

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

**PROBLEMS OF
CURRENT WORLD
DEVELOPMENT**

*Reports submitted to the
Scientific Session held in
Tirana*

(October 2-4, 1978)

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CONTENTS

Opening Speech	3
The Revolution — A Question Put Forward for Solution.....	8
Broadening and Deepening of the Struggle Against All the Currents of Modern Revisionism — An Historical Necessity	50
The Marxist-Leninist Parties — The Leading Force of the Revolutionary Movement Today	96
The Foreign Policy of the PLA and the Albanian Socialist State Is the Policy of Proletarian Principles	139
Closing Speech.....	179







RODA NDOOHET NE NJE FAZE RIKU ÇËRHEJA E
REVOLUCIONIT. ENJE E ÇLIRIMIT KOMBETAR TE
POPULLVE NUK ËSHTE VETEM NJE ASPIRAT E
NJË PERSPEKTIVE POR ËDHE NJË PROBLEM
DËRTHOR PËR ZGJIDHJE.

ENVER HODJA



A Scientific Session on “Problems of Current World Development” organized by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee of the PLA held its proceedings in Tirana from October 2-4, 1978.

Leading cadres of the Party, state and economy in the districts and the centre, students of social sciences, workers, writers and artists and army men attended this session.

Representatives of a number of fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties were also among those present.

Four reports and 33 papers were submitted to this session. The comrades from the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties also read a number of papers.

The session carried on its proceedings in plenary sittings and in two sections.

This book comprises the *Opening Speech* by a Member of the CC of the Party and the Director of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the CC of the PLA, as well as the reports: “*The Revolution — A Question Put Forward for Solution*” by a Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the

PLA; *“Broadening and Deepening of the Struggle Against All the Currents of Modern Revisionism — An Historical Necessity”* by a Member of the CC of the PLA and the Director of the “V.I. Lenin” Party High School; *“The Marxist-Leninist Parties — The Leading Force of the Revolutionary Movement Today”* by a Professor at the State University of Tirana; *“The Foreign Policy of the PLA and the Albanian Socialist State Is the Policy of Proletarian Principles”* by another Professor at the State University of Tirana. The book also comprises the *Closing Speech* to this session on “Problems of Current World Development.”

OPENING SPEECH

Comrades,

We inaugurate the proceedings of the scientific session on some "Problems of Current World Development" under the auspices of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

This session is part of the series of efforts made by our entire Party and people to further analyse the fundamental ideas expounded at the 7th Congress of the Party, to be ever better equal to the great tasks of the construction of socialism and the defence of our socialist Homeland, the further development of revolution in our country, and of making our best possible contribution to the elucidation of problems connected with the struggle of the peoples, the proletariat and all the revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces, for liberation and socialism.

A fierce struggle is going on in the world today between the peoples who want liberation, on the one hand, and their oppressors, on the other, between the proletariat which is rising in revolt, and its exploiters, local and foreign capitalists.

In these situations, as Comrade Enver Hoxha correctly underlined at the 7th Congress of the PLA: "The world is at a stage when the cause of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a future prospect, but a problem taken up for solution."

By making a correct analysis of the situations in the world, our Party has constantly and persistently constructed and pursued a principled Marxist-Leninist foreign policy of all-out support to the cause of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, a policy which has been and is aimed against imperialism, and against the superpowers in particular, against modern revisionism of all hues and trends, against world reaction.

Our Party has seen its struggle for the triumph of the cause of the revolution and socialism in Albania and in every other country of the world in close connection with the consistent and principled struggle against all bourgeois and revisionist views, Titoite, Khrushchevite, Eurocommunist, as well as the views of the Chinese revisionists, which attempt to stamp out the revolution. Our Party has considered the exposure and rejection of these views, in theory and practice, as an historical need for the destruction of imperialism and world reaction through the proletarian revolution.

Our great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, teach us that the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, their unceasing revolutionization, their close links with the masses, the monolithic internationalist unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninists everywhere, constitute the decisive factors of the triumph of revolution.

It is precisely these problems this session will dwell upon in its four reports and thirty-three papers, as well as in the other materials

which will be presented by the representatives of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties.

The treatment and propagation of these problems assumes a special importance in the present conditions when the struggle between Marxism-Leninism, the proletariat, the peoples and the revolutionaries, on the one hand, and imperialism, revisionism and reactionaries, on the other, has been further intensified. The emergence of the Chinese leaders openly in the service of U.S. imperialism and world reaction has further sharpened this struggle.

The Letter of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and our Government to the Chinese Party and Government is a document of great historic importance and a valuable contribution to the defence of Marxism-Leninism, to the exposure and destruction of this regressive and counter-revolutionary line which, in chorus with the modern revisionists, endeavours to extend the lifespan of imperialism and reaction, and sabotage the great cause of the revolution and the peoples.

At this session we are honoured by the participation of the representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Brazil, Ecuador, Germany, Iran, Italy, Japan, Canada, Chile, Mexico, Portugal, Spain and Venezuela.

On behalf of the organizing commission and on your behalf, allow me to thank all these comrades for the great honour they do us by their presence here, and together, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, let us

contribute to the success of the proceedings of this session.

On this occasion we want to express our heartfelt thanks to them, especially for those feelings of communist solidarity they displayed towards our country, our people and Party when the Chinese revisionist leadership perfidiously cut off economic and military aid to us. With the Marxist-Leninist parties, we have been and will be united by the struggle against modern revisionism, a struggle in the waves of which these parties were set up, grew and waxed strong, and through which, in steel-like Marxist-Leninist unity, we aim our merciless attacks against imperialism, against all revisionist trends and world reaction.

Allow me to also hail and thank from my heart the comrades of the leadership of the Party and state, as well as the other invited comrades and friends who honour us with their presence.

This session holds its proceedings at a time when, in the context of the campaign of elections for the People's Assembly, a situation of rising revolutionary drive, mobilization and enthusiasm exists all over our country. Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech on September 20 this year, and the Call of the Democratic Front of Albania have further enhanced the heroic spirit of the working class and the patriotic cooperativist peasantry and people's intelligentsia to put into practice the historic decisions of the 7th Congress of the Party, for the successful carrying out of all the tasks of

the plan, for the breaking of the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement, for the defence of our socialist Homeland.

We express our conviction that, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the life-giving teachings of the Party, the work of this session will serve the ideological struggle of the Party for the further invigoration of the Party-people unity, the tempering of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the deepening of our socialist democracy and the intensification of the ideological struggle on all fronts.

Our confidence in our march forward towards new victories is unshakeable because it is based on Marxism-Leninism, on the ever correct line of our glorious Party of Labour, on our heroic people, on the tested leadership of the Central Committee of the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

I declare the scientific session on some "Problems of Current World Development" open.

THE REVOLUTION — A QUESTION PUT FORWARD FOR SOLUTION

The capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist world today is in an all-round crisis. Its structures and superstructures have been shaken as a result of the exacerbation of all the contradictions which characterize our epoch. The discontent of the masses, which is reflected in the innumerable strikes, in the revolts of the working people, up to the armed struggles of the peoples for liberation, is making the ground quake under the feet of the imperialists, the reactionary bourgeoisie, the revisionists and all the enemies of the peoples and the proletariat.

The question of carrying out the revolution now constitutes the fundamental aim of the strategy of the class struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed masses. The conclusion presented by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania that “The world is at a stage when the cause of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a future prospect but a problem put forward for solution,”* expresses a great truth which stems from the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation and the development of the capitalist-revisionist system today.

The most characteristic feature of our

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 159, Eng. ed.

epoch is the extension and deepening of the world revolutionary process in general. Today there is no zone or country which is not involved in this process of world dimensions. Within the capitalist-revisionist system, there is no longer a clear-cut division between front-line and base areas, there are no longer absolutely “tranquil” countries, without revolutionary upheavals, where the exploiting order has stability and security.

The hotbeds of revolutionary movements and outbursts all over the globe objectively represent links of a single chain of the world revolutionary process which has pushed the order of social and national oppression to the brink of the abyss. The revolutionary forces, wherever they are operating, feel that they are part of a unified front of the world revolutionary struggle against the common enemies — imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction.

Recognition of the unity of the world revolutionary process is important in order to understand the wide possibilities for alliances among the revolutionary forces on an international scale, as well as to work out a global strategy of the revolution, which could be able to link and channel the outbursts of the revolutionary movement of various countries into one single process of the fight to overthrow the capitalist order and win national independence.

Any Deviation From the Marxist-Leninist Theory on the Revolution Leads

to Revisionism

Today, just as in the past, the struggle between Marxist-Leninists on the one hand, and bourgeois ideologists and various opportunists, on the other, is centred around the key problem: whether or not the revolution is necessary for the transformation of society, whether or not the conditions exist for the revolution and its triumph, is the use of revolutionary violence necessary, or can the transformation be achieved in reformist parliamentary ways? The stand towards this problem, of vital importance to the proletariat and all the oppressed and exploited, has been and is to this day, a demarcation line between Marxist-Leninists, on the one hand, and opportunists and revisionists of every hue, on the other.

Deliberately misinterpreting the significance of the changes brought about by the transition of capitalism to its highest and last stage, imperialism, the opportunists of the traitorous Second International declared that this was a phase in which capitalism would transform itself into socialism spontaneously, without class struggle and without revolutions. "The time of the revolutions, of red banners, and demonstrations has gone," said Bernstein, and he declared that the theory of Marx on capitalism and the proletarian revolution was obsolete.

But these "forecasts" were very quickly shown to be false both in theory and in practice. V.I. Lenin, in his exposure of these ene-

mies of the revolution, proved scientifically that imperialism is capitalism in decay, moribund capitalism, the eve of the proletarian revolution. He proved that the Marxist conclusion, that the world can be changed only by means of the revolution, always remains correct and valid. Bringing out the essence of Leninism, the very crux of it, J.V. Stalin said: "Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. More precisely: Leninism is the theory and tactic of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactic of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular."* The triumph of the Great Socialist October Revolution in 1917 in Russia proved in practice the validity of the Leninist theory of the revolution. It also marked the triumph of Leninism over opportunism.

From that time on, Leninism became the triumphant banner and theory which inspired and led all the genuine revolutionaries in the battles for the preparation and triumph of the revolution. And in fact, history has recorded many popular, anti-imperialist and proletarian revolutions before, during and since the Second World War which confirmed the vitality of the Leninist theory of the revolution for that period too. The triumph of these revolutions, and especially of the revolutions which led to the creation of the socialist camp, including the triumph of the revolution in our country, shook the rotten capitalist order to its

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 73, Alb. ed.

foundations. This impelled imperialism and reaction to step up their fight against socialism and the revolutionary movements, from within and without, especially by instigating and activating opportunism and revisionism, which once again aimed its attack against the Marxist-Leninist theory of the revolution.

This was what Browder did when he openly declared that allegedly “the Leninist idea of the revolution was finished,” this was what the Yugoslav revisionists did later when they attacked the Leninist teachings on the revolution and preached that the transition to socialism in the present epoch can be made in a spontaneous manner, through evolution. According to these renegades, the development of productive forces itself forces the bourgeois order to move towards socialism and to open the way to socialist transformations.

All the other trends of modern revisionism, the Khrushchevite revisionists, the Eurocommunists and others also rose against the Marxist-Leninist theory of the revolution. Deliberately misinterpreting the “changes” which have taken place in society, the increasing weight of state monopoly capital, the progress of science, technology, culture, etc., they labour to prove that the Leninist theses on the revolution have lost their validity, and they churn out all sorts of reformist prescriptions to close the road to the revolution.

The social-democratic content of their reformist policy reveals the hostility to Leninism not only of the revisionists of the Carillo type, who negate it openly, but also of those

like Berlinguer, Marchais and Brezhnev, who seek to disguise their complete departure from Leninism, although they eliminate from Leninism what is most essential in it, the theory on the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Chinese version of modern revisionism goes even further in the struggle against Leninism than all the revisionists that preceded it, by opposing to it the so-called “Mao Zedong thought” and its offspring — the theory of “three worlds,” which is a complete negation of the revolution.

One cannot be a genuine Leninist and forget or reject the very essence of Leninism, the theory of the revolution, which always retains its freshness and relevance because exploitation and oppression cannot be eliminated except through revolution. Any deviation from the law of the revolution leads to revisionism. Therefore, one of the most important tasks of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries in our time is the consistent defence and implementation of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the revolution.

The World Can Be Changed Only Through Revolution

Proceeding from the materialist understanding of history, Marx and Engels proved that the replacement of outdated relations of production with the new relations could not be achieved otherwise than through revolution. They described this as a law which operates just as rigorously as the laws of nature.

Developing Marx's and Engels' idea further, Lenin showed that this law continues to operate in the phase of imperialism too, when all the premises which make the revolution necessary become further matured. Therefore, he defined our epoch as the epoch of the collapse of capitalism and the triumph of the proletarian revolutions.

Lenin's teachings are completely valid for our days too. Present-day capitalist society develops according to the same objective laws as those which Marx and Lenin spoke about, and its overthrow can be brought about only through the revolution.

At the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha defended the thesis that present-day society is developing according to the objective laws discovered by the classics of Marxism-Leninism. He has elaborated this cardinal problem more thoroughly in his work "Imperialism and the Revolution." Just as at the 7th Congress of the PLA, in his work "Imperialism and the Revolution," Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses that the peoples and the working masses can achieve their great objective — liberation from oppression and exploitation — only through the revolution, that with the passage of time, the prospects of the revolution are not in the least dimmed but, on the contrary, become ever more clear. The revolution remains on the agenda as the principal and most acute problem of our time.

This conclusion is based completely on the Leninist theory of imperialism, on the profound scientific analysis that Lenin made of

the fundamental contradictions of capitalism in the imperialist stage of its development. In his work "Imperialism and the Revolution," Comrade Enver Hoxha, in analysing the complex of present-day world development, argues on the basis of facts that these contradictions have not vanished, that they still exist, have not been weakened and cannot be overcome without going beyond the framework of the bourgeois order.

The basic contradiction of the whole capitalist order, that between the social character of production and the private capitalist character of appropriation, which determines the objective necessity for the socialist revolution, has become more profound than ever before. The most important special feature which characterizes imperialism today is the great development of state monopoly capitalism and the creation and expansion of multinational companies and other international economic organisms, which are evidence of the increased degree of the capitalist socialization of production not only on a national scale, but also on an international scale. These phenomena of present-day imperialism in no way eliminate the private capitalist **appropriation**. On the contrary, this appropriation is being concentrated more and more in the hands of a few monopolists who dominate the entire society. By creating the state sector of the economy, the bourgeois state does not in the least change its nature as the representative of the capitalist class as a whole, which expresses and defends the interests of that class.

State monopoly capitalism, which the enemies of the revolution deliberately misrepresent, is neither “a new stage which has already gone beyond the stage of the revolutions,” nor, as the renegade Carrillo and other revisionists claim, “nothing but the embryo of the socialist society” in the womb of capitalism. It is merely a form of the existence of the present-day capitalism, which does not mitigate the antagonistic contradictions of the imperialist system but makes them more profound, thus making the material preparation for the proletarian revolution even more complete. “The erroneous bourgeois reformist assertion that monopoly capitalism or state monopoly capitalism is *no longer* capitalism, but can now be called ‘state socialism’ and so on, is very common,”* says Lenin.

In these conditions, not only contradictions between labour and capital, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but also that between the broad masses of the people of town and countryside and the big capitalist monopolies, which dominate the entire political and economic life of the country, are growing more and more acute. Because of this, parallel with the preparation of material premises, there is also an extension of the social basis of the socialist revolution, the triumph of which now interests not only the proletarians and poor peasants, but also the broad strata of the petty-bourgeoisie of the town and countryside, part of the progressive intelligentsia,

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 25, pp. 524-25, Alb. ed.

which are oppressed, exploited and ruined by the big monopolies. The great economic and financial crisis, which has the capitalist and revisionist society in its grip, has made all its social evils more unbearable and increased the discontent among the broad masses of the people against the all-powerful domination of the monopolies. Never before has there been such thorough-going exploitation, such barbarous oppression, such inhuman destruction of the personality of workers and peoples. Now more than ever before, the progress of science and technology, the development of culture and the arts are used for the intensification of the exploitation of the working class and working masses, as well as for their intellectual and moral degradation.

Imperialism is not only the domination of monopolies of the financial oligarchy, but is also characterized by the export of capital to other countries, especially the less developed countries, thus becoming the most savage exploiter of millions upon millions of people, of the nations of whole continents. On this basis, **the other contradiction, that between a few dominating countries, the so-called “civilized” countries, on the one hand, and the peoples of the oppressed and dependent countries is growing ever deeper.** This further sharpens the revolutionary crisis in these countries, and leads to the upsurge of the revolt of the masses and the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle.

It is true that after the Second World War, old colonial empires collapsed, and many

countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America gained national independence. But these changes did not eliminate colonial oppression and exploitation. On the contrary, they have become even more savage. The place of the old colonialism, discredited and hated by the peoples, has been filled by neo-colonialism, which has the same intention, but employs more refined and better disguised ways, terms and methods. In the place of the old colonial powers, now new neo-colonialist powers have emerged, the United States of America and the social-imperialist Soviet Union, which have become the greatest international exploiters. The implementation of neo-colonialism by the two superpowers and, together with them, by the other imperialist powers, such as Germany, Britain, France, Japan, and soon by China, too, the headlong race for domination, hegemonism, spheres of influence, and competition of the multinational companies and the great monopoly concerns for maximum profit have intensified the oppression and exploitation of the peoples to an unprecedented level. The "aid," credits, capital investments, joint companies of imperialists and social-imperialists, are not a contribution to the development and progress of the backward countries. They are new shackles to enslave them, instruments to suck their blood, to plunder their wealth, to subjugate them and bring them to their knees. In the interest of world capital, wars and conflicts among peoples are fanned up, as has occurred and is occurring in the Middle East, South-East Asia, Africa and other regions of

the world.

Implementation of neo-colonialism and the struggle of each imperialist country to make maximum profits for itself has not only deepened the contradiction between various imperialists and the peoples, **but has also made the contradictions between the capitalist and revisionist states themselves extremely acute.** The fact is that, despite the great efforts that these states are making in order to smooth over the quarrels and disagreements among them, despite the international organisms which they create to this end, the contradictions, squabbles and conflicts among U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, the Common Market as a whole and each of the individual member countries, Japan, etc., are becoming ever more acute. At the root of these contradictions is the unequal development, which changes the ratio of forces between states, and consequently, sharpens the struggle for sources of raw materials, markets for their goods, territories for capital investment, spheres of influence and strategic bases.

The deepening quarrels and conflicts among imperialists creates more favourable conditions for the revolution because, on the one hand, it weakens the whole capitalist system, weakens the enemies of the peoples and the revolution, while on the other hand, it facilitates the unity of all revolutionary forces, or, as Stalin puts it, the uniting of the front of the proletarian revolution with the front of the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle of the peoples.

Finally, despite the betrayal by the modern revisionists, which led to the liquidation of the socialist order in the Soviet Union and many former socialist countries, **the other contradiction of present-day society, that between the two systems, the socialist and capitalist systems, is operating too.** The bourgeoisie and all its lackeys are trying to distort the significance of the re-establishment of capitalism in the former socialist countries, presenting the matter as though this was the liquidation of socialism and its future. This is an attempt to sow doubt and distrust about the communist ideals, but it will be unsuccessful. What has occurred in the Soviet Union and China is only a zigzag on the long road of the revolution. The retreat and zigzags are temporary and relative, they do not alter the general law of the advance of society. Regardless of the regressive processes which have occurred, socialism has not been liquidated: it exists as a social order, it exists in the aspirations and in all the revolutionary battles and struggles of the proletariat, which are inspired by the ideas of scientific socialism. Its triumph all over the world is inevitable.

The sharpening of all the internal and external contradictions of capitalist society has made the revolution an imperative necessity, as the only means to lift present-day society from the degradation and degeneration to which world capital has led it. The profound contradictions and antagonisms of capitalism will not resolve themselves within the context of the existing order. They can and

will be resolved only through the revolution, only through the overthrow of the exploiting classes and the bourgeois state, as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us. "The present crisis," says Comrade Enver Hoxha, "has once again confirmed that, as a social system, capitalism can never escape its contradictions and its ills, that it is incapable of ensuring its own superprofits while at the same time preserving an internal social equilibrium."*

Confronted with the outburst of the storm of the revolution, the bourgeoisie and reaction are not standing idle, passively awaiting their doom. Utilizing all the advantages which the colossal growth of its profits ensures it, world capitalism, especially in the developed countries, is making all-round political, economic and ideological efforts to mitigate the consequences of objective factors, the consequences of the sharpening contradictions and its deep crisis. It is fighting with all its means, in the first place, by strengthening the military-bureaucratic state machine, but also by making concessions and partial reforms to avert the "explosive phenomena" in order to minimize the conflicts between workers and employers, and to guarantee the monopolies superprofits.

