resulting from them by some of those who hoped to defend special privileges, great educational movements were initiated. First it was necessary to expose those who wanted to move backward toward capitalist restoration in the face of difficulties. Chairman Mao called for a "hundred flowers to bloom", encouraging the free expression of ideas so that backwardness could be exposed and "poisonous weeds" eliminated. Thus, when Liu Shao-chi (who was then Chairman of the Peoples' Republic) tried to use the Socialist Education Movement to prevent the success of the drive toward further communization, he met with criticism and lost the respect of many Chinese who believed that the revolution would be lost by failing to push forward toward greater and greater equality. By 1966, the class struggle within the Party had become so intense that Chairman Mao called on the masses of Chinese people to expose and repudiate those leaders who were betraying their cause, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began.

It took several years before leaders such as Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-pong (then General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party) were removed from their posts. Universities were closed during this entire period and students formed brigades (Red Guards) to investigate situations in schools, factories, and municipal headquarters where people had complained of bureaucracy, conservatism, and abuse of power by Party leaders. Sometimes newspaper offices were taken over, factories were shut down, and huge demonstrations were held, occasionally erupting in violence caused by factional disputes between different groups of students and workers. Some "Red Guard" units had actually been organized by the very bureaucrats who were fighting to retain their power.

Some of those who inspired the masses to action and at the same time helped to contain the struggle so that the Party itself would not be destroyed were Yao Wen-yuan, Chang Chun-chiao, Wang Hung-wen, and Chiang Ching, Mao's wife. One of their most difficult tasks was to discourage the formation of a municipal government in Shanghai patterned after the Paris Commune of 1871 in which the Party and the Army would be replaced by popularly elected bodies. While Shanghai may have been ready for such a radical advance toward communism, Chairman Mao said that the establishment of such a plan in Shanghai could give rise to demands for similar forms of organization by reactionaries in other places where the class struggle was not so advanced and where they could take advantage of the situation to enforce their own rule. Thus, three-in-one revolutionary committees were set up throughout China, in which Party members, representatives of the Army, and people chosen from among the workers would administer production, education, and all other areas of Chinese life..

This compromise was not welcomed by all those who had been active in the Cultural Revolution, but those who implemented it in Shanghai (called the "Gang of Four" by the present Chinese government, subsequent to their arrest) continued leading popular struggles there and elsewhere, hoping to defend the gains of the Cultural Revolution and advance class struggle throughout China.

At the climax of the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao, who was then Mao's chosen successor to the Party chairmanship, attempted to consolidate his own power as head of the Army by building up a cult around the person of Mao while at the same time he plotted to undermine class struggle by imposing absolute military rule, even by causing Mao's "accidental" death, if necessary. His plot was uncovered and he was killed while attempting to flee the country.

Since Lin had been close to Chiang Ching and Mao and had upheld support for national liberation movements and opposed conciliation with US imperialism, his betrayal was difficult to understand. A campaign was launched to criticize him in study groups throughout China. He was compared with Confucius, who ruled the country by building up so much respect for tradition and authority that the people's initiative was seen as evil, and fighting oppression was seen as lack of "respect" toward elders, toward men, and toward the government. During this campaign, the emancipation of women was stressed as one of the most important fronts of struggle and women were encouraged to push beyond previous gains. Mao had said, "Whatever a man can do, a woman can do." Now a new slogan was advanced, much more difficult to realize - "Whatever a woman can do, a man can do" (i.e. men can take care of children, cook, and wash clothes).

Today the Chinese government is accusing the "Gang of Four" of manipulating the criticism of Lin Piao "to their own ends." Many women and national minorities were brought into the Party during the period following the Cultural Revolution. The present leaders say the "Gang of Four" tried to do "rush recruitment" and did not show proper respect for experience as a qualification for Party leadership.

The present government has purged nearly half the 319 members of the Party's Central Committee during this past year, and many of these cadre have been replaced by those who were exposed, criticized, and removed from their posts during the Cultural Revolution. In Peking and Shanghai, where municipal leaders were the first to be exposed and defeated during the Cultural Revolution, those who replaced them have now been arrested and the old leaders are back in positions of power. At the universities not only have leading officials (those who took office during the Cultural Revolution) been arrested, but the worker propaganda teams that were sent in after the Cultural Revolution to carry out transformation at the universities so they could better serve the needs of the people have been disbanded and many of their members arrested.

