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**Across the “Curtain” and Within the “Bloc” – Political Opinion of Maoist
Parties and Organizations in Central and East Europe from the
Perspective of International Politics**

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[Risheng Xu, 01.2024]

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Abstract

This thesis explores the political opinion of Maoist parties and organizations in Central and East Europe. As an important topic in the field of Cold War studies, considerable amounts of research on the global Maoism and Maoist movement are concentrated on the developed world of the West and the vast developing world of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Yet for the Central and East Europe at the frontier of the Cold War confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, Maoist movement of this region has been little studied comparatively. The recent years witnessed the gradual growth of related studies about the Maoist movement in Central and East Europe, but most of the limited literature mainly tried to outline the major historical timeline of the Maoist movement or to give overview about the lives of specific leaders of the CEE Maoist group but lacks deeper analysis of their organizational documents concerning their political programme and opinion as organized group. The thesis tries to focus on Maoist political parties and organizations emerged within the Eastern Bloc and make a detailed analysis of their crucial document defining the core proposition of their organizations with special attention to the substance of their theoretical principle and claiming proposal in the replenishment of factual outline from existing literature. By examining the global and regional geopolitical environments, combined with a closer look from international and domestic level at the selected key documents of the CEE Maoist organizations with common theme defining their political identity and proposition, it is an attempt trying to contribute a little bit in pushing from “Was it (Maoism) there?” towards deeper and closer inspection at “Why and What were they (Maoist) struggling (for) there?”

Keywords: Maoist, Central and East Europe, Cold War

I. Introduction

It is widely acknowledged that research of Cold War studies has long been regarded as one of the very important areas in historical research and international politics. Yet we could still find in this area parts to be further carried on concerning cognitive perspective and research horizons. As what has been illustrated by Day & Koivu's article in 2019, it will be basically an empirical puzzle and to be more specific, a *variation over time* one. Accordingly, an empirical puzzle which is grounded in real-world events could be identified as one of the three types. For *variation over time* one, the explanation matched the topic of this thesis according to the example as the following illustration: There was a sudden current of appearance of the Maoist groups in CEE countries from the late 1960s. Maoism (with its anti-revisionist trait) existed since the 1950s and was discussed internationally for more than a decade, but only in those few years have witnessed the unprecedented tide of activists becoming densely devoted to it. What explains this sudden rise concerning their political opinion? What were their political pursuits which would require them to risk conducting illegal party-building? This occurs when conditions of a political phenomenon seem stable but suddenly change.¹ Maoist movement, actively alive until today, emerged as a long-lasting political phenomenon since its surprisingly fierce and widespread birth while witnessing great declining and uprising changes throughout its limited history. The research will focus on the first generation of this intriguing political movements especially focusing on contributing to further explaining how it rise and what are underlying the process of this struggle through descriptive and interpretative way.

Firstly, among the vast resources of research about Cold War history and international history of this era, major power relationship especially great power

¹ C. Day & K. L. Koivu, 'Finding the Question: A Puzzle-Based Approach to the Logic of Discovery', Journal of Political Science Education, Vol. 15, No. 3 (2019), p. 380-381.

interaction such as US-Soviet Relations (and Sino-Soviet Relations when we narrow the perspective within the Socialist Bloc) has been of vital significance and taken traditionally a very crucial position since the very beginning of the Cold War studies. Along with the rapid development of Cold War studies related history of minor factions and states has been greatly paid attention to, yet still influence of major power relationship usually attracts very much of authors' attention and therefore sheds too much light on analysis of these minor states. Although necessary, attaching great importance to the Cold War geopolitical environment of major power confrontation might lead to slight over-attribution of specific historical & political events towards common influence of major power relations and the weakening or lack of deeper analysis towards varying contributing factors of other aspects and levels such as different internal struggles concerning indigenous problems and different theoretical debate concerning intrinsic situation among different minor countries during Cold War era. Due to the strong first impression of major power relationships and great power politics, the aforementioned influence might be hard to notice especially when we look at the research about politics and international history of Cold War Soviet Bloc.

Secondly, concerning the specific area of studies about the year of 1968 (referred as *Protests of 1968*, *the Year of Revolt* or *the Year of Revolutions* and some other names) and especially about Europe in 1968, there have been quite a number of studies done concentrating on student movements, mass protests and strikes in Western Europe such as the great revolts and revolutions in France and West Germany, it has been widely studied about how the Maoism and Maoist groups have deeply influenced and contributed to the Protests of 1968 especially in the West such as May 1968 in France, meanwhile related research about Eastern Bloc in 1968 are less in comparison to the West and were heavily focused on the 1968 Prague Spring which is of fundamentally difference with other European revolts in terms of uniquely involving with foreign military intervention and invasion. Protests and movements in other countries within the Eastern Bloc and their

driving factors are not the same and are having different historical & political backgrounds. For instance, political movements around the year 1968 within the Eastern Bloc were not simply limited to some well-studied motions including opposition towards control from USSR and pursuit of a more democratic system. There are always more complicated and intertwined motivations behind these historical movements in different cases among different countries, and the studies and analysis on these topics and aspects in Central and East Europe are comparatively insufficient concerning the big quantity and deep level of research about its Western neighbours on the same era. Even if “more recently there has been a rising interest in political protest and cultural upheaval east of the Iron Curtain and in transfers ‘across the blocs’ in particular”², the problem is still there when a specific and influential political force of Maoists in these movements among the Central and East European countries remained little-studied.

Also as acknowledged, studies about Maoism and Maoists which is of significant relevance towards the 1968 European Protests along with the aftermaths are intensively concentrated on their effect and inspiration to activists and movements “across the First and Third World”³ while lacking ample research about its influence and reflection in the also vast yet varying Second World including the Eastern Bloc viewed as crucial satellites or backyard of the Soviet Union. Except from research of certain intensity about Sino-Albanian relationships, this vast and important region remained seldom touched speaking of Maoists and their movements. Few existing research was at the stage of trying to answering questions like “Was it (Maoism) there?” and trying to connect and figure out the roughly basic image of the existence of Maoist movement in Soviet Bloc therefore the most progress was made in level of outlining the major history events of this unknown political force with huge impact across the European continent as well as the world.

² A. Von der Goltz, ‘Attraction and Aversion in Germany’s ‘1968’ Encountering the Western Revolt in East Berlin’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 50, no. 3 (2015), p. 537.

³ A. M. Smith, ‘Which East is Red? The Maoist Presence in the Soviet Union and Soviet Bloc Europe 1956-1980.’ Thesis, Georgia State University, (2017), p. 2.

II. Conceptual section

1. “Maoist” and “Maoism”

The very crucial target of this research is the “Maoist”, originally it refers to those who believe in and follow the “Mao Zedong Thought” – referred to as “Maoism” in theoretical terms widely from Chinese revolutionary leader Mao Zedong and his collaboration with the Chinese people, comrades of CCP (Chinese Communist Party) and other international and domestic comrades.⁴ Under the historical context of the Maoist movements starting back in 1960s, it mainly has these major characteristics when adopted by vast number of Maoist groups or parties: Stick to “Class Struggle”, “Armed Struggle”, “Cultural Revolution” and “Anti-Revisionist” advocated by Chinese government throughout the exporting revolution era.⁵ It is stated as by Chinese government that it is the continuation and development of Communism theory of Marx-Leninism as most of the principles do have heritage with the previous. Mass organized struggle was also theories from Leninism concerning his party-building theory tracing back to his early revolutionary thinking.⁶

Due to the relationship between Mao Zedong Thought and Maoism, it is also one of the aims of this thesis to better understand the matching degree of the advocacy and political opinion of the CEE Maoist groups and the initial Mao Zedong Thought of the era. It is also a relatively overlooked detail that the difference concerning the concept of Mao Zedong Thought and Maoism is revealed from the side of the lexical usage from official statement of China: the usage of the concept “ism” is upon very limited context when representing the

⁴ For original meaning of “Mao ZeDong Thought”, Maoism and its forming and developments, refer to Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (Peking: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1965)

⁵ For more resources on Maoism and its export around the globe during 1960s to 1980s, see Mao Zedong, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1972)

⁶ For more resources about comments on organized struggles, see V.I. Lenin, “What the Friends of the People Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats,” in *Lenin: Collected Works*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1960)

significant ideology or school with established expression. Marxism and Leninism, or very often appeared Marxism-Leninism, are the firstly listed guidance for the Communist Party of China guiding its work and action as stated in the party constitution. Mao Zedong Thought is also the guidance listed just next to the Marxism-Leninism but is never defined or presented as “Mao-ism” in Chinese language. Throughout the history of the party constitution of the Communist Party of China, Marxism-Leninism is the unchanged, firstly listed guidance of the party’s work and action and meanwhile the only concept of “ism”. The expression of Mao Zedong “Thought”, rather than “Maoism” in the party constitution since the 7th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party shows the different evaluation concerning the historical status.⁷ As a matter of fact, Mao himself never acknowledged the use of the term “Maoism”, and he showed firm rejection for defining his thoughts as “Maoism”. Initially he was even strongly against of notion of merely “Mao Zedong Thought” in public advocacy when it was firstly publicly brought up as a concept in 1943 from the article in *Liberation Daily* by Wang Jiaxiang, Commissioner of the CCP Politburo, Director of Political Department of 8th Route Army.⁸ The article *The Chinese Communist Party and the Path of National Liberation of China* wrote that “Mao Zedong Thought is the Chinese Marxism-Leninism, Chinese Bolshevism, Chinese Communism.”⁹ Mao was against the statement which made his thoughts parallel ranking with Marxism and Leninism. After the discussion with Wang, the writer, he received the expression using “Thoughts” under Wang’s insistence and reasoning yet strongly expressed his objection for expression of “ism”, he said:

“I am the student of Marx and Lenin, how can I be ranked with them in parallel? Marx has Marxism, Lenin has Leninism, I cannot say “Mao-ism”. I do not have an “ism”, for the “ism” held by me is the Marxism-Leninism. If you must mention the

⁷ L. Huang, ‘Dangzhang: Bujian De Zongzhi Yu Zhuiqiu’, *Guangming Daily*, 25 June (2016), p. 6.

⁸ CPC News website, www.cpcnews.cn/n1/2016/0701/c85037-28514409-2.html, consulted on 22.12.20

⁹ The Central People’s Government of the People’s Republic of China website, www.gov.cn/ztlz/17da/content_739292.htm, consulted on 22.12.20

concept, it is rather to use “Mao Zedong Thought” as you mentioned, since everybody has his own thought, right? We should not use the term “ism” casually, however, I still think that my thought is not mature as a system. It is not out of modest but as a matter of fact.”¹⁰

Mao also insisted that the popular expression of “Marx, Engles, Lenin, Stalin, Mao” among the party members which made him in rank with the former four figures was wrong and made the same mistake of promoting the expression of “Mao-ism” which he stated as “doing no good and harmful” and “need to be firmly opposed”.¹¹ After many times of facing this issue and repeated stated his decision of deleting the expression of “Mao Zedong Thought” in many of the documents of various occasions, he made an official claim in a notice by Publicity Department of the Central Committee of CCP concerning the issue of term “Mao Zedong Thought”:

The party constitution has clearly stated: "Mao Zedong Thought" is "the thought of unifying the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the Chinese revolution", and its content is the same as that of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Mao Zedong once instructed not to use the term "Mao Zedong Thought" in the future, so as not to cause major misunderstandings.¹²

Instead of the expression of “Mao Zedong Thought”, it was the conclusion of him that “when writing an article or making a speech and it is necessary to mention Comrade Mao Zedong, the words ‘Comrade Mao Zedong's works’ can be used.” The trajectory of Mao’s attitude towards the publicity of his thought within the party revealed the transformation process from “Mao-ism” to “Mao Zedong Thought” and then to “Comrade Mao Zedong's works”.¹³ It is worth mentioning

¹⁰ CPC News website, www.cpcnews.cn/n1/2016/0701/c85037-28514409-2.html, consulted on 22.12.20

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

that under the context of the modern history of China, the term “ism” along with its Chinese translation is initially a type of imported language from the West and is accompanied by the flows of various trends of thoughts and sociological schools throughout the late 19th century and the early 20th century. Then the usage of the term developed accompanying the original social-political theories and initiatives brought up by native Chinese figures. Politically, one of the most influential “isms” in China of this era, especially during the overthrow of Qing dynasty and the later national revolution, was the Sun Yat-sen’s Sanminism, or known as the Three Principles of the People which served as the guideline principle of Kuomintang. The use of concept “ism” in the societal level of China reached its peak during the period of the May Fourth Movement which represented the national anti-imperialist and anti-feudal trend and marked the pursuing for new culture of modern democracy and science. Different kinds of western socio-political theories and schools were introduced under the grand backgrounds of national struggle for survive and cultural call for modernity, among them one of the ideologies proved to be of vital significance concerning the future path of China was the communism alongside the information introduced from the new-born Soviet Russia. The social usage of the term “ism” became popular and casual during this period, creating a societal atmosphere of naming any kind of social thinking as “ism”¹⁴, and it was also one of the important contributing factors of the repeated proposals and common usage of the term “Maoism” in the history Chinese communist movement aforementioned. As discussed, Mao himself held the opinion that the trend of using “ism” to define social thought should be cautious as it should represent a theoretical system, no matter debatable or not, such as Marxism and Leninism or the other established schools, some of them introduced, with mature illustration of the theory or practice. Concerning modern history of China, Sun Yat-sen’s Sanminism is acknowledged as using the term “ism” in Chinese language, while the English translation of it also bears the

¹⁴ Ibid.

form of “principle”.¹⁵ Therefore, the use of the term “ism” in the context of Chinese political history has its own evolution and consideration.

There are two points concerning the term of “Mao Zedong Thought” and “Maoism” we could get from the discussion above: Firstly, in Mao’s own understanding, the “ism” held by him is exactly the Marxism-Leninism, the term “Maoism” is never acknowledged by Mao himself and the mention of “Mao Zedong Thought” is also prevented by him as much as possible due to both the fact that he considers himself as student, believer of Marxism-Leninism and the understanding that his thought is not theoretically systemic enough; Secondly, in the context of Chinese political history, the term “ism” and “principle” could be overlapped, Mao’s firm rejection of the expression “Mao-ism” might again reveal his opinion not to place his thought at the height of being the principle as Marxism-Leninism to be followed within the party. Apparently, the believers of his philosophy around the world throughout the 20th and 21st century would notice the different positioning of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in every related statement from Chinese side, accordingly many of them followed this expression, so when naming their parties and organizations, the first-generation Maoist parties often used the combination of “the Communist Party” and the illustration end “Marxist-Leninist” such as “Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands/Marxisten-Leninisten (KPD/ML)”, “Union des communistes de France marxiste-léniniste (UCFml)” and “Türkiye Komünist Partisi/Marksist-Leninist (TKP/ML)”. While some thought otherwise: they believed that Mao’s philosophy and works was already mature enough, moreover Mao’s theory had contributed to the building of a whole new stage of Marxism-Leninism higher and more advanced than it was before.¹⁶ Therefore, not only many of them used the term “Maoism” without hesitation but also created a new term marking the significance of Mao’s philosophy – “Marxism–Leninism–Maoism (MLM)”¹⁷,

¹⁵ Zedong Mao, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, (Peking: People’s Publishing House, 1977), p. 311-312.

¹⁶ ‘MLM for red power’, (2016) www.arkiv.tjen-folket.no/Sentralt/view/12445.html, consulted on

among the new generation of Maoist organizations around the globe, many of the politically active parties until today used these two terms in their formal naming such as “Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)”, “Communist Party of India (Maoist)” and “Communist Party of Iran (Marxist–Leninist–Maoist)”. Still, the naming with indication of their identity as followers of Mao’s theory among the various Maoist parties and groups along the international communist movement are not following a clear pattern of paradigm, we should understand the fact that the relations among different Maoist parties throughout different historical period are complicated and construct another large topic.

As this paper will be an interpretative research about Maoist political groups in countries of Eastern Bloc, the study will be mainly for describing and interpreting the little-known yet once blossoming Maoist movement in these states at a deeper level.¹⁸ Although it has not been very widely studied, existing Maoist-related academic research do contribute to analyse the basic factual timeline of Maoist political events especially during Cold War era. Yet except from being relatively few and recent, the Maoist studies concentrating on Central and East European region more tend to be the overall introduction and brief review as the chronicle of the Maoist groups and their big events. Especially considering that Maoists within Socialist Bloc were of one unique type of dissenter whose dissent considered being communism was not only against the Soviet mainstream but against the Western mainstream and “opened fire” at both the mainstreams of Communist and Capitalist Blocs at the same time. Meanwhile it is not against Communism in any forms or intentions but rather an examination, reminder and as a product of communism debate, a different voice against different voice – namely “anti-revisionism” which greatly shaped both the world politics and the theories of communism. Yet its original purpose in historical context and target to some extent, which is within the Soviet Bloc, were less studied than the outer ripple it brought up in the Western world. And as discussed above, the topic

¹⁸ A. M. Smith, ‘Which East is Red? The Maoist Presence in the Soviet Union and Soviet Bloc Europe 1956-1980.’ Thesis, Georgia State University, (2017), p. 65.

requires more detailed description not only about the aspects concerning the actual content of more detailed internal discussion, meetings and external programmes these Maoist groups have experienced but also more carefully operated comparative study focusing on differences and similarities of each Maoist party across the vast region referring to different political environment and geopolitical backgrounds in the future.