But the capitalist and the revisionist world is striving in vain to find a way out, be it even temporary, from the overthrow towards which the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and of the peoples, as well as the objective

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 163, Eng. ed.

processes on which capitalism is founded, are pushing it. The measures adopted by the bourgeoisie and reaction, and the efforts of the revisionists in no way obscure the possibilities, nor have they “averted” the prospects of the revolution, which is the only reliable road for the working class and the working people to seize power and to wipe out every kind of oppression and exploitation.

The Special Features of the World Revolutionary Process in the Present Time

Marxism-Leninism does not see the collapse of capitalism and imperialism as the result of proletarian socialist revolutions alone, as something which will come about at a single blow and in all countries at the same time.

In the world today, there are various contradictions, countries with differing levels of socio-economic and political development, which are not confronted with the same revolutionary tasks. This variety of the present-day reality also determines the variety of the revolutionary movements and processes which are developing in the world today. “Revolutions,” says Comrade Enver Hoxha, “depend on the concrete historical conditions of each country, on the stage of its economic and social development, on the ratio of classes, on the situation and level of organization of the proletariat and the oppressed masses, on the level of the interference by foreign powers in

different countries, etc. Thus, some countries are faced with the task of carrying out the proletarian revolution, while others with the task of carrying out national-democratic and anti-imperialist revolutions.”*

Taking account of the conditions of different countries is of great importance to the revolutionary forces in order to work out a strategy appropriate to the concrete conditions of each country.

The present state and development of the capitalist system shows that a large number of countries of the world are faced with the **proletarian socialist revolution**. It is known that the revisionists declare the issue of the proletarian revolution to be an “anachronism,” something “superseded,” especially in the developed capitalist countries, the imperialist countries. Some of them, such as those of the “Eurocommunist” trend, declare that the Marxist-Leninist theory on the proletarian revolution may have had some importance, but only for the past, and exclusively for the uncivilized, backward nations with jungles and mountains. Therefore, they reduce the struggle of the working class merely to tasks of a general democratic character, to the struggle for peace, for parliamentary freedoms, for reforms, presenting them in the spirit of reformism as a process which is allegedly taking present-day society out of the framework of capitalism. The Chinese revisionists, too, with their theory of “three worlds,” also neg-

* Enver Hoxha, “Imperialism and the Revolution,” p. 148, Alb. ed.

ate the necessity for the proletarian revolution, not only for the developed capitalist countries (there they see only one task: the uniting of the proletariat with the imperialist bourgeoisie for defence against the danger of Soviet social-imperialism), but under the pretext of not “skipping stages,” they deny the absolute necessity for the proletarian revolution for all the other countries of the world too.

Leninism and historical experience have shown that the possibility of the transition to socialism exists both for the backward countries and for the developed capitalist countries, the imperialist countries. In each of these countries there are favourable circumstances and unfavourable circumstances. But the triumph of the socialist revolution is an unavoidable objective law, from which no country, developed or underdeveloped, can be exempted.

Undoubtedly, in the imperialist countries, together with tasks of the struggle for the proletarian revolution, the proletariat and the masses of the people are faced with many other tasks of a general, democratic and anti-imperialist character. These tasks, too, have their own importance, and must not be disregarded. However, any overestimation and absolutization of these tasks diverts the working class and the masses of working people from the struggle for the preparation for the proletarian revolution, from the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

The tasks of a general democratic character are only part of the tasks of the struggle of

the proletariat. But above all, the predominant aim must be to carry out the proletarian revolution, which is the only way to put an end to the order of capitalist slavery, as well as to carry out the tasks of a general democratic and anti-monopoly character completely. "One should know how to *combine* the struggle for democracy and the struggle for the socialist revolution," said Lenin, "*subordinating* the former to the latter. In this lies the whole difficulty; in this is the whole essence. Don't lose sight of the *main* thing (the socialist revolution), put it first... put *all* the democratic demands, but subordinating them to it, coordinating them with it."*

Many countries of the world, especially in Africa, Asia and Latin America, are facing the **democratic anti-imperialist, national liberation revolution**, which has its special features in different countries. In these countries the tasks of the struggle against the system of feudal relations, against reactionary regimes, the tasks of the struggle for independence and democratic social progress, occupy such an important place that they make the stage of the democratic anti-imperialist revolution unavoidable.

To these tasks the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party, the working masses of these countries, cannot remain indifferent. Today, they constitute the social force most interested in the speediest possible solution of these problems, because the imperialist

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 35, pp. 260-61, Alb. ed.

yoke, the oppression by reactionary, feudal and semi-feudal regimes weighs heavily, in the first place, on this social force. Moreover, the elimination of this yoke and oppression opens the road to other, radical transformations, brings nearer and facilitates the triumph of the socialist revolution.

Irrespective of the specific tasks which the democratic anti-imperialist and national liberation revolutions have to carry out, they are an inseparable part of the overall world revolutionary process. Objectively, they are allies of the socialist revolution and socialism. They deal a heavy blow to imperialism and reaction, weaken their positions and assist the triumph of socialist revolutions too.

The liberation movements, the democratic, anti-imperialist revolutions, are directed against those who are enemies of the proletarian revolution too. All the efforts of the revisionists to isolate the various revolutionary movements and pit them against one another, and to separate and juxtapose the various stages of the present world revolutionary process of development, have as their aim the division and weakening of the forces of revolution, have the aim of postponing the revolution to the millennium. Contrary to revisionist preachings, history shows that the struggle to carry out the tasks of democratic anti-imperialist and socialist revolutions constitutes a single world revolutionary process, in which the phases are neither blended to the point of losing any distinction between them, nor separated by some insurmountable “Chi-

nese Wall.” In the revolutionary process, the tasks of the democratic anti-imperialist revolution may be combined with those of the socialist revolution, just as many of the tasks of the democratic anti-imperialist revolution can be carried out by the proletarian revolution. The Marxist-Leninists see the combination of these tasks in a concrete manner for each country, without neglecting the dynamics of this process, which at every new juncture brings changes in the relationship between the democratic tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle and the tasks of the struggle for socialism.

The most active, most vigorous and revolutionary force which can lead these revolutions is the working class with its Marxist-Leninist party, which can rally all the revolutionary forces of the country around itself, and lead them in the fight against internal reaction, imperialism and social-imperialism. The possibilities for the working class to emerge at the head of the democratic anti-imperialist revolutions have become much greater, because now the proletariat and its revolutionary consciousness have increased everywhere and the situation has become more favourable for the transformation of democratic anti-imperialist revolutions into proletarian revolutions. In order to drive this process forward, it is of particular importance that Marxist-Leninist parties develop their revolutionary initiative, that the role of the working class and the weight of its struggle in the revolution should constantly increase, that the activity of those forces of the national bourgeoisie, which are interested

in leaving it at the halfway stage, should be neutralized.

In the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, internal political forces, heterogeneous from the socio-class viewpoint, and influenced by different external forces, are operating. This is the source of the different political movements: revolutionary, democratic, reformist, reactionary, militarist and so on. The working class and its Marxist-Leninist party in these countries cannot adopt the same stand towards all of them, cannot support all of them, and even less, identify themselves with them. Marxist-Leninists support and assist only those movements which play a progressive role, which pave the way for the anti-imperialist democratic revolution and carry it forward. At the same time, they come out against all reactionary political movements, even when they are disguised in “left” or “nationalist” slogans.

Today in a number of countries of the world, and especially in Africa and Asia, there are many people and political movements that aspire to radical changes in the life of their peoples. Some of them even come out with socialist slogans. Marxist-Leninists welcome any democratic and progressive aspiration, any sincere tendency to socialism. But it must be said that confused, vague and non-scientific ideas about socialism have been spread in these countries, too, that there is a hotch-potch of socialist and capitalist principles, of different world outlooks and ideologies, including nationalist and religious ideologies.

This confusion is encouraged and exploited by the various revisionists in order to divert the popular masses from the correct road of the struggle for social progress, and to extend their own influence. Social liberation and the triumph of socialism can be achieved only on the basis of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat and under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.

In the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, a broad and all-sided struggle is going on against imperialism and neo-colonialism. The peoples of these continents are fighting to win and strengthen their freedom and independence, to establish their national sovereignty over their country's assets, to eliminate discriminatory relations in international trade, etc. The struggle of these peoples represents a great force which is striking heavy blows at imperialism, neo-colonialism and reaction. That is why it enjoys the resolute support of all the revolutionary forces, all the Marxist-Leninists, all those to whom the cause of freedom, independence and socialism is dear. **“Consistent in their Marxist-Leninist line, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people,”** says Comrade Enver Hoxha, **“will spare no effort and will fight, together with all the other anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist peoples,... to foil the plans and manoeuvres of the enemies and ensure the triumph of the cause of the freedom and security of peoples. At any moment our country will be found standing beside all those peoples whose freedom and**

independence are threatened and whose rights are violated.”*

Confronted with the rise of the revolutionary movement of the peoples, the united forces of world reaction have hurled themselves into a savage onslaught on all fronts to suppress any focus of liberation and revolutionary struggles. In this onslaught they do not hesitate to use political and economic aggression and expansion, brutal armed intervention, the traditional forms of colonialism and the new forms of neo-colonialism. They enter into alliances with the most backward-looking internal forces from the ranks of feudal landlords and the bourgeoisie, kings and dictators, reactionary cliques and regimes, who are ready to sell the freedom and independence of their own countries for the sake of privileges and the profits which they draw at the cost of the oppression of their peoples.

At present, along with the old imperialist and colonialist powers, especially U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism is also involved, with the aim of extending its empire and putting under its tutelage certain countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, whose people have fought and are fighting to shake off any colonial yoke, dependence on and domination by foreigners. While posing as supporters of the freedom and independence of the peoples, the Soviet social-imperialists are trying to deceive them and impose their hegemony over them.

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 193, Eng. ed.

The revisionist parties of the main imperialist countries, for their part, regard anti-imperialist revolutions as “dangerous” phenomena which upset the equilibrium and the status quo. Under the slogan of economic cooperation of the “developed world” with the “underdeveloped world,” they defend the neo-colonialist policy of the bourgeoisie of their own countries.

With their theory of “three worlds,” the Chinese revisionists, too, have come out in the role of firemen to extinguish the revolution and liberation struggles of the peoples. While advocating class conciliation and alliance of the oppressed peoples with imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, they recognize no other problem for the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America apart from that posed by the threat of Soviet hegemonism, from which, according to the Chinese, these peoples can escape only by ceasing the class struggle and revolutions, by the oppressed uniting with reactionary cliques and regimes, and putting themselves under the hegemony of China.

In this situation, when the imperialists and the revisionists are striving in every way to disorientate the liberation and revolutionary movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it is a duty of historic importance, not only for the Marxist-Leninist parties, but also for all the democratic and revolutionary forces, to wage a resolute struggle against the reactionary imperialist-revisionist course, against the demagoguery and political manoeuvres employed by the imperialists and

the revisionists, and for the realization of the peoples' aspirations of freedom and democracy, and for the triumph of the revolution.

The Revolutionary Situation and the Role of the Subjective Factor

Revolutions are not made to order, nor are they accidental, but they break out as a result of the interaction of objective and subjective factors, of internal and external conditions, of the combination and exacerbation of profound economic, political and social contradictions, of irreconcilable antagonisms between the oppressors and the oppressed, between exploiters and the exploited. Revolution breaks out in that country where the sharpening of antagonisms and the clash of opposing socio-class forces reach their culmination, making that country a weak link in the world system of capitalism. Historical experience tells us that in the epoch of imperialism, when the whole capitalist system is ripe for revolution, from time to time both developed countries and backward countries become such weak links. These tangles of contradictions are not something fixed and unchangeable, which necessarily shows up in only one country or one area. On the contrary, the uneven development and the ripeness for the revolution of the world capitalist system, as a whole, makes it possible that these tangles emerge more or less simultaneously in several countries, or shift from one country or zone to another. In the chain of the world capitalist system today

there are many weak links.

In defining the weakest links of the world capitalist system, Marxist-Leninists do not proceed from subjective and arbitrary wishes, but bear in mind, in the first place, the **objective factors**, that combination and exacerbation to the highest degree of all the contradictions of capitalism, which put the revolution directly on the agenda. The revolution, according to Lenin, can burst out only from a revolutionary situation, which is brought to maturity objectively by the whole process of the socio-economic development of the given country.

“It is only when the *‘lower classes’ do not want to live in the old way* and the *‘upper classes’ cannot carry on in the old way* that the revolution can triumph,” Lenin emphasizes. “This truth,” he goes on, “can be expressed in other words: revolution is impossible without a nationwide crisis (affecting both the exploited and the exploiters).”*

The Marxist-Leninist concept of the revolutionary situation serves as a scientific criterion from which the revolutionaries proceed to define appropriate moments when the objective possibility of striking the decisive blow at the system of oppression and exploitation has been brought about.

The Marxist-Leninist understanding of a revolutionary situation has nothing in common with the standpoints of all kinds of opportunists cloaked as “leftists,” of anarchists who, from positions of voluntarism, disregard

* V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 31, p. 83, Alb. ed.

the role of objective factors, and proclaim the launching of revolution possible at any moment, provided a handful of people ready to take up arms can be found. Experience, not only of the past, but of our days too, shows clearly that the anarchists' actions can often be traced back to the staffs of the secret police, the fascists, the forces of the "right," which are interested in exploiting actions as provocations in order to justify the establishment of dictatorial regimes, to drown the revolutionary forces in blood before they have prepared themselves to deal the decisive blow at the exploiting order.

Genuine Marxist-Leninists clearly demarcate themselves from the anarchist groups. They are also clearly demarcated from the opportunists, the Soviet revisionists, the Eurocommunists, etc., who not only do not prepare the masses for revolution, but even when revolutionary situations present themselves, hold the masses back and sabotage the revolution. The Chinese revisionists, in a completely pragmatic and unprincipled manner, on the one hand use the slogan that the "situation in the world is excellent" for demagogical purposes, while on the other, on the pretext that in some capitalist countries no revolutionary situation exists for the time being, they proclaim revolutionary situations impossible in principle in the present-day world, thus justifying conciliation of the exploiters with the exploited, of the "third world" with the "second world" and with U.S. imperialism.

In our time, along with the development of

the general world revolutionary process, revolutionary situations are created at given moments and in various countries of the capitalist-revisionist world. "At present," says Comrade Enver Hoxha, "an explosive revolutionary situation exists everywhere in the world as a consequence of the sharpening of all the contradictions of the capitalist-revisionist system. This situation has put the revolution on the order of the day."* The facts show that there have been, are and will be revolutionary situations, and that in particular countries they have been transformed into revolutions. If in certain other countries they have not been transformed into revolutions, this is explained with the fact that the revolutionary situation is only the objective possibility for the revolution. For this possibility to be realized, for the revolution to burst out and triumph, the **subjective conditions** are necessary too.

The revolution, as a conscious socio-political activity of the masses, as the highest stage of the class struggle, cannot be conceived and realized without the conviction, mobilization and organization of the masses for powerful revolutionary actions. It cannot be carried through to final victory without the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, which constitutes the number one subjective factor. Experience shows that in the conditions when the objective factor exists and the revolutionary situation is ripe, the role of the subjective factor is decisive for the triumph of the revolu-

* Enver Hoxha, "Imperialism and the Revolution," pp. 247-48, Alb. ed.

tion. Moreover, Marxist-Leninists do not take the subjective factor and the objective factor divorced from each other, or as following one after the other, but understand them linked in close dialectical unity.

In this unity, the subjective factor plays a major and direct role in bringing the revolutionary situation to maturity, just as the objective factor extends the possibilities for the strengthening of the subjective factor. If the party of the working class were to wait until a revolutionary situation has been created first and only then set about preparing the subjective conditions, in this case, it would be late to exploit the favourable revolutionary situation and would find itself unprepared at the moment when it should be leading the great battle towards the revolution. The history of the workers' movement already knows such negative examples. That is why, in the present conditions when the revolutionary process is extending and eating up at the foundations of the old order, the bourgeoisie and modern revisionism have concentrated their main blows precisely on the subjective factor.

In our epoch, the revisionist parties are notorious for their sabotaging activity. Having placed themselves totally in the service of the bourgeoisie, they spread reformist illusions, divert the working people from revolutionary activity and hinder the raising of the consciousness of the masses. "To confuse the people, to benumb the revolutionary thought and action of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist parties," says Comrade Enver

Hoxha, “innumerable anti-Marxist trends are in action, the most varied revisionist and ‘leftist’ ‘theories’ are emerging and being spread. They are the fifth column in the ranks of the world revolution, the aim of which is to prolong the life of international capitalism by fighting the revolution from within, to prevent it from breaking out and, in case it does, to have the firemen to put it out and the scabs to break the will of the working class.”*

As a result of the undermining activity of the Soviet, Eurocommunist, Yugoslav, Chinese and other modern revisionists, no little confusion has been created, as a consequence of which the subjective factor still does not respond to the requirements of the explosive revolutionary situations which are being created in the world. Nevertheless, in the process of the class struggle, today the revolutionary consciousness of the working class and the broad working masses is becoming steadily stronger, the tendencies to break with social-democratic and revisionist influences are growing deeper, and the new Marxist-Leninist parties are increasing their strength. All this is vivid testimony to the fact that the proletariat has never lost its faith in Marxism-Leninism and the triumph of the revolution.

In order to undermine the revolution, **all shades of revisionists grossly misrepresent the role which the external factor plays in the question of the revolution.** In accord with their hegemonic, expansionist interests, the Soviet

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 221, Eng. ed.

revisionists preach that the triumph of freedom, independence and socialism is the outcome, in the first place, of the external factor, of the role and influence of the social-imperialist Soviet Union and the so-called "socialist community." Were the peoples to follow this "advice" and pin their hopes on the external factor, which the Soviet revisionists recommend, they would lose faith in their own revolutionary strength and their struggle would not serve the cause of freedom, independence and socialism, but Soviet imperialist interests.

On the other hand, there are also revisionists who say that, in the present international conditions of the existence of political and military alliances among capitalist states, revolution would be dangerous playing with fire, doomed to end in defeat as a result of the export of the counter-revolution, of outside military intervention. In all these sermons, the absolutizing of the external factor and underrating of the internal factor and the intention to intimidate the masses and sabotage the revolution are strikingly obvious.

There is no doubt that the aid, support, solidarity and development of the international revolutionary movement are important factors which exercise their positive influence on the revolutionary processes which are going on inside every country. But these factors only create favourable conditions and possibilities for the development and triumph of the revolution. It is the internal factor, the revolutionary forces of each country which take advantage of these conditions and trans-

form these possibilities into reality. History knows of quite a few cases when, despite the favourable international situation, the revolution, far from triumphing, has suffered defeat, and this simply because the internal factor, the party of the working class, in the first place, was not equal to its historic mission.

On the other hand, the revolution is threatened by the danger of foreign military intervention because the triumph of the revolution in any country is a blow to all imperialism and reaction worldwide. But even this threat has not closed the road to revolution, and it can never do so, despite the sermons of the revisionists. With the united efforts of the people of each country, with their resolute and persistent struggle, as well as with the active international solidarity of the working people, counter-revolutionary intervention from abroad can be halted and defeated. The history of many revolutions shows that they have triumphed even under very unfavourable international circumstances, but always in those instances when the internal revolutionary forces had been prepared and were determined to defend the revolution and carry it through to the end. Many contemporary examples, including the example of our revolution, have proved this.