The Peoples' Militia has resisted the Army's occupation of the railroads, the universities, and of factories and farms in many of China's provinces since the beginning of the purge. The government has sent more than 400,000 work-teams to the countryside to carry out "rectification". Local Party Secretaries who fail to carry out criticism against the "Gang of Four" are removed from their posts and in some cases put to death. Heads of most of the government ministries have been replaced. Among those arrested are nearly all the members of Mao Tse-tung's family, including his nephew and personal secretary until his death, Mao Yuan-hsin.

While the present Chinese government continues to criticize Russian "revisionism", its struggle with the USSR appears more and more motivated by pure "national interest", dispute over territory, allies, and military superiority, and less and less motivated by ideology.

The characteristics of Russian revisionism, as defined by the Chinese themselves in the 60's are, briefly, the following:

1. The state no longer regulates the economy but rather regulation is based exclusively on cost-accounting methods and through "wheeling and dealing". This means that "to them that hath it shall be given". Whatever someone will pay for, or whatever can be made cheaply and sold at a profit, that is what will be produced. State plans are published after-the-fact, allowing regional ministries to bargain over priorities and make deals under the table, letting market conditions dictate production methods and the use of resources.
2. Both the means of production and labor are increasingly regarded as commodities. Under socialism, the means of production (natural resources, factories, machinery, farms, etc.) are expropriated so that speculation is no longer possible. Labor is still paid for, but the gradual elimination of "bourgeois right" (special privileges) is instituted to pave the way for communism, when labor ceases to be a commodity. In the USSR, these features are being reversed. Workers, instead of organizing to improve working conditions, are encouraged to quit and seek other jobs (many are fired, and over half change jobs every year). In the face of unemployment, the state undertakes to "rent out" workers. Credits are given only to those enterprises that are "good credit risks". Price fluctuations for tractors, industrial machinery, and buildings results in illegal buying and selling. Production Associations (trusts) force "inefficient" operations to close down. These things are justified in official publications by saying that "classes no longer exist in the Soviet Union," which is now "the state of the whole people".
3. Workers are separated from organs of state control. The Army is used to maintain central authorities in power, nearly all of whom came to power after Stalin's death. As a result, speedup is encouraged through bonus systems (individual material incentives). One third of enterprise profits are re-invested in the same enterprise outside of state planning. Professional managers assume control of production and share unequally in profits. Housing, transportation, and medical care are deteriorating, while production of vodka and high fashions are

the fastest-growing sectors of the economy. Use of domestic servants is increasing, high-schoolers no longer want to become workers, and art and literature glorify Army, Navy, and technology rather than presenting workers and masses as heroes. All this is justified officially by the "theory of productive forces" which says that only when industrial expansion is sufficiently advanced can communist policies be introduced.

4. Foreign relations are dictated by narrow national interests based on the competitive drive for profits by Production Associations. While expanding its own sphere of commerce, the Soviet Union restricts that of its client states and tries to promote their economic dependency. Thus it can pay cheap prices for imported goods and demand high prices for exports, extract profit from loans, control economic growth in client states, exploit their labor, and thus facilitate the economic growth of the USSR. This is called by the Soviet theoreticians the "international socialist division of labor." Its effect is heightened competition between the USSR and other imperialist powers, collaboration in preventing revolution where necessary ("peaceful transition", "non-capitalist road of development", and other types of legal reformism) or, if this is impossible, military coups or attempts to coopt and take over revolutionary movements for the ultimate benefit of the capitalists in the USSR. One mechanism through which these strategies are employed is the (revisionist) Communist Party in the client state.

In reading reports coming out of China today, particularly those put out officially by the government, one readily finds the same characteristics developing that we have seen in the USSR since the 50's.

The "theory of productive forces" is still denied ritualistically in speeches, while it is in fact vigorously advanced at every opportunity. China's present major goals, officially, are "modernization" and "unity and stability". Any attempts to move beyond the principle "to each according to their work" (a socialist principle which contains within it justification for special privileges and which must be gradually replaced by the communist principle "from each according to their ability, to each according to their need") are labeled utopian and therefore reactionary. Material incentives and personal privileges are used to spur on economic development. Work quota systems (speed-up) are encouraged. Titles have been restored, entrance examinations have been re-instituted in the schools, and open enrollment programs giving opportunities to minorities,

peasants, and women, have been denounced. The delegation of administrative responsibility by workers has been stopped. Intellectual workers are no longer required to do manual work. The three-in-one revolutionary committees have been replaced by professional management. Profit is now advanced as the legitimate determinant of enterprise success, and local initiative together with central planning are being replaced by control by ministries which resemble corporate trusts in the United States and the Production Associations in the Soviet Union. Huge imported industries financed by the sale of oil and coal, and by foreign loans, are a priority development, while small industrial enterprises relying on local technology are downgraded. Workers are encouraged to "shop around" for jobs. The linking of scientific research with daily work is being replaced by development of a few elite scientific centers. New rules and regulations are used to exert administrative control over workers and replace rational rules determined by workers in industries. The Army is building up its reliance on hardware, modern imported technology, and professionalization, at the expense of a militia-type grassroots organization capable of protracted warfare.

