

## KNOWLEDGE OF THE CONTRADICTIONS IN THE CAPITALIST-REVISIONIST WORLD SERVES MARXIST-LENINISTS IN THEIR STRUGGLE

(from a conversation with a delegation of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)  
December 8, 1969

After a change of greetings, Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

You have spoken about the love which you nurture for our Party and people and for this I thank you wholeheartedly because in the love and loyalty of our comrades and those of the Marxist-Leninist Parties we find a large part of the strength of our Party and our socialist state. Marxists do not exchange idle compliments, so I tell you sincerely that we, too, nurture the same pure feelings for you.

You said that in coming here you want to benefit from the experiences of our Party, but we, likewise, want to benefit greatly from the experience of other parties. We ensure this benefit continually also through careful reading and study of the press of Marxist-Leninist parties. But in order to exchange opinions and experience, to jointly define certain points of our general orientation, to correct some incorrect views that might appear over one issue or another, we think that the meetings we hold with one another, in particular, have great importance. As the Marxists that we are, when we meet, we hold debates in order to consider the problems which interest us, in a dialectical way, because the situations do not develop identically everywhere.

It would be absurd for us to tell others that they should act as we do over a problem. Each party knows the situation in its own country better than anyone else. Your, for example, are better acquainted with the situation in your country, with the spiritual condition of the people, your possibilities and the forms and methods and the time when you ought to act on this or that problem. If one party can accomplish a task in its own country in five years, another party might need seven, but no one is permitted to draw the conclusion from this that this one or that one does not work, does not struggle, that he is making mistakes or not proceeding correctly. As the comrades we are, we ought to express our opinions frankly to one another, should get together and discuss this or that problem which has emerged,

In struggling to apply the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, we, too, benefit from the experience of other parties. For example, on certain issue, which we consider fundamental and which coincide with the views of our Party, when our opinion is sought by the comrades of Marxist-Leninist parties, in order to back up our view, we bring up the example of the activity of other Marxist-Leninist parties.

Let us take the question of how the party should be built in the conditions when the capitalist bourgeoisie is in power. There are new Marxist-Leninist parties on our continent, here in Europe, which do not properly understand the importance of this question, while other parties provide a more truly Marxist-Leninist example in the correct understanding of the revolutionary struggle which has to be waged against the main enemy, the capitalist bourgeoisie. Even if for a time the latter allows you to carry on legal activity, it makes this concession temporarily, for its own momentary interests, in order to get to know the cadres and bases of the party so that later, when it considers the time appropriate, it can attack and liquidate the Marxist-Leninist party when it wants to. Therefore, the experience of a number of parties on building the party in order to work successfully in the conditions of illegality is very essential and has great importance for the new parties, too, here in Europe as everywhere else.

Another issue of principles is that the attitude of the party towards parliamentarism should be based on the Leninist teachings. The experience and correct views of several parties on this issue serve as an example for the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups, therefore, this experience helps to make clear the stands which should be maintained according to the concrete conditions and

situations.

Another positive thing which we have noticed in a number of parties is the activity which they carry on through their press in connection with the need for the rupture with the revisionists. The problem is that you must separate yourselves from these enemies not just organizationally, but first of all, ideologically, because then the organizational division comes automatically. Hence, the ideological division with them is the main thing, and, in this direction, we think that the dots must be clearly placed above the is's. The separation from the revisionists assists the consolidation of the ranks of the party and the purging of incorrect views from its members.

But can it be said that with the separation from the revisionists all revisionist views have been swept away? No, not at all. We, too, wage a resolute principled struggle against revisionist views, because we still have some such views to get rid of, and that is why the revolutionization of our party continues in the ideological field. It is precisely in this direction that we are concentrating our struggle at the present time. Bourgeois revisionist views are purged, in the first place, by purging one's consciousness, and this is a very important matter.

While expressing and defending the interests of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist party strives to win the support of the working class through its correct line and struggle. To this end, it tries to find the best ways, the best forms and line according to the concrete situation and conditions existing in the country. In this direction the attitude towards reformist, social-democratic or revisionist trade-unions and their syndicalist leaders, that is, towards the bosses, is important. Clarity on these issues shows the seriousness of the Marxist-Leninist party and the strength of its struggle, which will certainly be stepped up even further in the future.