For the revolution to triumph, the use of the revolutionary violence of the masses is an essential condition. Marxist-Leninists wage an irreconcilable fight against the modern revisionists who preach that the only possible road to socialism in present-day conditions is

allegedly the “peaceful,” “democratic,” “parliamentary” road, etc. “Uniting the majority of the people” and “the securing of a stable majority in the parliament by the proletariat” were proclaimed by the 20th Congress of the CPSU as roads for the “transfer of the main means of production to the hands of the people.” This idea is being publicized with special zeal by all the other revisionists, especially the Eurocommunists. According to S. Carrillo, today there can be no more talk of violent revolution, in the terms of Marx, Engels, and especially, Lenin, who “linked the idea of the revolution with the idea of revolutionary violence.” Berlinguer, Marchais and others claim that, in the present conditions, socialism can be attained only through reforms and the development of bourgeois democracy. But, “The thesis on the utilization of bourgeois democracy and freedoms as the road to socialism,” says Comrade Enver Hoxha, “is a great deception for the masses, a veneer over capitalist society.”*

Today more than ever before, the ruling classes in the bourgeois and revisionist countries have set up a gigantic military bureaucratic apparatus designed for the suppression of the working masses and the peoples, the preservation of the rule of the capitalist bourgeoisie and the revisionist cliques. In the German Federal Republic, for example, the present budget allocation for the maintenance of this apparatus is 40 times greater

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 230, Eng. ed.

than 25 years ago, while the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are spending over 250,000,000,000 dollars a year to maintain their military machines. The direct clashes of the bourgeois-revisionist police and army with the masses of workers taking part in strikes or demonstrations to protest against their difficult living conditions and social injustices are becoming ever more frequent. The use of firearms by the police, the killing of demonstrators, violence and fascist terror, are not confined only to such countries as Iran, Chile, Argentina, Indonesia, the Philippines and such other countries, already notorious for such barbarous acts. The club and the bullet, killings and violent intervention by the police and the army, are becoming increasingly common in Italy, Germany, the United States of America, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and elsewhere. The fact is that when the proletariat and the other working masses, against the will of the revisionist trade union bosses, begin to move, stop work, be it only for one day, demonstrate in the streets, etc., the bourgeoisie throws off all democratic disguise and puts all its institutions on the alert in order to put down the revolts of the masses with the most barbarous forms of violence. These situations confirm the fact that in the present-day capitalist and revisionist world, the general trend is not the preservation and extension of democratic rights and freedoms, but their curtailment and elimination.

Therefore, for the proletariat and the

broad masses of the people there is no way out other than the violent revolution, the overthrow and destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of revolutionary violence, by means of armed insurrection. "The fascist coup in Chile," says Comrade Enver Hoxha, "was a very stark disproof of the revisionist theories on the peaceful and parliamentary way, just as in the case of Indonesia several years earlier. It showed that the iron laws of the class struggle, of the revolution and the counter-revolution do not change to suit the morbid dreams and the subjective desires of the revisionists."* Experience shows that, even in the period of the most profound crises, the ruling classes never depart from the arena of history voluntarily, without being overthrown by force. It is precisely this reality and this historical experience which make the violent revolution a universal law both of the proletarian revolution and of any genuine democratic and anti-imperialist liberation revolution.

The Marxist-Leninist Party — A Party of the Revolution

The triumph of the revolution is closely linked with the level of organization and education of the working class, with the role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the revolution-

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 228, Eng. ed.

ary movement.

In present-day society, the proletariat has increased as a class and constitutes a great social force. This is true in regard to the developed capitalist countries of Europe, the United States of America, Japan, Canada, etc. But now this is a reality, also, in the countries of Latin America as well as in many countries of Asia and Africa. Here, too, the proletariat represents a growing revolutionary force, a force which has formed its identity as a class, which is taking an active part in the forefront of the people's anti-imperialist and national liberation struggle.

Conscious of the need for organization, the proletariat in many countries has formed or is in the process of forming genuine Marxist-Leninist parties. This is an event of special importance because it constitutes the guarantee that, under the leadership of these parties, the struggle of the working class and the revolutionary movements will develop with success under the banner of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party of Labour has close fraternal, internationalist links with the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties of many countries of Europe, Latin America, Asia, North America, etc.

These parties are showing themselves to be parties of revolutionary action, which have dedicated themselves with all their strength to the great cause of the working class, the cause of the revolution, socialism and the peoples' liberation. They have successfully withstood attacks from the bourgeoisie and the intrigues

of various enemies, they have also coped with the undermining and splitting activity of the Chinese revisionists, who have tried to hinder the creation and consolidation of Marxist-Leninist parties in many ways, to disorientate them ideologically and politically, and divert them from the road of the revolution.

The bourgeoisie and all the revisionists have tried and are still trying to deny the world historic mission of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party. Some of them say that the proletariat has disappeared, has become bourgeois and integrated into the capitalist system. Others claim that now, especially in the developed capitalist countries, the intelligentsia has emerged as the leading force, while in other countries the role of hegemon has been transferred to the national bourgeoisie or the various petty-bourgeois strata. There are those who do not raise this problem at all, because, according to them, the development of the productive forces itself opens the way to socialist transformations, and even socialist consciousness is born and formed spontaneously. On this basis, they also deny the need for a communist party of the working class and its revolutionary theory.

Now the Chinese revisionist leaders are on this course of betrayal too. With their thesis about "the countries of the third world as the main motive force" in the present period, they give the leading role to the bourgeoisie, even to the most reactionary strata of it which are ruling in some of these countries, and openly negate the hegemonic role of the proletariat.

These enemies of the revolution go so far as to assert in their newspaper "Renmin Ribao" that "the more actively the countries of the third world play their role as the main force in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism, the more clearly the importance of the support they give the workers' movement in the developed countries is confirmed." So everything is turned upside-down. Not only the proletariat and peoples of the countries of the "third world" but, according to them, even the proletariat of Europe and all the developed countries should recognize the hegemony of the bourgeoisie of the countries of the "third world" and only with their support can they see the light! Even the bourgeoisie itself could ask no more.

The purpose of these reactionary theses is to sabotage the revolutionary struggle of the peoples and the working class. The genuine Marxist parties have rejected these anti-Marxist views and are working to enhance the hegemonic role of the proletariat, which is irreplaceable, both in the socialist revolution and in the struggle for freedom and democracy.

The problem of allies and alliances is of major importance to the triumph of the revolution. Being at the centre of revolutionary struggles, the proletariat, depending on the character of the revolution, rallies round itself and activates various other classes and strata of the population which, to this or that extent, are interested in the triumph of the revolution. The broader the social basis of the revolution,

the greater the circle of allies of proletariat, the more important its hegemonic role in these alliances becomes.

The Marxist-Leninist party carries out a correct policy in regard to alliances in struggle against both sectarian and opportunist stands, both of which are dangerous to the outcome of the revolution.

On this question, too, the Chinese line and views are counter-revolutionary. The Chinese leaders recommend to the Marxist-Leninists, revolutionaries and peoples alliance with the bourgeoisie, the reactionary cliques and the imperialists. Now they are calling for unity of the "third world," for the unity of Europe, for the unity of the "third world" with the "second world," and with U.S. imperialism, etc. These calls for "unity," the alliances which the Chinese advocate, are against the revolution, against the struggle of the peoples. They serve the reactionary bourgeoisie and imperialism, therefore they are being combated and rejected by the Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries, all progressive people and true democrats.

The proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist parties in various countries are constituent parts of the social forces which are carrying the world revolutionary process forward. Hence **the need for unity, collaboration, mutual assistance and support, on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism.** This unity and collaboration are another guarantee of the triumph of the revolution.

The Marxist-Leninists have clashed with and combatted the reactionary views of the Chinese leadership, which, in order to weaken the revolution, has persistently opposed any initiative, any action, any multilateral meeting of the Marxist-Leninist parties aimed at strengthening their solidarity, unity and joint struggle. The Chinese leadership favoured only bilateral talks between parties, because in this way it could exert pressure and impose its opportunist line on the others and disorientate the Marxist-Leninists.

Our Party of Labour and other Marxist-Leninist parties have long been opposed to this anti-Marxist line and these divisive stands. They have encouraged and supported any action aimed at strengthening the internationalist links and collaboration among Marxist-Leninists. The participation of many delegations of fraternal parties in the congresses of our Party and our celebrations, the Joint Statements of groups of Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America and Europe, the internationalist rallies which were held in Germany, Italy, Portugal, Greece, etc. testify to this. Our Scientific Session, in which many comrades from the fraternal parties are taking part, is also a testimony to this. The common struggle, the interests of the revolution, demand that all Marxist-Leninist parties, all the revolutionaries, further strengthen the unity, collaboration and internationalist solidarity of all the revolutionary forces on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We are living at a time when socialism has won great popularity and become a burning aspiration of all the peoples. The Khrushchevite betrayal and the transformation of the Soviet Union into a bourgeois, imperialist country, as well as the strengthening of the positions of revisionism in China, can alter neither the laws of development of society in general nor the laws of the revolution. The future belongs to the peoples, it belongs to communism. Working and fighting courageously for this future, for its preparation, are the proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist parties everywhere in the world. All the objective and subjective conditions are maturing for this ideal of our great classical teachers — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and all the proletarian revolutionaries who have sacrificed everything in fierce class battles for the cause of communism, to be transformed into reality. “Marxism-Leninism and its immortal principles properly implemented,” says Comrade Enver Hoxha, “will inevitably bring about the destruction of world capitalism and the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by means of which the working class will build socialism and go on to communism.”

The Albanian communists and the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, will fight in the future, as they have done up till now, with Marxist-Leninist consistency and determination, with unwavering confidence in the triumph of the great cause of the revolution and the liberation

of the peoples. Our people and our Party will always stand by the peoples and revolutionaries of the whole world, the Marxist-Leninist parties and all those who are fighting against the various imperialists and revisionists, for the cause of freedom, democracy and socialism.

BROADENING AND DEEPENING OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL THE CURRENTS OF MODERN REVISIONISM — AN HISTORICAL NECESSITY

From the time modern revisionism first emerged, the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head has considered it to be an anti-Marxist ideological trend that would serve as an agency of imperialism and the entire bourgeoisie in their strategy to impede the revolution, perpetuate capitalism and fight socialism. Since that time, indeed, ever since it was founded, our Party has considered the struggle against every anti-Marxist trend as one of its principal tasks. At the 7th Congress of the Party too, in making a scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of the current world problems, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out the danger of revisionism at the present stage of its evolution to the cause of the revolution and socialism. He put forward the view of our Party that in the present situation, the struggle against revisionism and opportunism constitutes an imperative duty for the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and he argued that this struggle represents an historical necessity of our time.

The treatment of these problems in the light of the theses of the 7th Congress of the PLA will be the subject of this paper.

Present-Day Revisionism — A Component Part of the Bourgeois Superstructure

Two to three decades have gone by since the time when one of the first and most dangerous manifestations of modern revisionism, Titoite revisionism, emerged, and since, with the emergence of Khrushchevite revisionism, revisionism was transformed into a retrogressive trend of worldwide proportions. During this period, it has gone through a process of its formation and evolution until it reached the present stage, when more than ever before, it has become a favourite agency of the bourgeoisie in its efforts to paralyse the revolutionary energies of the proletariat and peoples in the struggle for socialism, freedom and independence, and to weaken and shatter the confidence of the world proletariat and all progressive mankind in the socialist and communist society.

At its present stage, revisionism can be differentiated not only from Bernstein revisionism, but also from the modern revisionism of its former phase by several main features.

One feature of revisionism today is that it has become very widespread as revisionism in power, and that in the countries where the revisionists are in power the economic base is now completely capitalist and the superstructure is typically bourgeois in essence and in content, regardless of the labels stuck on it and the forms which it presented. In this way, these countries have become an integral part

of the world capitalist system.

A feature of revisionism under the present conditions is that even in the countries of classical capitalism, it has become a component part of the bourgeois political and ideological superstructure which serves to mislead the proletariat, to control and sabotage the efforts of every revolutionary movement in order to channel and keep them within the framework of the bourgeois order and bourgeois law.

Another feature of present-day revisionism is that, while it emerged as an anti-Marxist trend in the ranks of the communist movement, now it has been transformed into a bourgeois current in the workers' movement, identical in essence with social-democracy.

Thus, revisionism has reached such a stage of degeneration on the national and international scale that today the revisionists are opposing Marxism-Leninism with all their "theories" and practices more openly on all fronts, are carrying the banner of the oppression and exploitation of the peoples, of the disruption of the revolutionary and liberation movement, and of the deception of the masses in general. They have become devoted and zealous defenders of the old capitalist world which historically and objectively has long outlived its time.

As regards its extension, revisionism has now reached a culmination stage. After this, its utter discredit, inevitable defeat and ruin are bound to follow. But these will not come about automatically or spontaneously, but as a result of continuous struggle by the working

class and revolutionary peoples of each separate country and of all the countries, under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties. In order to carry out this struggle successfully, it is necessary to know the “theories” and practices, the strategy and tactics both of modern revisionism as a whole and of its principal trends.

At the present stage also, in essence, the strategic aim of modern revisionism is the same as that of the revisionists of the time of Bernstein and Kautsky, and as that of all enemies of Marxism-Leninism and socialism. Thus, the common strategic aim of present-day revisionism is to ensure class conciliation and “social peace” between two classes of capitalist society with diametrically opposed interests, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; to subordinate the interests of the proletariat to the interests of the bourgeoisie; to undermine the proletarian revolution and perpetuate capitalism in the bourgeois-revisionist countries; to restore capitalism wherever genuine socialism is under construction.

To attain this counter-revolutionary strategic aim, the revisionists of all countries try to present Marxism-Leninism as “outdated” and, under the guise of implementing it in accordance with the “specifics” of the time and place, pretend to be “re-assessing” the ideas of the classics of Marxism-Leninism so that they can be “adapted” to the new conditions which have been created in the world. In fact, they are attacking and doing their utmost to discredit our revolutionary doctrine and

transform it from a spiritual weapon of the proletariat in the revolution and struggle for socialism, into a theory of opportunist social reforms in the service of the bourgeoisie.

Today revisionism presents itself as several anti-Marxist currents and variants. The principal ones are Soviet revisionism, Yugoslav revisionism, "Eurocommunism" and Chinese revisionism, that have come out and crystallized as anti-Marxist, counter-revolutionary trends at certain turning points in world developments in order to come to the aid of the bourgeoisie. We are not going to dwell here on an analysis of the historical conditions or the objective and subjective factors which led to the emergence of various trends of revisionism. We wish to stress only that in periods of crisis, the international bourgeoisie and imperialism always strive to make use of the renegades from Marxism-Leninism in order to ease their burden and "get them out" of trouble. This is the explanation for the phenomenon of the formation of the revisionist variant called "Eurocommunism" and the open emergence of Chinese revisionism in the present conditions of the grave crisis which has the world capitalist system in its grip, a crisis which is not only economic, but also social and political, ideological and moral. Meanwhile, Yugoslav revisionism has been set into motion and has activated itself with special zeal. Soviet revisionism, for its part, has been searching for new "theories" and tactics to preserve its Marxist-Leninist façade, in or-

der to disguise its social-imperialist strategy.

Although all the revisionists proceed from the same counter-revolutionary strategic aim, each current presents itself with its own clearly defined political and ideological features, with its own characteristics: each has a separate strategy in conformity with the interests of the bourgeoisie it serves, its “own” bourgeoisie, and that of the sphere of influence in which the country it operates is situated; each adapts special tactics as a function of its own strategy; each uses its “own” formulas and theories in order to attack, denigrate and eliminate Marxism-Leninism; each offers the proletariat and the peoples an alternative form of “socialism” of “its own.”

1. Among the revisionist trends in power, Soviet revisionism constitutes a very great danger for the revolution, socialism and the freedom and independence of the peoples. Comrade Enver Hoxha clearly defined this danger at the 7th Congress of the PLA, when he said, “Soviet revisionism represents the most complete and highly elaborated ‘theory’ and practice of the revisionist counter-revolution, which has revised the Marxist-Leninist theory in all fields and on all questions.”*

In fact, after borrowing from the arsenal of the old revisionists and putting into circulation the ideas of the “peaceful road” and the “parliamentary road” to socialism, which

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 266 Alb. ed. (Emphasis by the author).

became the ideological nourishment of the revisionists of all countries, after bringing out the “theories” of the “party of the entire people” and the “state of the entire people,” and having carried out in practice the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist order in the Soviet Union and replaced it with the dictatorship of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the capitalist order — the Soviet revisionists set to work to perfect their “theories” on those questions of Marxism-Leninism which they had distorted since the notorious 20th Congress of the CPSU as well as to find new “theories” that would serve them in carrying out the revisionist strategy and policy, on the national and international planes in the phase of their total degeneration. At the present time the Soviet revisionists not only continue to propagate theories which have already been exposed as anti-Marxist, such as the “theories” about the “party of the entire people” and the “state of the entire people,” which were necessary to them in the implementation of their internal counter-revolutionary policy: to negate the hegemonic role of the working class, to deceive the working class and all the working people in the Soviet Union and turn them away from the class struggle, to advertise their “socialist democracy” and the “levelling out of classes,” which have allegedly been achieved at the present stage of “developed socialism,” but they have even codified them in the constitution.

On the external plane, while clinging to

the positions of “peaceful coexistence” and “class conciliation” at an international level too, the Soviet revisionists go so far as to proclaim the halting of the armaments race as the highest ideal of mankind and to declare openly that “mankind now has no greater and more vital problem”* than that of the easing of international tension (!), as if the problem of liberation from capitalist exploitation and the construction of socialism were not the loftiest ideal and the greatest and most vital problem of our epoch, which will save mankind from every kind of suffering and misery, and hence from the burden of armaments and any predatory war.

In general, the Soviet revisionists commit their distortion of Marxism-Leninism on the international plane, proceeding from their special strategy which is aimed at ensuring the hegemony of their social-imperialist state over the whole world; from the typically imperialist expansionist policy of this state; from the positions of the Great-Russian chauvinism and national oppression, which has become part and parcel of the policy which the fascist and social-imperialist Soviet state is pursuing. The notorious “theories” on “limited sovereignty,” on the “vital interests of the socialist community,” on the “economic integration and coordination of the foreign policy of the socialist countries,” etc. serve this strategy. The “theories” on the “non-cap-

* From the article “A New Epoch of World History,” the magazine “Problems of Peace and Socialism,” No. 11, 1977.

italist road of development” and on the “road of socialist orientation” which allegedly many developing countries are following and which are propagated by the Soviet revisionists so that through them the Soviet Union can penetrate into those countries as the “great socialist” country which “takes them under its protection,” but which, in fact, aims at putting them under its domination as an imperialist state and turning them into its vassal countries, just as it has done with the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe, also serve this hegemonic strategy. But, whereas in reality the Soviet revisionists are as ferocious and dangerous to the peoples of the world and to socialism as U.S. imperialism, in “theory” they try through demagogy to present themselves as defenders of Marxism-Leninism and fighters against imperialism and revisionism. Their aim, in the context of their strategy, is to deceive the proletariat and the peoples, and to keep the other revisionist parties, especially those of the vassal countries, attached to their course, while at the same time trying to prevent a complete break with the parties of the “Eurocommunist” trend. The slogans which the Soviet revisionists are spreading at present about their “anti-imperialism,” “anti-pluralism” and “anti-liberalism” and about the “necessity of implementing proletarian internationalism,” their coming out as “champions” of Leninism at a time when the “Eurocommunists” and other revisionists, in unison, are attacking Leninism in general and the principle of proletarian international-

ism, are also intended to serve this aim. With their political tactics and stands, the other revisionist currents, especially “Eurocommunism” and Chinese revisionism, are objectively assisting Soviet revisionism to maintain its Marxist-Leninist façade. Meanwhile, the Marxist-Leninist phraseology and the demagoguery which they employ, as well as their misuse of the authority which the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin had won, among the communists of the world, create certain difficulties for the struggle of some genuine Marxist-Leninist parties against this dangerous revisionist variant.

The great danger of Soviet revisionism lies also in the fact that it presents its pseudo-socialism as “genuine socialism,” indeed as “developed socialism,” as the final phase of socialism, which is preparing the material-technical foundation of communism, as the phase of the disappearance of class and national distinctions and of the transition towards “social homogeneity,” “the new historical community” and “national homogeneity,” towards the “unified Soviet people,” which are new terms concocted by the Soviet revisionists proceeding from Great-Russian bourgeois nationalist aims, in order to deny the existence of different classes in present-day Soviet society and of the Soviet peoples of various nationalities.

What does this Soviet “developed socialism” represent ?

In its real essence and content this so-called “developed socialism” is nothing but

one of the forms of developed capitalism which is hidden behind the "socialist" veil. Here we are not going to go into how the process of changing the character of the socio-economic order in the Soviet Union from a socialist order into a capitalist order was carried out. Our aim is to show that this regressive process has reached such a stage that the economic order in the Soviet Union is now completely capitalist and that **"the Soviet economy,"** as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, **"has already become integrated into the system of world capitalism."*** However "developed socialism" or, to be more precise, the developed Soviet capitalism differs from that of the countries of classical capitalism on account of the very high degree of concentration of the means of production in the hands of the state: in the Soviet Union state monopoly capitalism embraces virtually the whole economy, whereas in the countries of classical capitalism it does not have such wide extension.