The "Gang of Four" are accused of plotting to "take over the government". One of the specific attacks they made during 1976 (before Mao's death), on those who are presently in control is that they encouraged the production of movies and other works of art that would help the people identify capitalist-road tendencies in certain government officials. They were also in charge of developing political study groups in the factories and in the Army, and they had the sympathy of many militia units which are now labeled "subversive". Through their official influence in the press (Yao Wen-yuan was Director of Propaganda for the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party) they were able to lead in the campaign launched by Mao Tse-tung in 1975 to fight against the "Right Deviationist Wind in the Party", a campaign that was abruptly halted when Mao died.

The movies that are now being shown widely in China either glorify technology rather than class struggle or portray old military campaigns and historical periods that do not motivate people to continue class struggle. Imported films, art, and music are also distributed freely and western classical music has replaced Chinese folk music in trains and other public broadcasts.*

*Defenders of government policy claim that it wants only to overcome the "rigidity and stereotyping" that characterized post Cultural Revolution art. However, the movies produced in the spring of 1976 that were immediately banned by the new government seem to be remarkably free of these characteristics and it is likely that their realism and improved style is exactly what the new leaders could not tolerate.

Most significantly, the present government, while still maintaining a strong stand with regard to its territorial claims (Taiwan being the chief among these), is rapidly and aggressively courting military, trade, and cultural ties with the United States and with other members of the Western Alliance. While as shortly as a year ago the Chinese government was still quoting Mao Tse-tung's declaration that "either revolution will prevent world war or world war will lead to revolution", they now say instead that "world war is inevitable." The strategy put forward is to unite with one superpower against the other instead of to "turn imperialist war into civil war". The Chinese delegation in Washington regularly entertains members of the Committee on the Clear and Present Danger, a group of ultra-right-wing politicians and businessmen whose main interest is in pushing for more expenditure on military buildup to defend the Western Alliance.

The Chinese government is also interested in purchasing US military hardware and in gaining foreign exchange for this purpose through inviting wealthy Americans to visit China. While the debate goes on in US ruling circles about how close an alliance should be made with China, the Chinese government is purchasing military equipment from other Western states. It supports NATO, the B-1 bomber, trident submarine, the neutron bomb, and US bases in Japan - while at the same time criticizing "escalation of war preparations."

The establishment of military ties between China and the United States is linked with the Chinese government's assessment that the "main danger in the world is Soviet social-imperialism". Earlier China urged the world's peoples to resist "both superpowers" (the US and the USSR). For some time, however, they have allied with any force that opposes the Soviet Union, even if such a force serves US imperialism explicitly (including such "Third World" leaders as Augusto Pinochet of Chile and the Shah of Iran, whose brutalization of workers and peasants is unequalled in the world.*

"Third World" governments which oppose the USSR are seen as the motor force of history, replacing class struggle. The Marxist concept that national liberation is achieved through the class struggle inside a country subjugated by imperialism is replaced by one which encourages subjugated peoples to accept leadership of their pro-imperialist governments in working toward economic development under capitalism.

*These alliances are evidenced by unwillingness to criticize or denounce the actions of these leaders and by increasing trade ties, advancing of credits, and the frequency of state visits in which warm ties of friendship and common purpose are expressed.

Chinese government policies have a disastrous effect on the world's poor, who are without support from their former allies in revolutionary struggle and can easily become pawns in superpower contention. In Africa, for instance, the United States and China are both defending the government of Zaire, one of the most reactionary regimes on the continent, with the purpose of preventing the expansion of Soviet interest. The legitimate needs of the people for national liberation and socialism do not even merit a word of moral support from the Chinese government.

In the first official elaboration of the Theory of the "Three Worlds" (Peking Review #45, 1977), China itself is included in the "Third World" because it is backward technologically, and whether it is socialist or capitalist is not thought to be of strategic importance. This is in marked contrast with Marxist tenets of international proletarianism which emphasize the split between the capitalist world and the socialist world and the split between exploited and exploiting classes as the major contradictions in the world and therefore the major bases for revolutionary strategy.