Apart from those which I mentioned, there are also many other problems, like the problems of the women, the youth and the peasantry, which are very wide-ranging. As you have seen, we have achieved results in these directions, too, as we have done in all fields.

According to our experience, everything depends, first of all, on the consolidation of the party, that is, on implanting the Marxist-Leninist ideology in it and on imbuing all its members with this ideology. Our party does a great deal of work to ensure that all the communists assimilate Marxism-Leninism and are able to apply it concretely in practice on all problems. We try to explain the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to present them as clearly as possible to the communist comrades so that they understand them very thoroughly.

But we think that even this is insufficient. We strive to ensure that the masses, also, understand these principles, because the line of our Party is the line of the masses. If the Party does not lead the masses properly, they will not understand its line to the extent that is required, and we will be unable to achieve the objectives laid down. Therefore, in the context of the great revolutionization which covers the whole life of the country, we place importance on the work, not only within the ranks of the Party of the working class, but also in the ranks of the peasantry and all other working people, so that they advance as a whole on all fronts.

In this direction we have taken many-sided measures, beginning from the school, in the curricula and textbooks of which the Marxist-Leninist theory has been introduced closely linked with productive labour. The theory and productive labour have been linked also with physical and military education as well as with general culture. In our schools, which have been built in every part of the country, Marxism-Leninism is taught separately as a theory, but is also linked with general culture. To this end, a profound revision is being made of all textbooks at the present time so that in physics, chemistry, biology, history, geography, and so on, the pupils can see our doctrine in development and then follow its application in practical productive labour in industry, agriculture, construction and everywhere else. All this is done in a co-ordinated continuously and all our efforts have been concentrated in this direction.

In connection with this, we also give importance to the physical and military training of the school youth and the whole people. In our country every citizen is trained militarily and politically. This does not hinder anyone in his work, but on the contrary, assists in the fulfilment of the plan. Those who are not Marxists say: "Where do people find the time, how is it possible that all these things are done in your country?" For us Marxist, however, it is clear that all these things are done and, what is more, done well.

Naturally, we also encounter difficulties, especially in the struggle against hangovers from the past in people's consciousness. The situation among our youth is fine, but despite the successes we have achieved in their revolutionary education and tempering, we still persist, in this direction because they are like a blank page. Everything depends on who writes on this page.

Therefore, we must see the youth as they are and prepare them to take over the banner of the revolution. Within the ranks of the youth there are some alien concepts and remnants, which will be fewer than we have, and so on in turn, until they are completely cleared away. Every Marxist understands that it takes time and a long and continuous struggle to clear away the remnants of alien ideology.

A great revolutionary change has taken place in our country, especially in the question of the emancipation of women. For us this has great importance, because in the past the Albanian women were downtrodden, while now they have stood up and are being educated and the main thing is that they participate in work, in schooling, in the political and cultural activity. The women are carrying out a revolution in the family, too, where the men held power previously because they held the money. After Liberation, however, when the women began to enter employment, their role altered greatly. Through the continuous educational work of the Party it has been achieved that husband and wife jointly administer the income they get from their work and work out the family budget together. This seems like a simple thing, but it is very important for the emancipation of the women. Today, in many cases, the women take their husband's pay and administer all the joint income from their work very well, because the truth is that they are more thrifty. Not taking the money from the husband, the wife also took from him his domination in the family. Thus, the husband is linked more closely with the family.

Why did the Party do this? In order to combat the views of the superiority of men over women, who were bought and sold in the past, when it came to the question of betrothal or marriage. Indeed, there were even cases when girls were betrothed in infancy. These phenomena have now been wiped out in our country, not with decrees, but through persuasive political work. In this way we have managed to get rid of most of the hangovers, in many cases, even among the elderly.