From this characteristic of Soviet capitalism as well as for the reason that it is not represented by individual capitalists or by groups of monopolists united in concerns, trusts, etc., but the top bureaucratic Soviet bourgeoisie, which presents itself in the form of "collective capitalism." stems its other characteristic which has to do with the fact that whereas in the countries of classical capitalism the appropriation of the surplus value by individual capitalists is done in proportion

* Enver Hoxha, "Imperialism and the Revolution," p. 93, Alb. ed.

to the amount of capital of each capitalist, in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries, as Comrade Enver Hoxha shows in his analysis of this problem, the surplus value goes to each representative of the top stratum of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie through the relations of distribution, on the basis of the position he occupies in the state, economic, scientific, cultural, etc. hierarchy. On the other hand, the economic relations with the countries of the capitalist system, through the export of Soviet capital to other countries and the inflow of foreign capital to the Soviet Union, are carried out by the Soviet state which represents and defends the interests of the top bureaucratic bourgeoisie. However, in the process of the export of capital and goods to various countries and in the process of the inflow of foreign capital into the Soviet Union, the interests of the two imperialist superpowers, as well as those of the Soviet Union and the other developed capitalist countries and other big powers with imperialist tendencies clash, competition between them arises, and so does rivalry for world hegemony and the tendency to oppress and exploit the countries and peoples of the world becomes more pronounced. The Soviet Union has been completely integrated into this complex of international capitalist economic relations as part of the world capitalist system, which seeks to grab the maximum profit and as much surplus value as possible for the Soviet bourgeoisie from the working class of other countries.

The dangerous thing is that the present-

day Soviet state presents its economic expansion as “aid” which the “developed socialism” is providing for other countries and peoples for their economic development and social progress. But there can be no “socialism” of any sort either “developed” or “underdeveloped,” in a country where the principles of Marxism-Leninism are violated and abandoned, where the working class is not in power, where the state is not a dictatorship of the proletariat, and where there is no genuine Marxist-Leninist party which plays its undivided leading role in the entire life of the country.

2. Another variant of revisionism is Yugoslav revisionism, which as the oldest in power and the first to come out in support of world capitalism and undertake the fight against Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism, has “traditions” as an agency of the international bourgeoisie. This makes it one of the most dangerous trends.

The danger of Yugoslav revisionism is that it offers ready-made anti-Marxist and anti-socialist concepts and practices to all opportunists, to all those who embark on the road of betrayal of the interests of the proletariat and the peoples, thus remaining always a favourite weapon of imperialism in its fight against socialism and liberation movements. In fact, all the other modern revisionists, ranging from the Khrushchevites to the Chinese revisionists, have always found inspiration in the opportunist trend of Yugoslav revisionism and many of the revisionist chiefs describe

the “self-administration system” as a proven model of “socialism.”

But what is the Yugoslav “system of self-administration,” or “self-administrative socialism”?

In practice, Yugoslav “self-administrative socialism” is nothing but capitalism decked out in Marxist phraseology, a sort of “socialism” which is being built with the dollars of U.S. imperialism and the other imperialist powers, which is described, even by world capitalism, not only as “a new form of the construction of socialism” but also as “a new system which is making headway in the non-aligned countries,” some of which claim to be building socialism. Yugoslav “self-administrative system” is identical with the “democratic socialism” of the social-democrats, with that type of “socialism” which the bourgeoisie need to oppose genuine socialism. It is such that it can also serve as a model of that “new society” which world capitalism is looking for as a modus vivendi in order to “escape” from the catastrophe which is threatening it, from crises and revolution, and prolong its existence.

Even without dwelling here on the economic aspects which are characteristic of present-day Yugoslavia, on the relations of property and distribution existing there, the phenomena of anarchy and competition, the problems of the crisis which has the Yugoslav socio-economic order in its grip, if we simply confine ourselves to recalling the aid in dollars which world capitalism is providing

for “self-administrative socialism,” the real content of this form of “socialism” which the Yugoslav and other revisionists, and even the world bourgeoisie, offer the proletariat and mankind becomes quite clear. For it is known that the imperialists never give anyone dollars for nothing, but only to get back surplus value and to draw maximum profits through capital they invest in various countries. They do not give their “aid” in order to build socialism, but to bury it. In this direction too, the example of Yugoslavia is quite clear: the foreign capital invested there was one of the decisive factors which assisted its development on the capitalist road. And the fact that Yugoslavia is deeply in debt to different firms and states, the fact that more than 170 enterprises are organized with joint Yugoslav and foreign capital with 49 per cent of the shares belonging to foreign capitalist firms, proves that Yugoslavia has already become part of the world capitalist system.

As a theory, the “self-administrative socialism” which the Titoite revisionists began to speak about in the early ‘50s, thus concretizing their anti-Marxist idea of specific socialism, through which they propagated the absolute necessity of many kinds of socialism, is by no means an “invention” of the Yugoslav revisionist theoreticians. In reality it is a variant of the petty-bourgeois socialism preached by Proudhon, Bakunin, by the “worker opposition” and other opportunists. It is a revival and practical application of the an-

archist, anarcho-syndicalist and Bukharinite ideas about “giving factories to the workers,” “workers’ self-management,” the elimination of centralism, etc., etc., which were exposed and rejected by Marx and Lenin in their time.

Yugoslav revisionism poses a great danger to the proletariat and the peoples also because of the special strategy and tactics which it propagates, presenting Yugoslavia as a non-aligned country, as well as because of the role which the leaders of this revisionism have played and are still playing as contacts between different trends of revisionism and especially between the main revisionist trends in power and U.S. imperialism. The theory of the “non-aligned world” invented by the Yugoslav revisionists, by means of which they seek to occupy the leading place in this “world,” serves precisely the strategy of dominating it in order to play a splitting role among the developing countries, to disorientate the progressive forces of those countries and to divert them from the anti-imperialist struggle. In this way, through this “theory” which is advertised as a universal “theory” for the “destruction of imperialism,” which is completely identical with the “theory of three worlds” and counter-revolutionary from start to finish, the Yugoslav revisionists are effectively playing their role as agency of U.S. imperialism to keep the developing countries under the neo-colonialist yoke of this imperialism which is helping Yugoslavia in every way to carry out its strategy which serves the

strategy of U.S. imperialism, but which is also in favour of Soviet social-imperialism and Chinese hegemony, as this “theory” aims at paralysing the revolutionary and liberation energies of the peoples.

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

motion.

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

Thus the head of the Italian revisionists, Enrico Berlinguer, makes statements in which he seeks to assure the bourgeoisie and the church that the party which he leads "is a 'new' party," a party which has been and is committed to seeking "a transforming unity with different social, political and ideological forces."* Meanwhile in the recent difficult situation when Italy appears as the most decadent capitalist country and is caught up

* From the article, "Enrico Berlinguer Answers an 'Open Letter' From the Bishop of Ivrea," published in "Rinascità," October 7, 1977.

in a grave political crisis too, the Italian revisionists are calling on the people to defend the “public order and democratic security,” the bourgeois constitution and the republican institutions,* because otherwise the situation would reach a state of “civil war,” and they are scared to death of this like the bourgeoisie itself. And after putting up such a defence of the Italian bourgeois state institutions and constitution, the heads of the Togliatti revisionism complain, “they treat us as watchdogs of capitalism, on the pretext that we call for the defence of the state.”** But it is precisely because the Italian revisionist party acts as a watchdog of capitalism and plays its role very effectively in favour of perpetuating the bourgeois order that even though this party does not take part officially in the government, the government relies on it and consults it about the “fate of the order.”

“In step with the Italian revisionists march the French revisionists,”*** as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said. At their 22nd Congress, without a scruple they unfurled the anti-Marxist counter-revolutionary white flag, declaring through their chief Georges Marchais their abandonment of the class struggle, the revo-

* From the newspaper “L’Unita,” March 19, 1978.

** From an AFP news item, April 18, 1978, referring to the newspaper “Lotta continua.”

*** Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 272, Alb. ed. (Emphasis by the author).

lution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian party.

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

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

Despite some minor differences in presentation, the views and the standpoints of all the revisionist parties of the “Eurocommunist” trend towards the present-day bourgeois state and the dictatorship of the proletariat are identical in content. Likewise their concept about the party, which according to them “does not claim to become the leading force of the state and society”* and accepts **“the co-existence in its ranks of different schools in the field of theory, culture and art, as well as in the field of scientific research, in all the sciences, including the humanitarian sciences, and that all of them must have the possibility of free confrontation.”**** But this means to condemn the proletariat to “eternal” slavery, because it cannot emancipate itself, together with all the oppressed and exploited, from slavery, without ensuring the leading role of the party of the proletariat in the revolution and after its victory, and that the Marxist-Leninist ideology becomes the sole prevailing ideology after the revolution. It is precisely the enslavement of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie which the revisionists of all trends who preach political and ideological pluralism want to preserve.

The entire strategy of the “Eurocommunists” is completely in the service of “their own” bourgeoisie and the European bourgeoisie. Defence of the interests of “their

* From the book “Eurocommunism and the State” by Santiago Carrillo, Flammarion, 1977, p. 150 (French ed.).

** Ibidem, p. 150 (Emphasis by the author).

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

The danger of the revisionists of the “Eurocommunist” trend is apparent also in the alternative of the future society which they propose, in the type of “new society,” allegedly socialist, which they offer. This “socialism” of theirs will be “pluralist socialism with a human face,” just like the “socialisms” which all bourgeois ideologists advocate. It will be a “socialism” which will be “achieved” during the so-called “stage of political and econom-

* From the book “Eurocommunism and the State” by Santiago Carrillo, Flammarion, 1977, pp. 156-57, French ed. (Emphasis by the author).

ic democracy,” when “the forms of public and private ownership will coexist,” **“when there will also be the creation of surplus value and private appropriation of it.”*** Such a recipe for “socialism” is recommended by one of the most cynical apostles of “Eurocommunism,” Santiago Carrillo, who preaches the idea that this “new society” will be achieved, among other things, through the democratization of the Army, the police and the entire oppressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie (!). And after all these sermons which do not affect the foundations of the bourgeois state power in the slightest, the “Eurocommunist” chiefs are afraid that the “defenders of doctrines” might call this “pure reformism.” But, in fact this is nothing but **pure reformism**, for, as Lenin said, **“Capitalism and imperialism cannot be overthrown by democratic transformations, even the most ‘ideal’... Capitalism cannot be vanquished *without taking over the banks, without abolishing private ownership of the means of production.*”**** **“...Only the forcible overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the destruction of the entire bourgeois state apparatus — the parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, etc. apparatus from top to bottom... can ensure the real submission of the whole class of exploiters”***** and make the

* Ibidem, pp. 117, 121 (Emphasis by the author).

** V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 23, pp. 16-17, Alb. ed. (Emphasis by the author).

*** V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 201,

proletariat the ruling class. Any fantasy about another road is simply the reactionary yearning of a petty-bourgeois.

In fact, the question is not that the “Eurocommunists,” and the other revisionists, **do not understand the real political role** they are playing when they talk about a “democratic road to socialism,” or that they do not know the Marxist-Leninist teaching that **without preparing for the dictatorship of the proletariat one cannot be a revolutionary**. They assail the idea and the practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat because they are determined counter-revolutionaries, because they consciously wish to play the role of **priestlings** who lull the proletariat, the working masses and the peoples, with all sorts of political charlatantry, to turn them away from the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. They consciously want to play the role of advocates of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie needs advocates and lackeys of all kinds, including those who call on the proletariat to line up with it for the “defence of the fatherland,” and those who call for the preservation of the “democratic” order, the monarchy, bourgeois constitutions, etc. That is why all the reactionary bourgeoisie and the church prefer this model of “pluralist socialism.” And if, out of all world reaction, the Soviet revisionists do not support and even oppose the “theories” and strategy of the “Eurocommunists,” this is not because they do not agree in essence with

Alb. ed. (Emphasis by the author).

their counter-revolutionary views, which in fact are based on the anti-Marxist platform of the notorious 20th Congress of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union, but because some of the “Eurocommunist” “theories” are aimed at “independence” from the tutelage of Soviet revisionism, and infringe the idea of the role of the “mother party” and of the “great socialist state,” which the Soviet revisionists want to play in their relations with the other revisionists. This is the cause of the mutual criticism going on between these two revisionist trends, which is an expression of the social-chauvinist and social-imperialist positions of each of them.

4. Chinese revisionism, the trend which has come out in the open only recently but which is, in fact, a very old anti-Marxist trend with deep roots, is a very great danger to the cause of the revolution and socialism, and the freedom and the independence of the peoples at the present time. A characteristic feature of this revisionist variant is that it proclaims the “theory” which it propagates to be the highest stage of Marxism-Leninism, the third stage in the development of Marxism. However, as a “theory,” Chinese revisionism is nothing but a conglomerate “theory,” **one** hotch-potch of all sorts of ideologies ranging from the idealistic-mystical ones of antiquity to the theories of present-day bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologists and to “right” and “left” opportunist views, ideas of Proudhon, of Bernstein and Kautsky, of Trotsky and Bukharin, of

Browder, of Yugoslav, Soviet and “Eurocommunist” revisionism, and so on.

The entire ideological platform of the Chinese revisionists, all the theses propagated by them concerning the cardinal questions of Marxism-Leninism and the question of the revolution and socialism in the context of each specific country and on the international plane, are anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary from start to finish. Likewise, the strategy and political tactics which are based on such an anti-Marxist ideological platform, as well as the actions inspired by it, are completely anti-proletarian and reactionary.

Thus, in regard to China itself, both during the Chinese revolution and after it, the standpoint of the Chinese leadership has been that of liberalism and bourgeois democracy both in theory and practice. At no time has it been for the hegemonic role of the proletariat and for waging the class struggle in favour of the working class. Instead, in “theory,” it has preached the thesis “the countryside must liberate the city” which denies the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution and is a deviation from Marxism-Leninism, while in practice, it has acted in such a way that the petty-bourgeoisie and even the middle bourgeoisie had a dominant role in the revolution. Whereas after the revolution, the Chinese revisionist leadership has followed the line of class conciliation and of permitting the existence of the bourgeoisie as a class, **“it has maintained an opportunist benevolent stand towards the exploiting classes,”** as Comrade

Enver Hoxha has put it, **“and in practice it has shared the state power with them.”*** At no time have the Chinese revisionists been for the undivided leading role of a party which was truly a party of the proletariat, a party of the Leninist type, but they have propagated and practised the principle of political pluralism, the principle of the existence of many parties, including parties of the bourgeoisie which, according to their views, should continue to exist in China as long as the “communist party” exists. Long ago they came out against the Marxist-Leninist ideology being the only prevailing ideology in a socialist country and preached ideological pluralism, in “Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom and a Hundred Schools Compete,” which is being loudly propagated today by the “Eurocommunists,” with whom the Chinese revisionists have points in common in their revision of Marxism-Leninism, and many other questions too.

On the international plane, the Chinese revisionists revised Marxism-Leninism, proceeding from their strategic goal, which regardless of the fact that they come out with the banner of “anti-social-imperialism” and “anti-hegemonism,” is in essence identical with the strategic aim of the Soviet revisionists, and is intended to make China an imperialist superpower, to justify the typically imperialist and hegemonic policy of this great power which is doing everything it can to be-

* Enver Hoxha, “Imperialism and the Revolution,” p. 348, Alb. ed. (Emphasis by the author).

come a superpower. This strategy is served by the theory of “three worlds” which the Chinese revisionist leadership presents as a world strategy. In fact, the real content of the theory of “three worlds” is denial of the hegemonic role of the proletariat in the revolution and of its right to carry out the revolution, denial of the right of peoples to rise in liberation struggle against oppressive and rapacious imperialism. The theory of “three worlds” is diametrically opposed to Lenin’s ideas concerning our historical epoch, where he speaks of the class which is at the centre of this epoch, its main content, the main direction of its development, that is, the main features which distinguish this epoch, which constitute the only basis on which correct revolutionary tactics can be built.

Thus, according to Marxism-Leninism, it is the proletariat which is the main political motive force of our epoch, while according to the Chinese revisionists, “the main motive force which drives the wheel of history forward is the ‘third world.’” For every genuine Marxist-Leninist, the fundamental content of the present epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism, the historic task which requires solution is the overthrow of the capitalist order and the building of the socialist order, and the way to carry out this task is by the proletarian revolution. However, with its theories, the Chinese leadership denies all these fundamental features of our epoch and these cardinal issues of Marxism-Leninism without scruple.

According to the analysis which our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made of the Chinese leadership's deviation from Marxism-Leninism, the counter-revolutionary opportunist position of the Chinese revisionists can be seen clearly from the fact that, in spreading the idea of the "lack of a revolutionary situation in present-day Europe," and saying that the task of the proletariat and other working people of Europe is to take the side of "their own" bourgeoisie for the "the defence of the fatherland" against the threat of the war which "social-imperialism is preparing," they are preaching a policy of agreement between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which is the most harmful and dreadful policy for a country; they call on the proletariat to renounce the class struggle, the proletarian revolution, the struggle to overthrow "its own" and the international bourgeoisie, the struggle for socialism.

The view of the Chinese leadership, which defines Soviet social-imperialism alone and not the two superpowers, as the main and most dangerous enemy of the peoples, which presents U.S. imperialism as "in decline" and "on the defensive," as imperialism with which a "socialist" country can be united in a broad front for joint opposition to Soviet social-imperialism, etc. is also extreme opportunism and in fact denial of the proletarian revolution. According to this view, one can have a preference in assessing imperialism, one can treat the two imperialist superpowers differently:

one superpower being allegedly aggressive, the other being on the defensive! Whereas, according to Marxism-Leninism, **from the political point of view, imperialism as a whole is a tendency to violence and reaction, and after the victory of socialism in a country, the problems must be solved not from the angle of preferring this imperialism to that, but proceeding solely from the interests of the development and consolidation of the socialist revolution.** To claim, as the Chinese leadership does, that the presentation of U.S. imperialism as less dangerous than the new Soviet imperialism is based on Lenin's analysis of the situation in 1917 when he spoke of the danger which the new German imperialism posed, while "forgetting" Lenin's other thesis put forward a year and a half later that **American imperialism is behaving just as ferociously as German imperialism, etc.,** and moreover to disregard the great danger to mankind which U.S. imperialism represents today means from the philosophical viewpoint to act as a sophist, to consider questions separately, to draw historical **parallels** and not make concrete **analyses** of the **question** in the concrete conditions. Whereas from the political point of view, such a position of the Chinese revisionists, which is an expression of their compromise with U.S. imperialism, is open betrayal of the cause of the proletariat and socialism.

The views of the Chinese leadership about U.S. imperialism as the imperialism with which one may allegedly collaborate "to cope with the danger of world war" remind one of

the preachings of Kautsky, who in his time spoke of the indispensable need to rely on U.S. imperialism to stop the war. The basis of this identity of views is that both Chinese revisionism and Kautskyism “prettify” imperialism as a whole, and U.S. imperialism in particular, that both propagate a non-class policy and aim at ensuring “class conciliation” at an international level too. And it is known that defence of class collaboration, denial of the idea of socialist revolution and revolutionary methods of struggle, adoption to bourgeois nationalism, and renunciation of the class viewpoint and class struggle are the ideological foundations of opportunism. These are also the ideological foundations of social-chauvinism, which is one of the characteristic features of the policy of the Chinese revisionists.

It is self-evident that with a conglomerate “theory” like that of the Chinese revisionists, genuine socialism cannot be conceived, and neither can it be built with their practices. “Socialism” conceived on the basis of an anti-Marxist theory cannot be anything else but “petty-bourgeois” or “bourgeois” “socialism,” which, for ample reasons, finds the support and aid of the big bourgeoisie worldwide, especially of U.S. imperialism, and finds support from such an old agency of imperialism as Yugoslav revisionism, as well as all sorts of other revisionists.

The ideological and political physiognomy, and the specific features of each of

the present-day revisionist trends, are such as to give rise to various distinctions and contradictions among them. The distinctions and contradictions between the revisionists, especially in today's conditions, are expressions of contradictions among monopoly groups and within the bourgeoisie of the country or the area in which each revisionist trend operates. This is the basis on which the divergencies and contradictions between the Soviet revisionists and the "Eurocommunists," and especially the sharp contradictions between the Soviet revisionists and the Chinese revisionists, exist, each of them seeking to **win over** as many revisionist parties and different countries as possible to its side and its policy, and to ensure for **itself** support and aid from the American and other imperialists. But without going at greater length into the contradictions which exist between various revisionist trends, we deem it necessary to stress that they must be evaluated correctly. They do not alter the essence of revisionism, either as an ideological trend or as a strategic goal. In fact, all trends of revisionism are branches from one single trunk: in ideology they are variants of bourgeois ideology and in practice, in the final analysis, they serve the same master, the reactionary world bourgeoisie.