The aim of this research is to try focusing on Maoist political parties and organizations of formal scale being well-constructed political group emerged within the Eastern Bloc and making a detailed analysis of their key documents containing programmatic advocacy about their core propositions with special attention to the substance of their theoretical principle and claiming proposal in the replenishment of factual outline from existing literature. One of the focuses is to answer and analyse what was the detailed theoretical support and claim behind the Maoist parties and their historical movements & events. It has been a main issue of trying to contribute a little bit in pushing from “Was it (Maoism) there?” towards deeper and closer look at “Why and What were they (Maoist) struggling (for) there?” Also researches on the Maoist movement surely place Cold War geopolitics at the very centre of most of the studies; however, it has been mostly covered from the single viewing point of the Sino-Soviet split. Though acknowledging the very limited Chinese intervention in CEERE Maoist movements by some of them, most studies (including the ones that acknowledged almost none Chinese intervention in specific case analysis) lacks the further analysis of other possible factors or geopolitical backgrounds other than Sino-Soviet relations that influence the Maoist movement.¹⁹

As 1960s was the starting point for Maoism to evolve from a Chinese political thought based on new development of communist theory of Marx and Lenin to becoming a widespread raging international tide politically and intellectually across both the communist and moreover the western capitalist world around the

¹⁹ J. Zofka, P. Vámos & S. Urbansky, ‘Beyond the Kremlin’s reach? Eastern Europe and China in the Cold War era’, *Cold War History*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (2018), p. 256.

globe creating a new term for its massive faithful followers – “Maoist”. The making of this scene in the 1960s was greatly due to three major incidents back in the 1960s: *Firstly* along with the formal and open Sino-Soviet split from 1959 to 1960, countries within the Communist Bloc were then first to be exposed to this rival confrontation among the two largest communist powers used to lead them as close director within the socialist international community therefore the first great divergence among this countries for whether supporting Moscow mainstream or Beijing Maoism became open and this gave birth to the first generation of Maoist political groups and parties around the world; *Secondly*, a greater context of bipolar Cold War confrontation were moving towards a new intensified stage entering 1960s with US enforcing its ever-increasing military presence finally leading to fully direct invasion in Vietnam in 1961, and with the signs of social reform in several Eastern Bloc leads to Soviet direct invasion in Hungary and finally in Czechoslovakia in 1960s, strong scepticism and opposition worldwide towards both the US and Soviet leading role together with their capitalist and socialist confrontation began to rise up violently for the first time; *Moreover* with this international environment like setting upon a bunch of firewood burning already, China launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution with Mao’s guiding in 1966 aiming at both fighting the revisionist Soviet and the imperialist US concerning the foreign principles of which for the first time China openly declared to export its developed revolutionary idea of communism towards all the world for the purpose of world revolution. Under these circumstances, Maoist parties were born in the 1960s across the world. And with the ending of the revolution exporting by Chinese government from 1979 – 1980 almost all Maoist parties of the first generation (active from 1960s) ended their movements or disbanded their organization earlier or kept limited presence until early 1990s. Although the consistently limited or intermittently action by first generation of Maoist party ends yet their successors of next generations around the world never really faded. What are they (Maoist) opposing towards?

And Why and What were they (Maoist) struggling (for) there?” Are there any contributing factors other than the Russian control over East Europe & the hostile Sino-Soviet Relationship? The major viewing angles of this thesis are mainly from international relations and international politics.

2. “Revisionist” and “Revisionism”

The concept of revisionism originated from the history of the development of Marxism. As another vital concept mentioned in this thesis, revisionism has been changing and evolving throughout the revolutionary struggles concerning its previous stage along with the process of Marxism becoming the leading ideological guidance for the international communist movement. As a matter of fact, since the international communist movement went through complex struggles and international political contradictions at different historical stages, the definition of revisionism has always been a controversial and complicated issue of political theory. One of the core political propositions of the Maoists is to commence the all-out struggle against revisionism and revisionists. For those who are defined as revisionists, as mentioned above, based on different historical periods, there were different responses and expressions towards this criticism from the hard-line leftists. There is thus a difference also as whether to admit themselves being a revisionist trying to revise the basic tenets of the theory of Marxism.

Therefore, in most of the literatures about Maoism especially the limited studies on Maoism within the socialist bloc, based on the specific historical context, the concept of revisionism is mainly defined as the one initiated by Khrushchev and carried on by his supporters and successors continued to advocate new theories supporting their new policy against the orthodox basic tenets of the theory of Marxism and also the theory and practice of Stalin's period either in full or in a considerable part. Andrew M. Smith defines anti-revisionism under this context in his important overview paper on Maoism in Eastern Europe

as “the term ‘anti-revisionism’ is an umbrella term for all communist schools of thought which rejected Khrushchev’s Destalinization and blamed the Soviet bloc for having ‘revised’ genuine Marxism-Leninism out of official state ideology: the Chinese Communist Party, Party of Labour of Albania, and their international allies referred to themselves as ‘anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninists’ when contrasting themselves to the Moscow-approved interpretation of ‘Marxism-Leninism.’ In the twenty-first century, Maoists refer to themselves as ‘Marxist-Leninist-Maoists,’ while pro-Albanian Hoxhaists continue to refer to themselves as ‘anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninists.’”²⁰ Under such context, which the author expressed that the definition of the concept “anti-revisionism” was considered being “oftentimes overlapping and interchangeably” with “Maoism” and “Maoist”, the history of struggle against revisionism tends to be compressed mainly to the major debates since the period from Maoism.

Also, on the website of the Marxists Internet Archive which has made significant contributions to the modern studies of anti-revisionism by continually gathering the existing historical texts, the Anti-revisionist Encyclopedia project also made a summary and gave a brief definition on the concept of "anti-revisionism" in a more comprehensive way as in the overview of the project it provided explanations that both refers to the broader historical origins of revisionism as starting with “historically, in the Communist lexicon, the term ‘anti-revisionism’ has been used to describe opposition to attempts to revise, modify or abandon the fundamentals of revolutionary theory and practice in a manner that was perceived to represent concessions to Communism’s adversaries” and also indicates the fact that the struggle against revisionism reached its historical peak at the time of Maoism that “anti-revisionism enjoyed its moment of greatest size and influence with numerous ‘Marxist-Leninist’ and ‘Maoist’ parties, groups and publications springing up around the world in the period which began with the Sino-Soviet split of the early 1960s. Its growth was greatly

²⁰ A. M. Smith, ‘Which East is Red? The Maoist Presence in the Soviet Union and Soviet Bloc Europe 1956-1980.’ Thesis, Georgia State University, (2017), p. 4.

accelerated by international enthusiasm for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China.”²¹ The encyclopedia project also presented the complexity of the term “anti-revisionism” as defining that the initial anti-revisionism presented “a critique of the official Communist Parties ‘from the left’ for having abandoned orthodox Marxism-Leninism (becoming ‘revisionist,’), and for being insufficiently revolutionary” while the concept evolved as “once the official Communist Parties joined in Khrushchev’s denunciation of Stalin, the defense of Stalin and his legacy became a hallmark of ‘anti-revisionism.’ ... the anti-revisionist movement expanded and diversified to encompass those communists who rejected a pro-Soviet orientation for one aligned either with Chinese or Albanian positions.”²² The foreword illustrates the goal of the encyclopedia project as to document the trend “that developed in the pro-Soviet (as opposed to the Trotskyist) Communist movement after World War II,” which in recent times gradually becomes the main narrative with a “more specific meaning” concerning the term “anti-revisionism”: “The growth of this anti-revisionist trend was particularly noticeable at several critical moments in the history of the Communist movement – the shift from WW II-era collaboration between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers to the Cold War, and the crisis inaugurated by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956.”²³ This definition summary shows that under the complex international political and geopolitical environment during the Cold War period, especially considering that it was when the world communist camp was established and its status was consolidated for the first time around the globe, the revisionism and criticisms towards it produced in the international communist movement at this stage would surely be lifted up in a whole new level. Therefore, the focus of the concept “revisionism” was as mentioned largely located at the period of Sino-Soviet split and seems to be sometimes overlapped with the pro-Soviet and anti-Stalinist

²¹ C. Paul, ‘A Brief definition of Anti-Revisionism: Anti-Revisionism and the Anti-Revisionist Movement’, (2009) <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/what.htm>, consulted on 23.04.22

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

stand. It is a pity that in the encyclopedia project of global anti-revisionism where many of the anti-revisionist documents from the First World and the Third World are collected, there are no record of East German and Hungarian anti-revisionist appeared.

The history and definition of revisionism is a huge and complex theoretical topic concerning the studies of Marxism, and the origin of the concept “revisionism” is also relatively complicated. While we need to understand the term in a broader historical horizon rather than merely from a specific era to better explore the Maoism and its anti-revisionist part in greater depth under the whole course of international communist movement. From the name of the concept, we know that its literal meaning reveals the information it represents a revision of Marxism, and the history of revisionism started with the theory proposed by Eduard Bernstein. According to relevant research, the term “revisionism” first appeared in Rosa Luxemburg's criticism of Bernstein's theory which revised the fundamentals of Marxism.²⁴ Although being a definition from and used by his critic, Bernstein somehow acknowledged the use of the term “revisionism” for his theory later on as he stated in his response that “Revisionist, indeed, what I advocate is to revise.”²⁵ Throughout the period of international communist movement from the end of 19th century till the early 20th century, Bernstein's argument that the reform way which proposed gradual and peaceful struggle within the framework of capitalist system was enough for achieving socialism based on his theory that capitalist system was not doomed even with the constant crisis and there was no need to overthrow it since the class contradictions would not be intensified which were almost overthrowing the basic foundations of Marx's conclusion and the principle of the First International (International Workingmen's Association)²⁶, became the root and one of the internal factors of the debates between the rightist “revisionist” and leftist Marxist leading to the

²⁴ H. Yu, 'Xiuzhengzhuyi Yici De Youlai', Guoji Gongyunshi Yanjiu Ziliao, No. 01 (1981), p. 206.

²⁵ E. Bernstein, Entwicklungsgang Eines Sozialisten, (Leipzig, 1930), p. 36, quoted in H. Yu, 'Xiuzhengzhuyi Yici De Youlai', Guoji Gongyunshi Yanjiu Ziliao, No. 01 (1981), p. 209.

²⁶ H. Yu, 'Xiuzhengzhuyi Yici De Youlai', Guoji Gongyunshi Yanjiu Ziliao, No. 01 (1981), p. 207-208.

dissolution of the Second International after the breakout of WWI.

Based on the foundation set up by Bernstein and his successors, revisionists were at constant struggle with leftist Marxist especially in theoretical debate with leading revolutionary such as Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin. When the establishment of the Soviet Union marked the whole new era for international communist movement as it was the first time when communists successfully took over the very complete state power in a country firmly and established acknowledgment in the international society after defeating the enemies from interior and exterior, the revisionism also entered a new stage since communists and socialists were no longer merely a group fighting to be in power but already ran a state. The trend of reformism instead of revolutionism when facing capitalism therefore naturally appeared in another domestic level within the newly emerging communist state. After the death of Stalin, the trend, followed by Khrushchev's structured denial of the theory and practice of the Stalin era, began to appear publicly outside leadership circle of the Soviet Union and spread around the newly established communist camp. From one of the most important articles from China by Mao Zedong against Khrushchev's revisionism, we could clearly see the inheritance of logic among the early revisionism and their "Soviet successors", regarded by Maoists as the crucial document served to be the guidance of anti-revisionist movement, *On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World: Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU (IX)* revealed the theoretical basis of the revisionist logic and made corresponding attack against them.²⁷ The "peaceful coexistence", "peaceful transition", the declaration that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary in the Soviet Union and theories of the "state of the whole people" and the "party of the entire people" were exactly not only the continuation and systematization of the early revisionist's theory of all-out

²⁷ Editorial Departments of Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) and Hongqui (Red Flag), 'On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World: Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU (IX)', (1964)
<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/1964/phnycom.htm>, consulted on 23.04.25

concession but also the adaptation of the international revisionism into the domestic state “governing”.

3. Debates upon defining the essence of “Maoism”

The China Quarterly which was founded in 1960 witnessed the start of an academic discussion in the form of article responses in the 1960s and 1970s on the issue of how to define the essence of "Maoism" at the same time when Mao's works were exported around the globe raging worldwide leftist uprising current.

B. Schwartz discussed the concept of "Maoism" in detail mainly from the combination of ideological study and the practical history from the early history of Chinese communism in academic circles for the first time in 1951 by his work entitled *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*, he believed that Mao's thoughts constructed a very overlooked “heresy”, or to say “innovation”, different from the orthodox Marxism-Leninism and had enough of the "originality" to be considered as a novel theory to be called “Maoism”.²⁸

In the early 1960s, K. Wittfocker considered the mentioned views of Schwartz to be an inappropriate analysis. He wrote the article entitled *The Legend of "Maoism"* obviously regarding Schwartz's conclusion as an amplified legendary evaluation of Mao's works, he believed that Mao Zedong's revolutionary strategies were fundamentally derived from principles of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. Wittfocker took the Chinese communist revolution as a product of the Moscow conspiracy and had little originality based on the obvious "Moscow-centrism" appeared in the founding and history of Chinese communist struggle.²⁹ In response to the different interpretation, Schwartz replied to him by publishing an article with a tit-for-tat title *The Legend of the Legend of Maoism*, pointing out the limitedness of Wittfocker's analysis which in his perspective merely focused on the early era of Chinese communist activity and ignored the much more vital period later on where Mao's original revolutionary strategies and principles played the crucial

²⁸ B. Schwartz, *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951)

²⁹ K. A. Wittfogel, 'The legend of maoism'. *China Quarterly*, Vol. 1960, No. 1 (1960), p. 72-86.

role.³⁰ The debate continued as Wittfocker replied to it by *Maoism - Legend of Legend of a Legend* and Schwartz further commented on it by justifying his evaluation of Mao's thoughts as qualified to be called "Maoism" using the example of the word "Stalinism" which was acknowledged and used by both sides when the very founding basis of Stalin's theory was undoubtedly derived from Marxism and Leninism.³¹ This became a widely-engaged long debate which attracted new scholars joining the conversation through comments and new articles upon this topic. Based on one of the mostly debated topic about Mao's crucial document about peasantry movement concerning whether Mao's theory of peasantry focus should be considered as an innovation, H. Sjaardema joined the debate on Schwartz's side by confirming Mao's stress of the role of peasantry was raised by Mao before it got acknowledged by the Comintern later on and stating it was not the mere mentioning of peasantry role but the emphasis on it exceeding the role of the proletariat that made Maoism unique.³² K. Wittfocker, on his last response, expressed his regret about the continuing tendency adopted by Schwartz and his supporters which took Mao's peasantry theory as a heretic new innovation "which it is neither in its original form nor in the doctored version that is being studied as a guide to action by the Communists and their friends in Latin America, Africa, and Asia today", and his final conclusion of treating Mao's theory as new "ism" was as followed: "It is bad generalship to misjudge the weapons of any enemy. It is catastrophic to misjudge the operational and propagandistic weapons of an enemy whose power and will to victory cannot be doubted."³³

The related debates and discussion were not ceased but attracted more academic attention. Right at the year of the beginning of Cultural Revolution in China, a symposium about the essence of Maoism was organized, S. Schram tried to examine some of the key elements of Mao's theory and find the contradiction

³⁰ B. Schwartz, 'The legend of the legend of maoism', *China Quarterly*, Vol. 1960, No. 2 (1960), p. 35-42.

³¹ B. Schwartz, 'Comments', *China Quarterly*, Vol. 1960, No.4 (1960), p. 96-97.

³² *Ibid*, p. 99.

³³ K. A. Wittfogel, 'Maoism legend of legend of legend', *China Quarterly*, Vol. 1960, No.4 (1960), p. 100-101.

from Mao's thoughts according to his observation, stating that "both the ideological line and the actual policies that Mao has pursued over the past fifteen years" as heretic of the orthodox Marxism-Leninism, "have tended to indicate that for a relatively long time he would be satisfied with 'bourgeois' governments provided they were oriented toward Peking"³⁴ Meanwhile A. A. Cohen revealed his explanation by attributing many of Mao's important thoughts to the existing Marxism-Leninism theory.³⁵ And this echoed the opinion of S. Schram. B. Schwartz still held the belief that the various performance brought by Maoism was deeply due to the Chinese traditional and his revolutionary practices which were constructed with undoubtedly involvement of the Chinese societal characteristic.³⁶ M. Rejai, however, provided a novel perspective from the previous discussion, he stressed the "contradiction" under the context of Mao's obsession with the dialectal change developed from Marxism and gave the valuable statement that "Maoism" must be redefined and cast in a mold more comprehensive than "nationalism," "chauvinism," "populism," and "voluntarism" as "any adequate understanding of the intricacies of the thought of Mao Tse-tung must go beyond the problem of his 'originality' and consider the fusion of political philosophy and political action in the circumstances of a revolutionary movement in a 'colonial and semi-colonial' country."³⁷ L. Schapiro summarized the aforementioned study of Mao with three conclusions upon which the participants agreed: The voluntarist element, a combination of the main principles of political action as evolved by Lenin with a strongly nationalistic Chinese tradition, and great extent of reliance on persuasion with lesser extent on force compared to the Soviets.³⁸ Furthermore, R. Goldman concluded the discussion through an article summarizing the key contributions of previous studies about Mao's thoughts, he thought that Cohen and his supporters totally ignored the cultural aspect of Mao's

³⁴ S. R. Schram, 'The man and his doctrines', *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 15, No. 5 (1966), p. 1-7.

³⁵ A. A. Cohen, 'The man and his policies', *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 15, No. 5 (1966), p. 8-16.

³⁶ B. Schwartz, 'Commentaries', *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 15, No. 5 (1966), p. 17-18.

³⁷ M. Rejai, 'Commentaries', *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 15, No. 5 (1966), p. 20.

³⁸ L. Schapiro, 'Commentaries', *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 15, No. 5 (1966), p. 22-23.

thoughts, meanwhile he made a step further when analysing the crucial voluntarism of Maoism concerning Mao's belief that the subjective can create the objective which constructed the two controversial assertion: firstly the invincibility of a people armed with revolutionary enthusiasm; secondly the possibility of capitalist restoration due to the existence of "bourgeois ideas" in the minds.³⁹

4. Existing research about Maoist organizations of CEE

Generally, the existing research on the Maoism and Maoist groups in the socialist camp especially in Eastern Europe is relatively a much-ignored field concerning the research on the history of the entire Cold War period. Compared to the 1968 revolution in Western Europe, the anti-war and anti-racism movement in the United States, and the Maoist activities in various regions of the developing countries, the anti-government movements of Eastern European countries at that time were mostly classified as anti-communist struggle and strike. Regarding the situation, Andrew M. Smith stated in his paper about the currents of studies about Maoism and "anti-revisionist" of the socialist bloc as being "little-known".⁴⁰ He points out the very problem underlying the current studies of Cold War dissents of Eastern Europe is that the mainstream academic studies "presents a false dichotomy of dissidence within the region: a false dichotomy, that is, between those who embraced liberal democracy of the West versus the Kremlin's official version of Marxism-Leninism."⁴¹ Among the existing research literature on the activities of Maoists in the socialist camp in Eastern Europe. His article contributed to the building of a basic framework according to historical years and a brief timeline narrative of the Maoist political groups in the socialist bloc. His intention was to remind the mainstream studies of the fact that "a new historiography of dissident movements in the USSR and Eastern Europe during

³⁹ R. Goldman, 'Mao, Maoism and Mao-ology', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (1968-1969), p. 570-574.