All these things are taking place in our country in the difficult situation of the encirclement by many enemies from all sides. Our enemies in Europe and other continents fight us, but we want to tell our dear friends and comrades, wherever they are, that the positions of the People's Republic of Albania are strong ideologically, politically and militarily. Our army is strong, organized and well-armed, it is now the people's army inspired by the Marxist ideology. Our whole population is armed and considers the defence of the Homeland as the number one duty. Our slogan "In one hand the pick and the rifle in the other" has become a living reality. And besides this, we have many friends and progressive people in the world, enjoying their sympathy, therefore, it will live free through the centuries and the banner of socialism will always fly triumphant in Albania.

There are disturbances on our continent. The imperialist and revisionist bourgeoisie are in decay and have profound contradictions with one another. In our opinion, of course, the main danger in Europe is constituted by the two superpowers, which are in alliance and rivalry with each other, but we cannot overlook two other powerful capitalist states, West Germany and France, which play a major role in this continent, in profound contradictions with the two superpowers.

In our opinion, today the two biggest imperialist powers dominate a series of states in Europe: the Soviet Union over the countries of the Warsaw Treaty and the United States of America over those of the North Atlantic Pact. The Soviet Union has established a fascist military domination by means of the Warsaw Treaty over the other revisionist countries of Europe. They are kept united through military force. The military cliques which are now in power in them have tendencies to break away from the Soviet Union, hence, the Warsaw Treaty is an instrument of oppression for the revisionist countries in the hands of the Soviet revisionists and, therefore, contradictions exist between its members.

Open contradictions exist between the Soviet Union and Romania. The Romanian leaders say that they do not want to remain in the Warsaw Treaty but are obliged to remain there from fear. Nevertheless, they try to avoid the holding of military manoeuvres inside Romania, because they think that if they permit this, Yakubovsky will remain there with the troops which he commands. In order to escape this, the Romanians are clamouring that they are organizing, arming, and so on, and, in fact, they are doing these things, but not from correct positions, because the Romanian leadership is revisionist. The Romanians consider that the best way to escape a Soviet intervention is to link themselves closely with the United States of America, Britain, West Germany and France, in other words, with the West.

In regard to Czechoslovakia, the issue is clear. Dubček was and is a revisionist and Svoboda likewise. Their course is to unite as quickly as possible with the West. Husak is the Soviet's man who has made Czechoslovakia completely subordinate to them in its state course by applying terror against his own people. Economically Czechoslovakia is in a very grave situation. However, the fact that the people there are resisting is positive. In our opinion, the struggle of the Czechoslovak people against Soviet revisionism now is stronger than in any other revisionist country. During the 15-16 months which have passed since the time of the occupation of Czechoslovakia, we have noticed that the militant spirit and courage of the Czech people have increased. In the factories and everywhere else there is discontent and resistance to the Soviet occupiers.

It is a fact that when the armed forces of the Soviet revisionists invaded Czechoslovakia not a shot was fired against them. The Soviets were very much afraid of this because, had fighting broken out, politically they would have lost much more than they did through the occupation of that country. However, through the occupation of Czechoslovakia they still lost a great deal politically, although they gained something since the Czechs did not fire a shot. Nevertheless, now Czechoslovakia has become a gangrenous ulcer and, judging from the way the situation is developing, it is hardly likely that the people of that country will accept permanent occupation, so the Soviet revisionists will always be in great difficulties there.

A new contradiction which has emerged within the revisionist camp now, in our opinion, is that between East Germany headed by the Ulbricht group, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and Poland, on the other hand. The Polish revisionists want to speed up the establishment of friendly relations with Bonn to the detriment of the German Democratic Republic. For them it is enough for the Federal Republic of Germany to recognize the Oder-Neiße border, even if it does not recognize the German Democratic Republic as a sovereign state. This tendency can also be seen in the Soviet Union, which wants closer relations with West Germany at the expense of East Germany, but without withdrawing the troops which it has there. Ulbricht does not accept such a situation, therefore, deep contradictions have emerged among the revisionists. The purpose of the Soviet Union in making approaches to the Federal Republic of Germany is to weaken the American alliance in Europe and, at the same time, to imply to the United States of America that the approach to West Germany helps to prevent the latter becoming dangerous for the Soviet revisionists, who think that by being completely disengaged in Europe, they will have their hands free to attack China in Asia. We shall see later how the situation will develop.