**Waging and Deepening the Struggle
Against All Trends of Revisionism —
An Imperative Duty for All Marxist-
Leninists**

In today's conditions, when the proletarian revolution is a problem taken up for solution and when the revisionists more than ever before are doing everything possible to organize "historic compromises" on a national and international scale, to work together with imperialism to preserve the status quo "in this world which is the best that could exist," when they consider the bourgeois law eternal and hold that "socialism" can be fitted into the framework of these laws, when they consider the present-day bourgeois state as a lever on which they can rely for the transition to "socialism" by means of reforms, when they preach the fusion of the proletarian ideology with all sorts of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, clerical and other currents, in this condition the struggle of the genuine communist parties to defend Marxism-Leninism and to expose revisionism as a whole and every revisionist trend assumes special importance. This struggle is in no way doctrinaire or academic, but is a struggle for a great cause: for the defence of the principles of the revolutionary theory of the working class, without which there can be neither proletarian revolution, nor socialism and communism; this is a struggle which aims to make clear that all the "doctrines" and "theories" which speak of a non-class socialism and of non-class policy are nothing but a fraud.

For success in waging the struggle against revisionism, in order to define a correct strategy and correct tactics in this struggle, it is

important for the Marxist-Leninists to have a thorough knowledge, both of the main features and the main counter-revolutionary common, strategic aim of present-day revisionism and of the distinctions and contradictions which exist among the different revisionist trends. And, proceeding from the fact that, irrespective of their individual strategies, the global strategy of all revisionists is the same, profoundly counter-revolutionary and that the essence of revisionism is likewise the same, profoundly reactionary, the Marxist-Leninists wage a struggle against revisionism on all fronts, against all its trends.

The historical experience of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism over the last decades, too, fully confirms Lenin's teaching that the only correct Marxist line in the world communist movement is to explain to the proletariat and all the working people the absolute need to break with revisionism and opportunism, to educate the masses through a consistent struggle against those trends, to expose their betrayal of the cause of the proletariat and the peoples, and all the infamy of the policy they pursue. Such a task is dictated by the fact that in this struggle, which is an expression of the antagonism and class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, between the line of struggle against the world bourgeoisie for the victory of the revolution and socialism and the line of collaboration and unity with imperialism against the revolution and socialism — Lenin's well-

known thesis that **without fighting opportunism, imperialism cannot be fought successfully** always retains its validity and relevance. Indeed, this thesis assumes special importance under the present circumstances when there is no essential difference between revisionism in power and imperialism, between the strategy of the one and that of the other.

Now, in particular, when the bourgeoisie is making extensive use of such agencies as social-democracy and revisionism in its struggle against the cause of the proletariat, the main condition to achieve success in the socialist revolution is the resolute struggle on the part of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties against any influence of revisionism and opportunism among the ranks of the proletariat and all working people.

At present, the true communist parties have set themselves the task of refuting the opportunist thesis of the Chinese revisionists, who call on the proletariat to unite with "its own" bourgeoisie for the "defence of the fatherland" and to make clear to the masses of the proletariat the lesson set out in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" 130 years ago by the founders of scientific socialism, K. Marx and F. Engels, that **"the proletariat of each country must, of course, first settle accounts with its own bourgeoisie."*** Besides this, they have set themselves the task of refuting all the other revisionist "theor-

* K. Marx — F. Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 32, 1975, Alb. ed. (Emphasis by the author).

ies” which recommend to the proletariat that it should reach an agreement with the bourgeoisie that the “upper strata of the society” should take measures to improve the living conditions of the “lower strata,” and to explain to the proletariat and the other working masses that the theory of Marx who revealed the essence of the capitalist economy shows that the issue is not that the capitalist order should be patched up but that capital and the entire capitalist mode of production must be wiped out, that the road of salvation for the proletariat and of all the working masses is not that of seeking some improvement of the conditions of oppression and exploitation, from the capitalists and their lackeys, but that of organizing and carrying out the class struggle, a struggle which every genuine party of the working class leads and carries through to the final goal: the seizure of political power by the proletariat and the organization of socialist and communist society. The proletariat of each country accomplishes this task in its own country, first of all because, according to Marxism-Leninism, the first arena of the class struggle for the proletariat of every country is its own country.

However, the bourgeoisie of each country is part of the world bourgeoisie and from the class point of view, stands in confrontation with the proletariat, which is the other main class of present-day capitalist society. Therefore, when it comes to the struggle against the proletariat, the bourgeoisie of each country unites with the bourgeoisie of all countries,

as a class with common interests to oppose the proletariat as a class, which has interests diametrically opposed to its own. For this reason, the genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties do not see the struggle of the proletariat against “its own” bourgeoisie and the struggle to expose revisionism and opportunism in its own country from a narrow angle, as a question confined within the national context, but as part of the struggle to cope with the attacks of the reactionary bourgeoisie in general and modern revisionism as a whole, to cope with the policy of international plots of imperialism, social-imperialism, all the bourgeoisie and present-day revisionism in order to expose them and triumph over them. However, the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie is initially a national struggle, **“in form if not in substance.”*** This is precisely why the Marxist-Leninists wage their struggle against all the enemies of the proletariat and the peoples, against modern revisionism, the bourgeoisie, imperialism and social-imperialism, simultaneously on a national and international scale. In their struggle against the international revisionism of the present day too, they bear in mind that the same socio-political content manifests itself in one form or another, according to specific national features.

The Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries are aware that the evolution of revisionism in ex-

* K. Marx — F. Engels, “Manifesto of the Communist Party,” Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 32, 1975, Alb. ed. (Emphasis by the author).

tent and depth, its wide extension as revisionism in power, is a great loss for the proletariat and a victory for the capitalist bourgeoisie. But they also know that this is a temporary victory for the enemies of the proletariat. He who is acquainted with our revolutionary science is clear about the main objective tendency of social development in our historical epoch and, on this basis, never loses sight of the prospect, but knows that despite the zigzags and temporary retreats of the revolution, the final victory of the proletariat is inevitable. In reality, the zigzags in the revolution which can be seen today are not a casual phenomenon unforeseen by the classics of Marxism-Leninism. Six decades ago, V.I. Lenin said: **“History is moving in zigzags, and by round-about ways”*** and stressed: **“it is undialectical, unscientific and theoretically wrong to regard the course of world history as smooth and always in a forward direction, without occasional gigantic leaps back.”**** On the other hand, every Marxist-Leninist revolutionary realizes that the bourgeoisie, which emerged on the stage of history as a ruling class three centuries ago, which has its own ideology which is far older than the socialist ideology and elaborated in an all-round way, the bourgeoisie which has long experience in the struggle against the proletariat and in smashing its different detachments one by one and in vari-

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 27, p. 173, Alb. ed. (Emphasis by the author).

** V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 22, pp. 377-78, Alb. ed. (Emphasis by the author).

ous ways in different countries, cannot fail to use the strength of the bourgeois state and all the experience it has accumulated, it cannot fail to sharpen up its weapons of every kind — ideological, organizational, military, etc. — in order to maintain its positions, and avert the revolution and socialism. The activation of present-day revisionism and opportunism is precisely one of these weapons which the bourgeoisie is using in the present situation of the general crisis of capitalism.

Marxist-Leninists view the future with optimism, even when the tide of counter-revolution is running high. And this is a revolutionary optimism which is based on the reality of our historical epoch. In fact, the objective conditions for proletarian revolution and national liberation have now matured. In general, though the making of revolution is being impeded by various subjective factors, a revolutionary situation exists. The struggle of the proletariat has developed greatly in all the capitalist countries, both bourgeois and revisionist, in recent years, and this struggle is preparing the working class for the coming decisive class battles which will bring about the destruction of the capitalist order, together with revisionism, which are decaying and in decline. The recent years have been years of a general awakening of all the peoples, the peoples' movement for national liberation has assumed a new vigour everywhere. These are favourable factors which must be exploited in order to strengthen and intensify the struggle

against the revisionism and opportunism of each individual country, and against revisionism and opportunism as a whole. This, because without fighting revisionism, such historical tasks as proletarian revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the organization of socialism cannot be carried out, and there can be no genuine freedom and independence for the peoples. Only through a resolute struggle of the proletariat, all the workers and the peoples, placing them under the leadership of a genuine revolutionary party of the working class in each given country, will the greatest political, ideological and moral task facing the proletariat, and all mankind today, be carried out — that is, the destruction of the old exploiting society and the uniting of all the working people around the proletariat, which in liberating itself at the same time liberates all the oppressed and exploited from any sort of slavery. And the proletariat achieves this because it acts in conformity with the objective laws of the development of society according to which, as scientific socialism shows, society is moving irrevocably towards the overthrow of the capitalist order and the establishment of the highest social order, communism. It is precisely this social development and progress, based on the objective laws of society which is impeded by the most reactionary social forces today: the bourgeoisie, imperialism and revisionism, which must be swept away by a struggle aimed against all of them simultaneously.

A very important objective of the struggle

of the Marxist-Leninists against the revisionists today, is the exposure of the alternatives to socialism and the various kinds of "socialism" offered to mankind by various revisionist trends and the bourgeois ideologists who, in order to "extricate" the bourgeoisie from the crisis, now following the fiasco of their previous alternatives of the "consumer society," "industrial" society, "post-industrial" society, etc., are now propagating "new" kinds of "socialism," such as "developed socialism," "self-administrative socialism," "pluralist and democratic socialism" with which, besides other things, they hope to discredit the idea and denigrate the practice of genuine socialism.

To expose these alternatives of the "new society," to show that none of the varieties of "socialism" which are offered by the revisionists as the best, "the purest," "the most authentic" "socialism" has anything in common with the scientific socialism conceived by Marx and Lenin, and applied in the Soviet Union in the time of Lenin and Stalin or with the socialism which is under construction and advancing in Albania under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, means to defend scientific socialism, genuine socialism, from incontestable theoretical and practical positions. Because **there is only one genuine socialism: the socialism which is achieved on the basis of the universal laws of the theory discovered and developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.** The only genuine socialism

is that which can be achieved only through class struggle, the culmination of which is violent revolution, and never through the schemes which the revisionists recommend, not through the reforms of the structure and superstructure which they propagate so noisily, not through the “parliamentary cretinism” which they have raised to a system in order to use constitutional and parliamentary illusions as a veil to conceal their betrayal of the proletariat and the revolution. The only genuine socialism is that which is achieved under the leadership of the proletarian party and **necessarily** by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat; genuine socialism is inconceivable without carrying out the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property immediately following the revolution, without the planned centralized management of the economy by the socialist state, without the hegemonic role of the working class and without the alliance of the working class with the labouring peasantry under the leadership of the working class. If today, just as in the past, the revisionists of all trends are doing their utmost to reject such universal laws of Marxism-Leninism, to proclaim them “obsolete” and outdated for the present conditions, this is evidence of the unprecedented depths of their betrayal of the cause of the proletariat, the revolution and socialism.

The Marxist-Leninists are aware that the struggle against revisionism is a protracted, all-round struggle which goes through different stages. They are aware that the world

proletariat will have to wage fierce battles, but they know also that the struggle for the ideals of communism is a struggle worth any sacrifice. The struggle against revisionism arouses the energies of the proletariat and of all the working people because it makes them more conscious of their role in society and teaches them to distinguish which is the enemy that must be fought, teaches them how to fight for their interests. But in order to triumph over capital, which is an international force, the international alliance of the workers is necessary. That is why the Marxist-Leninist parties strive to ensure the unity of the proletariat on a national and international scale. Whereas the revisionists of all trends carry out disruptive activity in the Marxist-Leninist movement and in the ranks of the proletariat, and support all sorts of openly right-wing or "leftist" groups **provided only that they support their particular trend, express opposition to the other rival trend and combat the Marxist-Leninist principles.**

* * *

In the present situation, all sorts of attacks are being directed against the revolutionary theory of the working class and the great teachers of the proletariat — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Some people, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie who come out openly as such, proclaim the revisionists' betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and

elsewhere, and the capitalist development of countries which label themselves “socialist,” as the failure of Marxism-Leninism, as proof of its inability to solve the problems with which mankind, is preoccupied and as the end of socialism. Another declares that “Marx is dead,” some intellectual dwarf, this time from the ranks of the ideologists, indeed one of the leaders of the revisionist parties, “discovers” “contradictions” and “gaps” in the works of the colossal classics of Marxism-Leninism and going even further, from the centre of “Marxist” studies of the CC of the French revisionist party, a voice is heard stating that “the road of France to socialism should not be sought in the works of Lenin,” nor on the basis of those works, but according to this “Marxist” voice of Jean Elleinstein, this road must be sought, believe it or not, in the works of Edward Bernstein, the father of the old revisionism, which is known as Bernstein revisionism.

What accounts for this unprecedented race between the enemies of Marxism-Leninism to attack and fulminate against the proletarian ideology and its founders and elaborators, to slander them in cynical fashion? The explanation for this is that Marxism-Leninism expresses the historical truth, reflects the trend of the objective development of human society and provides scientific proof of the inevitability of the destruction of capitalism, that the Marxist-Leninist doctrine is a reliable weapon in the hands of the proletariat in its struggles to overthrow the old order and build the new society. It provides the proletariat and all op-

pressed and exploited with the revolutionary orientation concerning the most acute problems, because Marxism-Leninism is a banner of struggle and victories for the proletariat and the peoples of all continents in their stern class battles and struggles for national liberation.

The onslaught which all the enemies of the proletariat have launched against Marxism-Leninism, and their efforts to “bury” it, are not without precedent in history. More than 100 years ago, the Paris Commune was furiously attacked by world reaction. Right from the start, the bourgeoisie and its ideologists proclaimed the emergence of modern revisionism as a defeat of Marxism-Leninism. While now as never before, it is proclaimed from all sides that it is all over: “Marxism is dead,” “socialism is finished.” However, the Marxist-Leninists see that the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat has coped and is coping successfully with the fierce anti-communist offensive, that the communist movement has not been and cannot be extinguished. Instead, genuine Marxist-Leninist parties have emerged from the ranks of the proletariat, parties which represent the new, the future. They see that true socialism is forging steadily ahead and developing in a country, Albania, which stands firmly on the positions of Marxism-Leninism.

The Paris Commune, which was the first experiment and the embryo of the dictatorship of the proletariat, lived only 72 days, but its name and work will be remembered through

the centuries. The dictatorship of the proletariat and the genuine socialism in Albania, under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, have been in existence and progressing for 34 years now, and, by loyally applying scientific socialism, will always be preserved and will develop until the final goal is achieved: **the building of the classless society, communism. This is the future of all mankind which will inevitably be achieved through the consistent class struggle of the world proletariat waged according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.**

THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES — THE LEADING FORCE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT TODAY

The situation in the world today is poised for revolution. Along with objective processes which are leading relentlessly towards the maturing of revolutionary situations, step by step the subjective conditions necessary for the revolution are being created too. This has to do, first of all, with the development of a broad Marxist-Leninist communist movement which has the mission of taking up and carrying forward the banner of the revolution, betrayed and rejected by the former communist parties, which the revisionist poison has transformed into “bourgeois workers’ parties” and extinguishers of the flames of the revolution.

The fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties have courageously set about the historic work of freeing the working class and the broad masses of the people from the bourgeois-revisionist opium, of making them conscious of their invincible strength and the need to overthrow the bourgeoisie and destroy the imperialist system of oppression and exploitation of peoples through the revolution.

1. The Formation and Revolutionary Tempering of Marxist-Leninist Parties —

An Imperative Problem of the Time

The decisive subjective condition for the proletarian revolution is the existence of and leadership of a genuine revolutionary vanguard party of the proletariat, a Marxist-Leninist party. The regression which modern revisionism caused in the international communist and workers' movement and which led to the transformation of a great number of former communist parties from parties of class struggle into parties of class peace with the bourgeoisie, from parties of the revolution and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie into parties of counter-revolution and preservation of the capitalist status quo, made the problem of the revolutionary party of the proletariat particularly acute and vital. In these conditions the Marxist-Leninist teachings of J.V. Stalin on the "absolute necessity for a new party, a militant party, a revolutionary party, one bold enough to lead the proletarians in the struggle for power, sufficiently experienced to find its bearings amidst the complex conditions of a revolutionary situation, and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of all submerged rocks in the path to its goal. Without such a party, it is useless even to think of overthrowing imperialism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. This new party is the party of Leninism,"* assume major importance.

The setting up of new Marxist-Leninist parties in a great number of countries, their

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 174, Alb. ed.

continuous development and the strengthening of them, their going over from the stage of propaganda against revisionism on an international level to the drafting of concrete programs of revolutionary action in each country and the struggle to put them into practice, the spread of their influence among the working class and the other strata of working people, etc., all these things constitute a great historic victory which shows that the cause of the revolution is invincible and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are immortal, that neither bourgeois violence nor the poisoned weapons of revisionism are able to halt or strangle them. In the struggle against Chinese revisionism too, just as in the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism, new Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties of the working class will emerge and grow where such parties do not yet exist, or where the existing parties have deviated from the road of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution.

The formation and tempering of proletarian parties as Leninist-Stalinist parties of the new type is a continuous and many-sided process which takes place in the fire of their ceaseless revolutionary activity. That is why **the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties have always concentrated their attention on the struggle in this direction, on their efforts for the Bolshevization of the party, for its further tempering as a conscious, organized vanguard political detachment of the proletariat, as the militant staff of the revolutionary movement of the working people.** They have achieved

successes and day by day are accumulating a wealth of experience in this field.

The new Marxist-Leninist parties were born and grew in the struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism against the revisionist betrayal. The significance of their existence as parties of the working class, and their strength, are based on their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, on their being imbued with its ideas, on their consistent application of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of their respective countries in order to carry the revolutionary movement forward. That is why **they constantly devote the greatest attention to the Marxist-Leninist education and tempering of their members.** They devote particularly great attention to the correct combination of the practice of their struggle with ideological study, insisting that the latter is not left as something done occasionally and sporadically, or as the concern of only a few, but becomes part and parcel of the day to day activity of the Party and all the cadres and members of the Party. The Marxist-Leninist parties wage a persistent fight against tendencies to shallow, primitive practicisism which considers only practical actions valuable and underrates theory, study and ideological preparation and, as a consequence, restricts the political horizon of the Party, hinders the extension of its influence among the masses of the people and leads to various mistakes which cost the cause of the revolution dear. At the same time, they also combat tendencies to bookish, merely illuminist study, divorced

from life, from practical struggle, from revolutionary action, a tendency which transforms revolutionary theory into an aim in itself, into an intellectual ornament, which reduces it to lifeless formulas and leads it to doctrinaire positions and passivity, and to dogmatic errors.

Experience has proved that **the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideological tempering of the proletarian party is inseparable from its ceaseless struggle against various influences of opportunist, revisionist, anarcho-extremist and other bourgeois ideologies**, which exert unrelenting pressure, in numerous forms, also on the party of the proletariat and its members. The fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties were developed and moulded as revolutionary parties of the working class in irreconcilable struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism on an international plane. However, they have devoted, and deem it essential to devote, great attention to the fight against the revisionist parties within their own countries too, as this is a fight not only over the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, but also over the concrete problems of the revolutionary movement, over the revolutionary strategy and tactics in the concrete situations of their own countries. All this has been an important school of revolutionary tempering. However, the fact that the Marxist-Leninist parties have organized themselves as separate parties which oppose the revisionist parties and wage an irreconcilable struggle against them does not mean that the struggle against

revisionism or revisionist influences within the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist parties themselves is no problem. The overcoming of revisionist influences in all fields — ideological and political, strategic and tactical, in the forms and style of work — is a long and uninterrupted process. At present, without overlooking the earlier revisionist trends, the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties against influences of Chinese revisionism and illusions about the pseudo-Marxist, anti-proletarian, petty-bourgeois, populist, eclectic and pragmatist ideo-theoretical, philosophical-social and political-strategic concepts that it is based on, assumes particular importance.

The proletarian character of a Marxist-Leninist party is determined, in the first place and above all, by the ideology that guides it and the policy it follows, by whether this ideology and policy respond to the fundamental interests of the proletariat. But this is only one side of the question. The other side is, as Lenin emphasized, **that the Party, as the most advanced and most conscious part of the class, must be proletarian not only in its ideology, but also in the composition of its ranks.** Lenin laid special stress on the necessity for workers to predominate in the leading organs of the Party in order to bring the revolutionary spirit, features and style of the working class there directly. The facts prove that one of the most significant signs of the degeneration of many former communist parties into revisionist parties is precisely their opening the doors,

especially the doors of their leading organs, to the unrestricted influx of petty-bourgeois elements, elements from the “worker” aristocracy and bureaucracy, bourgeois democratic intellectuals, etc., who had never adopted revolutionary positions. That is why the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties consider the continuous proletarianization of their ranks, and especially of their leading organs at all levels, to be one of the most important problems to which they have devoted and are devoting constant attention. In this they see one of the most effective ways and guarantees for the uninterrupted revolutionization of their ranks, to protect themselves against bourgeois and revisionist influences and pressures, and at the same time, to strengthen their links with the working class, and to extend the work of the party more widely and deeply among the workers. Precisely for this reason, the Marxist-Leninist parties have fought and rejected the non-Marxist, opportunist and revisionist concepts about extending the notion “worker” to include various petty-bourgeois strata, such as intellectuals, officials and others. Any confusion on this question of principle is fraught with negative consequences. This does not in any way mean that they shut the doors of the party to sound elements from other strata, but the aim is that they must be open in the first place to the proletariat, the class which is revolutionary to the end, the gravedigger of capitalism, the class whose interests the party represents.