⁴⁰ A. M. Smith, 'Which East is Red? The Maoist Presence in the Soviet Union and Soviet Bloc Europe 1956-1980.' Thesis, Georgia State University, (2017)

⁴¹ Ibid.

the Cold War must include the Maoist, communist opposition.”⁴²

The article provided a very helpful starting point for both the comprehensive studies on Maoists in Eastern Europe altogether and the possible further studies on Maoists as specific case of a single or few countries in the socialist bloc. As he stressed in the article that “mainstream academic discourse in the West concerning dissent in the USSR and Soviet Bloc concentrates almost entirely on dissidents with pro-Western, liberal-democratic views on how to fix the ills of their society. The histories accessible to the general public are the stories of men like Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn. Where is the history of those that fought so hard, often losing freedom and livelihood, to oppose the regimes within their respective nations with the message of communism?”⁴³ His contribution was to start summarizing the brief timeline of communist dissent in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe long ignored hoping for contributing towards a better understanding of the nuances of how social movements in these countries unfolded on a transnational level and how people in these countries understood themselves in relation to the rest of the world at an exciting and dynamic point in history.⁴⁴

Concerning the studies about Hungarian Maoists, Ádám Takács provided a solid ground in his important article for the Maoist studies, *The Maoist Incident: Effects of Political and Ideological Consolidation on Youth Mentality in the Kádár Regime of the 1960s*. His analysis became the very core sources for the section of Hungarian Maoists building the brief timeline summary of them in the previously mentioned paper of Andrew M. Smith. Focused on the Hungarian Maoist incident, he made an analysis from the perspective of ideology and social mentality of the youths. Regarded by him as a “mentality forming event in the history of Hungarian state socialism”⁴⁵, the Maoist incident is defined as “generating a new

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid, P. 65.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ A. Takacs, ‘The Maoist Incident: Effects of Political and Ideological Consolidation on Youth Mentality in the Kádár Regime of the 1960s’, *RESOCEA (Regime and Society in Eastern Europe) Report*, 67 (2012), p. 9.

form of political imagination within the youth as a response to the ideological and political strategy of the Kádárist leadership”.⁴⁶ Specifically, although acknowledging the fact that the social attention attracted by the Maoist trial was astonishingly faint partially due to the intentionally restrained report and the few light sentences of the case as merely providing the limited information of a court verdict related to several persons accused of conspiracy⁴⁷, from the summary of the Kádár regime and its inner power struggle to the forming and final trial sentence of Maoist groups, the writer concluded that the Maoist incident had produced a “far reaching effects within the Hungarian social and political conditions” and it could be considered by the Hungarians as “one of the most paradoxical forms of social resistance during the communist era”.⁴⁸ In his opinion, from the perspective of resulting in “forming a certain type of the social mentality”, the Maoist incident is definitely “a point of reference of outmost importance in the history of the Hungarian socialism”.⁴⁹

Another brief article *In the Hot Summer of '68, We Were the Tempest in the Hungarian Teapot* – *The Hungarian Maoist 'Plotters'* on the Hungarian Maoist incident seemed to come to a relatively different conclusion about the social impact of Hungarian Maoist incident. With a very similar starting point, Szilárd István Pap came up with the evaluation starting from the analogical recalling from one of the core leaders of the Maoist incident, Gábor Révai. “A tempest in a teapot” could be a perfect summary of Hungarian Maoist incident as what really happened were no more than activities of a circle of a few dozen university students who often talked about politics. Like Andrew M. Smith who ended the Hungarian Maoist section in his paper quoting the conclusion from *Europe's 1968: Voices of Revolt* that the (Hungarian) Maoist movement had never taken root among working-class or peasant communities, and was consigned merely to the

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 4.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 9.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

elite universities of the city of Budapest,⁵⁰ it seemed that the exclusiveness and limited impact of Hungarian Maoist incident was the impression comparing to the previous article of Ádám Takács.

For studies about Polish Maoist Party -- Communist Party of Poland (Mijal), one existing crucial article was from Margaret K. Gnoinska, she examined the political life trajectory of Kazimierz Mijal, the leader of the Polish Maoist party, from the perspective of international relations between Poland, Albania, and China throughout the latter half of the Cold War era. Considered mostly as a strategic of power struggle within international order, Mijal's Maoist movement was mostly regarded as "promoting the 'China Way' of communism in Poland and beyond during the Sino-Soviet Split" which was a reflection of power struggle in the international politics of China, Albania and Poland. Acknowledging that Kazimierz Mijal was not only threatening Warsaw's leadership domestically but had a certain effect on international politics within the communist world, she concluded from the realistic perspective of the international politics that Mijal "was used as a political tool by both Albania and China, and complicated Poland's delicate diplomacy with both Beijing and Moscow. His long biographical and personal journey – forced but also intentional, grounded in belief and shaped by geopolitics – embodies contradictions and paradoxes of the international communist movement which often spread beyond the reach and control of the Kremlin during the cold war."⁵¹ As for the power structure of the communist bloc, she regarded Mijal's life and career as also "an example of the cracks in state socialism which intensified the disunity within Polish communism and revealed that the intricate dynamics of the communist bloc often spread beyond the reach and control of the Kremlin."⁵² Kazimierz Mijal's Polish Maoist party was presented as one of the main topics in Ylber Marku's study about two Maoist

⁵⁰ R. Gildea, J. Mark, and A. Warring, (eds.) *Europe's 1968: Voices of Revolt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 99.

⁵¹ M. K. Gnoinska, 'Promoting the 'China Way' of communism in Poland and beyond during the Sino-Soviet Split: the case of Kazimierz Mijal', *Cold War History*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (2018), p. 343.

⁵² *Ibid*, p. 359.

activists of Europe. Selecting cases of Kazimierz Mijal from Poland and Jacque Grippa from Belgium, he tried to analyse the political career of them from detailed trajectory of their life as being “apparently marginal protagonists of the Cold War gained a prominent position and played an important role in the dynamics created within the communist world following the Sino-Soviet split.”⁵³ The conclusion was the two activists and their Maoist promotion were somehow a combination of faithful Stalinist communism and realistic mutual cooperation under the international strategies of China and Albania.

As for the Maoist Party in East Germany (GDR): KPD/ML’s GDR section, the English literature specifically about them was relatively rare. One of the relative writings is the chapter *Badge books and brand books: the Mao Bible in East and West Germany* in *Mao’s Little Red Book: A Global History*. By the comparison of the left-liberal Fischer Press edition and the anti-communist Marienburg Press edition, the chapter tried to analysis the differences of ideological imprints of the book’s editions and how they were received by different audiences. Although connected to the Maoism in East Germany, the text was aiming at a larger social cultural phenomenon from the perspective of mass communication media upon cases of both the West and East Germany. The chapter stressed the social impact of Maoism from the phenomenon brought by *Quotations of Chairman Mao* as “in both countries, Mao and the Little Red Book represented the intrusion of a political force from beyond Europe and North America. The book was seen in both countries as an instrument that could challenge, and was challenging, the powers that were... the repackaging of decades worth of Mao’s utterances and writings into pithy commandments transformed historically grounded analyses into scripture, theory into religion, and selections from the Collected Works of Mao into what was called, on both sides of the border, the ‘Mao Bible.’”⁵⁴ The primary focuses of the chapter was to examine the Little Red Book “as a material object

⁵³ Y. Marku, ‘Stories from the international communist movement: the Chinese front in Europe and the limits of the anti-revisionist struggle’, *Cold War History*, (2020)

⁵⁴ Q. Slobodian, ‘Badge books and brand books: the Mao Bible in East and West Germany’, in A. C. Cook (ed.) *Mao’s Little Red Book: A Global History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 207.

and locates it within the print culture of the two Germanys.”⁵⁵ The chapter used the term *badge books* and *brand books* to help conceptualize the different ways that the Little Red Book circulated and was received in liberal-capitalist and state-socialist countries ⁵⁶ and from this perspective the chapter discussed the semiotics and dissemination elements of Maoism. It further explored the effect of ‘Mao Bible’ towards the innovation of propaganda method in both two Germanys as when strictly preventing the import and distribution of ‘Mao Bible’ they also adapted the form of Mao’s quotation into their own anti-communism advocating (of West Germany) and state propaganda (of East Germany). Meanwhile, Quinn Slobodian examined the role of Chinese embassy in East Berlin in his article *The Maoist Enemy: China’s Challenge in 1960s East Germany*. Through detailed historical summary of the struggle and strategic action Chinese embassy in East Berlin has been through, he also wrote about the importance of expanding the horizon of Cold War study: “Expanding the frame of analysis of East German history to include China does not ‘globalize’ the historiography for its own sake but demonstrates that the dichotomous interpretive schema of capitalism/communism, or the notion of an ‘East-West conflict,’ are insufficient to deal with what was in fact a triangular conflict by the 1960s.”⁵⁷ The Chinese embassy as the very base of distributing of Maoism had revealed another level of the complexity of Cold War international geopolitical power struggle as he pointed out the significance of the studies about the role of Maoism in Central and East Europe since “histories of the 1960s have been focused overwhelmingly on the ways that the GDR defended itself from the West German and American alternatives, that is, challenges from its ideological right. In the Chinese, we see the potential of East Germans being outflanked from the left, by a power that believed, at least rhetorically, more in sacrifice for socialism, more in the goal of

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 207.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 208.

⁵⁷ Q. Slobodian, ‘The Maoist Enemy: China’s Challenge in 1960s East Germany’, Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 51, no. 3 (2016), p. 658.

absolute equality, and more in the necessity of armed anti-colonial struggle.”⁵⁸ The ending sentence of the article was thought-provoking and interesting, he wrote that “During the Cold War, the US and West Germany found their political self-understanding in part by negative comparison to the specter of communism. In the Maoist enemy, East Germany found a communist Other of its own.”⁵⁹ Also, Anna von der Goltz mentioned the connection of East German Maoist and their Western comrades in her studies about the relations between East and West German activists in the year of 1968 relying on the oral history and archives.⁶⁰

It is a delighting sight that the studies about global Maoism which used to be a much-overlooked topic have gained and attracted more and more attention in recent years. Compared to many of the existing studies mainly focusing on the Maoism in a specific country or region, works trying to examine Maoist movements from comprehensive, global perspective received increasing appreciation. *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History* examined the important iconic media in the history of global dissemination of Maoism -- *Quotations from Chairman Mao* (with a commonly known name as Mao's Little Red Book) from a global perspective. The book went through the historical origin of *Quotations from Chairman Mao* and chose some of the political struggle events for case studies to explore the role of the iconic Little Red Book concerning Mao's influence during the Great Cultural Revolution in China. After the discussion about the domestic aspect, the book began to focus on the spread and influence of *Quotations from Chairman Mao* around the globe as it involved the history of the revolution exporting during the Great Cultural Revolution. The influence of *Quotations from Chairman Mao* in various regions is studied in turn, including the First World of superpowers: the Maoist presence in Soviet Union and the significant role played by Mao's Little Book in the African-American militant groups fighting alongside civil rights movement in the United States; The vast

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 658.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 659.

⁶⁰ A. Von der Goltz, 'Attraction and Aversion in Germany's '1968' Encountering the Western Revolt in East Berlin', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 50, no. 3 (2015), p. 536.

sphere of Third World across Asia, Africa and Latin America: Maoist influence in India, Tanzania and Peru; And the divided Europe: France, Italy and West Germany within the European capitalist camp where the revolutionary youth took Mao's Little Red Book as the symbol of their belief, the appearance of Mao's Little Book in East Germany and Yugoslavia in the socialist camp and Albania's complicated time-varying attitude toward China. This book demonstrates the different ways in which *Quotations from Chairman Mao* appeared and spread in these different regions around the world. One of the major perspectives of this book is much concentrated on the analysis from the social and cultural level concerning the factors underlying the dissemination of Mao's Little Red Book.⁶¹ Also, Julia Lovell's book, *Maoism: A Global History*, analyse the history and development of Maoism throughout the years of revolutionary trajectory from her observation and examine the global Maoist movement in various regions where Mao and his theory showed its significant influence since the Cold War era: from Indonesia, Vietnam and Cambodia in Southeast Asia to Tanzania in Africa and Peru in Latin America, from Western Europe and North America to India and Nepal where the Maoist parties and the militant guerrilla force led by them left great impact on shaping the local political environment.⁶²

Still, except from the fact that these two recent books dealing with the theme of global Maoism did not fully cover several of the regions with intriguing history of significant Maoist presence such as the long-lasting armed struggle led by the Communist Party of Malaya and the Middle East military movement of the Turkish Maoists, another question would be the same as when we look at the huge amount of studies about Mao's influence in the developed world: why there is almost no discussion about the Maoist in the Eastern Europe when we examine from the global perspective? Again, we are facing the Andrew. M. Smith's question, it might be due to the lack of the accessible first-hand sources of these historical

⁶¹ A. C. Cook (ed.) *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

⁶² J. Lovell, *Maoism: A Global History*, (London: Bodley Head, 2019)

Maoist movement and the very limited English resources that could be found. Similarly, when seeking out the relative research about global Maoism in Chinese language, Central and East European region is also a largely missed-out topic, there is almost none specific research published about Maoist movement in the Eastern Europe and most of the studies about global Maoism were also heavily concentrated on the developed Western world and the Third World countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

III. Methodology

The research about Maoist political groups in CEE region will be conducted in a more structured way in which the viewing angles and cases selected for observation are clearer for interpretation. For case studies it would be great to construct a comparative one which is mainly through interpretative way of research. For comparing the Maoist groups in different CEE states and their history of development, it would have been a good idea to select different countries where there were Maoist presence with obvious influence (such as in USSR, Albania, Hungary, and Poland) which might also present the different geopolitical power stands in communist era and post-communist transformation. Although it had been a common phenomenon even within the European regional perspective that Maoist movement emerged, these Maoist groups were different considering their intensity of organization building and movements. Among the communist bloc of that era, there were only Poland, Hungary, and GDR where formal Maoist political organizations of quite scale were established to be sure and engaged in serious open or underground political struggle and fight. The case of Albania was special, where for a relatively long period of time, Mao Zedong Thoughts from China were promoted stably and firmly by the state apparatus as Albania was the only European country meanwhile also among the very rare state standing by Chinese side in the early stage of Sino-Soviet split officially, therefore Maoism in Albania was bearing a governmental promotion rather than being

specific organization targeted as anti-governmental movement. And considering the fact that the Maoist communities or individuals from the Soviet Union which was one of the geopolitical polar were facing and sharing fundamentally different geopolitical environment from other countries in the communist bloc, it is better to limit the research onto the Maoist political groups of the very three countries which are Poland, Hungary and GDR of that era as illustrated. The selection of these three specific countries is based on the context that, apart from the fact that the Maoist political groups in these three countries are the only three within the CEERE region then (under Cold War historical context) referred to as the “Eastern Bloc” to form official organization of party or coalition of polities with clear demonstration of their principle to be following predominantly Mao Zedong’s theory as their struggle guidance aforementioned, from the other three major aspects they are all different from the disorganized Maoist of other countries within the region of Eastern Bloc then:

1. For the depth and the intensity of political actions for promoting and achieving Maoist principle, Maoist organizations in these three countries all reached to open political opposition and confrontation and explicitly stated using violent or armed revolution as their core and principal guiding framework for action.
2. For connection with the source of Maoist movement – China, Maoist parties and organizations formed in these three countries were all closely related to direct contact with China therefore the exposure to direct Chinese sources and export of revolutionary material. Although not all of the three Maoist groups had gained support and attention from China, their direct connections were present.
3. Based on the factors above, Maoist parties and organizations formed in these three countries were meanwhile all located at the frontline region of the US-Soviet confrontation under Moscow control within the “Soviet Bloc”.
4. Last but not least, Maoist parties in these three countries had connection not

only in theoretical aspect but in direct interaction and political action. Though influenced by their relatively small size, these connections were direct, close and above the mere theoretical supporting and communication.

Even though the cases could be interpreted as somewhat MSSD ('Most Similar Systems Design') viewed from comparative politics perspective, the aim of the research is not to construct a study for comparing their political systems or their differences or to test a theory of defining the various factors contributing to the results and trajectories of these Maoist groups under this circumstances throughout the Maoist active era but to better describe and interpret the Maoist movement in these countries from the less-focused and under-studied content and contextual analysis based on available historical text and related resources.

The study will be operated mainly from content analysis and social context review available from articles, memoirs, newspapers and especially party (or organizational) political documents & programmatic announcement concerning these Maoist political groups in the three countries during their different active period from 1960s. It is a pity that due to the very limited language knowledge when facing the limited resources, the thesis could only cover and examine some of the mentioned document and appeared too far from a slightly comprehensive overview. Also, I was not able to manage to further study the role of Chinese embassy in the corresponding country, comparing their different roles on the founding of the Maoist organizations in the three countries would be a valuable topic to be investigated.

A good place to start when trying to understand the logic behind a historical phenomenon "is to see whether we get the most explanatory power by looking at the reasons why people (such as leaders) do what they do (the individual level of analysis), by looking at what happens within individual states (the state level), or by looking at the interactions between actors (the system level)."⁶³ Therefore, the levels of analysis will be basically three layers consisting individual, domestic and

⁶³ J. S. Nye, Jr., and D. A. Welch, Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation: An Introduction to Theory and History (Eighth Edition). (Beijing: Renmin University Press, 2012), p. 48.

systemic geopolitics of the world. Thus, analysis of the textual resources will be added with references on these specific levels: a) personal experiences concerning their family and educational backgrounds of key members, main leader, or leaders of the Maoist parties in these three countries; b) socio-economic scholarly literature and works on political environment about eras of Maoist actions in these three countries comparing with the analysis these Maoist parties made on their party documents and publications. c) other general academic studies of international relations and Cold War world order of the specific era when Maoist parties of these countries were active comparing with the comment and the analysis by these Maoist parties on world politics and international system. And along with the levelling method, all these 3 layers will be combined with the definition or comments from the official Chinese source about the original Maoist theoretical cognition and world view. Considering the existing literature and studies often focused much on the history outline of the trajectory of key leaders and their personal quote, the focus of this paper would be mainly elaborated in the 1) international level and 2) domestic level. These were used to trying to construct a close and deep description and pursuing a structured analysis of the chosen texts.