By definition, the "First World" is the highly developed nations which have attained superpower status, the "Second World" are those smaller capitalist nations who, according to Teng Hsiao-ping, are bound to oppose the superpowers (major evidence to the contrary - these nations can be counted on to ally with one or the other of the superpowers at some point, as China herself is now doing), and the "Third World" are all the rest of the world's "countries and peoples." Definitions are vague, so that a country such as Australia can variously be defined as "Second World" or "Third World", but these distinctions are no longer important since the line of opposing both superpowers has given way to that of a united front (including the United States) against the Soviet Union.

While China earlier criticized the Soviet Union for collaboration with the United States in preventing revolution in Latin America and in Africa, China is now doing exactly the same, by allying herself militarily, economically, and politically with governments whose main task is to uphold US hegemony in the face of rising rebellion by workers and peasants. In some cases these governments are forced by circumstances in their own countries to appear "revolutionary" and "anti-imperialist", but their dependence on the worldwide capitalist system prevents them from pursuing genuine anti-imperialist politics. Such is the case, for example, with Panama, whose agreement with the US over the canal is lauded by the Chinese government and by the USSR, as a "great victory for the Panamanian people" while it is in fact an invitation to even more thorough penetration by US capital in Panama so that by

the time the canal is "nationalized," twenty years hence, the Panamanian economy will be inviolable to the threat of "Panamanian" influence.

A number of documents have been published during the past year exposing the Theory of the "Three Worlds" and its defense of NATO, SEATO, and other organs of the Western Alliance, as reactionary politics which have nothing to do with Leninism or Marxism. Very few of these documents explicitly say that this theory is that of the Chinese government, even though the Chinese proudly proclaim it from the pages of Peking Review every week. There are exceptions, however, and I would particularly like to recommend the Open Letter of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile to the Communist Party of China, which details the Chilean Party's history of relations with the Chinese Party and its reasons for breaking those relations.

One of the first statements to be distributed around the world protesting the Theory of the "Three Worlds" was Theory and Practice of the Revolution, which first appeared in the Albanian press in the summer of 1977. Albania has not broken ties with China (nearly all of its trade is still with the Chinese),* but it has pursued an independent and valiant course in building socialism and upholding class struggle in the world. It has exposed the revisionism of the Soviet Union consistently and effectively since the early 1960's. Albania's Enver Hoxha has become the world's leading spokesperson in upholding the concept of the "dictatorship of the proletariat", just as Lenin was when European "Marxists" were turning toward social democracy in the early part of this century.

Today, many communist parties around the world are looking to the establishment of a new International based on the example of Albania and opposed to the revisionism of the Soviet Union and China. A similar movement occurred in the 60's when many Marxist-Leninists broke ties with the Soviet Union and rallied around China.

It would be dangerous to count on the present Albania-led movement to save us from our present state of disorganization and confusion. A new International is certainly in order but it will have to be based on strict equality among member organizations and on a willingness to struggle around political line. The reasons lie in the obvious fact that all of us have ultimate responsibility for leadership in building revolutionary movements wherever we are and in defending and encouraging genuine revolutions against all forms

*As this paper goes to press, a break seems imminent, as China is reportedly withdrawing all economic and technical aid from Albania.

of colonialism and chauvinism, against capitalism, and against revisionism, and we cannot relax from this obligation in the name of reliance on the kind of "revolutionary authority" which has so clearly failed to uphold class struggle in the past.

While Albania is certainly a progressive force in the worldwide communist movement, the Albanians are themselves guilty of revisionism in their assessment of the strategic goals for the communist movement in relation to half the working class, women. There has never been a great movement for the emancipation of women in Albania. Official publications about women which have appeared recently are extremely patronizing. They are in the nature of apologies for backwardness and a belated groping for a Party program which can advance the position of women without making any big investments or causing radical changes in the social structure.

Albanian statements regarding women are reminiscent of historical periods in other places where feudal traditions were giving way to the demands of industrialization under capitalism. There is little that would indicate the growth of socialist consciousness or practice. The whitewashing of this problem by North American "leftists" who claim, in their search for a Camelot, that the Albanians are in the forefront of the struggle for the emancipation of women, shows that Albania's backwardness regarding women can be used as an excuse or justification for our own backwardness. Because this is true, it will undoubtedly be necessary to write more extensively on this question in the future. For the present, it should suffice to present some excerpts from an Albania state publication of 1975,* which is being made available internationally through groups that support the "revolutionary authority" of Albania in the worldwide communist movement. One has to suspect that they have not even taken time to read the book themselves.