On the question of increasing their mem-

bership, the fraternal parties have aimed more at the quality rather than at the quantity of new admissions, with the aim that those who come into the party should be truly revolutionary, dedicated and active elements, tested in the fire of class struggle against the bourgeoisie, imperialism and reaction, first of all those from the working class. Quite correctly, they have resolutely rejected intellectualist, sectarian and infantile concepts which make admission to the party conditional on attaining a level of preparation and activity which can be attained only while militating in the ranks of the party, concepts which shut the doors of the party precisely to the workers and elements from the ordinary working people. As Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the PLA, communists are judged not by what they say, but by what they do — they are tested and tempered in concrete revolutionary actions which call for maturity, as well as courage and a lofty spirit of sacrifice and selflessness. And these virtues are found, in the first place, among the best elements of the working class, the poor, oppressed and suffering peasantry, as well as in the ranks of the pure, revolutionary youth.

Study of the negative experience of the former communist parties which betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the revolution clearly shows that the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of a proletarian party is also connected to a considerable extent with deviation from the Leninist organizational prin-

ciples and norms of the life of the party, and with the reduction of them to lifeless formulas and slogans. Drawing lessons from this negative experience, the Marxist-Leninist parties keep this question constantly in the centre of their attention and wage a persistent struggle against any deviation from these principles and norms. This has to do, first of all, with their efforts to implement the basic principles of democratic centralism in the concrete conditions of each party.

“...The Communist Party,” stressed Lenin in “The Conditions for Admission to the Communist International,” “will be able to discharge its task only if it is organized in the most centralized manner, if iron discipline, similar to military discipline, is observed in its ranks, and if its leading centre is an organ of high authority, broad competences and enjoying the confidence of all the party members.”* **The existence and unprincipled struggle of factions, the group spirit, lack of unity and discipline, liberalism, opportunism, ideological, political and organizational slackness are utterly incompatible with the nature and role of the proletarian party** which has set itself the task of leading the greatest, the most thorough-going, complicated difficult and heroic struggle history has even known, the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, for the destruction of the old world of exploitation and oppression to its very foundations, and the construction of

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 229, Alb. ed.

a new world. The Marxist-Leninist parties in various countries have successfully waged a resolute struggle to safeguard the sound ideological, political and organizational unity of their ranks, against factionalism and splits. They reject those anti-Marxist preachings and practices which justify the existence of two or more lines in the party and defend, in theory and practice, the view that the party has only one line, the revolutionary line, based on Marxism-Leninism, because only this line leads the proletariat to its triumphant revolution. They also fight any tendency to localism, which leads to deviation from the general line of the party, to the fragmentation of its unified activity and to mistakes, and which carries within itself the seed of disruption.

In keeping with the concrete situations of each country, depending on the conditions in which each party operates, the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties have fought and continue to fight **for the most effective implementation of democracy in the party**, for the development of creative thinking and revolutionary initiative of their organizations, cadres and members in carrying out the line of the party in the concrete conditions in which each of them operates. The constant strengthening of collective work of the leading forums, the holding of plenums of the Central Committees and Party Congresses over fundamental issues, the active participation in various forms of the organizations and communists in discussing the problems of the elaboration and application of the line of the party, the inculcation of

the method of debate, criticism and self-criticism, etc. — all these things comprise a valuable experience for steadily strengthening the internal life of the Marxist-Leninist parties, for revolutionizing them and stepping up their political activity.

In their efforts to make the party a truly militant organization, able to carry out its tasks successfully in the conditions of the rising revolutionary tide, along with strengthening and perfecting the work of the leading organs, the Marxist-Leninist parties attach particular importance **to the extension, strengthening and functioning of the party at the base**, where the party has its foundations, where its living contacts and activity directly with the working class and masses are realized. On the one hand, they set themselves the objective of further extending the network of party organizations and fight to attain this, especially to set up party cells in factories everywhere, and on the other hand, to concentrate the centre of gravity of the revolutionary activity of the party in the cells, in order to make them genuine leading centres of class battles, vigorous militant organizations which act with initiative for the implementation of the general line and directives of the party, without waiting for everything to be dictated to them from above.

The creation of the revolutionary party of the proletariat remains an acute and urgent problem, especially in a number of countries

where the sound revolutionary elements have not yet succeeded in organizing themselves in Marxist-Leninist parties. In some countries there are several organizations and groups which, in their publications, express themselves for Marxism-Leninism and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie through revolutionary violence, and expose the various trends of modern revisionism, including the anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary theory of “three worlds.” Polemics frequently take place among them over problems of a theoretical or practical, strategic or tactical nature. There is no doubt at all that in the ranks of these groups and organizations there are many honest, sincere and dedicated revolutionary elements, who struggle against the infiltration among them of provocateurs, revisionists, Trotskyites, etc., as the “fifth column” of the bourgeoisie, in order to cause ideological confusion and disorientation, and disruption of the forces aiming to form a genuine Marxist-Leninist party.

Considering this question from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, the existence of several Marxist-Leninist parties in one country has no meaning, reason or basis. The preachings and practices of the leadership of the CP of China in proclaiming several groups and organizations in one country to be Marxist-Leninist, or worse still, encouraging the setting up of parallel organizations and parties, even in countries where genuine Marxist-Leninist parties exist, are anti-Marxist and divisive. **There can be only one genuine Marx-**

ist-Leninist party in each country. This is connected with the fact that the working class comprises a single entity with united fundamental class interests. It has only one revolutionary ideology — Marxism-Leninism. In each country, at each stage of its development, there cannot be more than one truly revolutionary strategy. To advocate and justify the existence of several so-called Marxist-Leninist parties, organizations or groups in one country means, in fact, to recognize the right to existence of various non-Marxist and anti-Marxist ideologies, lines and strategies in the revolutionary movement of the working class, to advocate and justify disruption of the cause of the revolution and put obstacles in its way. If two or more truly Marxist-Leninist organizations do exist in this or that country, which may be the case at an initial stage, there is no reason, either objective or subjective, why they should not unite in one revolutionary party of the working class. Lenin and the Comintern consistently adhered to this clear Marxist position in their time. This is how the sound revolutionaries of the communist groups proceeded in Albania when, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, they founded the Communist Party of Albania on November 8, 1941.

New parties can be founded only on a principled basis: the basis of effective acceptance of loyalty to and rigorous respect in practice for the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, as well as the Leninist organizational

principles and norms of the party of the new type; on the basis of consistent joint struggle against the bourgeoisie and imperialism, the superpowers in particular, against all trends of modern revisionism and reactionary forces; and on the basis of joint revolutionary action. **Any unprincipled union or compromise at the cost of principles is fraught with dangerous consequences.** “To Marxist-Leninists,” says Comrade Enver Hoxha, “unity divorced from principles and revolutionary action, or unity which may bring the spirit of opportunism, liberalism, dogmatism or sectarianism into the party, are unacceptable.”*

Like the emergence of Khrushchevite revisionism earlier, the crystallization of the Chinese revisionist trend, which has found its embodiment in the anti-Marxist theory of “three worlds,” has now caused another sorting out in the ranks of Marxist-Leninist communist movement. Most of the Marxist-Leninist parties have adopted a clear-cut stand in opposition to the Chinese variant of modern revisionism and resolutely rejected the counter-revolutionary theory of “three worlds.” But there have also been individual parties which have abandoned the positions of Marxism-Leninism and adopted the opportunist and counter-revolutionary positions of the Chinese revisionists. The lack of profound Marxist-Leninist revolutionary convictions and proper toughening in class battles,

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 246, Eng. ed.

their vacillations in the struggle against revisionism, weak links with the working class and insufficient efforts to proletarianize the ranks of the party, etc. are some of the causes that brought these parties, or factions within them, more and more under the influence of the Chinese opportunist trend, which advocates not the revolution, not the blow for blow struggle against the bourgeoisie, but a comfortable peaceful coexistence with it in order to preserve the status quo of the capitalist order. Hence, the struggle for the triumph of the Marxist-Leninist line, the reorganization or reconstruction of the proletarian Marxist-Leninist party on a sound basis, remains today an absolutely essential task facing the working class and the true revolutionaries of these countries too.

2. The Marxist-Leninist Parties — Leaders of the Revolutionary and Liberation Struggle of the Masses of People

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the proletarian party cannot go into struggle and revolution alone. The revolution and liberation struggle are deeds of the broad masses of the people. Therefore, **the first and fundamental task which the revolutionary vanguard party of the proletariat sets itself is to entrench itself deeply among the masses, to make them conscious, to unite them, organize them and lead them in struggle.** If the party is divorced

from the masses, it is unable to accomplish its mission, and only defeats and disillusionment are in store for it. The strength and invincibility of the proletarian party are founded on its close links with the masses.

The Marxist-Leninist parties are carrying out wide-ranging activity and have achieved encouraging successes in strengthening their links with the masses, in extending their influence among the masses, and in organizing and leading them. Nevertheless, this still remains the key problem, one of the most complicated and burning questions of all their activity, on which the fate of the revolutionary movement in the different countries essentially depends.

In a number of capitalist countries, the working class and other strata of working people are still, to a considerable degree, under the political, ideological and organizational influence of the revisionist and social-democratic parties, and the mass organizations they manipulate. If the cause of the revolution and the freedom of the peoples is to go ahead, it is an imperative necessity that the working masses, and the working class first of all, must be freed from this poisonous influence.

In order to arouse the masses and draw them into the struggle, in order to prepare the political army of the revolution and the anti-imperialist democratic movement, the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties in different countries have devoted and are devoting prime importance to the working out and implementation step by step of a clear program

of revolutionary action around which the masses will be mobilized, of a correct strategy and tactics in keeping with the concrete conditions of each country to the finding and application, at every moment, of the most appropriate forms and methods of organization and struggle. They have taken important steps in this direction.

Of capital importance is the struggle which the Marxist-Leninist parties are waging **for a correct combination of the overall revolutionary strategy with the day-to-day tasks and with skilful tactics in the service of this strategy.** The revolution cannot be made at will. As Lenin has proved, the revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation, but not every revolutionary situation will result in revolution. For this to come about, the activity of the proletarian party, the conscious revolutionaries, is essential. "In order to work in this direction, they must reveal to the masses the existence of the revolutionary situation, explain its breadth and depth, arouse the revolutionary consciousness and determination of the proletariat, help it to go over to revolutionary actions and set up the organizations which respond to the revolutionary situation."*

But a revolutionary situation does not exist everywhere at any particular time. In these conditions, the Marxist-Leninist parties do not sit back with folded arms, do not give up their revolutionary struggle as the revisionists of all descriptions advocate, nor do they rec-

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 21, pp. 226-27, Alb. ed.

commend to the working class that it shut itself up in libraries and study Marxism-Leninism, as the Chinese opportunists "advise." In regard to this question, the fraternal parties wage a struggle on two fronts:

On the one hand, they have waged a merciless struggle against and rejected the rightist concepts and practices of opportunists and revisionists who, embracing Bernstein's thesis that "the movement is everything, the aim is nothing," reduce all their activity simply to the struggle for some partial claims over minor day to day issues, while forgetting the fundamental thing, the final objective, the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

On the other hand, the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties combat the danger of "left" extremist stands which want to rush ahead, regardless of the level of consciousness and preparation of the working class and masses for struggle and revolution. They combat tendencies to renunciation of the struggle for the limited demands and economic claims of the masses for fear of slipping into reformism and opportunism, combat tendencies to reducing their entire work to the proclamation of strategic principles and propaganda with general statements about overthrowing capitalism, without accompanying their propaganda with concrete revolutionary activities over the problems of the day, so as to help gradually prepare the working masses for the future revolutionary battles and the victory in the revolution. It is clear that such pseudo-revo-

lutionary standpoints which lead to the erroneous thesis that “the aim is everything, the movement is nothing,” in essence are tantamount to giving up **today’s** active revolutionary struggle, thus leaving the revisionist parties a free field of action to deceive the masses with their demagogy about problems of the day to day struggle of the working people for economic claims, democratic freedoms and rights, against the danger from fascism, etc. **The fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties in no way ignore or underrate the struggle over these problems. On the contrary, they consider it necessary and extremely important to take an active part in this struggle,** to defend the interests of the masses in the course of it, to give it a clear direction and a marked political character, to expose before the masses the demagogy and deceptive manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie, the social-democrats, revisionists, sold-out trade union leaders, etc. In this way, the revolutionary forces are gradually mobilized, the class consciousness of the proletariat and its allies is raised, and they and the party itself are prepared to ensure victory in the struggle and revolution when the necessary objective conditions for them to break out have been created. Lenin considered this work as absolutely necessary, valuable and revolutionary. “It is not difficult,” he said, “to be a revolutionary when the revolution has broken out and is ablaze... It is more difficult — and much more valuable — to know how to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct, open, truly massive, really revo-

lutionary struggle **do not yet exist**, to know how to defend the interests of the revolution (through propaganda, agitation, organization) in non-revolutionary, frequently even reactionary, institutions, under non-revolutionary circumstances, among masses incapable of understanding immediately the absolute necessity of the method of revolutionary action. To be able to find, to sense, to correctly define the concrete course or the particular turn of events which will **lead** the masses to the truly decisive, final great revolutionary struggle — this is the principal task...”* Only in this way is it possible to ensure that, when the revolutionary situation matures, the moment is not lost but is utilized to launch the revolution and carry it through to final victory.

In their programs, the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties in various countries have defined the present and ultimate objectives and tasks of their struggle, in keeping with the character, stage and special features of the revolution and movement in each country, the ratio of forces, the level of consciousness of the masses and their readiness to undertake revolutionary actions, etc. In conformity with all these factors, each of them has clearly defined the driving forces of the revolutionary movement in its own country, the strategic allies of the proletariat, and the enemies against whom the blow must be aimed. This is the basis on which they have built their work to entrench themselves among the masses, first of

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, pp. 97-98, Alb. ed.

all among the working class as well as among its allies — the working peasantry, the various petty-bourgeois strata of the town, youth and students, progressive working women, etc.

The Marxist-Leninist parties regard active work among the masses as one of the most important permanent tasks of the party as a whole and of each individual member. “The members of a Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary party, no matter how few in number,” says Comrade Enver Hoxha, “must go among the people, must organize the masses systematically, carefully and with great patience, must convince them that they have great strength, that they are able to overthrow capital, to take power into their own hands and use it in the interests of the proletariat and the people.”* This day-to-day work and small-scale agitation of every communist militant among the masses is an essential condition and one of the most effective and irreplaceable ways of linking the Marxist-Leninist party with the masses, of spreading revolutionary ideas among the masses, of preparing and mobilizing the masses in revolutionary actions and struggles, and especially for carrying on the illegal activity of the party.

Experience has proved that **the political work of the proletarian party among the masses becomes effective and yields results when it is accompanied with revolutionary actions in the broadest meaning of this term.** Marxist-Len-

* Enver Hoxha, “Imperialism and the Revolution,” p. 169, Alb. ed.

inists are not “revolutionary phrasemongers.” They do not separate their words from their deeds, and herein lies one of the radical distinctions between them and revisionist renegades of every description, Trotskyites, and the other saboteurs of the revolution and liberation struggles of the peoples. Without rousing the masses to various revolutionary actions, not only when the revolutionary situation has matured, but also in the so-called “quiet” periods, when a truly revolutionary situation still does not exist, the triumph of the revolution cannot even be thought of. And in revolutionary actions, the vanguard role and example of the communists is of first-rate importance. In the difficult years of the fascist occupation, the Communist Party of Albania (today the PLA) was able to arouse the broad masses of the people to struggle and to win their trust, among other things, because of the fact that it never divorced its words from its deeds, and its members were always to be found on the most difficult front of the struggle, wherever the greatest sacrifices, self-denial and heroism were called for. “The true Marxist-Leninist parties,” says Comrade Enver Hoxha, “stand in the forefront and not at the tail-end of revolutionary actions. The temporarily limited possibilities of the struggle and efforts with which they oppose the great strength of capitalist reaction do not discourage them. They teach their members to be courageous and bear in mind that a correct, well-considered, mature and resolute action on their part has profound repercussions among the

masses who see it and hear about it... Courage and maturity in actions is of great importance because in this way ground is gained little by little, and progress is made in building up the tide of the revolution.”* The fraternal parties of various countries have now gained wide experience of revolutionary action which is being further deepened and enriched day by day, thus creating the conditions for more extensive revolutionary activity involving broader sections of the masses in the future.

However, the individual work of the communists in the midst of the masses is only one aspect. The other aspect, just as necessary and extremely important, which gives the party the possibility to extend its influence more widely among the masses than the small-scale individual work of communist militants, however great their number permits, is **the uniting and organizing of the working people in different mass organizations, as levers of the party to carry its line to the masses and lead them in the revolutionary struggle.** Underrating the role of the mass organizations, whether of workers, peasants, youth, students, women, etc. not only leads to isolation of the party from the masses, but also becomes a serious obstacle to the development of an organized and coordinated revolutionary movement, to mustering, uniting and leading the political army of the revolution. Bearing in mind these lessons, fully confirmed by long historical experience,

* Enver Hoxha, “Imperialism and the Revolution,” p. 169, Alb. ed.

the Marxist-Leninist parties have fought to do away with the hesitations, which have cropped up in some instances, about setting up mass organizations of the youth, women, etc. under the leadership of the party. At the same time, they faithfully adhere to Lenin's instructions that **the revolutionary party of the proletariat must be present and work wherever the masses are**, regardless of the reactionary role and character of the organizations in which they are assembled, such as the organizations and trade unions manipulated by the employers, the social-democrats, the revisionists, the opportunist trade-union leaders, the worker aristocracy and bureaucracy. Considering the struggle from outside alone as inadequate and one-sided, the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties accompany it with a broad struggle within the existing trade unions, against the treacherous opportunist chiefs and the bureaucratic and degenerate trade-union apparatus, in order to expose and isolate them, to bring about the revolutionary unity of the trade-union members against the reactionary apparatus, to introduce and win recognition for the proletarian class line among the masses of the trade-union members, to win them to and involve them in determined militant actions against the employers, the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state, in order to destroy the false tranquility and "social peace" which has been created between them, to develop the independent struggle of the workers under their own leadership, despite all the limitations and restrictions imposed on it by the trade-

union apparatus, to develop workers' solidarity in struggle and prepare the masses of the workers for the coming revolutionary battles to overthrow the bourgeois rule. The fraternal parties consider the setting up of party organizations in the ranks of the working class an indispensable condition for the organization and direction of this revolutionary activity.

In the course of the struggle, in the heat of revolutionary practice, the best and most appropriate forms of independent organization of the working class, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, within and outside the existing trade unions and other organizations, are discovered, such as, for example, the Class Trade Union Trend, the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition, the Assembly Movement, the Committees of Struggle and the Factory Councils of Workers' Representatives, the Peasant Committees and Unions in the Struggle for Land, and so on.

The fraternal parties in various countries have laid down concrete objectives for the work amongst the peasantry, always putting the key problem, the problem of the land, at the centre, and are fighting for the effective achievement of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry in their revolutionary practice. In their work with the youth and students, with women, as well as with petty-bourgeois strata, they are fighting to liberate them from the bourgeois-revisionist influence, to prevent their being transformed into reserves of the bourgeoisie, to channel their aspirations and demands, their protest and struggle

into the general revolutionary and liberation current, led by the working class and its vanguard, against the bourgeoisie, imperialism, neo-colonialism, reaction and fascism.

The need to organize and lead the masses in struggle and revolution, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the fact that besides the revolutionary party of the proletariat, other political parties and organizations are activated to this or that degree, on this or that problem, at this or that moment, against the big monopoly bourgeoisie, reactionary regimes, fascism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, etc., all this has faced the fraternal parties of various countries with the problem of alliances and common fronts as an urgent matter.

They attach decisive importance to **the mobilization of the broad masses of the people in one front**. The historical experience of the Party of Labour of Albania in the years of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War and our People's Revolution also leads to the same conclusion. "In the creation of a broad people's front," says Comrade Enver Hoxha, "the Marxist-Leninist communist party must never pin its hopes and concentrate all its efforts on alliances and collaboration with the chiefs of various political parties and organizations. Without neglecting this work, the Party is duty bound to devote all its attention and efforts to the struggle for the creation of the unity of the people from below, through extensive work of explanation and persuasion with the masses, and particularly

through organizing concrete, well-prepared and well-pondered actions.”* From this viewpoint, the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties attach importance not simply to setting up national organizations of various fronts, but especially to the organization, extension and functioning of their organs (committees, councils, branches and so on) at the base, with the direct participation of the masses of the people, as tribunes of the revolutionary struggle and action of the masses.