IV. Political opinion of CEE Maoist parties and organizations

1. Overview of geopolitical context concerning the emergence of Maoist organizations in CEE

The year of 1968, also being referred as Protests of 1968, the Year of Revolt or the Year of Revolutions, has always been a much-studied topic not only in the Cold War history as it greatly shaped the Europe and the West in terms of the societal culture and attitude towards the system of capitalism. Its impact on the future path of capitalist system along with the discussion brought by it about socialism and societal justice has never been ignored. While as being the significantly major

force, or to say being at the very centre of the 1968 revolutions, Maoism and Maoist groups throughout Europe rose and fell so swiftly and precipitately in a vast social and international stage that people tend to stress the hot summer of 68 as an enthusiastic and violent wave of mass street politics and student protests corresponding to the high peak of US military action in Vietnam War, the assassination of civil right movement leader Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Prague Spring which ended with Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Most of the attention of the observers were much focused on the young people and the student demonstration together with more violent street battles against the government especially in the West among which the most advocated and famous one being the May 1968 of France.

Among all the Central and East European region of the so-called “Eastern Bloc”, there were only three countries that the local Maoist supporters have formed formal sense of their own political parties with publicly demonstrated principle of Maoism. They are the *Progressive Jugend (PJ)* which developed towards the later formed *GDR section of the Communist Party of Germany/Marxists–Leninists (KPD/ML)* in East Germany (GDR), the *Communist Party of Poland (Mijal)* and the coalition formed by different Hungarian Maoist clubs and groupings - “*Group of Hungarian Revolutionary Communists*” (*GHRC*) in Hungary.⁶⁴ The political context of the emerging environment for Maoist parties in Central and East Europe during the 1960s was a sophisticated topic under the chaotic era, with the tumultuous international landscape of hard global geopolitics, regional hot wars around the world under the bipolar Cold War theme and the various domestic political problems and disagreements within the Soviet bloc.

From the external context, the emergence of CEE Maoist parties have been greatly influenced by the historical environment. Firstly, the Cold War bipolar world order where the confrontation and containment between the West and the

⁶⁴ A. M. Smith, ‘Which East is Red? The Maoist Presence in the Soviet Union and Soviet Bloc Europe 1956-1980.’ Thesis, Georgia State University, (2017)

Soviet bloc has left great shadows on the CEE states alongside the so-called “Iron Curtain” between East and West. Not only the hostility between the Soviet Union and the West has made every “Curtain states” feel the never-experienced threat being at the direct front of two nuclear powers deeply tied to their harsh military confrontation, but also the nature of this dangerous bipolar competition has turned out clearly to the world be nothing but another hegemonic strife at the cost of world peace and human lives in a mutually nuclear destruction level. The “beacon light” of freedom and democracy world kept standing by many of the military dictators and autarchies while launching a long-lasting unjust imperialist war on Vietnam; The leader of communist “family” long viewed as ideal model of equality and liberation had dramatically denied its own former model leader who triumphed over Fascist Reich meanwhile ruthlessly intervened the internal affairs of its “communist brothers” by force. The security threat caused by the structural power struggle between these two ambitious superpowers has reached new stage which human history has never met after entering 1960s with the outbreak of Cuban Missile Crisis risking for the first time and might still be the only time the entire human civilization.

Secondly, the massive street protests and violent demonstrations throughout the neighbouring West European states which irrupted and reached climax so rapidly that the countries of the Soviet bloc bordering the “Iron Curtain” which were already politically very aware must had been paying great attention to the chaotic situation of their “cross-curtain” neighbours which were the identified enemies from the opposite Western camp. The history had revealed to us that the founding of both East German and Hungarian Maoist political groups were largely influenced by their West European “comrades”. The early form of GDR Maoist groups Progressive Jugend (PJ) received much support and instructions from their West German forerunner brothers – the Maoist party of the Communist Party of Germany/Marxists–Leninists (KPD/ML) and therefore after facing prohibition from the GDR government, the East German Maoists established their formal

party organization which was officially named as East German section of KPD/ML.⁶⁵ Also, in Hungary, as the crucial figure among the earliest Hungarian Maoists, Gábor Révai exchanged ideas and learned from his friendship with Rudi Dutschke⁶⁶ - the famous anti-war activist from West Germany who considered himself a Maoist in his diaries⁶⁷ and regarded his early fighting years as “our cultural revolution”.⁶⁸ Meanwhile the worldwide protests and conflicts wave with the common theme of anti-war, anti-imperialist and anti-elite bureaucrat under the background of economic crisis of the West since the early 1960s had just being matching not only the anti-West advocating by the communist bloc, but also the seemingly suppressed yet widespread scepticism and dissent of various kinds concerning the several utter re-orientation (sometimes as total denial of the past) from Soviet Union as leader of the communist world since the 1950s. Together with the rough interventions from USSR and the disputed corresponding domestic reform in most of the CEE states closely related to the Soviet Union’s re-orientation on their doctrine and policies, the hard-line left members of the communists and young students of the CEE states surely got inspiration and encouragement by both witnessing the revolutionary struggle of the West and by turning towards the third direction except from the bipolar hegemonic camp – China.

Therefore, under this geopolitical environment and atmosphere, the last, but not least geopolitical factor was the firm stand of China against U.S imperialism and Soviet revisionism with the exporting of its revolutionary ideology and Cultural Revolution value since 1960s especially after its open disagreement with the Soviet Union. It was not only the statement of the Chinese government that it

⁶⁵ KPD/ML, ‘KPD/ML in der DDR gegründet. Gründungserklärung der Sektion DDR der KPD/ML’, Roter Morgen, Dortmund Vol.10, No.6 (1976)

⁶⁶ A. Takacs, ‘The Maoist Incident: Effects of Political and Ideological Consolidation on Youth Mentality in the Kádár Regime of the 1960s’, RESOCEA (Regime and Society in Eastern Europe) Report, 67 (2012), p. 25.

⁶⁷ A. Posener, ‘So viel Mao steckte in der APO’, (2018) <https://www.welt.de/kultur/literarischewelt/article175983811/Mao-und-die-APO-Willi-Jaspers-Erinnerungen-an-1968.html>, consulted on 23.01.05

⁶⁸ N. Frei, 1968: Jugendrevolte und globaler Protest, (Munich: dtv, 2008), p. 102.

sticked to the continuation and development of Communism theory of Marx-Leninism against the “First World” hegemonic world order of US imperialist and Soviet Union revisionist which would be naturally accepted by most of the hard-line leftists of Europe and around the world under this geopolitical landscape, but also the fact of historical actions China took at the previous international struggle. Apart from the accumulated reputation among the international socialist movement throughout the struggle against United States in Korea and Vietnam, Chinese expressed their political stand and acted in another series of major international incident far away from them during the Cold War era -- The Suez Crisis and the following conflicts. As another less studied and much overlooked region concerning the research from the perspective of global Maoism where Mao’s followers conducted various struggle and received Chinese support earlier than the famous Maoist trend in the 1960s, in those years there were a large bunch of people from Palestine, Syria, Iraq coming to China to participate the military training and study Mao’s political ideas.⁶⁹ All of the diplomatic policy and the export of revolutionary theories supporting the international anti-imperialist movements throughout the Cold War era in many of the geopolitical directions greatly add to the reputation of China led by Mao among the international leftists and constructed a solid basis for the grand global trend of Maoism since the 1960s.

Sun Yuxi, the former Chinese ambassador to India, Afghanistan, Italy, Poland, former Foreign Ministry spokesman, Chairman of China-Poland Friendship Association, once recalled his understanding of the appearance of Maoism in the Western world as “From the view of western scholars, Confucius made Mao different from Stalin... I also once made acquaintance with a rather distinguished friend from the US having a status. Not very convenient to reveal his name. He said to me that Mao and Stalin were both students of Marx, yet Confucius made Mao different from Stalin. In my understanding, Mao is a good student of Marx,

⁶⁹ J. Wang, ‘San wei qian zhuwaidashi tan qinshen ganshou maozedong zai guowai de yingxiang (Three former ambassadors talking about their experiences concerning the influence of Mao Zedong abroad), (2013) <http://politics.people.com.cn/n/2013/1226/c1001-23951680.html>, consulted on 22.12.2

he studied Marxism very deeply and thoroughly, yet he never adopted it dogmatically but used it as closely combining with the social practice of China. At the depths of Mao's thought there are the ancient philosophy of China including Laozi, Confucius and even many thoughts from Buddhism, we often see him richly quoting the classics and embellishing with allusions in his speeches. So, Mao is especially stressing humanism, while some ways of doing things by Stalin are relatively extreme therefore causing dissatisfaction among some people.”⁷⁰ Although during the later Great Cultural Revolution, Mao stressed his firm position condemning Confucian feudalist philosophy out of the aim for fully eliminating the harmful influence of feudalism in the society inherited throughout the two thousand years of feudal politics.⁷¹

Although geopolitics often stressed the international political power struggle traditionally, from internal aspect of domestic level we could better understand the emergence of CEE Maoist parties concerning the Eastern bloc's Maoist geopolitical landscape. Firstly, most of the CEE communist states were experiencing a relatively stable economic life yet with slower growth comparing to the last decades till the mid-1950s.⁷² The overall post-war population boost and the high speed of economic growth under communist statist economy which was partially due to the recovery period of the post-war peace had gradually ceased and the Soviet Union's doctrine over its communist bloc had been transforming from “communist comrades” towards “satellite states” by stages following series of interference as its hegemonic competition with the US-led West had been facing a relatively inferior position after Cuban Missile Crisis and the US expansionist actions throughout the world including Vietnam. The economic condition and the constant disputed reform influenced by USSR's policy had contributed to the

⁷⁰ J. Wang, ‘San wei qian zhuwaidashi tan qinshen ganshou maozedong zai guowai de yingxiang (Three former ambassadors talking about their experiences concerning the influence of Mao Zedong abroad)’, (2013) <http://politics.people.com.cn/n/2013/1226/c1001-23951680.html>, consulted on 22.12.2

⁷¹ News of Communist Party of China website, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160304115930/http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/4162/64165/67447/67458/4555944.html>, consulted on 22.12.21

⁷² B. Csaba, M. Byrne, & M. J. nos Rainer (eds.) The 1956 Hungarian Revolution: A History in Documents, (Budapest & New York: Central European University Press, 2002), p. 78.

hard-line communist's scepticism concerning the "purity" of the governmental communist faith.

Meanwhile in a more specific scope of view, when it comes to the three Eastern bloc states where Maoist parties would be officially established, GDR has experienced one of its crucial re-adjustment of state focus after entering 1960s concerning its long-lasting goal of "Unification of Germany" under the circumstances of US and Soviet Union coming to terms for shelving the discussion about German reunification. The altered attitude of GDR government being no longer regarding the unification of Germany as its focus and the new diplomatic goal towards West Germany and the entire Western world aiming for the acknowledgement would also be viewed as part of the statal compromise with the capitalist world under the influence of the "revisionist" Moscow by the hard-line leftists and potential Maoist in the future. It might be one of the contributing factors to the persistence of East German Maoist concerning unified solidarity with their West German comrades and the final organization of their party as part of the one German Maoist unity. Also, living at GDR as one of the most important frontlines of US-Soviet confrontation in Europe meanwhile under the widespread state intelligence network of Stasi, the maturity of organizational and structural build of the future East German Maoist's struggle and publicity appeared better than its Hungarian and Polish comrades as the latter mainly consisted of the university student clubs and few marginal figures after losing inner-party struggle; Hungary and Poland has commonly shared experience of a stormy year after the 1956 "Secret Speech" during 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by Khrushchev, both the Hungarian Uprising and the Poznań Protests of 1956 resulted in the long-lasting shadow among the people considering the damaged reputation of USSR as leader of communist world. The new government of Kádár and Gomulka after the chaos did seemingly stabilize the situation yet roots of various social and inner-ruling party split had been planted concerning every aspects of the political life. In Kádár's Hungary, the post-conflict order was

for a long period guaranteed by the presence of USSR forces remaining after the suppression action and the relatively successful new economic reform later known as the famous “Goulash Communism” together with the social reconciliation after entering 1960s which were partially in accordance with the new principles of Khrushchev at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union regarded by critics as the revisionist betrayal and capitalist restoration.⁷³ The Polish reform known as the “Gomulka Thaw” was facing the same pessimistic view from the hard-line communists among which the future Polish Maoist leader Kazimierz Mijal⁷⁴, similar to the Kádár reform as but another reversion led by “Khrushchev Thaw”. The doubt became strengthened among the leftist especially after the official Sino-Soviet split when China had publicly defined Khrushchev as revisionist. Yet with the comparatively more tolerant societal environment of Hungary under Kádár regime since the 1960s and the common anti-Russian atmosphere in Poland, the future Hungarian Maoists were mostly beginning from quite leisure academic circle and the Polish Maoists were limited within the inner-party elites.

The Maoists were growing gradually across the “Iron Curtain” under such geopolitical environment and the complicated context of a fiercely upheaval world order which was experiencing the high peak of bipolar hegemonic struggle. And at the year of 1968 they were sparkling with a never-imagined huge yet momentary flame like a shooting star. The emerging context of Maoists throughout CEE states are less studied comparing to their West European companions, but it never means that they are not important throughout the history of Cold War political left and ignored for the studies of sophisticated composition of communist dissidents.

2. Upon the emergence of CEE Maoist groups from the perspective of China

⁷³ S. L. Pap, “In the Hot Summer of ‘68, We Were the Tempest in the Hungarian Teapot’ – The Hungarian Maoist ‘Plotters’”, (2018) <https://lefteast.org/hungarian-maoist-plotters/>, consulted on 21.07.03

⁷⁴ M. K. Gnoinska, ‘Promoting the ‘China Way’ of communism in Poland and beyond during the Sino-Soviet Split: the case of Kazimierz Mijal’, *Cold War History*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (2018), p. 347.

Since Khrushchev's Secret Speech at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, which set off the prelude of internal strife within the socialist camp, the relationship between China and Eastern European countries also experienced inevitable change as the ideological dispute between China and the Soviet Union gradually became intensified. As members of the Warsaw Pact and the Economic Cooperation Council, most of the CEE states under the Soviet sphere of influence had no choice but to keep pace with the Soviet Union when dealing with China and the mutual relations have dropped to a very low level. However, it should be pointed out that the deterioration of the diplomatic relationship between China and CEE states was not overnight but a gradual process. It was until the 1960s that the level of contact became much lower since the political ideology of the Cultural Revolution in China since 1966 strongly affected China's diplomatic strategy towards Central and East European countries. During the period, on the one hand, China praised Albania for refusing to obey the Soviet Union's command, while on the other, it criticized the CEE states for standing with the Soviet Union and adopted attitude of fierce confrontation encountering attacks from CEE states instructed by Moscow. After entering 1970s, China began to adopt strategy of "differentiation and disintegration" separating their policy with the Soviet Union and the CEE states.⁷⁵ For the Soviet Union, China mainly published critical reports about them, while for CEE countries, China began to publish reports introducing economic and cultural achievements of them. Generally speaking, diplomatic contacts between China and different CEE states since then were much limited to the economic communication, with political topics being carefully avoided.⁷⁶

The "differentiation and disintegration" strategy China adopted was also a gradual evolution based on its diplomatic practice since 1960s when it began to pay special attention to "make contact with middle and lower class people" of the

⁷⁵ C. Zhu, 'Zhongguo Tong Donggouwuguo Guanxi Sanbuqu', Issues of Contemporary World Socialism, No. 1 (1987), p. 18-21.

⁷⁶ P. Xu, 'Ershishiji Liushi Zhi Bashi Niandai Zhongguo Tong Donggouguojia Guanxi Lishi Huigu Guojiyantaohui Zongshu', CPC History Studies, No. 4 (2004), p. 92.

CEE states.⁷⁷ Chinese embassies had been evaluating the possibility for the development of so-called "healthy forces" in host CEE countries and the possibility of replacing current leaders with such "internal healthy forces".⁷⁸ After the split between China and the Soviet Union became irreversible, cultivating pro-China forces in host countries and dividing the relationship between the CEE countries and the Soviet Union became an important part of Chinese embassy's work concerning China's diplomacy goal in Central and East Europe: "encouraging and supporting left-wing elements in local ruling parties to form separate factions or establish separate parties, strengthen the left wing of the international communist movement".⁷⁹

3. Hungarian Maoist Organization: Coalition of "Group of Hungarian Revolutionary Communists" (GHRC)

3(1) From college student clubs to violence on trial

Hungarian Maoists might appear to be the most radical in terms of action and the most vulnerable in terms of organization. Although they never had the chance of establishing a namely "party" organization, their organized activities were the most violent ones among its neighbouring "Maoist comrades".

The early foundation of Hungarian Maoist organizations were several groups of university students gathering in the form of little circle and club group interested in political discussion and popular arts. Among them three core leaders both shared backgrounds of Soviet influence – although different sort. György Por and György Dalos who finished their university studies in Moscow and Gábor Révai whose father was the famous senior communist revolutionist and one of the

⁷⁷ Archive of The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China, 109-03391-03, quoted in D. Li, 'Guanyu 1960 Niandai Zhongguo Yu Dongouwuguo Guanxi De Ruogan Wenti —— Laizi Zhongguo Danan Wenxian De Xinzhengju', *Eluosi Yanjiu*, No. 4 (2011), p. 122.

⁷⁸ Archive of The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China, 109-02395-01, quoted in D. Li, 'Guanyu 1960 Niandai Zhongguo Yu Dongouwuguo Guanxi De Ruogan Wenti —— Laizi Zhongguo Danan Wenxian De Xinzhengju', *Eluosi Yanjiu*, No. 4 (2011), p. 122.