On page 8, Enver Hoxha is quoted and women are defined, as mothers, wives, and sisters - who should be given some consideration:

"Comrades, every man, every communist . . . should turn his thoughts to the sufferings of the women of Albania in the past and, unfortunately, to their actual sufferings at the hands of the remnants of the past and think the best, cherish the purest of thoughts about the mother who gave birth to him, who suckled and brought him up, about his wife, his equal partner in life, about his daughter, the pride of the new society, about all the

*Problems of the Struggle for the Complete Emancipation of Women. The Political Book Publishing House, Tirana, Albania. Gamma Publishing Co., P.O. Box 206, N.Y., N.Y. 10008.

mothers and sisters of Albania, fight in their defense against the evil remnants of the past, help them in their work and life and be modest and honest towards them.."

On page 28, the need to exploit female labor more efficiently is discussed:

"Therefore, according to comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, we must fight both in the direction of training the women in certain skills as well as in the direction of assigning them to some of the simple jobs and work processes that today are held by men, in order to make the latter available for jobs where the Motherland may need them most. Efforts must be exerted to assign these women either to jobs in the handicraft professions which have mostly been done by women, and which demand no great physical exertion nor a prolonged period of time to be mastered, or to jobs in the heavy industry, which having been mechanized do not demand much physical exertion on the part of the women.

In the countryside the woman is not only more heavily burdened than man, but infinitely more so than her women comrades in the city. There she takes part in work and often conveys the impression as if the women work more in the fields, but, from what one notices there, too, there are reserves for work resulting especially from the incomplete exploitation of the working time and this comes about not through any fault of the women, but because of the special conditions of the woman who is a mother and a housekeeper in the family, at the same time."

On page 78, the position of women in industry is summarized:

"In some branches of economy, where the majority of workers are women, as in the canning, food-processing, and soap making industries, as well as in food packing production and in a number of other processes, 80% of the work is done by hand."

On page 101, the participation of women in government and education is discussed:

"Women's representation in the state organs differs from one organ to another. In some organs their number is smaller. Thus, in state executive organs, there are few women members of Executive Committees, while as members of the people's councils of districts women make up 35% of all the members. It turns out that the election of women to people's councils does not proceed parallel with their election to state executive organs. A kind of inequality exists here which is caused mainly by sub-

jective difficulties, the survival of the old concepts according to which 'women are unable to do managerial work'. Such concepts have been got rid of especially since Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of February 6, 1967, but some hangovers of them still exert their influence on the promotion of women to posts of leadership, particularly in the management of state organs. There exist some objective difficulties as well, such as the educational level of women, being generally lower than that of men, which should be overcome through efforts. Bearing in mind that among the women elected to the state executive organs, especially to the district Executive Committees, there are many of them who are in charge of other posts and few of them directly engaged in the daily management of state affairs, the problem assumes greater importance. In this way, the fight against these obstacles should be further intensified."

On page 157, the breakdown of arranged marriage practices is cited:

"Thus, for instance, in Mirdita, one of the areas where the old customs were more deeply rooted until recently, cases of marriage based on love and on the future couple's consent are not rare. From the questions put to 50 families, with the head of the family working in industrial enterprises, but still living in villages, it resulted that 10 couples were married of their own accord and with the consent of their parents, 9 couples on the parents' initiative and the approval of the future couple whereas 31 couples by means of go-betweens."

On page 163, comments on statistics regarding age at the time of marriage reveal official bias in favor of patriarchal traditions:

"During 1964 in our country there were 43 marriages of women 5-10 years older than their husbands, and only 11 marriages of women over 10 years older than their husbands. The rarity of such marriages is a positive tendency, in favour of the strengthening of family stability, if we bear in mind the fact that women have an earlier physiological development than men. . In the present matrimonial relations the main place is occupied by marriage of men with women 1-10 years younger."

On page 188, women's biological and social roles are defined:

Enver Hoxha says, "that is to say, of renewing life, of giving the homeland children, its population. This is

a major role in the world! There is no life without women." This noble sacred mission, just like everything else that concerns women, has been underrated and resented by the ideologists of reactionary classes of all times .. Second, women are not only natural bearers of life, but also the natural teachers of children, of the younger generation.