In dealing with the problem of alliances and common fronts with other political parties and forces, the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties not only wage a fierce struggle to expose the preachings of the revisionists of all hues about alliance with the bourgeoisie and bourgeois parties and reactionary forces, but also express their opposition to alliances and collaboration with the revisionist parties themselves. **The principled line of the Marxist-Leninist party is the line of clear-cut and complete separation from the revisionists in all fields, the line of merciless struggle against them, not a line of rapprochement and collaboration with them,** because this creates harmful illusions about the revisionists among the masses, hinders their liberation from the influence of the revisionists, and on the other hand, leads to centrist and opportunist stands, and results in abandoning the struggle against revisionism.

The Marxist-Leninist parties also criti-

* Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches, 1967-1968, pp. 172-73, Alb. ed.

cize and reject extremist and sectarian concepts, and stands of self-isolation and refusal of any cooperation or common front with other forces. Here we are referring to such forces as the various peasant parties and organizations, those of the urban petty-bourgeoisie, movements of an anti-imperialist, patriotic or democratic character, and the so-called “left” groups, organizations and movements. With regard to the latter, it is necessary, by means of concrete analyses, to make a clear distinction between the counter-revolutionary “left” organizations and groups, such as the Trotskyites, anarchists, terrorists, etc., against which the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties are waging a resolute struggle, and petty-bourgeois leftist movements and groups with sincere radical revolutionary tendencies which, despite their characteristic ideological weaknesses, vacillations and confusion, are possible allies of the working class and its party.

However, in implementing a policy of collaboration, alliances and common fronts with other progressive parties and forces and always bearing in mind the interests of the working class, its leading role and its final aim — the struggle for socialism, the Marxist-Leninist parties never **merge themselves with them, but on the contrary, maintain their identity and their ideological, political, organizational and military** (when it comes to armed struggle) **independence at all costs.** At the same time, in order to ensure that the common front serves the achievement of the revolutionary object-

ives of the working class, they **do not remain in the background or tail behind events, but fight to secure the leading role in the front** and apply there the line of unity and struggle, trying to unite all the revolutionary and progressive forces around themselves, to neutralize the waverers and isolate right-wing, splitter and saboteur elements.

In the course of their activity to organize, prepare and arouse the masses in struggle and revolution, the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, along with working out and implementing a revolutionary strategy, always pay great attention to tactics, forms and methods of struggle, with the aim of making them varied and flexible, adopting them to the concrete situations and circumstances of the place and time, so that always, in every instance, they contribute to the achievement of the strategic objectives. Following Lenin's instructions, they have set themselves the task of **mastering all forms and methods of struggle, of learning how to combine the various forms and methods, and in conformity with the changes which occur of being able and ready to switch quickly from one form of struggle to another.**

In the first place, this is a matter of a correct combination of the legal and illegal organization and activity of the party. Of course, refusal to use the legal possibilities which the so-called bourgeois "democracy" allows would be an infantile position that has nothing in common with a mature and serious revolutionary stand. Such a position has been

criticized and rejected by the fraternal parties. At the same time, however, they adhere to the Leninist view that, **for a proletarian party orientated towards violent revolution as a universal law of the transition from capitalism to socialism, towards the violent overthrow of imperialist domination and reactionary regimes, purely legal organization and activity cannot be the main and decisive thing.** Falling into the trap of bourgeois legalism not only puts the proletarian party under the threat of attacks from the oppressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie, but also exposes it to the danger of opportunist illusions and revisionist degeneration, of its transformation into an appendage of “the peaceful opposition” within the framework of the bourgeois system. However, while considering illegal organization and struggle as the main forms and the greatest guarantee of attaining victory, the fraternal parties have implanted among their militants the correct concept that **the illegal organization and activity of the party, the stepping up of its revolutionary vigilance and sound security, the concealment of their forces and forms of organization from exposure to the class enemy and its oppressive apparatus, in no way means self-isolation of the party and hiding it from the masses,** which lead either to renouncing revolutionary action or to adventurist activity, which cause great harm to the revolutionary movement. During the years of the National Liberation War, the Communist Party of Albania operated in complete illegality. However, it maintained close connections

with the broadest masses of the people, and this must be seen as one of the major sources of its historic victories in the war and the revolution.

In regard to the question of the stand of the Marxist-Leninist parties towards various bourgeois elections, whether of a national or local character, the fraternal parties see this as a question of tactics and do not make their participation or non-participation in them a strategic principle, obligatory in every instance. To make this into a strategic issue leads either to revisionist “parliamentary cretinism” or to infantile “leftism.” Under the present conditions, when the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties come up against the question of participation or non-participation in bourgeois elections, they take into consideration **the necessity of exposing bourgeois parliamentarism as a weapon of the bourgeoisie for the deception of the masses and the maintenance of its domination, the need to destroy the illusions about parliament and elections** which the modern revisionists also assist to spread. They wage continuous, uncompromising struggle to expose the revisionist preachings about parliamentarism as the way to take power. They also oppose and combat any tendency to consider participation in election campaigns or parliament, municipal councils and so on as the main aspect of the activity of the party, or even only of its legal activity. They uphold the view that participation in bourgeois elections, if it is judged necessary

by the Marxist-Leninist party of a given country, is always an auxiliary means, which can never replace its legal or illegal activity among the broad working masses, can never replace the revolutionary struggle and cannot be considered other than as a form of struggle completely subordinate to the main revolutionary activity.

The situation in the world today, fraught with contradictions, fierce class conflicts and great confrontations, has made the question of armed struggle, which is the highest form of revolutionary struggle, a current practical problem in many countries. The Marxist-Leninist parties wage a persistent struggle of principle against revisionist preachings about the so-called “peaceful road,” exposing this as an utter betrayal of the cause of the revolution. But they have also come up against such adventurist concepts as the “focoist” methods of armed groups divorced from the masses, which lead to defeats and disillusionment or the activity of anarchist and terrorist groups, which leads to gangsterism and is exploited by the bourgeoisie to discredit and attack the working class, the revolutionary forces and the Marxist-Leninist parties. Unlike such concepts and practices, the stand which the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties take towards armed struggle is a serious revolutionary stand. They are aware that **either ignoring the prospects of armed struggle, or hasty and precipitate actions in this field, are very harmful to the cause of revolution and the anti-im-**

perialist struggle. Experience has shown that embarking on the armed struggle requires serious ideological, political and organizational preparation by the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the creation of a favourable opinion and a spirit of active support for this struggle among the masses of the people in town and countryside, the organization and ideological, political and military leadership of people's armed forces by the party, correct combination of the armed struggle in the countryside with the activity of guerrilla units in the cities, while avoiding any one-sidedness and achieving in practice the alliance of the working class with the peasantry in the course of this struggle; it also calls for working out correct tactics of the people's armed struggle, reckoning on a difficult war, and not an easy victory, without hardships and sacrifices.

However, despite its great importance, armed struggle is only one of the forms of revolutionary struggle. "To be orientated towards the armed struggle," Comrade Enver Hoxha says, "in no way means to give up all the other forms of struggle. It does not mean that you should concentrate only on the countryside and abandon the struggle in the cities or vice-versa, or concern yourself only with the final objective — the seizure of power — and neglect the 'lesser struggle' for the urgent economic, political and social demands of the workers. It does not mean you should busy yourself only with the organization of the armed forces and disdain the work with the masses in their organizations, or work and fight only in illegal-

ity and give up utilizing the possibilities for legal and semi-legal work, etc.”*

3. Marxist-Leninist Unity on the Basis of Proletarian Internationalism — A Major Factor for the Development of the Revolutionary Movement

In the present conditions, when the tide of the revolutionary and liberation struggle on all continents is flowing strongly, making the working out of a truly revolutionary strategy in every country and on an international scale an urgent necessity, the fraternal parties which stand firmly on the positions of Marxism-Leninism and revolution, have set themselves the lofty and vitally important internationalist duty of doing everything in their power to strengthen the militant unity, cooperation and coordination of the international Marxist-Leninist movement, and raise them to a new, higher level. This in face of the combined attacks of the bourgeoisie, imperialism, social-imperialism, revisionism and reaction, intended to smother and extinguish any revolutionary and liberation movement, when the strengthening of the solidarity and mutual support and aid among the workers and peoples is required, and faced with the dangerous counter-revolutionary attempts of the Chinese leadership to split and undermine the present revolutionary and Marx-

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 224, Alb. ed.

ist-Leninist movement. The strengthening of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement is even more important, as it is the foundation stone of the unity of the proletariat, the workers and peoples of various countries and the whole world in the fight against their common enemies — the bourgeoisie, imperialism and reaction worldwide.

Today there is clamour from all quarters about the unity of the communist, revolutionary and liberation movements, international solidarity and internationalism. The modern revisionists — the Soviet and Yugoslav revisionists and the “Eurocommunists” — are talking and writing a great deal on this subject. The Chinese revisionists, too, are indulging in great demagoguery in this direction. But none of this has anything at all to do with the Marxist-Leninist meaning of unity and proletarian internationalism, and the principled stand towards it which the Marxist-Leninist parties including the Party of Labour of Albania, consistently uphold.

Real unity in the Marxist-Leninist communist movement is possible only on the basis of unwavering loyalty to Marxism-Leninism which shows the proletariat and the peoples the only correct road to their social and national liberation. The genuine Marxist-Leninist parties are not and cannot be for every kind of unity, either within their own ranks or in the Marxist-Leninist movement on an international level. They are the most resolute opponents of any unity achieved to the

detriment of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principles and teachings by bartering away their principles, by selling or abandoning them. It is precisely deviation from the principles and teachings of Marxism-Leninism that is the main cause of the split in the workers' and communist movement. As in the case of the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the Second International and that by the Khrushchevite revisionists in the '50s and '60s, the emergence on the scene and crystallization of the present-day Chinese revisionism with its counter-revolutionary theory of "three worlds" has caused a split in the Marxist-Leninist movement today. But unlike the period of the break with the Khrushchevite revisionists, when the majority of the former communist parties slipped into the mire of revisionism, now the majority of the Marxist-Leninist parties have stood loyal to the revolutionary line and rejected Chinese revisionism. This is a great victory, a testimony to the vitality of our movement and a sound basis for the further strengthening of its unity.

Experience shows that **only on the basis of a merciless struggle against opportunism and revisionism of all hues is it possible to preserve, strengthen and continuously temper sound Marxist-Leninist unity.** From this point of view, the "arguments" of those who want to smother and extinguish the struggle against opportunism and revisionism under the pretext of "avoiding polemics" and preserving "unity" are without foundation; indeed they are centrist, anti-Marxist and fraudulent. The

Party of Labour of Albania and the other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties firmly reject such attempts. They have waged and are waging an uncompromising principled struggle against all those who betray Marxism-Leninism and thus split the revolutionary unity, be they Soviet, Yugoslav, Italian, French, Spanish, Chinese or others.

To the communists, unity and proletarian internationalism have never been an aim in themselves, but a powerful weapon for promoting the revolutionary and liberation movement in the different countries and throughout the world. Apart from this essence, **apart from the fight and solidarity to defend and promote the cause of the revolution and the peoples' freedom, there is not and cannot be any sort of proletarian internationalism, but only deception.** Lenin wrote, "There is one and only one internationalism — internationalism in deeds — selfless work to develop the revolutionary movement and revolutionary struggle in one's **own** country, support (by propaganda work, sympathy, material aid) for **such struggle**, for such a line, and **only such, in all** countries without exception."*

Viewing the question from this angle, the deceptive slogans of the Soviet social-imperialists about "defence of the socialist community," by means of which they try to justify their complete subjugation of other countries, going as far as fascist military occupation of them, such as they imposed on Czechoslovakia

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 24, p. 63, Alb. ed.

ten years ago, or their “aid” to the peoples’ liberation movements, which they utilize as a means of penetration into various countries to place them in neo-colonialist subjection, have nothing in common with proletarian internationalism. The Chinese revisionists are trying to peddle their notorious theory of “three worlds” as internationalist, but it is already known that the real aim of this theory is to quell the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and its class struggle, to maintain the existing situation of capitalist, colonialist and neo-colonialist oppression and exploitation, under the pretext that allegedly the time has not yet come for revolution.

Proletarian internationalism requires the uniting of the efforts of the proletariat and peoples in the fight against the bourgeoisie, imperialism and reactionary forces, while the Chinese revisionists, for the sake of their imperialist interests of transforming China into a superpower, are telling the working class and peoples that they should give up the revolution and the struggle for national, economic and social liberation, and unite in unprincipled alliances with the enemies of the revolution and freedom of the peoples — the bourgeoisie and the monopolies, with U.S. imperialism and the other imperialists, with NATO and the European Common Market, with kings and feudal lords, with reactionary fascist regimes, etc.

Proletarian internationalism today requires that every fraternal party and genuine

proletarian revolutionary give full support to the Marxist-Leninist movement in other countries and do everything within their power to strengthen sound militant unity in the Marxist-Leninist communist movement as a whole. **This unity is based on rigorous respect of the principles governing relations among fraternal parties and socialist countries** — principles of independence and complete equality, non-interference in one another's internal affairs, consultation, talks and mutual comradely criticism in working out common views and overcoming differences which might arise, mutual help and fraternal internationalist support. Violation of these principles, attempts to impose the views of one party on others and the use of pressure to force others to submit to its chauvinist dictate, the use of "aid" as a means of pressure and dictate, divisive activities and brutal interference in the internal affairs of fraternal parties, etc., are all actions which have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and gravely impair unity.

Typical in this direction are the hostile, chauvinist and divisive anti-Marxist stands and actions of the Chinese revisionist leadership towards the fraternal parties of various countries and the Marxist-Leninist movement as a whole.

Many facts, well-known to both the PLA and the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, prove that for the Chinese leadership, the fundamental criterion for recognizing these parties and establishing relations with them is not

adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, but adherence to the Chinese line. It has seen them as, and has tried to transform them into, adjuncts to the unprincipled propaganda and twists and turns of the Chinese policy. It has never shown any interest, and has not given them any support, in carrying out their revolutionary activity.

Proceeding from this anti-Marxist and nationalist criterion and for purposes of pressuring the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, the leadership of the CP of China raised the existence of several so-called Marxist-Leninist parties and groups in each country to a principle and proclaimed this as a normal situation. With this it has aimed and is aiming to prevent the unification of all the healthy Marxist-Leninist forces and, as a consequence, to hamper and split the revolutionary and liberation movement.

The persistent opposition of the Chinese revisionist leadership to any multilateral activity of the Marxist-Leninist parties, and their attempts to restrict relations among them to bilateral contacts only, are now well known. Fearing the revolution and avoiding confrontation with the united voice of the Marxist-Leninists, it has unscrupulously abandoned the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the absolute necessity of unity and collaboration among the revolutionary communists of all countries and has striven with every means to split the Marxist-Leninist movement.

Its eschewing principled, comradely dis-

cussion of problems of common interest, its efforts to impose its anti-Marxist line and views on fraternal parties, without hesitating to use even the most brutal pressure, characterize the entire stand of the Chinese revisionist leadership in its relations with the Marxist-Leninist parties. Immediately after the PLA and the fraternal parties dared to express their views about the counter-revolutionary theory of "three worlds," arbitrarily proclaimed by the Chinese leadership as the general line of the international revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement, a frantic campaign of hostile activity, intrigues and disruption was started against them, and new, parallel, allegedly Marxist-Leninist groups and parties were rapidly set up in an artificial way, and finally the Chinese leadership went so far as to commit the profoundly hostile anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian act of brutally cutting off all economic and military aid to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

All this shows clearly that the Chinese revisionists are sworn enemies of the Marxist-Leninist communist movement and its unity, sworn enemies of proletarian internationalism.

Unwavering defending the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the PLA and the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties in the various countries of the world have roundly condemned these anti-Marxist and chauvinist methods, and acts of Chinese revisionism, just as they condemned the actions of Khrushchevite revisionism ear-

lier. In opposition to, and in struggle against, the disruptive stands and actions of the Chinese revisionists, the Marxist-Leninist parties have stepped up their efforts to continuously strengthen the unity and collaboration among themselves and within the framework of the Marxist-Leninist movement as a whole. The aims of this unity and collaboration are to work out a common line and stand on important questions related to the struggle against the bourgeoisie, imperialism, reaction, revisionism, etc.; to undertake joint actions and their coordination, to organize mutual solidarity and support in the course of the struggle; to provide more profound knowledge of, and exchange views and revolutionary experience among, fraternal parties working in differing conditions.

The Marxist-Leninist movement has now gained considerable experience in the struggle for unity and collaboration, and is also finding the most suitable forms for this. Bilateral contacts and meetings, multilateral regional or continental gatherings, joint communiques, sending delegations to one another's congresses and activities, joint internationalist rallies, etc. are very effective forms of collaboration when they are prepared and carried out with the necessary seriousness and care on the basis of a profound and comradely exchange of views among fraternal parties. In the future, practice may demonstrate other forms of contact, collaboration and unity, even including general international meetings of Marxist-Leninists when the conditions necessary

for this have been created.

The Marxist-Leninist parties are aware that the struggle for unity in the international revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement is not a temporary campaign, but a protracted and perpetual struggle which calls for continuous efforts, patience and maturity, and, especially, keen and unrelenting vigilance against the attempts to split it, which have not been lacking in the past and will not be lacking in the future on the part of the bourgeoisie and all trends of modern revisionism, and especially on the part of the revisionist leadership of the CP of China.

As for the Party of Labour of Albania, in the future too, it will fight with the greatest consistency to defend, strengthen and temper Marxist-Leninist unity on the basis of proletarian internationalism. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, the Party of Labour of Albania will always use all its strength and possibilities to back up and support the Marxist-Leninist movement and all those fighting against imperialism and revisionism, for the triumph of the great cause of the revolution and the freedom of the people.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PLA AND THE ALBANIAN SOCIALIST STATE IS THE POLICY OF PROLETARIAN PRINCIPLES

Problems of international relations, in general, and of the foreign policy of various states, in particular, are attracting the attention of public opinion throughout the world today. They have theoretical and practical importance, for they bear directly on the life of all peoples and nations of the world, without exception, influencing both their present and their future.

This is why, along with the struggle to guarantee and strengthen the freedom and independence of the socialist Homeland, the struggle for the consolidation of the victories achieved and the successful construction of socialism, the Party of Labour of Albania has waged an all-round struggle on many fronts to strengthen the positions of our Republic abroad, to enhance its prestige and authority, and the positive and revolutionary role it can play in international relations and their development in progressive directions.

The foreign policy followed by our Party and state is the policy of a true socialist country, a policy of proletarian principles.

Lenin pointed out that the foreign policy of every country, like its economic, cultural and military policy, has a class character, that

it is the continuation of its internal policy, an expression of those social aims and objectives which the class in power seeks to attain. "In 'alliance' with the imperialists, that is, in humiliating dependence on them — such is the foreign policy of capitalists... In alliance with the revolutionaries of the advanced countries and with all the oppressed peoples against all imperialists of every stamp — such is the foreign policy of the proletariat,"* writes Lenin.

In charting its foreign policy, the Party of Labour of Albania has consistently adhered to these immortal teachings and principles of Leninism and applied them in a creative manner in the concrete conditions of our country, and in conformity with present-day world developments.

"The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Albania," says Comrade Enver Hoxha, "is the policy of a socialist country, where the dictatorship of the proletariat, led by the Party of Labour, is in power, which is inspired by and remains loyal to the doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Albania," he continues, "defends the interests of our country in the international arena and, together with the socialist, democratic and progressive countries, defends and fights for freedom, progress and genuine democracy all over the world, for the freedom of the people who work with hand

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 25, p. 86, Alb. ed.

and brain.”*

It is precisely this consistent and principled policy, which together with internal factors, has made it possible for the new Albania to resist the innumerable imperialist-revisionist pressures, threats and blackmail which it has had to battle against during these 34 years of its free existence. It is this policy which has led to the foiling of all the plots, intrigues, manoeuvres and traps prepared by its many enemies, in their efforts to bring our country to its knees, to subjugate it and enslave the Albanian people. It is this policy which has made the voice of socialist Albania listened to throughout the world and our country honoured and respected everywhere.

The foreign policy of our Party and socialist state is principled and consistent, it defends the interests of the Homeland and the revolution, not only because it remains loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, but also because it proceeds from a correct assessment of the situation in the world, from a concrete scientific analysis of the phenomena of international life, from a dialectical summing-up of the processes occurring in the world today.