⁷⁹ D. Li, 'Guanyu 1960 Niandai Zhongguo Yu Dongouwuguo Guanxi De Ruogan Wenti —— Laizi Zhongguo Danan Wenxian De Xinzhengju', *Eluosi Yanjiu*, No. 4 (2011), p. 123.

former central leaders of Hungary before 1956 who participated in the founding of Hungarian Communist Party and the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919.⁸⁰ Interestingly, although all being core comrades of the Maoist group with shared cruel memory of the 1956 uprising, their previous stance concerning 1956 was vastly different. Both supporting the repression, Por stood against his father while Révai being the opposite; while originally against the horror brought by the repression, Dalos later became firm opposer to the amnesty for the 1956 political prisoners.⁸¹

Another vital characteristic of Hungarian Maoist activity was that they are highly motivated by the Third World politics. One of the contributing factors that brought these leisure campus groups together and made their cause serious was the social movement supporting their third world socialist comrade Vietnam against imperialist aggression organized by the Hungarian government and the ruling party's youth wing KISZ, according to Gábor Révai, they "became politicized within KISZ, it was '67, Vietnam..." that they adopted their so-called "Maoist" stance attacking both the US imperialism and the existing socialism's appeasement.⁸² Thus they began to occupy the groundswell within the Vietnam Solidarity Committee organized under KISZ, under the officiality cover of the Committee, Hungarian Maoists organized a surprisingly violent action in front of the US embassy in Budapest during which "150-200 Hungarian, African and Asian students attacked the embassy with Molotov cocktails, broke windows, set cars in fire and got into fight with the police."⁸³ Their radical activity and anti-revisionist advocating forced the KISZ to dissolve the de facto nearly "Maoist" Vietnam Solidarity Committee, preventing their radical leftist promotion from getting

⁸⁰ A. M. Smith, 'Which East is Red? The Maoist Presence in the Soviet Union and Soviet Bloc Europe 1956-1980.' Thesis, Georgia State University, (2017)

⁸¹ A. Matus, 'The pre-history of the hungarian and romanian 1968ers,' Wrocławski Rocznik Historii Mówionej (Wrocław), Vol. 10 (2020), p. 96- 98.

⁸² Gildea, R., James, M., & Pas, N., 'European radicals and the 'Third world'. Cultural and Social History, Vol. 8, No. 4 (2011), p. 457.

⁸³ Report of the Interior Ministry on the demonstration, ÁBTL 1-a-151/1965, p. 1-4, quoted in A. Takacs, 'The Maoist Incident: Effects of Political and Ideological Consolidation on Youth Mentality in the Kádár Regime of the 1960s', RESOCEA (Regime and Society in Eastern Europe) Report, (2012), p. 52-53.

more attention. Since Maoist had attracted too much attention and caused factual destruction, they turned to underground form of organizing and were on their way towards a total trial ending their Maoist ideas since the time when they decided to formulate political program mentioning the goal to be overthrow the current regime using expression they learned from the works they accessed through Chinese embassy.⁸⁴

3(2) Political opinion of international politics

i. Pessimistic evaluation and the peaceful defeat

The Hungarian Maoists showed clear logic when demonstrating their level of analysis concerning their understanding of the world. In international level, one of the very principles upon which Hungarian Maoists expressed their concern about the global situation is that the international imperialism was not only the threat towards the world peace but also the fundamental role in domestic level being responsible for the counter-revolutionary events in Hungary.⁸⁵ In conclusion, the Hungarian Maoist came to the understanding that the international imperialism which served as the ultimate formation of capitalism according to Lenin, was the basic and original obstacle for liberation of the proletariats around the globe and domestically.

Concerning the situation of international communist movement of the day, Hungarian Maoists demonstrate the evaluation and made their judgment in one of their crucial public statement as an organization called “Group of the Revolutionary Hungarian Communist” in 1967 at the 50th anniversary of October Revolution. As the very key document bearing the expectation and intention of marking the new stage of their Maoist political group from in-circle discussion

⁸⁴ G. Dalos, ‘Kommentár’, *Mozgó Világ*, Vol 26, No. 3 (2000)

⁸⁵ Cf. ‘Az MSZMP Ideiglenes Központi Bizottságának 1956 decemberi határozata’, in Henrik Vass (ed.) *A Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt határozatai és dokumentumai 1956-1962*, (Budapest: Kossuth 1964), p. 13-16, quoted in A. Takacs, ‘The Maoist Incident: Effects of Political and Ideological Consolidation on Youth Mentality in the Kádár Regime of the 1960s’, *RESOCEA (Regime and Society in Eastern Europe) Report*, (2012), p. 11.

towards making public propaganda, “The Way of the Revolution”, a well-planned leaflet as part of their first public propaganda try-out⁸⁶, directly reveal the “pessimistic” opinion upon the international communist movement then at the very beginning:

“... The celebration is not without pain. The gravest drama in the history of the working class movement taken place before our eyes. In the present phase of the struggle for power, the revolutionary forces that had triumphed on the one-six part of the globe have been beaten by the counter-revolution, and the revisionist-bureaucratic scum expropriated the power of the proletariat in a ‘peaceful way’.”⁸⁷

The defining phrase used to describe the situation of the day as “the gravest drama in the history of working class movement” and the certain expression claiming that the world revolutionary forces “have been beaten in the present phase” were without doubt special and sharp, and even for the pessimists the judgement of a beaten defeat then seemed over-exaggerated. Although today when we look back at the conclusion, it would be easily understood as an amplification of Mao’s warning and prediction concerning revisionism by these young Hungarian Maoists. Still, it was a relatively gloomy and cynical starting paragraph for a new-born communist (not mentioning Maoist) group. However, this argument of the Hungarian Maoists would be a solid proof of their comprehensive and ample cognition about Mao Zedong’s stress concerning the underestimated danger and threat of the capitalist-roader in power within the party and the international revisionism.

ii. ‘Flag of October’ and way of fight

⁸⁶ A. Takacs, ‘The Maoist Incident: Effects of Political and Ideological Consolidation on Youth Mentality in the Kádár Regime of the 1960s’, RESOCEA (Regime and Society in Eastern Europe) Report, (2012), p. 49.

⁸⁷ G. Dalos, Hosszú menetelés – rövid tanfolyam, (Budapest: Magvető, 1989) p. 84, quoted in A. Takacs, ‘The Maoist Incident: Effects of Political and Ideological Consolidation on Youth Mentality in the Kádár Regime of the 1960s’, RESOCEA (Regime and Society in Eastern Europe) Report, (2012), p. 50.

After the forceful and alarm-like opening, Hungarian Maoists expounded their opinion upon the future path of the international proletarian revolution. Although there are no series of uplifting exertion of parallelism with promising and overwhelming slogans which were quite commonly seen among leftist political calls, upon the seemingly sober and gloomy projection of the struggle situation aforementioned, they expressed their hard-line determination and firm belief:

“... We believe that the only option is to fight. And we believe that the victory as well as the conditions of the victory can only be created for ourselves. We need to lift up the abandoned flag of October and work for the coming of a new October within the noise of the fallacious celebrations. No one can contest our victory. Our way is the common way with the revolutionary forces led by the glorious Chinese Communist Party and by comrade Mao Zedong.”⁸⁸

From another point of view, the illustrations of both their counterintuitive judgement about the critical situation facing the international communist movement and the solitary resolution for their future revolutionary career matched the dialectical attitude for revolution by Mao as *“the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns”⁸⁹*. Meanwhile, these Hungarian Maoists under the ideological guidance of their comrade Mao Zedong, showed their endorsement of Mao’s conclusion concerning the outcome of socialist bloc being led by Soviet revisionist and revealed predictive insight towards the future dissolution of the socialist camp and the fall of communism in Eastern Europe to some extent.

3(3) Political opinion of domestic politics

⁸⁸ G. Dalos, Hosszú menetelés – rövid tanfolyam, (Budapest: Magvető, 1989) p. 84, quoted in A. Takacs, ‘The Maoist Incident: Effects of Political and Ideological Consolidation on Youth Mentality in the Kádár Regime of the 1960s’, RESOCEA (Regime and Society in Eastern Europe) Report, (2012), p. 50-51.

⁸⁹ Zedong Mao, ‘On the Chungking Negotiations (October 17, 1945)’, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung Vol. IV, (Peking: People’s Publishing House, 1977), p. 59-60.

i. Utter criticism of Kádár's 'period of building socialism in its entirety'

Hungary, among all the countries of the socialist camp, was the first to publicly demonstrate opinion about the theoretical debate between China and Soviet Union which led to the final Sino-Soviet split. At the very start of the Khrushchev's incident, Kádár had made judgement concerning this vital issue and especially about the opinion of China led by Mao as the leading opposition among the socialist bloc at that time, he stated that *"Let us start from the fact that the Chinese brother party is a communist, revolutionary party of the proletariat. Its recent politics shows dogmatic, sectarian elements and the cult of personality is present, too. The example of the Hungarian communist party demonstrates what a terrible thing can come out of such politics"*⁹⁰ And this quickly led to the picking-side decision later on at the year of 1962, Hungary under Kádár had already decided with no choice concerning the fact that his regime was under Soviet military supremacy but to follow the Soviet Union's trend of thoughts and claimed that Hungary had already achieved the new socialist revolution as "that the foundations of socialism in Hungary have been laid" and "Hungarian people have entered the period of building socialism in its entirety."⁹¹ The conclusion of Kádár regime was therefore in line with the Soviets that *"Following the laying down of the foundations of socialism, the nature of class struggle is subject to change and its forms and means are subject to modification. The main domains of class struggle at present are: the enhancement and improvement of economy and the development of socialist consciousness. In class struggle, therefore, organization, persuasion and ideological struggle come to the fore."*⁹²

⁹⁰ HU-MOL 288. f. 5/199. ö. e., p. 25, quoted in A. Takacs, 'The Maoist Incident: Effects of Political and Ideological Consolidation on Youth Mentality in the Kádár Regime of the 1960s', RESOCEA (Regime and Society in Eastern Europe) Report, (2012), p. 39.

⁹¹ "Az MSZMP VIII. Kongresszusának Határozata", in Henrik Vass (ed.), *A Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt határozatai és dokumentumai 1956-1962*, p. 559, quoted in A. Takacs, 'The Maoist Incident: Effects of Political and Ideological Consolidation on Youth Mentality in the Kádár Regime of the 1960s', RESOCEA (Regime and Society in Eastern Europe) Report, (2012), p. 18.

⁹² "Az MSZMP VIII. Kongresszusának Határozata", in Henrik Vass (ed.), *A Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt határozatai és dokumentumai 1956-1962*, p. 569, quoted in A. Takacs, 'The Maoist Incident: Effects of Political and Ideological Consolidation on Youth Mentality in the Kádár Regime of the 1960s',

Hungarian Maoists naturally had doubts about the contradiction between this theoretical transformation and social reality. In fact, this is a common phenomenon throughout the socialist camp after the sudden and shocking transformation of the Soviet Union under Khrushchev. For the Hungarian Maoists, the objective gap between the rich and the poor, and the inequality between urban and rural areas permeate their daily life. From schools to factories, from hotels to farmland, the objective class differences in every place make them completely unable to agree with the statement that socialism in Hungary has been fully built and the focus of class conflicts has changed, so they claimed that *“twenty-two years after its liberation, Hungary stands in the door of the complete restoration of the capitalism. But more they sink into the swamp of capitalistic restoration, more they are rushing into their own destruction.”*⁹³

ii. Upon consumeristic society

The rapid transformation towards a “developed socialism” under the influence of the Soviet Union was also naturally linked to the idea of deceiving the real contradiction and buying the proletariats with semblance of focusing on economics and consumption goods. The famous economic situation of Hungary’s “Goulash communism” back in the 1960s was also reflected in Dalos’s memory as the most prosperous one among its neighbouring “blocmate”. He considered this relatively “privileged” economic abundance comparing to other countries within the communist bloc as partially the result of the struggle of 1956. The shelves filled with goods under “Goulash communism” in Hungary was a product of a delicate equilibrium due to the mutual fear between the ruling party and the mass:

“The party leadership obviously understood that if there was no Soviet intervention, they could be swept away in 24 hours. The crowd, on the other hand,

RESOCEA (Regime and Society in Eastern Europe) Report, (2012), p. 19.

⁹³ G. Dalos, Hosszú menetelés – rövid tanfolyam, (Budapest: Magvető, 1989) p. 84, quoted in A. Takacs, ‘The Maoist Incident: Effects of Political and Ideological Consolidation on Youth Mentality in the Kádár Regime of the 1960s’, RESOCEA (Regime and Society in Eastern Europe) Report, (2012), p. 50.

understood that they could be swept away in 24 hours, but then the Soviets would come. And this created a kind of 'community of fear' in Hungary. The system no longer tried the kind of direct ideological pressure that its neighbours did. It was necessary not only to close, but also to open, not only to take, but also to give.”⁹⁴

More than fifty years have passed since Dalos initiate his Maoist political opinion in the 1960s, the critical attitude towards the consumerist representation of Kádár's era remained. Meanwhile the attitude concerning the struggle of 1956 seemed to be different with what he used to held as a 60s Maoist when he vigorously attacked the amnesty for the 1956 political prisoners as we discussed.

Another layer of logic concerning the emergence of Maoist group in Hungary and the consumerist culture could be revealed with Marxist perspective about the movement of the capital. It was at the stage of social distribution that both of the “existing” system tried to stress their advantages and changes through welfare and abundance of goods, yet for '68 Left it was the stage of social production where the capitalist ownership existed that mattered fundamentally and needed to be changed.⁹⁵

From this perspective, Maoist in Hungary did have the most similarities with their West comrades. They both explained the problems about social production from the Marxist basic theory and tried to solve it based on Marxist revolution theory.

iii. 'Consistent class struggle' and 'Permanent revolution'

One of the key countermeasures against revisionism is The Permanent Revolution. As a crucial principle brought out by Marx in the very early stage of proletarian revolution, “... *it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent until all the more or less propertied classes have been driven from their*

⁹⁴ M. Szabó (eds.) 1968 TILTAKOZÁSI HULLÁMA fél évszázad visszfényében, (Budapest: ELTE Bibó István Szakkollégium, 2021), p. 24.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 38-39.

ruling positions, until the proletariat has conquered state power and until the association of the proletarians has progressed sufficiently far – not only in one country but in all the leading countries of the world – that competition between the proletarians of these countries ceases and at least the decisive forces of production are concentrated in the hands of the workers.”⁹⁶ After decades of hard struggle and chaotic conflicts, coming to the era under the international system led by bipolar confrontation of two superpowers, it was a trend recognizing the staged success of communism building the Communist Bloc around the globe for the first time after WWII, yet it was intolerable for hard-line leftists to therefore feel at ease and be content with the existing stage of gaining state power in particular part of the world. The dispute gradually resulted in the great split within the socialist camp following the famous “Secret Speech” by Khrushchev to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which stated that in Soviet Union “...the Revolution was already victorious, ...the Soviet state was strengthened, ...the exploiting classes were already liquidated and socialist relations were rooted solidly in all phases of national economy, ...our Party was politically consolidated and had strengthened itself both numerically and ideologically”⁹⁷ Regarded especially by the Maoists as the starting point of ongoing revisionism within the communist party, the disputed assertion finally developed into the open declaration by Soviet Communist Party since the era of Khrushchev after the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Hungarian Maoists thus stressed the need for holding faith in permanent revolution against this revisionist trend:

“Large masses will be led into fight by the real inheritors of the Leninist Bolsheviks in order to annihilate the bourgeois dictatorship. What can we learn from October? We can learn that the class enemy will not perish by its own acts, it

⁹⁶ K. Marx, ‘Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League’, (1850)
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1847/communist-league/1850-ad1.htm>, consulted on 23.05.21

⁹⁷ N. Khrushchev, ‘Speech to 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U.’, (1956)
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/khrushchev/1956/02/24.htm>, consulted on 20.1.10

*will not give up, it can only be beaten in consistent class struggle. If we lag behind in this process, we will slow down the victory of the revolution.*⁹⁸

As Mao had a poetic elaboration on how to implement the permanent revolution in Marxist thought during the current revolutionary practice. This does not mean that this elucidation was arbitrary. On the contrary, this poetic illustration combined with the historical meeting decisions were implemented into important documents instructing the revolutionary practice during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: "Ten thousand years are too long, seize the day and night" shows the urgency of the specific struggle principle of the permanent revolution, and at the same time, concretely, "class struggle needs to be discussed every year, every month, every day" has become an instruction that symbolizes the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China and is regarded as an important principle by the Hungarian Maoists. They concluded that Kádár's Hungary had betrayed the proletariat and transformed towards agent of capitalists and it need to be destroyed through fight of the people.

4. Polish Maoists: Communist Party of Poland (Mijal)

4(1) From senior party veteran to the exiled opposition

The Communist Party of Poland (Mijal), which claimed itself to be the firm Maoist party and kept its pro-China political stand throughout all its history as an illegal party for the Polish government, was founded on December 1965 as claimed in its declaration through a pamphlet with the title of "Under the Marxist-Leninist Banner, into Battle for Socialism".⁹⁹ Notably, it bears the same name with the long-disbanded Communist Party of Poland, which was dissolved back in the year of 1938 following the decision of the Third International under Soviet dominant

⁹⁸ G. Dalos, Hosszú menetelés – rövid tanfolyam, (Budapest: Magvető, 1989) p. 84, quoted in A. Takacs, 'The Maoist Incident: Effects of Political and Ideological Consolidation on Youth Mentality in the Kádár Regime of the 1960s', RESOCEA (Regime and Society in Eastern Europe) Report, (2012), p. 50.

⁹⁹ 'Kazimierz Mijal - Dogmatic Diehard or Political Adventurer?' Radio Free Europe, Munich: RFE, Jun 26, 1967, <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/poland/cpp-diehard.pdf>, p. 8.

influence. The reuse of this kind of old party name from the early communist era in their national history is a common scene among the Maoists as mentioned, we will see this also in the Eastern German case. Interestingly, the new one claiming its Maoist communist choice was not led by a member of the old, however its main adversary, the current leader of the Polish United Workers' Party -- Gomulka, used to be the member of the dissolved Communist Party of Poland. The new Secretary General of the Temporary Central Committee of the newly founded "Communist Party of Poland" was Kazimierz Mijal with similar revolutionary and anti-fascist resistance backgrounds during the war era as Gomulka. As a matter of fact, although not being a member of the old dissolved Communist Party of Poland like Gomulka, Mijal's record of early revolutionary activity was close enough to him concerning the starting era and they used to be the battle-hardened comrades to each other throughout the most dangerous time. As Gomulka, Mijal was in the occupied Poland leading several resistance military actions against the Nazis and was among the founding members of the Polish Workers' Party during WWII.¹⁰⁰ Although both began fighting Nazis as communist partisan from local and became resistance leader, Gomulka stands higher political duty within the party during war era as he was elected General Secretary of the party in 1943, becoming one of the 3-person leadership group with Bierut, almost at the same time the Polish Workers' Party organized the National Council preparing for the coming counterattack and regime-building after repelling German invaders in the future, this National Council as the underground parliament before the end of war which turned out to be the foundation of the post-war government and the later People's Republic of Poland was of great significance, and Mijal also stood at the core of the power proven by his duty as Secretary of the Presidium of the National Council.¹⁰¹ The National Council elected Bierut Chairman, indicating that he would act as national leader before a formal national election turned practical.