On page 200, the level of the development of public services to relieve women of the burden of the "double shift" is described:

"The recent instructions of the Government to create facilitating conditions for women, stress that we should not be content with opening only one creche, but should strive to have more of them, to have one in every village or city quarter. Every agricultural cooperative should strive to set up its own maternity clinic and bakery. We should find the most suitable and efficient ways to achieve this without making great investments for these projects." (emphasis ours.)

On page 210, familiar assertions are made regarding the economic power of women in the home, even when they do not have the elementary right to receive their own salaries:

"Regarding the participation of women in administering the family incomes, we might admit that good progress has been made in spite of the fact that the incomes of all members of the family are paid to the husband who, in turn, hands them over to his wife."

On page 211, women's backwardness in spending habits is described without any reference to the dependent condition out of which such habits grow:

"Through their demands and suggestions, peasant women and girls have their say in spending the family incomes. Of course, this is an achievement that strengthens their positions in the family; however, girls and women still go on making unnecessary expenditure only for the sake of appearance. It is observed that - and this is due to the negative influence of the town - excessive expenditures are made for the dowry of girls, a phenomenon that has assumed an almost widespread and obligatory character for all. It is also observed that people pay more attention to the furnishing of the rooms than to the hygiene of the house."

On page 213 and 214, the contempt in which women are held is further demonstrated by a simple statement defining the "emancipated" position of women in the family:

"It should be noted that if a woman becomes a widow she is not compelled to stay with her husband's parents, or with her brother-in-law as they used to before; now she might live together with her children and become the head of the family. The woman, however young she might be, can substitute her husband (the head of the family) in everything concerning the family affairs. She may well represent the family before the state and cooperative organs, and replaces her husband when he is away on some state errands for a relatively long time. Such cases have occurred especially when the head of the family is away pursuing a course or attending a school of specialization, takes part in some mass undertaking, goes to the mountain areas of the country for exchange of experience for a period of one to three years, and so on. These transformations have strengthened the new cooperative family and the position of the woman in it."

Even allowing for the extreme abuse to which women have been subject historically in Albania, no one can argue that after 30 years of "liberation" it is justifiable to claim that the "equal partnership in marriage" attained there makes Albania a leader in the struggle for socialism.

In the first years of both the Chinese and Russian revolutions, the necessity of transforming the traditional family structure was stressed as a principle goal of the revolution. The family based on economic and blood ties was to be replaced by forms of intimate life based exclusively on love and cultural and political affinity. Community support organizations were to make exploitive labor in the home obsolete, and women were to be given full equality at the workplace. Thus, personal relations based on individual choice would not be a license for irresponsibility toward women or children.

Women, as primary victims of the old patriarchal family structure, were put in charge of implementing new marriage laws and educating the people to combat sexism. The backlash was severe, sometimes violent. Economic dislocation and the threat of counter-revolution was so apparent that in both China and the USSR the Party reversed its policies. In the USSR, laws affecting women and the family were changed dramatically in the 1930's. Divorce and abortion were made more difficult, old laws against homosexuality were reinstated, and motherhood was glorified. In China, the Party did not continue to back up the women sent out to the field,

but instead recalled them and declared, in the early 50's, that women were effectively "liberated". The "theory of productive forces" was used to slow down class struggle waged by women on their own behalf. Eventually it was officially declared that a partially reformed family structure was consistent with the overall goals of the revolution. No radical changes were envisioned for the future. Since women did not hold real power in the Party, either in the USSR or in China, and certainly not in the Army, these initial revisionist steps could be taken fairly easily.

In spite of these important setbacks for the worldwide communist movement, great advances have been made by women in Albania, as well as in China and the USSR, and these are not to be overlooked or belittled. But real emancipation for women cannot occur as long as women are subordinated in political structures (so much so that one man is the arbiter of their fate!) Nor can it occur without a radical break from the economic dependency and emphasis on blood ties (biological parents caring for their children) associated with the traditional nuclear family.* The nuclear family has nurtured individualism, consumerism, male chauvinism, racism, and respect for heredity and authority, all necessary underpinnings of capitalism, and it encourages the "double shift" for women, which keeps women in less responsible positions both at work and in government and thus provides a pool of exploitable reserve labor and a conservative political outlook favorable to capitalist restoration.