In the future the revisionists of Moscow will have contradictions with Poland, too, because, if

Poland establishes close relations with West Germany, it will certainly weaken its links with the Soviet Union. Such a thing will increase the contradictions between them and one day we may see Cyrankiewicz, who has never been a Marxist and is one of Krupp`s closest friends, go to Bonn to reach agreement.

The Soviet revisionists have and will continue to have contradictions with the other revisionists, too. Soviet social-imperialism is sitting on a volcano of uninterrupted contradictions with the countries of the Warsaw Treaty and with its own people internally.

In this situation, the Soviet Union is holding talks in Helsinki with the United States of America in the greatest secrecy. It is said that if they reach agreement, the two sides will have as their main object the struggle against China, while the slogan of "European security", launched by the Soviet Union, is intended to preserve the status quo in Europe, that is, the strategy of Soviet-American domination through the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. However, Rogers refused and rejected this proposal of the Soviet Union.

Major contradictions exist between the capitalist countries also. What, in our opinion, is the main contradiction between them? Today West Germany is in alliance with the United States of America and no serious split between these two powers is apparent. The tendency of West Germany is to encircle East Germany, to link up with Poland, and to smile at the Soviet Union, to give credits to Romania and Hungary, and in fact it has given them, while Bulgaria is licking its lips, because it, too, wants a morsel from the feast. The United States is urging Bonn on this course, with the aim of weakening the Soviet domination over the revisionist countries in Europe. However, the United States of America is also afraid of West Germany, because, if it is able to gobble up East Germany, the forces of German revanchism will be greatly strengthened.

West Germany is now in favour of Britain`s entering the European Common Market, hence, is in agreement with the United States of America, which is the main supporter of Britain`s membership in this organization. Since it is still interested in the alliance with America, for the moment West Germany sees no danger in Britain`s joining the six. We notice, however, that after the departure of De Gaulle from the political stage, France is not resisting the United States of America as it did before. Yesterday, at the Hague Conference, Pompidou`s representative retreated in favour of the Americans and agreed in principle to Britain`s joining the European Common Market. This means that France is softening its policy towards Britain and the United States of America, because it is very afraid of a fully united revanchist Germany. At the Hague Conference there was another sign which explained this change in the French policy: West Germany combined with Italy against France.

This is our judgement of these situations which are developing. We deduce these things from the analysis which we make of the political development of the current situation. Knowledge of the contradictions in the capitalist-revisionist world serves Marxist-Leninists in their struggle. The development of events in the European countries is of great concern to us Albanians as communists living in a European state. We think that the struggle of our Party and state should be waged especially in Europe, of course, to the extent of our possibilities, both in the direction of the aid which we should give the revolutionary struggle of the peoples, Marxist-Leninist parties and groups and progressive democratic elements, that is, for the creation of an anti-imperialist front in each country and of the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups. We consider that there are great possibilities to wage this struggle correctly and consistently, not only in Europe but throughout the world, because the revolutionary movement is mounting continuously. All we Marxist-Leninists, in complete fighting co-ordination, should attack with all the strength and means we possess, because imperialism and revisionism have weak points everywhere [emphasized by the Comintern / ML].

Vietnam and the whole Indochinese Peninsula is a hot spot in the world today, and then come India, the Near East, the African continent, Latin America, etc. Even in the United States of America itself

there are strikes and protests of the people against the war every day. The struggle of the working masses in Japan and in Australia cannot be underestimated, either. So, you see how many weak points imperialism has and what great strength the revolution and socialism have, what success we can score if we pursue, if we organize and if we co-ordinate properly the struggle against enemies of democracy, the revolution and socialism.

In Europe the situation is like a great simmering cauldron. In Italy millions of workers are holding strikes every day. The Marxist-Leninists learn how to act from the revolutionary experience and struggle of the working class, and not from the reformists in whom they should never place any trust. Therefore, it is essential that they strengthen the links with the working class, avoid being sectarian and demanding the maximum, but go into the ranks of the multi-million masses and deal ceaseless blows at the bourgeoisie, one after the other, until it is completely overthrown. This is the aim of the proletariat, but the bourgeoisie has the powerful means of its dictatorship which it employs to defend itself and to launch attacks. In these conditions, the Marxist-Leninist parties work in illegality, utilizing both the legal and illegal forms of revolutionary activity. In Europe, however, there are some legal parties. The police know all their members, where they live and where they work. This means that they are exposed to dangers.