¹⁰⁰ P. Saba and S. Richards, 'Kazimierz Mijal [15 Sep 1910-28 Jan 2010]', <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/poland/poland-intro.pdf>, consulted on 21. 06. 05

¹⁰¹ 'Kazimierz Mijal - Dogmatic Diehard or Political Adventurer?' Radio Free Europe, Munich: RFE, Jun 26, 1967, <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/poland/cpp-diehard.pdf>, p. 2.

Mijal was considered to be among the most trusted comrades of Bierut.¹⁰² As such, Mijal naturally kept staying at the power centre after Polish United Workers' Party, which as an enlargement and de facto successor of Polish Worker's Party after the war, became the ruling party of Poland since 1948. Gomulka, however, fell into inner-party struggle with Bierut later on when political disagreement between them emerged and became intensified mostly during the post-war Sovietization period. Mijal was believed to be playing an important role as the firm supporter of Bierut in this inner-party incident and contributed to the total political breakdown of Gomulka in 1949 by making a speech strongly criticising Gomulka's stand at the Central Committee plenum.¹⁰³

Therefore, after Bierut's surprisingly odd death in Moscow right after Khrushchev's Secret Speech, when Gomulka returned to the party leadership after chaotic power struggle, Mijal quickly encountered series of demotion when he insisted representing the inner-party group who opposed Gomulka and his policy. After his firm anti-Gomulka attitude and his illegal spreading of leaflets founding his own party against Gomulka, Mijal had no option but to leave Poland and stayed at Albania most of the time being the leader of his newly founded CPP.¹⁰⁴ From there he used Albanian Radio Tirana and his informants to connect to his underground supporters in Poland and his Maoist friends from Germany, Belgium, and Norway, according to him and the records of the East German and Norwegian Maoists, Mijal's party managed to "lead" the 1970 and 1976 strike in Poland¹⁰⁵, which might be an amplification of some underground supporter of Mijal engaged in it. In 1978 he was attacked as "left revisionist" by Albania and was forced to leave the country as he insisted standing by Mao and China after the Sino-Albanian split, during which he claimed that the Albanians tried to reach out to his supporters in Poland telling them to oppose him.¹⁰⁶ Upon his departure,

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ 'Radio Moscow Scoffs at Kazimierz Mijal', Radio Free Europe Research, Nov 15, 1968, <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/poland/cpp-scoffs.pdf>

¹⁰⁵ 'Vor einem Jahr: KPD/ML in der DDR gegründet', *Roter Morgen. Ausgabe der Sektion DDR*, No.1 (1977)

¹⁰⁶ "They condemned me to passivity and silence: an interview with Kazimierz Mijal", *Revolution*, Vol. 4,

Mijal claimed that the Albanian government forced him to leave all working documents and the archives of his party behind.¹⁰⁷ Mijal fled to China to keep advocating his party and received welcome there until he tried come back to Poland in the 1980s, then after being arrested and witnessing the fall of communist bloc he stucked to his old political stand till his death.¹⁰⁸

4(2) Political opinion of international politics

i. New understanding of the international system from Mao's Theory of Three Worlds

Seemingly as a party of dissidents from the Polish United Workers' Party, Polish Maoist party were special among its Maoist comrades in the neighbouring countries, it was founded by Kazimierz Mijal, a senior revolutionist elder who is of vital position in the Polish United Workers' Party as the Chief of the Bureau of the Council of Ministers of Poland since 1952.¹⁰⁹ Therefore it is obvious that the starting point of Polish Maoism in the sense of political structure was higher and closer to the centre of power struggle of the state. Benefiting from the level of political struggle and position of its leader Kazimierz Mijal, Polish Maoism therefore appeared to be more insightful and mature in terms of evaluating the contemporary international situation facing the proletariats.

In part of "Long Live Mao Tsetung Thought", one of the important writings of Kazimierz Mijal as the leader of Polish Maoist party, he expounded in full detail his understanding on situation of international class struggle at that time. Mijal considered Mao Zedong's Theory of Three Worlds an important theoretical tool for the international proletariats to better explore the truth of the world power struggle and realize the essence of international system. He comprehensively

No.2 (1980)

¹⁰⁷ Revolutionary Communist League of Britain, 'Communist Party of Poland Attacked By 'Left' Revisionists', Class Struggle, Vol. 5, No.1 (1981)

¹⁰⁸ A. M. Smith, 'Which East is Red? The Maoist Presence in the Soviet Union and Soviet Bloc Europe 1956-1980.' Thesis, Georgia State University, (2017)

¹⁰⁹ 'Kazimierz Mijal - Dogmatic Diehard or Political Adventurer?' Radio Free Europe, Munich: RFE, Jun 26, 1967, <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/poland/cpp-diehard.pdf>, p. 2.

explained the basic logic of Mao's Theory of Three Worlds and was fully sure that China had become the centre of world revolution. Moreover, Mijal went further from his analysis and findings, in the text he expanded the discussion based on Mao's perspective with his knowledge in replenishment of the Theory of Three Worlds. In this sense, Mijal as the leader of Polish Maoists is not only a supporter of Mao Zedong Thoughts, but also an enricher and developer of Mao's theory in terms of world revolution.

In Kazimierz Mijal's assessment of the international situation based on two system – the capitalist and the socialist, he made a clear differentiation between the concept of “socialist system” and “socialist camp”, stating that:

“With the passing of Stalin and the usurpation of power of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by the modern revisionists, the Soviet Union became a social-imperialist power and the existence of the socialist camp came to an end. The disintegration of the socialist camp does not mean that socialism as a world system no longer exists. These are two separate things.”¹¹⁰

Although the conclusion of the disappearance of socialist camp since Khrushchev era seemed a bit assertive, for if the end of the existence of socialist camp was viewed in the angle of a united socialist-state alliance as a whole, the socialist camp could still be viewed as being inherited by the true socialist states holding beliefs and rallying around the anti-revisionist revolutionary thought. As a matter of fact, in his following text he wrote that

“The banner of the Great October Revolution discarded by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev revisionist clique has been kept afloat by the great Chinese revolution, which enriches and preserves intact the treasure house and honour of the October Revolution and is forging ahead along the road of the October Revolution and the

¹¹⁰ K. Mijal, 'The Significance of the Theory of Three Worlds', Peking Review, Vol. 20, No. 51 (1977), p. 17.

dictatorship of the proletariat. It is exerting an ever greater influence on the progress of mankind.”¹¹¹

It was easy to understand in his analytical logic, the socialist camp was destroyed by Soviet revisionist usurpers who turned against socialism, yet the reason why socialist system could still survive and remain was due to the stepping forward of China led by Mao holding the firm stand as the 2nd largest country in the former socialist bloc against the attempt of the leading Soviet revisionist group making the reversal betrayal and compromise as guidelines for world proletarian class:

“While defending the fruits of the Chinese revolution and socialist construction and protecting China's dictatorship of the proletariat from the grave menace of Russian social-imperialism, Mao Tsetung safeguarded the world socialist system against the real threat and possible extinction at the hands of the forces of international imperialism.”¹¹²

It was not only the reversal compromise denying the need for class struggle and the existence of class contradiction within socialist state structure, but also the imperialist chauvinism attitude adopted by the Soviet Union that shadowed the future of international proletarian unity against capitalist world. Mijal believed that the revolutionary struggle strategy based on Mao Zedong Thoughts including the Three Worlds Theory should recognize the relativity of any contradiction and specific countermeasures. Although Mijal did not quote the specific sentence of Mao Zedong on these specific expressions, there is no doubt that his theoretical understanding perfectly fits Mao Zedong's related strategies especially the content of revolutionary struggle methods and the construction of the base areas and had a deep understanding of their application to the field of

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid, p. 18.

international relations. And above all, he emphasized the very basic principle of Maoism as to acknowledge the universality of the contradiction between capitalism and socialism which existed in every relationship of society and production:

“The fundamental contradiction between the world capitalist system and the world socialist system is not a contradiction within capitalism itself but an extremely important and sharp contradiction between capitalism as a whole and the countries building socialism. The revisionist leaders of the Soviet Communist Party describe this type of contradiction as the major contradiction, in the present-day world which rises above all internal capitalist contradictions. This, however, is incorrect.”¹¹³

ii. Evaluation of different threats and choices of struggle strategies

Thus, it is natural for us to understand what Mijal has concluded for confronting the endangered international communist cause under the circumstances of the broken socialist unity with its former leader becoming traitor: that is to build a new democratic unity by the banner of Maoism holding the principle of independence and anti-imperialism

“... The third world countries are with China. The world socialist system and the international proletariat constitute the unprecedentedly powerful mainstay of the world revolutionary forces and rallying round them are the revolutionary forces of all peoples who in their struggle to win independence, political sovereignty and economic independence for all countries and nations and to oppose imperialist wars are bringing into being a worldwide democratic united front to fight against imperialism, colonialism and the hegemonism of the two superpowers.”¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 19.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p. 17-18.

In addition, upon this basis Mijal further explained and elucidated what were the appropriate attitudes for the second and third world countries to correctly treat the international system of the Three Worlds and whether to adopt the relevant principles of struggle in such a situation of international class struggle. He pointed out that the structure of the capitalist world and the reality of the classification of the Three Worlds prompted the proletariats and the true Marxist-Leninist parties around the globe to re-elect their revolutionary stand and position as *“Mao Tsetung's analysis of the structure of the capitalist world and his differentiation of the mutually opposed three worlds on the basis of the analysis greatly facilitate the proletariat of all countries and all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties in deciding their own revolutionary political line.”*¹¹⁵

Mijal kept illustrating according to Mao Zedong's Theory of The Three Worlds, in the relatively stabled international political order formed after the WWII, the contradiction between the two superpowers of the United States and the Soviet Union was the most significant of all contradictions, that is, the contradictions in the First World. The second is the contradictions between the First world and the Second world, and among the countries of the Second World themselves including the contradictions between the two superpowers and the developed countries other than the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as the contradictions among these developed countries. The Third World which was formed by the countries other than the countries above, was facing the contradictions with the First World and the Second World. For the whole human world, the most significant threat came from the most significant contradiction, thus from the US-Soviet power struggle for hegemony and their imperialist ambition of the First World.¹¹⁶ For the working class all over the world, especially the regimes of the socialist countries in the Second and Third worlds, how to understand the different threats they faced and what kind of struggle strategies they should adopt was an urgent issue that needs to be clarified.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p. 18.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p. 18-20.

Upon this issue, Mijal fully understood the development of Mao Zedong Thoughts upon *the concrete analysis of concrete conditions* in Marxist theory and clearly elucidated Mao Zedong's strategic thoughts of revolutionary struggle.¹¹⁷ Regarding the criticisms made by the revisionists headed by Soviet revisionists on relevant aspects of Mao Zedong and China, he gave a detailed theoretical counterattack.

Concerning the concrete strategy of international struggle based on the analysis of the international situation and basic contradictions, Mijal concluded that Mao Zedong Thought's method of exploiting the objective existence of interest conflicts and power gaps between imperialist and developed countries and correspondingly adopting strategies of utilization is completely in line with the interests of the international proletariats. In this way, based on continuing the class struggle domestically and abroad with full understanding of the existence of class contradictions not as *system against system* but universal even within the system, the strategy of making full use of imperialist and developed countries during diplomatic struggles matched "the revolutionary soul of the Marxism".¹¹⁸ The two elements as universality of class contradictions and the utilization of developed countries are indispensable. Therefore, when Soviet social imperialists denied the existence of domestic class contradictions, their external expansion of chauvinism and compromise with western imperialism could only be act of right-wing opportunism. Thus, their criticism of Mao Zedong's Theory of the Three Worlds was futile and false, as they first denied the universality of class contradictions and class struggle in their own countries:

"We are well aware of how Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung were resolved in rejecting such closed-door slogans as 'To hell with all agreements and compromises!' Marx and Engels pointed out that 'where it is a matter of a struggle against the existing Government, we ally ourselves even with our enemies' (Stein,

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p. 20.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

1849.) Lenin made use of even, the most reactionary forces in Russia and the international arena to win victory for the revolution. Stalin also made use of some troops of the reactionary emigre Polish Government against Hitlerite Germany. Likewise, during the War of Resistance Against Japan, Mao Tsetung also made use of the reactionary Kuomintang forces with which he had fallen out. The use of reactionary imperialist forces to oppose the main enemy is diametrically different from putting reliance on the reactionary imperialist forces. Even during the second imperialist war when the Soviet Union was up against such heavy odds, it joined the alliance against Hitler. This, however, cannot be interpreted as Soviet "reliance" on the United States and Britain...When the revisionist, leading clique of the Soviet Communist Party compromised and co-operated with the bourgeoisie at the price of stamping out the class struggle and the people's revolutionary struggle as it wished, the leadership of the Communist Party of China most resolutely drew a distinction with this Right opportunist trend."¹¹⁹

4(3) Political opinion of domestic politics

i. Upon Polish United Workers' Party and its 'Road of corruption'

Kazimierz Mijal's characterization of the Gomulka regime was clear, that was, they were already traitors to the communist cause and the Polish United Workers' Party under him had turned into a counter-revolutionary party. Mijal expressed his contempt for their complete obedience to the influence of Soviet revisionism and their transformation into the so-called Party of the Entire People:

"The Polish United Workers' Party has changed its nature and been turned into its opposite, from a revolutionary party into a counter-revolutionary party...The political party of the working class must not be a "party of the entire people" as advocated by the modern revisionists. It must maintain its existence until classes are ultimately abolished and the transition to the second stage of full communism

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p. 19.

has been realized throughout the world... mainly the betrayal of the socialist road in our country. Judged by its social composition, the Polish United Workers' Party has gradually become more and more a party of the petty bourgeoisie, a party of the bourgeoisie."¹²⁰

Reviewing the history of the Polish United Workers' Party's revolutionary history and its modern deterioration towards revisionism, he described in detail how the capitalist roaders, under the influence of international revisionism, transformed the public property of Poland, which was achieved throughout the bourgeois democratic revolution and socialist construction after liberation, into *de facto* private property controlled by bourgeois agents and breeders of new capitalists through various means and personnel in a very short period of time. They corrupted the state apparatus, assumed and made use of the shell of communist state. He believed that in countries under the dictatorship of the proletariat, modern revisionist specifically tried to corrupt the intellectuals who possess professional knowledge—the so-called experts, using their weakness and the state apparatus to make them bourgeois privileged and elite, so as to steal power secretly in various fields of the state power:

"Revolutionary policies have been replaced by reformist policies. Representatives of the working class, genuine revolutionaries in the Party and government departments, have been replaced by "experts," so-called diploma-holders, who are actually representatives of the bourgeoisie... (the Polish United Workers' Party) openly declared that there was no economic basis for the existence of exploiting classes in Poland and that there were no antagonistic contradictions in Poland. In doing so they were attempting to defend their policies of the dying out of class struggle and of class collaboration... after the clique of renegades to socialism usurped the leadership of the Party and the state, the "new leadership" -

¹²⁰ The Communist Party of Poland, 'Communist Party of Poland is a Working-Class Party', Peking Review, Vol. 11, No. 35 (1968), p. 13.

the Political Bureau and the state apparatus subordinated to it (as Gomulka has openly said, the Party itself does not exercise the function of government) - has actually played the role of the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie... our socialist industry, transport, banks and monopoly of foreign trade, the whole of our socialized economy, have begun to lose their socialist character and to play more and more the role of state capitalism... Every day and every hour the property of the people is flowing, in legal or illegal forms, from the hands of the workers into the pockets of the newly emerging bourgeoisie”¹²¹

ii.

And Mijal made a summary of how the Communist Party of Poland led by him will strictly draw a line with the above revisionist behaviour and in which areas to fight. First of all, the working proletariat must be deeply aware of its own master status and importance. It must always keep in mind the subject nature of the revolution and make it clear that only the own power of the working class and their independent force are the vital necessity to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletariats must not gradually become insensitive after it has gained power and feel rest assured handing over part of the power together with some of the economic and scientific-cultural aspects to the bourgeoisie and intellectuals out of production during the cooperation with them. According to Lenin's principles of party building and Mao Zedong Thought, the key of maintaining the purity of party ranks is that the proletarian party must always keep close ties with the masses of the working class, preventing the party together with its members from the process of gradually being stuck at the high positions in the structure of the regime, being separated from the front-line workers by "expert" managers, and finally degenerating into *de facto* capitalist roaders and revisionists through privileges and deception:

¹²¹ The Communist Party of Poland, 'Communist Party of Poland is a Working-Class Party', Peking Review, Vol. 11, No. 35 (1968), p. 13-14.

“...Poland has embarked on the road of capitalist restoration is indicated by the renunciation of the class struggle against the influence of bourgeois thinking in the spheres of ideology, politics and culture, and by the abandonment of transformation of the urban and rural capitalist economy... What guarantees are there that the Communist Party of Poland will not in the future change into something like the Polish United Workers' Party... The working class must draw a lesson from the past; it must firmly rely on its own strength instead of assistance from bourgeois philanthropists... Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that a party is a revolutionary party if it integrates theory with practice in a revolutionary way, maintains constant links with the broadest sections of the masses... it must be linked with the working class and with the latter's life and struggle. The composition of the leading organs must be decisively proletarian.”¹²²

After guaranteeing the composition of the proletariats within the party, Mijal stated that perfectly achieving this still cannot guarantee the existence of a real proletarian party. A truly revolutionary proletarian party is not only determined by its superficial composition of its members, but also by its specific revolutionary propositions and policies. The crucial question is: Whom does its concrete policy serve fundamentally? For the bourgeoisie or the proletariat? There are two basic criteria to make a judgment based on Mijal's understanding, *“If the leading organ uses socialist revolutionary theory to guide its activities and applies it in a creative manner on the basis of an analysis of concrete conditions as well as the needs of proletarian internationalism and world revolution, then such a party will be a party of the workers not merely in the sense of class composition, it will be a genuinely revolutionary and proletarian party.”¹²³*

In summary of all the conclusions concerning the proletarian party and state building, regarding the principles of the party constitution of the Communist

¹²² The Communist Party of Poland, 'Communist Party of Poland is a Working-Class Party', Peking Review, Vol. 11, No. 35 (1968), p. 16.

¹²³ Ibid.