Can we honestly say that a Dictatorship of the Proletariat exists which can assure the defeat of the bourgeoisie and the elimination of bourgeois right if a society is only moving (slowly and hesitatingly at that!) to eradicate feudal family forms and replacing them with capitalist ones? If the family form which has served the bourgeoisie so well is upheld and defended as the model way for all comrades to live, and is used as the accounting unit of the society, can we honestly expect mental attitudes favorable to capitalism to wither away?

*For many of us living under capitalism we have no assurance that our offspring would be well cared for by any other arrangement, and we feel a need for the security of their devotion to us. Custody battles reflect the tragedy of our present situation. But we can see that under socialism the conditions can be built for a genuine community of purpose. Whether these conditions do in fact come into being will be a good test of whether the society is moving toward communism or simply using the word for public relations purposes.

Policies implemented at any given time are less important in assessing the direction that a revolution is going than are the power relations that exist. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat means that working people, those who have been exploited under capitalism, hold military power over their former exploiters and oppressors until such time as non-exploitive structures are firmly established and the need for repression no longer exists. The establishment of progressive policies is not enough to assure socialism. What this means for us as women should be clear enough by now.

We know from our own experience in revolutionary movements that when women try to push ahead within Left ("left?") organizations for radical positions on the questions that affect them, we are labelled "ultra-feminists", "petty-bourgeois individualists", "anarchists" etc. We are even labelled "anti-working-class", in spite of the fact that women are the most exploited sector of the working class and any movement that excludes us and belittles our struggle is holding back the unity and strength of the working class. We also know that when men try to "lead" in redefining family forms they do so out of a position of power and privilege and therefore tend to distort revolutionary aims to their own immediate personal advantage. (When women rebel against our role as servants of men and children, for instance, "revolutionary" men often begin to prefer "casual" personal relationships, and they justify this as a move toward the "liberation" of women.)

Those who would try to define women's struggle for us (telling women who choose to be open lesbians, for instance, that we cannot be revolutionary cadre), or who would try to limit our struggle or give it low priority in the name of "unity" and "stability", are revisionists, and while we must learn from them in some ways precisely because they have enjoyed privileges which we have not, we can not look to them for leadership of the working-class movement.

There are other reasons why we cannot look to the parties and groupings now forming closely around the PLA (Party of Labor of Albania) for ultimate leadership of the worldwide anti-revisionist movement. One of these has to do with respect for self-determination of nationally oppressed groups, another Marxist-Leninist principle that long ago gave way to opportunism in countries where socialist revolutions have taken place. A real assessment of revolutionary practice in socialist countries has never been made. Lenin and Stalin are quoted mechanically and ahistorically to make judgments truly astonishing in their lack of respect for the leadership of movements for national liberation. We see the consequences of this in the sectarianism and arrogance of many M-L cadre in the capitalist world today, in their disregard for the struggles of indigenous peoples in the

Americas, and in their assumption that "multi-national unity" is achieved by asking the leadership of oppressed nationalities to abandon their mission of building up the strength and independence of their own people. Chauvinism is not only a matter of attitudes. It has a material base, and a dialectical process is needed to destroy it. Repeated declarations that our "only enemies" are the imperialists, not white chauvinists, male chauvinists, etc. do not change that.

Adherence to the concept of a peoples' militia is another area where it seems that well-established revisionist practices in countries where socialist revolutions have taken place have not been recognized by revolutionaries. We have been timid in evaluating the importance of the development of professional armies in socialist countries. The peoples' militia is the highest expression of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. A professional army cannot serve the same purpose. We must understand clearly that to violate any of the basic principles of the primacy of class struggle during the period of the transition from socialism to communism is to invite capitalist restoration.

In view of the recent coup in China, the bourgeoisie all over the world is rejoicing and saying that the "natural propensity" of human beings to selfishness has once more been proved. We know we have never had any guarantees that the consolidation of socialism could be accomplished in a few decades or even in a century (monarchies were restored over and over in Europe before feudalism was finally superceded absolutely by capitalism), nor that class contradictions under socialism would not become antagonistic before the drive toward communism could begin in earnest.

We must respect those who have advanced the cause of proletarian revolution and learn from their successes and their failures. Our task is neither to create Gods nor to destroy respect for those who have been our leaders. The task of every revolutionary is to lead in the struggle for revolution. As women we have been remiss in doing this. Leadership involves discipline, centralized organization, and intelligent implementation of tactical and strategic goals. We must know what is going on in the world and in our movement. We must never abdicate our commitment to secure the complete emancipation of women. We must truly respect the principle of self-determination for nationally oppressed peoples. And we must not waver in the drive to attain genuine working-class unity, socialism, and communism. These are not mutually exclusive principles. They are the principles of proletarian revolution which alone can assure victory for all oppressed peoples.