Now I want to say a few words about our neighbours. Tito and his clique have gone bankrupt, not only because they are proven agents of international imperialism, but also because now their regime is being propped up with difficulty, with crutches. In foreign policy Tito does not know which way to turn, because the American imperialists, on one side, and the Soviet revisionists, on the other side, are exerting great pressure on him. He tries to maintain an allegedly neutral position but has been utterly discredited. Within Yugoslavia, through the most degenerate capitalist forms which he has established and the reforms that he has carried out, Tito has ruined everything. The situation there has reached the point that everybody is trying to steal as much as he can. The national question, also, has become an insoluble tangle there, the nationalities have risen against one another. In that country there are more than a million Albanians of whom Tito is very afraid. Therefore, in the state to which he has been reduced, he has been obliged to grant them certain rights, such as to fly the Albanian flag, to open more Albanian schools and to use the Albanian language. We are well acquainted with the policy of the Yugoslav revisionists, not only towards the Albanian people who live on their own land in Yugoslavia, but also towards socialist Albania. Titoite Yugoslavia always remains a danger for our country, therefore, we are continuously vigilant.

As you know, the Soviet revisionists carried out the military occupation of Czechoslovakia, but in their plans they aimed even further, at Yugoslavia and Albania. To this end, they had concentrated forces in Hungary and Bulgaria. At the same time, many ships of the Soviet fleet were ceaselessly prowling the Mediterranean. In this situation we put ourselves in complete readiness in every direction. But besides this, we made a stern denunciation of the military occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Treaty, while at the same time, we exposed the concentration of Soviet forces in Bulgaria and issued a warning to that country. We announced this publicly so that the Bulgarian people would hear it. We also sent a note to the President of Egypt, Nasser, pointing out that the aggressive Soviet fleet was being concentrated in the Egyptian ports for the purpose of attacking Albania, too. Therefore, as friends of the Arab peoples, and because Albania has always supported their cause, we demanded that measures should be taken to prevent the Soviet fleet concentrated in the Egyptian ports from attacking Albania.

We made public declarations that, notwithstanding the insoluble ideological contradictions we have with Titoite regime, if Yugoslavia were attacked by the Soviet aggressors, we would take the side of its peoples. We said the same thing about Romania, too. Notwithstanding the ideological disagreements which we have with its leadership. At this time we also denounced the Warsaw Treaty. These were some of the measures that we took. Therefore, we think that the threat which the Soviets prepared against our country was averted for many reasons, but also because of the stand we took.

Can it be said that the threat towards our country has now disappeared? I think not. The Soviet revisionists are fascists, they are preparing for new attacks, but in the existing circumstances, for the moment, they are not in a political position to undertake an aggression against us. First, they must wait to arrange the circumstances in their favour and then carry out the attack. However, we always keep our powder dry and have the preparatory work for defence at the highest level, both in the army and among the people, with the youth, the women, and so on. In the present conditions the Soviet leaders are making every effort to make contact with us, but we have broken off all connections with them, because nothing links us with them.

To the south Greece is in great difficulties, both within the country and with its allies, which want that country to have a more moderate regime. Recently the leaders of the Greek military junta have made proposals to us about the development of trade with our country. We have given them a positive reply, but first they must withdraw the declaration about the state of war which they pretend has existed between Greece and Albania since the time when Greece was attacked by fascist Italy, which had occupied our country and which is now an ally of Greece in the framework of NATO.

With Italy and France our relations are normal and we carry on trade with them.

This, in general, is the situation in our country.

I thank you for the high assessment you make of the successes achieved by our country in the construction of socialism and the modest contribution of our Party to the international Marxist-Leninist movement. You may be sure that in our Party you will have a party loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism. As for myself, I assure you, also, that I am only a resolute member of my Party and a resolute fighter of the international communist movement.