Party of Poland, Mijal firmly stated that it was established acknowledging the universality of the class contradiction and the need of class struggle in full accordance with the basic principles and teachings of Mao Zedong Thought as there were these unique principles which only as Maoists could establish in their party building: 1. The organization principle of the Communist Party of Poland is *centralism based on the principle of democracy*; 2. The main task in the daily struggle is to help the working class and the broadest sections of the masses become aware of the fact that there is no other road but the *seizure of political power by force of arms*; 3. The foundation of the proletarian dictatorship could not be built without *the worker-peasant alliance*, and the revolutionary intellectuals plays a big part in the revolutionary cause.¹²⁴

iii. Nationalist ambition and Anti-Zionist puzzle

The Communist Party of Poland (Mijal) held quite controversial and, for some, perplexing political stand when it comes to certain issues concerning nationalism and ethnic programme. “The ‘KPP’ (Polish abbreviation of the Communist Party of Poland) programmatic statement, which thus unabashedly calls for a return to Stalinism, also contains several transparently demagogic appeals to certain elements of Polish society.”¹²⁵ Andrew M. Smith had expressed his doubt about why and how Mijal openly declared the party’s harsh accusation towards certain groups of Jewish population in its programme and leaflet meanwhile claiming his party to be Maoist which should be against all sorts of racism and promoting communist internationalism.¹²⁶ Considering CPP (Mijal) was the only one which got official Chinese acknowledgement among all the illegal Maoist groups within the communist bloc, the further question was asked about why China and Albania never showed any criticism concerning the issue

¹²⁴ The Communist Party of Poland, ‘Communist Party of Poland is a Working-Class Party’, Peking Review, Vol. 11, No. 35 (1968), p. 18.

¹²⁵ A. R. Johnson, ‘The Program of the ‘communist party of Poland’’, Radio Free Europe, Munich: RFE Jan 16, 1967, <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/poland/cpp-program.pdf>

¹²⁶ A. M. Smith, ‘Which East is Red? The Maoist Presence in the Soviet Union and Soviet Bloc Europe 1956-1980.’ Thesis, Georgia State University, (2017), P63.

when they both happened to publish and broadcast many of CPP (Mijal)'s works.¹²⁷ These controversial opinion exposed by Mijal and his party were mainly recorded upon the statement in their programmatic advocating: in 1965 upon the party founding, it accused the "Zionist" and "Nationalist Jews" of standing together with revisionists and causing the failure of Polish socialist movement, and its tirade attacking the "the Zionist-Trotskyite group of Jewish nationalists" came to the conclusion of them desiring "the establishment of the rule of the Jewish national minority over the thirty-million-strong Polish nation."¹²⁸ Another serious statement of CPP (Mijal) recorded in Radio Free Europe was not fully complete concerning its context as "Long experience has shown that it is in that milieu that most traitors and agents are recruited" with the party's call that "We must carry through to the end the decisive struggle against Zionist agents in Poland."¹²⁹ Merely from the wording of these harsh accusation, an unnoticed carefulness could be found about was Mijal and his party document had not been found to be targeting the ethnic term alone, the enemy and the traitor were the either "Zionist", "Nationalist Jews" or "the Zionist-Trotskyite group of Jewish nationalists", all bearing political attribute. As a matter of fact, the political opinion towards Zionism appeared in CPP (Mijal) was due to complicated factors, and there are several critical aspects which should be examined for better answer the doubt and understand the phenomenon:

The first important background was the common social atmosphere of antisemitism, and what appeared complicated was the merge of anti-communism with antisemitism in Poland where both currents had deep roots contributing to the appearance of concept like żydokomuna (Judaeo-Communism).¹³⁰ Although Mijal and his party avoided the use of mere ethnic term when making the harsh

¹²⁷ A. M. Smith, 'Which East is Red? The Maoist Presence in the Soviet Union and Soviet Bloc Europe 1956-1980.' Thesis, Georgia State University, (2017), P63.

¹²⁸ A. R. Johnson, 'The Program of the 'communist party of Poland'', Radio Free Europe, Munich: RFE Jan 16, 1967, <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/poland/cpp-program.pdf>

¹²⁹ 'Kazimierz Mijal - Dogmatic Diehard or Political Adventurer?', Radio Free Europe, Munich: RFE, Jun 26, 1967, <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/poland/cpp-diehard.pdf>, p. 11.

¹³⁰ S. A. Smith (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 206.

remark and asserted that their attacks are strictly limited to politically anti-Zionism for not to be conflated with antisemitism, the new question should be that under such social atmosphere, would accusation of this sort further deepen the mistrust towards communism? Would that also weaken the cause of CPP (Mijal)'s version of communism? It was possible that through merging the Zionist and Gomulka regime (which was identified as revisionist by Mijal) together, CPP (Mijal) planned to achieve wider support and broaden the inner-party and social acceptance of his anti-revisionist claim. Yet for ordinary people in Poland, it was unlikely to have enough information about even the term "revisionist", the spreading of such accusation of Zionist agents in a communist state was not only impractical for making the audience interested in Mijal's version of communism against revisionist but much likely to discredit communism altogether in the population upon the existing social stereotype. History had proven the explanation: for just one year after these anti-Zionist advocating by CPP (Mijal), the nationwide 1967-1968 "anti-Zionist" purges in Poland pushed by the ruling Polish United Workers' Party, although with complicated backgrounds concerning the change of Soviet policy towards Middle East and the inner-party faction struggle, undoubtedly revealed the deeply rooted antisemitism current which heavily influenced Polish politics.¹³¹

The second elements usually being ignored was the international attitude towards Zionism during the post-war era. It was not only the United Kingdom and the United States had promoted Zionist political aim of the state-building of Israel, but Soviet Union had also supported Israel for decades throughout long post-war era until 1967 when the Third Middle East War broke out. Since Mijal and his party had chosen the Maoist political stand which considered both anti-imperialism and anti-revisionism as its core stance, anti-Zionist advert would be another conspicuous manifestation of their policy opposing US-lead imperialism and Soviet revisionism.

¹³¹ BBC, 'Poland's Andrzej Duda apologises to Jews expelled in 1968', (2018) <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-43330963>, consulted on 23.11.25

Another ignored factor of significance was the Chinese stance concerning the issue. China had played a sometimes-overlooked role in the Middle East concerning Arabian struggle against Israel aforementioned. Similarly, China's policy and statement was an overlooked explanation upon why Maoist CPP (Mijal) stressed its unconcealed anti-Zionist opinion. Except from the previous discussion about Mao's support for the Arabian world in their wars against Israel including both moral assistance and training, Mao had specifically defined the nature of the ongoing Middle East War in his judgement and kept the stance unchanged in his policy towards the Middle East. What should be noted was the political context where this stance emerged: In 1964, Yasser Arafat secretly visited China shortly before he led Al-'Asifah militant group under Palestine Liberation Organization launching their first assault towards Israeli armed force. The next year, Arafat led a delegation to publicly visit China and was cordially received by Mao. After this meeting, Mao formally put forward the statement of "Firmly supporting the just cause of the Palestinian people and opposing Zionism" which got repeatedly stressed in Chinese diplomacy throughout Cold War era on many occasions since then. Therefore CPP (Mijal)'s anti-Zionist stance was the result from several related incidents happened during the post-war era with both internal and external contributing factors.

Other nationalist goals as claimed by CPP (Mijal) which had not been examined includes an unusual aim: territorial pursuit which was not based upon pre-war Polish border but upon the Commonwealth centuries ago. According to the records from Radio Free Europe, CPP (Mijal) had distributed leaflets upon which a map of Poland stretching from the Oder-Neisse line to a point east of Kiev was printed bearing the caption of "We guarantee you such a Poland."¹³² Although territorial border remained an important issue in the post-war politics of Poland, the political slogan guaranteeing a Poland with its border beyond east of Kiev appeared astonishing. Whatever intention this amplification from a underground

¹³² A. R. Johnson, "The Program of the 'communist party of Poland'", Radio Free Europe, Munich: RFE Jan 16, 1967, <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/poland/cpp-program.pdf>

party held, bringing up dissident of this kind about the undetermined boundary which was against the will of Soviet Union itself could be viewed as an act of objection towards Soviet revisionism through a nationalist expression, as the territorial issue had always been a common sensitive point concerning nationalism and patriotism in Poland's national memory.

5. Maoist Party in East Germany (GDR): KPD/ML section in the GDR

5(1) From study group to transnational secret section

The Maoist Party in East Germany was established between 1975 and 1976 as a branch of the Maoist Party in West Germany. It was the latest among the Maoist organizations in Eastern Europe. However, the establishment of this branch did not happen overnight. First, their predecessors developed from self-organized study groups organized by young people. What is unusual is that these study groups were already monitored, infiltrated, and purposefully destroyed by the Stasi before they eventually developed into party organizations. Therefore, before the branch of the Maoist Party in East Germany later contacted their West German comrades and formed an organized branch of the International Communist Party with them, it spontaneously reorganized itself after being disintegrated and gradually mastered the way of secret organizing through self-study, thus re-establishing itself without outside help and forming the basis of future Maoist cells in East Germany. Although according to the existing newspapers, pamphlets and declassified Stasi secret reports left by the existing East German Maoist branches, the East German Maoist party was known for its complex and secretive operational organization. And the way of action is fully worthy of the evaluation of "posing a major threat to national power"¹³³

Just as the East German Maoist section has been ignored, the specific organizational form of the East German Maoist section has also not been noticed. This particularity is undoubtedly related to the Stasi's strong social surveillance

¹³³ H. Polifka, Die unbekannte Opposition in der DDR, (Köln: MedienService-Geis, 2005), p. 61-62.

capabilities, and also to the history of the destruction of the early organizations of the Maoist branch of East Germany. According to the existing East German Maoist branch documents, the recollections of former party members and the Stasi investigative reports, the operation mode of the East German Maoist branch can be summarized as the division of each branch into fragments and independently covert operations. Although its branches and members in many places were closely monitored by the Stasi, it can be seen from the record that the Stasi failed to fully grasp the organizational structure of the Maoist branches in East Germany and tried to change this situation through undercover agents within the party.¹³⁴ Therefore, the East German Maoist cell was unique in its secrecy.

5(2) Political opinion of international politics

i. Among the most severe critics of the Soviet-led revisionism

The East German Maoists who established their organization as a branch of KPD/ML, after summarizing their ideological study, discussion, and struggle experience before the establishment of the branch, stated in their founding declaration that the international communist movement had been betrayed and split by the modern revisionists, leading to the collapse of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the rise of a new bourgeoisie. They believed that the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had betrayed the principles of Marxism-Leninism and became representatives of the new bourgeoisie, while the Communist Parties of China and Albania had firmly defended the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

“The revisionist putsch by the Khrushchev clique transformed the Soviet Union into a capitalist state, socialist in name only. The Soviet Union, once the main bulwark of the world revolution, is now one of the worst enemies along with US

¹³⁴ H. Polifka, ‘New Revelations about the Activities and Destruction of the GDR Section of the Communist Party of Germany/Marxist-Leninist (KPD/ML)’, *Revolutionary Democracy* 5, No. 1 (April 1999), <http://www.revolutionarydemocracy.org/rdv5n1/gdrkpd.htm>.

imperialism. Today it is an imperialist superpower, a bulwark of world reaction. While those in power in Moscow constantly talk about socialism, peace, friendship and detente, in reality they are pursuing imperialist great power politics."¹³⁵

The East German Maoists were among the most severe critics of the Soviet Union, the traditional leader of the socialist camp, and regarded their revisionist behaviour as vicious betrayal with serious consequence. The betrayal of the Soviet revisionists not only split the originally united forces of world socialism, but more seriously, they turned into the most powerful imperialist to carry out aggressive acts against socialist countries and other developing states. In this sense, the harm of the new tsarist can be said to be greater than that of the old tsarist Russian imperialism due to its dramatic historical regression. They still made use of the heritage gained by the real Soviet socialists to cover up their reactionary behaviour of expansion and aggression. In the name of this, they regarded the socialist brother states as their own vassals and justify their arbitrary intervention upon them. Such a "socialist leader" that used force and spies to create conflicts around the world is no different from the US imperialist and had already become the greatest threat to world peace together:

"The new tsars in the Kremlin are trying to justify their claims to power over these countries with the so-called theory of "limited sovereignty" and the theory of "socialist integration". The invasion of the Russian social-imperialists in the Czechoslovakia revealed to the peoples of the whole world the aggressive, social-imperialist character of the Soviet Union, as well as its acts of aggression against socialist China... Russian social-imperialism, so fond of surrounding itself with the glory of 'the power of peace', is in fact the most aggressive imperialist warmonger of the moment. Its rivalry with US imperialism for world domination poses the

¹³⁵ KPD/ML, 'KPD/ML in der DDR gegründet. Gründungserklärung der Sektion DDR der KPD/ML', Roter Morgen, Dortmund Vol.10, No.6 (1976)

*main threat of a new imperialist world war.*¹³⁶

Moreover, East German Maoists came to the same conclusion from another aspect. They compared the “developed socialism” promoted by East Germany based on Soviet Union’s formulation with the “peaceful and parliamentary path towards socialism” of the West and believed that these expressions constructed another proof that there was no essential difference between the two: they both served the purpose of the ruling class to prevent the masses from making threat to their rule exploitation.¹³⁷

ii. Germany under the new international situation

East German Maoists realized that the struggle situation they faced was extremely difficult understanding that from the consequences of the Nazi war crimes during World War II to being at the front lines of the Cold War confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. Their nation was right at the centre focus of world hegemony struggles as divided state.

They specifically analysed the world situation after the Helsinki Accords. In a text named "Despite talks of détente - the danger of war is growing", they referred to it as a "détente fairy tale", and through militarization and rearmament preparations of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact with their deployment of equipment in Central Europe, they concluded that “it would be sheer madness to expect the imperialists, the two superpowers and their politicians to maintain peace.”¹³⁸ Based on their understanding of the post-war German geopolitics, East German Maoists gave their own conclusion upon the causes of Germany’s geopolitical crisis: it was the imperialist Western power that sabotaged the conclusion of the peace treaty, and this was the crucial reason why the Soviet troop

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ ‘Vor einem Jahr: KPD/ML in der DDR gegründet’, Roter Morgen, Ausgabe der Sektion DDR, No.1 (1977)

¹³⁸ ‘Trotz Entspannungsgerede - Die Kriegsgefahr wächst’, Roter Morgen, Ausgabe der Sektion DDR, No.1 (1978), p. 13.

did not withdraw from Germany.¹³⁹ Soviet Union was also criticized for its military presence around the globe, but their threat was described as a gradual change which could be viewed differently according to different stage: when WWII was just over, the Red Army was withdrawn soon so “there were no Soviet soldier upon foreign territory”,¹⁴⁰ the Soviet diplomacy was identified as being led by Stalin with Leninist guidance for maintaining peace serving a workers’ state;¹⁴¹ when the Soviet soldier “occupied all Warsaw pact countries” and set up numerous military bases overseas, the Soviet diplomacy was defined as the result of the workers’ state being taken over by the profit-seeking capitalist class.¹⁴² This logic could be a classical example explaining the different outlook between the traditional Realism and the Marxism concerning the theory of international relations: unlike traditional IR theories stressing the concept of national interest, Marxism stated that class struggle ran through human society and state served as but a form or an instrument of class rule. Therefore, class interests constitute the basic motivation for international relations behaviour, and to certain extent, national interests are the rhetoric used by class rule internally and externally. Thus, both the Soviet claim of military expansion to protect the Soviet interests and the American claim of military intervention to defend their interests were no more than two capitalist ruling groups pursuing profit according to East German Maoist’s expression.¹⁴³

Under such international circumstances, Germany was therefore under constant threats from the constant manoeuvres of both sides. The East German Maoist adopted the perspective of class distinction again to better justify their aim of subverting the East German government ruled by SED: “The SED bigwigs had a nuclear bunker... We are pushed ahead with ‘civil defence’ training.”¹⁴⁴ Facing

¹³⁹ Ibid, p. 12.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid, p. 13.

¹⁴³ ‘Trotz Entspannungsgerede - Die Kriegsgefahr wächst’, Roter Morgen, Ausgabe der Sektion DDR, No.1 (1978), p. 13.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 12.

the extremely special conditions, yet with full realization of the assertion that all peace sermons were just serving imperialists as their camouflage to prepare for war,¹⁴⁵ East German Maoists thus still held the Maoist form of armed struggle as their guidance, though not yet practiced, since their organization's founding when the manifesto stated the only practical way was through a new violent socialist revolution.¹⁴⁶

5(3) Political opinion of domestic politics

i. Definition of SED regime and the lessons learned

In the founding declaration, East German Maoists' views on GDR domestic politics were mainly focused on the criticism of the revisionist betrayal of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) and its social-fascist rule, their criticism was undoubtedly among the most intense ones. They pointed out that the SED had completely betrayed the principles of Marxism-Leninism and turned into a revisionist party. Under the regime of the SED, East Germany had degenerated into a country dominated by the monopoly-bourgeoisie. As the masters of the country, workers and peasants had returned to the situation of being exploited by capitalist elites as a matter of fact. The difference was this time the exploitation was in the name of communist state power.

“The former workers' and peasants' state has long since become a capitalist state in which the workers class and all working people are exploited and oppressed. This is the work of the revisionist traitors like Ulbricht and Honecker and their Moscow overlords like Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their company. Today the social-fascist dictatorship of a new bourgeoisie rules in the GDR.”¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 13.

¹⁴⁶ KPD/ML, ‘KPD/ML in der DDR gegründet. Gründungserklärung der Sektion DDR der KPD/ML’, Roter Morgen, Dortmund Vol.10, No.6 (1976)

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

In addition, East German Maoists, after examining the history of East Germany's ruling party SED, believed that East Germany's revisionist trend of thought was far from being similar to the revisionism of other Eastern European countries, which was more or less an act of echoing the revisionism of the Soviet Union since Khrushchev. They believed that as early as the 1950s, within the SED (including some members of the German Communist Party then) there had been factions that tried to take the line of revisionist reconciliation. The timing of their seizure of power was not after the Soviet Union's revisionism usurpation.