Bibliography

1. The Capitalist-Roaders are still on the Capitalist Road: the two-line struggle and the revisionist seizure of power in China, March-June, 1977, China Study Group, 57 So. Bannock, Denver, Colorado 80223. Single copy, \$3.00; bulk order(5 or more)\$2.50 each post paid.
2. Open Letter of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile to the Communist Party of China, November, 1977. Available from National Publications Centre, Box 727 Adelaide Station, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. 65¢
3. Three Worlds Theory: Anti-Leninist Deception of the Masses, Communist Committee, November, 1977, CC, P.O. Box 6625, Chicago, Illinois 60680. 75¢
4. The Theory and Practice of the Revolution, Editorial of Zeri i Popullit, Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, July, 1977. Available from Albania Report, P.O. Box 912, N.Y., N.Y. 10008, and from CC, MLOC, and COUSML. Joint statements of political parties in Europe and Latin America are also available from these sources.
5. Revolution Will Surely Triumph! Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee (MLOC), P.O. Box 8041, Chicago, Illinois 60680, December, 1977. 50¢
6. The Social-Chauvinist Theory of "Three Worlds" Denies Revolution and Apologizes for Neo-Colonialism. Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists (COUSML), P.O. Box 11942, Chicago, Illinois 60611. 75¢
7. Against the Revisionist Take-over in China: In Defense of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and Proletarian Revolution, March, 1977, P.O. Box 493, Wichita, Ks.67201.
8. Open Letter to U.S. Communists Who Support the Struggle in China Against Wang, Chang, Chiang, and Yao. September, 1977, Pacific Collective (M-L), 2000 Center St., Ste. 1186, Berkeley, Ca. 94704.
9. Resolution Against the Anti-Leninist Theory of "Three Worlds" and Against the Restoration of Teng Hsiao-ping, Communist Party of Canada (M-L), People's Canada Daily News, Vol. 7, #220, September 14, 1977. Box 727 Adelaide Sta., Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

10. A Critique of Soviet Economics, Mao Tse-tung, 1961-1962. Monthly Review Press, 1977.
11. How Capitalism has been Restored in the Soviet Union (Red Papers #7). Revolutionary Communist Party, Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Illinois 60654.
12. Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR. Martin Nicolaus, Liberator Press (October League), 1975.
13. Class Struggles in the USSR: 1917-1923. Charles Bettelheim, Monthly Review Press, 1976.
14. The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement. Foreign Languages Press, Peking, '65.
15. Agence France-Presse Interview with Teng Hsiao-ping, Oct., 1977, "On U.S. in Anti-USSR Front", available from Communist Committee, Box 6625, Chicago, Ill. 60680.
16. Social Imperialism: The Soviet Union Today, reprints from Peking Review, Yanan Books, 1986 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94704.
17. Peking Review (weekly) especially 1974-1978, China Books and Periodicals, 2929 24th St., San Francisco, Ca. 94110.
18. On the Transition to Socialism, Paul Sweezy, Charles Bettelheim, Monthly Review Press, 1971.
19. Reprints from Albania Today, available from P.O. Box 912, N.Y., N.Y. 10008.
20. El Conflicto Chino-Soviético, Jacques Lévesque, Presses Universitaires de France y Oikos-Tau, S.A., España, 1974.
21. El Otro Imperialismo, Carlos Echague, Ediciones de Mayo, Buenos Aires, 1974.
22. El curso antileninista de los revisionistas Jruschovianos es el curso de la degeneración capitalista de la economía socialista, Albania, 1964.
23. Origen y desarrollo de las divergencias entre la dirección del PCUS y nosotros, Comité del Partido Comunista de China, 1963.

24. Los Auténticos Revolucionarios de la URSS (proclamación programática de los comunistas Bolcheviques Revolucionarios Soviéticos), 1967.
25. Documents and comments on revisionism in China, the Soviet Union, and the United States are also available from the following organizations:

Red Eureka Movement, 17 The Ridge, Blackburn 3130, Australia
 Japan-Town Collective, P.O. Box 26310, San Francisco, California 94126
 Marxist-Leninist Collective, P.O. Box 24116, Bayview Sta., San Francisco, California 94124
 Revolutionary Communist Party, Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Ill. 60654
 Compass, P.O. Box 9278 Boston, Massachusetts 02114
 L.A.R., Box 1211, Main Office, El Cerrito, California 94530