“Analogous to the seizure of power by the revisionist Khrushchev clique in the Soviet Union, the revisionist degeneration that had already begun in the SED and KPD at the end of the 1950s progressed. Instead of consolidating socialism, the SED pursued economism, the theory of material incentives... The new bourgeoisie is made up of high party and state officials, the army leadership, bureaucrats, technocrats and the high-ranking intelligentsia. It is a parasitic class that lives off the exploitation of the working class and the toiling masses of peasants. The exploitation of the working class in the GDR does not differ in essence from the exploitation of the working class in West Germany.”¹⁴⁸

Therefore, the East German Maoists contributed a key set of principles that appeared in the preamble of updated KPD/ML statute in 1977 according to their records, which specifically added terms about being particularly vigilant against “careerists, duplicitous people, agents and conspirators” in order to prevent corrupted ranks within the party forming a capitalist faction and usurp the leadership from different levels of the party.¹⁴⁹ This expression with the temperament of the Cultural Revolution style seems to be incompatible with other instructions on organizational principles within a party statute. It could be interpreted as an early warning and declaration from its East German branch

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ ‘Präambel des Statuts der KPD/ML’, Roter Morgen, Ausgabe der Sektion DDR, No.1 (1977)

based on their combination of the gradual corruption of SED from its revolutionary past and the Maoist explanation of revisionism. They made it clear that it was from China's experience that they learned the capitalist coming back to power within a socialist state is not inevitable if sticking to the class struggle.¹⁵⁰ Considering their limited capability, East German Maoists stressed the crucial lesson learned matching their needs and focus, that is to intervene in the existing mass discontent, stir it up and lead them towards “the right direction”,¹⁵¹ which meant influencing those who, despite their dissatisfaction, still believed SED as socialist, to have their dissatisfaction interpreted through new perspective with the concept of revisionism and politicalized. A very classical example of this path could be seen in the declaration commemorating the second anniversary of the establishment of the KPD/ML's GDR branch, East German Maoists claimed there could only be capitalism and socialism in this world and any attributive concept claiming that there were social forms in between were fake disguise, so the expression of “developed socialism” was nonsense for them as a society should be either socialist or at the stage not yet to be called socialist.¹⁵² In an ironic way they stated that a claimed “developed socialism” meant that socialism had not been developed yet, and they therefore call on the people to see through complicated appearances to see the essence: if anyone felt being exploited at work and he was indeed, the system was nothing but confirmed capitalism no matter how socialist it claimed itself to be.¹⁵³

ii. Political stand of national reunification

Another major issue for East German Maoists was how to deal with the political stand of German reunification. They believed that the real reunification and rebirth of the “fatherland” could only be won by genuine socialists through

¹⁵⁰ ‘Verteidigt das revolutionäre Erbe des Genossen Mao Tsetung’, Roter Morgen, Ausgabe der Sektion DDR, October 1977.

¹⁵¹ ‘Interview mit einem illegalen Genossen der Sektion DDR - Deine scharfe Waffe Roter Morgen’, Roter Morgen, Ausgabe der Sektion DDR, October 1977, p. 7.

¹⁵² ‘Zwei Jahre Sektion DDR der KPD/ML’, Roter Morgen, Ausgabe der Sektion DDR, April 1978, p. 7.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

the universal struggle both in West and East Germany. Under the political situation at that time, it would be futile to put hope on the imperialist bloc headed by the United States and the Soviet revisionists on any arrangements for German unification. Even if they might allow a certain degree of formal unification in one of the “could-be” future compromise, the existence of imperialist Germany and revisionist Germany was definitely not the real new birth of Germany. They once again emphasized the ideal of overthrowing the reactionary regime throughout the whole Germany, which was again the reason why they chose to form a political party in the form of branches of their western brothers KPD/ML:

“At Moscow's behest, the Honecker clique removed the concept of the German nation from the constitution. By Brezhnev's will, the German nation is said to have ceased to exist. It may well be possible that the Russian social-imperialists will again speak of the existence of the German nation and the need for reunification, if this corresponds to their imperialist aims... we communists do not want the reunification of Germany on an imperialist basis, neither under the supreme command of Russian social-imperialism, nor under the dominance of West German imperialism and US imperialism. Only the socialist revolution in both German states created the conditions for a united, independent, socialist Germany... The German question can only be solved by the German people. It would be a fallacy to believe that the reunification of our fatherland in a united, independent, socialist Germany can be brought about through elections, through negotiations between the two German governments, through the magnanimity of the superpowers. That is why the only way to national unity is to drive out all occupying powers from German soil and to overthrow their lackeys and allies in East and West Germany in a revolutionary way.”¹⁵⁴

iii. Agitation for armed revolution

¹⁵⁴ KPD/ML, ‘KPD/ML in der DDR gegründet. Gründungserklärung der Sektion DDR der KPD/ML’, Roter Morgen, Dortmund Vol.10, No.6 (1976)

The Maoist section in East Germany also had a special bold intention to expand its limited influence at the starting stage to the military of the state which would definitely attract the attention from Stasi. Although they were not engaged in organized violence like the Hungarian Maoist students, the East German Maoist section was the only one that conducted directly subversive propaganda against the state's military apparatus among its Maoist comrades in socialist neighbours according to the current records. In an article called "Fight against militaristic drill and officer arbitrariness in the NVA" appeared upon their secretly distributed party newspaper, they described the situation of the East German National People's Army (NVA) claiming that every ex-serviceman would have agreed upon them: soldiers were subordinates of their officers, treated as dirt without any rights but to accept the arbitrary power of the officers and the drills for the purpose of harassment; soldier wage was ridiculously low comparing to the high salaries of their officers; the widening class differences in the army were as elsewhere; the "Prussian and Hitler-era" tradition demanding machine-like soldiers came back again with unjust punishment.¹⁵⁵ They claimed that "the bigwigs want to convince us that this army is an army that defends the interests of the workers. But we no longer buy this lie, just as we know that this state cannot be a workers' and farmers' state."¹⁵⁶ At the end of the text, they called for the action to "dismantle this army (NVA) and make it useless for the imperialists and anti-people goals of the Honecker regime",¹⁵⁷ and called on all the serving NVA soldiers to "use all the opportunities within the NVA to learn the craft of weapons so that one day, when the time is right, you can use these weapons against the exploiters and war arsonists themselves!"¹⁵⁸ Moreover, they even extended the daring agitation into the Soviet army, leaving propaganda documents around Soviet military camps through the cover of a bus driver according to their

¹⁵⁵ 'Kampf gegen militaristischen Drill und Offizierswillkür bei der NVA', Roter Morgen, Ausgabe der Sektion DDR, July 1978, p. 2.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

records.¹⁵⁹ Combined with their secret transnational connections with West Germany and their covert behaviour, such incitement is undoubtedly considered as a serious threat to the national security.

Such special incitement towards military is caused by several elements. Firstly, in terms of individual level, among the active members of the early East German Maoists there was ex-serviceman of NVA. H. Polifka as one of the important East German Maoist activists served as a good example. According to him, disillusionment towards the propaganda of SED about East Germany was decisively reinforced throughout his experience of military service. As an admirer of heroes portrayed in the films of revolutionary topic, Polifka held expectations of becoming one of them, yet his service time as an NVA soldier revealed the following disappointing truth to him that the duplicity existing between the SED propaganda and the social reality was widespread from school to military: Prussian style of the officer-soldier relationship where the officers were masters with almost unlimited power and the soldier being the obedient serfs; apparent distinction when the officers who enjoyed capitalist-style privileged extravagance and service while the soldiers bearing extra labour tasks serving them but not the country; rude insults from the officers and the secret retaliation from the soldiers; moral squalor throughout the army including alcoholic fuddle, seducing women, mercenary flattery and universal half-joking acknowledgement of the illusional aim to join the SED not for supporting it but for changing it from inside to “slowly modernize it”.¹⁶⁰ Polifka identified the phenomenon as another proof of revisionism from the explanation he acquired from Maoism before.¹⁶¹ It was not clear whether the creation of this inciting text towards NVA had a connection with Polifka, but one can find the content of the text highly in accordance with his summary.

Secondly, in terms of the source of their ideas, a neglected yet crucial factor

¹⁵⁹ H. Polifka, *Die unbekannte Opposition in der DDR*, (Köln: MedienService-Geis, 2005), p. 81.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p45-47.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, p47.

from international level was that the East German Maoist knew about China's policy of abolishing the military rank system through private communication with the Albanian embassy staff when discussing about the officials' participation in labour and narrowing the wage differences.¹⁶² Mao's stress on eliminating distinctions of status symbol, considered as an unprecedented approach of the Chinese military, was very different from their understanding of the military hierarchy. Their perception of the severe inequality within the morally corrupted NVA seemed to have once again been provided an existing solution from Mao at the moment. East German Maoist section's emphasis about adopting the method of armed struggle in their declaration could be considered as starting its practice from this very bold try-out.

V. Concluding remarks

Based on the above analysis and interpretation of the public programmatic document of the Maoist parties among the three Central and Eastern European countries, combined with the existing research on geopolitics and the history of their practice and struggle, we can see the major similarities and minor differences in their political opinion concerning international and domestic politics.

From the geopolitical point of view, the Maoists from Hungary, Poland, and East Germany are similarly located near the "Iron Curtain" geographical dividing line between the socialist camp and capitalist camp in the post-war world. Therefore, in the tense international environment during the climax of the Cold War, part of the leftists of these countries tried to find a new way after deep disappointment facing the increasingly chauvinistic behaviour of the Soviet Union as the leader of socialist camp, and the sudden change of political trend denying its own previous regime, coupled with the continued expansion of US imperialism in various regions of the world outside the camp, which reached climax at the same time with its conflicts and confrontations with the Soviet

¹⁶² Ibid, p. 49.

Union increasingly occurring. At time like this, China led by Mao Zedong, as the second largest socialist country in the entire socialist camp, clearly expressed its opposition to US imperialism and Soviet revisionism at the same time, which naturally made a relatively considerable number of the leftists in these countries rediscover the beliefs and found the new theoretical pillars to stick to the old direction under the chaotic circumstances. It can be seen from their public programmatic documents that all these Maoist groups have a very vital common point when it comes to international politics, that is, opposing U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism which is partially in accordance with their geopolitical situation between the two superpowers. Although there are some differences upon the analysis of the world situation and the current situation of the world communist movement, such as the emphasis of the Hungarian Maoists on the severity and urgency of saving the international communist cause from utter defeat, the understanding of flexibility in the concrete struggle strategy of the Maoist Communist Party of Poland, which is derived from a deeper understanding of Mao Zedong's World Theory, and the perfectionist tendency of the struggle strategy displayed by the Maoists in East Germany due to the current situation of the division of their fatherland, as a whole they interpret and view the world proletarian revolution totally according to the theory of Mao Zedong Thought.

In terms of domestic politics, they commonly expressed firm criticism of the decisions of the current regime in their own countries to take the revisionist road. Only the intensity of their critical rhetoric differs a bit in their attitudes towards the current regime in their countries, such as whether they are called fascists or not. But in general, the definition of the capitalist roaders for current homeland regime is commonly shared by the Maoists in the three countries. As for how to carry out the struggle against the current regime, they all summed up the crucial principles based on their understanding of the Mao Zedong Thought, and they shared common views on permanent revolution and insisting the class struggle,

uniting the broadest masses of workers and peasants, and finally using violent revolutionary means to carry out armed struggle. The Polish Maoists had a deeper understanding of Mao Zedong's party-building ideology in terms of party organization principles, while the Hungarian Maoists' recognition of the urgency of class struggle and East German Maoists' emphasis on uniting their West German Maoists brothers were all originated from the special condition of the revolutionary practices of each country respectively.

	Hungarian Maoist Organization	Polish Maoist Party	East German Maoist Section
Early origin	University student clubs	Senior party officials with dissents	Group of secondary school students
Social status of core or founding members	Mainly college students with elite backgrounds		Mostly with family backgrounds of higher education
Backgrounds of early revolutionary/resistance activity	Yes	Yes	Yes
Contacts with Chinese embassy	Yes	Yes	Yes
Official acknowledgement from China	No	Yes	No
Territorial and ethnic claims	Not found yet	Yes	Yes

Violent activity	Yes	No	No
Infiltrated by the government agent	Not found yet	Not found yet	Yes
Whether stick to Maoist stance	No	Yes	No
Any activities carried out in rural areas/ among peasants?	No	Not found yet	No

As we can see, there is more information worth digging for. Due to their different situations and societal foundations, Eastern European Maoist organizations naturally have varying characteristics when sharing the same current of ideas. There are many questions whose answers rely on more mature inquiry and information acquisition. For example, why are the rural and peasant movements emphasized by Mao absent from the existing activities of these Maoist organizations? They mentioned peasant problems in their documents but paid less attention comparing to international and worker issues. Hungary had records of small illegal Maoist or Stalinist organizations in rural areas at the same era.¹⁶³ Was it just because of the elite backgrounds that they had not taken any action to contact rural dissidents?

It is the former Hungarian Maoists who have left the most scrutiny of their Maoist youth in the future. One of their reviews from an intergenerational perspective can provide a stage which is suitable for recalling at the end. From here we can enlighteningly look at the origins of Maoism in Eastern Europe, to its neighbours and back to its own birth and demise.

Révai acknowledges the obviously temporal relationship between the Maoist activities of his youth and the global political tensions of 1968, as he recollected

¹⁶³ Á. Erdész, 'Akiknek a Kádár-rendszer túl puha volt', *Bárka*, (2021) <http://www.barkaonline.hu/valtozas-mult/7805-akiknek-a-kadar-rendszer-tul-puha-volt>, consulted on 23. 11. 11

that “in April, Martin Luther King is shot and Dutschke is shot in the head. In May, the street stones will be picked up in Paris. We (Hungary then as Warsaw Pact member) will invade Czechoslovakia in August.”¹⁶⁴ Interestingly, Maoist violent assault of US embassy happened before the invasion of Czechoslovakia, meaning that their opposition against the ruling party and Soviet revisionism were far more than just temporary fury ignited by some temporary incident. However, in later reflection, he showed two different perceptions. On the one hand, he expressed that his 1968 Maoist case basically had nothing to do with the ‘68 global wave. On the other hand, he stressed the influence brought by German Maoist leader that made his Maoist struggle bearing international significance.

Part of the explanation of this complexity was Révai’s reflecting comparing the ‘68 West and his 1968 Maoist activity from the perspective of reforming the existing system. Apart from his youth against the “existing socialism”, he invented the concept to summarize the ‘68 West as a movement against the “existing capitalism”¹⁶⁵. The common ground they chose is Marxism and he recalled that there were no other tools but Marxism for criticizing both of the “existing” system, this constructed their limited, yet noticeable universality. Meanwhile, it could be viewed as the “existing” capitalist world reformed itself through Marxism since ‘68 while the “existing” socialist world failed to do so, which was a historically ironical result that made them different. Also, when re-evaluating the political opinion of his youth as Maoist “conspirator”, Révai still expressed his affirmation upon the intention of taking the Maoist position back in the days, “you can hate the phraseology, disagree with some of the demands, ... It is important that all of these was directed against something bad.”¹⁶⁶ This logic of Révai’s re-evaluation is highly consistent with the contemporary Chinese evaluations of the Cultural Revolution.

Another driven factor of his Maoist “conspiracy”, according to Révai’s own

¹⁶⁴ G. Révai, ‘1968, Agitátorok’, *Magyar Lettre Internationale*, (2012), 84: p. 74-76.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

summary, was connected to the family tradition. The influence of Révai's parents constructed part of his intention to follow the old Révai's revolutionary ideal, resulting in the uncompromising communist vision adopted by the young Révai in his Maoist activity.¹⁶⁷ Interestingly, after his trial concerning the "failed conspiracy", he could still play his father in a film, although banned shortly, with the very sensitive theme related to his earlier Maoist anti-revisionism about "the new communist agitators of the (1919 Hungary) Soviet Republic who became bourgeois intellectuals".¹⁶⁸ It was after experiencing an illegal movement, a trial and a role as his own father in a sensitive film that Révai began to realize the finding of his true self: "I finally started to be myself. This is how the father became a role that I could identify with or distance myself from according to my own will."¹⁶⁹

The mentality of this gradual process about finding true self under the influence of his own elite family background shows the complexity of the Maoist movement: people with family backgrounds of early revolutionaries were present at the core of these movements, and they seemed to carry on the uncompromising spirit of the early resistance movements. The fighting stance was influenced by the revolutionary history to resist the current social system, and this trait was shared by their Western comrades of '68. Meanwhile, as the whole 1968 could be regarded as a significant anti-authority movement, its anti-patriarchy in the societal level partially came from the revolutionary tradition in the familial level, being not contrary to each other. Interestingly, such revolutionary inheritance at the familial level happens to be one of the most debated topics among the Chinese Red Guards during Cultural Revolution as critique of the so-called "bloodline theory".

If we take the 1968 reform of Czechoslovakia as a typical example of the 1968 movement in East Europe, combine it with the complicated student movement

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

and anti-Semitic incident of Poland in 1968, and look at the turmoil of 1968 in Europe as a whole, then such a conclusion is natural: that is to say, the movement in the West and the movement in East Europe in 1968 were separated, they were with completely opposite purposes. Therefore, the West and East Europe were once again different due to their different political systems. However, the construction of this conclusion is based upon the neglect of the Maoist movement in East Europe. Whether it is the street violence carried out by Hungarian Maoist clubs or the illegal activity of Maoist group in East Germany, they were all directly influenced by Maoism in France and West Germany. This part of the New Left in East Europe is the same as the New Left in the West, that “was in sync with the Chinese Cultural Revolution led by Mao and not with Prague’s ‘socialism with a human face’”.¹⁷⁰

Maoism and its followers in the Central and East European region could be observed in a broader historical aspect as yet another try-out from the people of these countries to a “third way” between the mainstream capitalist and communist path, interestingly corresponding to their geopolitical status as being alongside the border of the West and the East as we discussed. Although CEE Maoists were somehow appearing vague in historical influence and were very much ignored, their struggle towards a leftist third way showed some kind of the common continuity especially when we look back from the current regional try-out of a “third way” from Hungary and Poland defined as rightist by the mainstream politics. Maoist presence of the Central and East European region is one of the greatly overlooked pieces between the West and the developed world upon the grand jigsaw of the trend of global Maoism, the studies on Maoist parties and organizations of the Central and East Europe revealed to us both the universalism of the first generation of global Maoism in their common political belief on Mao’s theory and the peculiarities of Maoist organizations in each country based on their priorities and geopolitical environment.

¹⁷⁰ M. Szabó (eds.) 1968 TILTAKOZÁSI HULLÁMA fél évszázad visszfényében, (Budapest: ELTE Bibó István Szakkollégium, 2021)

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