Its correct understanding of the contradictions of our epoch, its realistic and objective examination of the interplay of forces operating in the international arena, and recognition of the fundamental trends of development in the world today, are factors of decisive im-

* Enver Hoxha, “Our Policy Is an Open Policy, It Is the Policy of Proletarian Principles,” Tirana 1974, pp. 20, 30, Alb. ed.

portance in defining Albania's foreign policy and attitudes towards international developments.

The analysis that Comrade Enver Hoxha has made and is constantly making of international events provides a brilliant example of the Marxist-Leninist assessment of extremely complicated world phenomena and processes, and of how very valuable lessons are drawn for the practical activity of our Party and state. On the other hand, it also shows the method for dealing with and interpreting the present international relations, and understanding the trends of development in the world today.

Since its founding, socialist Albania, led by its Party of Labour, has been a consistent and resolute opponent of imperialism, the international bourgeoisie and all reactionary forces. It has openly and courageously exposed and condemned the aggressive and warmongering policy of imperialist powers, and their efforts to deprive the peoples of their freedom and independence and undermine the cause of the revolution and socialism.

At its 7th Congress, the Party of Labour of Albania stressed again that today, as in the past, determined opposition to U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism is a decisive condition for safeguarding the freedom, independence and construction of socialism in our country. This stand also represents the only correct, principled and internationalist policy which serves the general cause of the revolution and socialism, the cause for the liberation and progress of the peoples.

The fight against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, the other imperialists and world reaction, which are the cause of all the misery of mankind, the starvation and poverty in which hundreds of millions of people throughout the world are living, against the instigators of strife and division among nations, has ranked Albania alongside the most progressive forces of the world, has placed it in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples for freedom and socialism, in the front ranks of the resistance to the warmongering plans of imperialism and reaction. "Socialist Albania," says Comrade Enver Hoxha, "makes its modest contribution to this struggle and these great efforts of mankind, modest aid but which it gives openly, unhesitatingly and unafraid of anyone. However," continues Comrade Enver Hoxha, "...you must know how to seek and find the sacred cause, dear to all peoples, to make it your own and defend it with all your might. But in order to defend it with all your might, you must first be ready to make any sacrifice. The People's Republic of Albania has chosen this course thanks to its glorious leadership of the Party of Labour, and it has not swerved, and will never swerve from this road in the face of any storm."*

Our Party has always defined its stand towards U.S., Soviet and any other imperialism in clear and unequivocal terms: no illusions

* Enver Hoxha, "Our Policy Is an Open Policy, the Policy of Proletarian Principles," Tirana, 1974, pp. 30, 31, Alb. ed.

and no concessions, but resolute and persistent struggle to defend freedom and independence, to defend the revolution, socialism and Marxism-Leninism. It has considered the stand towards imperialism a “touchstone” for all political forces, a demarcation line which divides those who defend the vital interests of the peoples and the future of mankind, from those who trample them underfoot, which divides revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries. The entire modern history of our country, the consistent fight of the Albanian people, day by day, against the aggressive course of the superpowers, our Party’s exposure of their plots, schemes, manoeuvres and all their activities to the detriment of the cause of the freedom and independence of the peoples, are evidence of this stand and these class criteria.

The new Albania was born at a time of great upheavals caused by the Second World War, when a broad class battle was being waged on a national and international scale for the consolidation and progress of the revolutionary, liberation, democratic and anti-fascist forces. One of the fundamental problems facing all these forces at that time was the attitude that should be maintained towards U.S. imperialism and its policy of aggression.

Following the defeat of the fascist powers and the great weakening of the old imperialists, the United States had come out with pretensions to establish its domination over the whole world. It had taken up the old fascist banner of anti-communism, and had rallied

round itself the whole of international reaction, which wanted not only to preserve and consolidate the capitalist system and colonial exploitation, but also to wipe out socialism in the Soviet Union and re-establish the overthrown regimes in the countries of people's democracy, to halt and suppress the revolutionary and liberation movements which had been built up all over the world.

In these conditions, the question was posed in a sharp and unequivocal manner: either to oppose imperialism with all one's might, without any concession, or fall prey to its plots and schemes. To give way before the imperialist onslaught, to seek conciliation and compromise with it, would mean, gradually but inevitably, to lose the freedom and independence of your country, betray the ideals which had been fought for and for which so much blood had been shed.

Many anti-fascist forces, which after the war, failed to resist the attacks of U.S. imperialism, its diplomatic stratagems or economic blandishments, gave way in the face of the imperialist pressure. From its opportunist stand towards imperialism, the leadership of the Greek partisan movement capitulated to the fascist monarchy set up by reaction and was smashed; it was on this fundamental issue that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia slipped and fell into the revisionist quagmire and put the country back in the capitalist and pro-American camp; the counter-revolutionary course which turned the communist parties of the West into defenders of the capital-

ist system and imperialist policy began with their concessions to the Atlantic bourgeoisie of monopoly Europe.

Likewise, it was over the question of the stand towards U.S. imperialism that the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union broke their heads after Stalin's death. Their policy of renouncing the fight against U.S. imperialism, their policy of rapprochement and collaboration with it, was one of the main factors which led to the re-establishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union and turned it into a superpower which, today, is contending with the United States of America for world domination. Now we are witnesses to that regressive and reactionary process which is taking place in China, the leaders of which have become the most zealous and closest allies of U.S. imperialism.

The many unprincipled compromises and concessions that the Soviet revisionists and all the other opportunists are making to American imperialism are not making it any more gentle or better behaved. American imperialism has carried on its ceaseless acts of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of others with ever greater intensity and ferocity. Today, the United States is sabre-rattling everywhere. Far from disarming, as Khrushchev hoped, it has stepped up the armaments race to unimaginable proportions. The military bases of Yankee imperialism have been extended to new countries, parallel with the stepping up of its threats and blackmail against the peoples, its brutal pressures and

total disregard for the rights of others. Just as before, U.S. imperialism remains the greatest champion of reactionary regimes everywhere, and the savage enemy of the revolution and socialism. Time is confirming with ever greater force what Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the Moscow conference of the 81 communist and workers' parties, that "imperialism is aggressive, it will be aggressive if even a single tooth is left in its head."

After Stalin's death and the revisionist counter-revolution which took place in the Soviet Union, the genuine socialist revolutionary and liberation forces of the world were faced with the acute problem of their stand towards the new Soviet imperialism which emerged with pretensions to world domination. This was a key moment which demanded loyalty to principle and courage, ideological clarity and political wisdom.

Our Party was the first to put its finger on the great Khrushchevite betrayal and to denounce to the world the expansionist and hegemonic policy of the Soviet Union. Socialist Albania was the first country which heroically resisted the vengeful assaults of the Soviet revisionists, their vituperation and curses, their pressure and threats, and to march forward on its course, free and independent. Those countries which retreated before the chauvinist attack of the Soviet revisionists, which submitted to their policy and dictate, lost their freedom, independence and their socialist victories. Poland and Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Hungary, the German Democratic Republic

and other countries, were turned into vassal states under the Soviet imperialists jackboot, where the Kremlin makes the law.

Our Party's forewarning that the Soviet Union would be rapidly transformed into an imperialist state is a major threatening reality today, which affects and endangers the peoples of the whole world.

Now the Soviet revisionists have come out openly with pretensions to world domination. Their foreign policy is a typically colonialist and neo-colonialist policy, which is based on the power of capital and the force of arms. The struggle which the Soviet Union is waging today to occupy strategic positions in the Middle East, the stationing of its naval squadrons in the waters of the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans, the extension of its grip on Africa and Latin America, its pressure on Europe and its interference in the affairs of Asia, all bear the brand of this policy. Like the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists are striving to extinguish the flames of the revolution and the liberation struggles of the peoples everywhere, to exert their control and impose their dictate everywhere, in order to dominate the world.

These are the facts, these are the reasons from which our Party proceeded when, at the 7th Congress, it stressed once again that any illusion and wavering, however slight, in the stand towards the present Soviet Union is fraught with catastrophic consequences for those political forces and movements which continue to believe in Moscow's demagoguery

and deception.

Our Party has been waging a great struggle to expose the political and ideological propaganda, and other efforts of the old and new imperialists, to justify aggression and perpetuate imperialist slavery.

It has shown that the so-called “new theories,” “new policies,” “new strategies” and all kinds of other “new” inventions, which American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and now Chinese revisionism are producing every day, are intended to break down the resistance of the masses to the rising tide of expansion and hegemonism of the imperialist powers, to reduce the people’s opposition to the plans for the war they are preparing.

The aim of the imperialist-revisionist tactic is to spread a psychosis which gives the greatest possible encouragement to tendencies to compromises and concessions. It strives to create in the masses an attitude of passive resignation to events, an atmosphere of political and ideological indifference towards the expansionist course and acts of the superpowers, to cover up their aggressive plans and their imperialist policy in general, their efforts to establish their control and domination over the political, economic and military national life of all countries.

The Washington chiefs have devised their own theory on international relations, which they call the theory of the “interdependent world.” According to this theory, a great number of intensive economic, political, military, cultural and other ties have been established

in the world today. The international division of labour has become so extensive that allegedly no country can live on its own. On account of these links, they claim any kind of crisis, in any country, has immediate repercussions everywhere, and is inevitably bound to involve the other countries. Therefore, nobody can act according to his own interests, and intervention, whatever its nature, even military, is not only permissible but even objectively necessary. With this they are trying, among other things, to justify their current large-scale imperialist economic aggression to plunder the developing countries of their raw materials, to set arbitrary prices for commodities on the international market, to establish the domination of the dollar in world financial relations and so on.

American imperialism wants to maintain the status quo of those unfair international relationships, which enable the U.S. monopolies to exploit the peoples, which open the way for the political, economic and military expansion of the United States of America, and to perpetuate the capitalist system and American domination throughout the world.

In order to justify their hegemonic and expansionist policy, the social-imperialists, too, have invented the theory of their international policy, which they call the “policy of the easing of tension.”

According to them, the key to the solution of all present-day world problems is the so-called “easing of tension” or “detente.” If tension is lowered, claim the Kremlin chiefs, then

the revolution can be carried out in a peaceful way, the peoples are liberated peacefully, the well-being of the peoples can be raised in peace and so on.

But when the Soviet revisionists speak of lowering tension, they have in mind in the first place the relations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. They appeal to imperialist America to divide the world jointly, to jointly determine the imperialist norms of international life, to jointly exercise their dictate on all world problems, to become the arbiters on all problems which arise among nations.

On the other hand, elevating to theory their counter-revolutionary chauvinist thesis that the issue of war or peace and the question of the freedom and economic development of various countries depend on the two superpowers, on the "harmony" and "equilibrium" between them, they call on the peoples to renounce the revolution and the struggle for national liberation, and leave their fate in the hands of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

In a word, they want the countries and nations to relinquish their sovereignty, to remain defenceless and unprepared in the face of imperialist attacks, to pave the way and remove all obstacles to Soviet political, economic and military expansion.

Our Party has exposed these ultra-reactionary "theories" which are intended to dig the grave for the peoples, to justify imperialist domination and the preservation of

the spheres of influence, to open the road for neo-colonialist expansion and exploitation.

We have always combatted the concept of the “concert of Great Powers,” an imperialist concept which the peoples cannot accept. Our Party has always strongly emphasized that our country will never agree that international policy should be monopoly of the Great Powers. Our people can never reconcile themselves to the efforts of the imperialist powers to create the impression that the world cannot find stability except under their tutelage, or that conflicts cannot be settled without their arbitration.

The imperialist powers never settle differences and conflicts. On the contrary, on every occasion they add to the flames. This “harmony of theirs” results in a dirty bargain at the expense of the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples. “If you submit to the Soviet-American dictate,” says Comrade Enver Hoxha, “you cannot escape its yoke. We Albanians accept neither dictate nor yoke.”

Socialist Albania upholds the principle that all peoples, great or small, must be equal in international relations, and there must be no discrimination of any kind. It opposes any form of dictate, pressure, control and arbitration by the Great Powers and their monopolization of world affairs. It defends the view that all the peoples have the right to have their own opinions and views on all questions and to express them openly though they may not be to someone’s liking. It thinks that the right to exercise complete sovereignty in all fields

belongs to the peoples and to them alone.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never reconciled itself to and has publicly denounced the war preparations of the superpowers and their armaments race, in which the essence of the reactionary imperialist system, its inhuman philosophy, and all its degeneration and rottenness, are clearly expressed.

This race, which recognizes neither principles nor borders and which is draining the countries of colossal wealth, which the working people create with their toil, has also been imposed on other countries. The arms trade has become the biggest business for the superpowers, the main item of their exports and their most effective means of bringing about the political and economic dependence of the recipient countries.

In order to lull the masses to sleep and deceive them, the superpowers have created the myth of disarmament, and with this smoke-screen they have covered the whole globe. But it is precisely the superpowers which have so much to say about disarmament are competing to produce more and more sophisticated weapons of mass extermination. Today U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are conducting a propaganda campaign to pin the attention of world opinion on the SALT talks, in order to create the fixed idea that peace and security for all the world depend on the result of these talks, that the Soviet-American agreements on the so-called mutual limitation of strategic weapons mark the beginning of complete and general disarmament.

But, as our Party has pointed out, both when the superpowers work together and when they quarrel, it is the peoples who pay the bill.

The agreements, treaties, mutual concessions and compromises concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union on the basis of their policy of expansion and hegemony, can never contribute to the strengthening of peace and international security, on either a general or local scale. They do not eliminate the inter-imperialist rivalry, which constitutes one of the chief sources of the outbreak of wars of aggression, but on the contrary, lead to even sharper contradictions and increased tension on all continents. They lead to greater insecurity and create explosive situations everywhere which, at moments of crisis, burst out irresistibly to the detriment of peoples and nations.

At present, the American imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists, each under the pretext of protection from the threat of the other, are proposing to take various countries under their atomic umbrellas.

But it is becoming more and more clear that the military protection of the superpowers is fictitious because it gradually transforms the "protected" country into a simple protectorate. Were the various countries to entrust the Americans and the Soviets with their national defence, they would be putting a very heavy mortgage on their freedom and independence. This sort of "defence" is conditional on many restrictions and concessions, such as accept-

ance of foreign military bases, placing the army under the military command of one of the superpowers, harnessing the country to the war chariot of American imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism and so on. Each of the superpowers uses the bogey of the other to dominate its allies, to subjugate the fearful and to enslave the peoples.

In these grave and turbulent situations, when the policy and activity of the superpowers constitutes a serious and direct threat to the freedom and independence of the peoples and countries of the world, our Party of Labour and socialist Albania have maintained a correct revolutionary stand, as befits a genuine Marxist-Leninist party and a genuine socialist country. They have always spoken openly of the dangers and pointed out the truth without hesitation or the slightest reserve.

The Party has stressed that today, just as in the past, the danger from the policy of imperialism and social-imperialism to our freedom and independence, as well as to peace and the security of the peoples, is a real and active one, therefore the fight against the two superpowers and their allies is an imperative duty which must be carried out by everyone, every day, every hour and in every field. That is why our Party considers the waging of the struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism through to the end and with all its might as the basis and permanent task of its foreign policy. It sees this fight as an essential condition for the defence of the freedom and independence of the Homeland and the con-

struction of socialism, as well as a condition and internationalist obligation for the support of the revolution and the liberation struggle of the peoples.

The final objective of the strategy of the two superpowers is to destroy socialism, to crush the revolution and to establish their domination over the whole world. In reply to this aggressive global policy threatening the future of all peoples, **our Party firmly upholds the thesis that real peace and security for the peoples, freedom and socialism, can be won and defended only by fighting both against U.S. imperialism and against Soviet social-imperialism and any other imperialism. It has stressed that you can never rely on one imperialism in order to oppose another.** “Our Party thinks,” says Comrade Enver Hoxha, “that the peoples must be told openly about the situations, because this is the only way to assist their true unity, the unity of truly anti-imperialist and progressive states and governments. In order to unite the peoples in the fight for freedom, independence and social progress, against any oppression and exploitation by whomsoever, first the demarcation lines must be laid down, it must be made clear to them who is their chief enemy, against whom they must fight and with whom they must unite.”*

At the 7th Congress and in its later documents, our Party openly criticized the imperialist theories of the Chinese leadership and its hostile acts against the revolution, social-

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 206, Alb. ed.

ism and the cause of people's liberation.

The Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania were aware that its principled criticism of the counter-revolutionary deviation of the Chinese leadership would cause an outburst of the chauvinist vengeance of those who are guiding the policy of Beijing today.

China's brutal, perfidious and fiendish breaking off of economic and other relations is very clear testimony to this. But the Albanian people and their Party remained faithful to principles, their correct and consistent policy and made no concessions. They remained loyal to the line of resolute opposition and struggle against any imperialism, any power bent on expansion and hegemony, which seeks to undermine the cause of the revolution and the peoples and to incite war. Marxism-Leninism has taught us, and our own experience has confirmed, that the fight against imperialism and revisionism of every description is our salvation, is the decisive condition to ensure the freedom and independence of the Homeland and to carry forward the cause of socialism.

The true revolutionaries, the peoples and all those who are fighting for national and social liberation, for international peace and security, can never reconcile themselves to the aims of the Chinese leadership, which is trying to peddle its great power policy as the strategy of the revolution and the general line of the Marxist-Leninist movement. Exposure of the anti-Marxist theories and strategies of the

Chinese, as well as opposition to their pragmatic and chauvinist aims, is an historic duty and absolute necessity today.

The Chinese theory of “three worlds,” on which the entire foreign policy of China and all its international attitudes are based today, is very much akin to, not to say almost identical with, the so-called new geopolitical bourgeois theories, which try to explain away the great contradictions of our time with the geopolitical positions of the countries in which they arise, with the size of their population and territory, with the level of their industrial, and cultural development, etc. These theories are intended to justify the policy of aggression and hegemony of imperialism, a policy which, they claim, does not stem from the predatory and exploiting nature of this system, but from “objective conditions,” which do not depend on the system.

Their aim is to negate the class struggle and national oppression, and as a consequence, the need for the revolution and national liberation, to compel the workers and the peoples to resign themselves to the situation in which they live as inevitable.

According to the Chinese theoreticians, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the contradiction between imperialism and socialism, do not exist.

That this is a case of flagrant deviation from the analysis made by Marx and Lenin, from Marxist dialectics, from class criteria in analysing and appraising contradictions, is abundantly clear. But, lurking behind the an-

ti-Marxist formulations there is also a pragmatic political line aimed at achieving definite counter-revolutionary objectives.

Recognition of the existence of these contradictions naturally entails recognition of the need for the revolution, recognition of the necessity for the struggle against the bourgeoisie and imperialism. When the fundamental contradiction of our epoch is “displaced” or “altered,” the need for the “setting up of a united front” with the bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism is automatically accepted. In a word, the claims about the development and alteration of the fundamental contradictions of our epoch are “theoretical” justification of the great power imperialist policy that China is following today.

When Lenin says that ours is the epoch of the collapse of imperialism, the epoch of the proletarian revolution, he means that the fundamental contradiction of our epoch is that between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between capitalism and the triumphant proletariat — socialism, that the proletariat and its struggle for the overthrow of bourgeois society stand at the hub of this epoch. After making this analysis, Lenin called on the Russian and world proletariat to carry out the revolution.

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin saw and gave the correct explanation of the interconnection between liberation wars in the colonies and the proletarian revolution in Europe. They dwelt at length on the need for the hegemony and leadership of the proletariat in the national-democratic and anti-imperialist

revolutions. But they never preached that “the countryside will liberate the city,” that Poland would liberate the Russian or German proletariat, that the Irish would liberate the English proletariat or the Africans would liberate the workers of Europe.

At first the Chinese leaders called for unity of the “third world” in the fight against the first world... Later, they preached that the “second world” could and must become the ally of the “third world” in the fight against the two superpowers. And, ultimately, they came out with a new strategic platform to the effect that the “third world,” and the “second world” (in which all the industrialized countries of the West and the East are included), must unite, all of them, without exception, with U.S. imperialism, and together put down Soviet social-imperialism.

In reality, the call for unity of two and a half worlds against the remaining half a world has nothing to do either with the genuine fight against Soviet social-imperialism, or with the revolution and the liberation of the peoples. It is a call for an inter-imperialist war, it is a demand for a reshuffle of the cards to start a new round of the imperialist game for the division of spheres of influence and world markets in which the Chinese, too, will have their share.

But the peoples know only too well the meaning of imperialist war, which Lenin called a crime, and they do not want to become its victims. They are against the imperialist world conflagration, which the Chinese are inciting and they are fighting ceaselessly,

to foil the plans of the imperialists, to prevent them from leading mankind to a new carnage.

Moreover, the Chinese leaders endeavour to give their coalition of the “third world” and the “second world” with U.S. imperialism the colour of a “revolutionary front” in order to oppose Soviet social-imperialism.

However, the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism, both on the ideological plane, i.e., as the centre of modern revisionism, and on the plane of the defence of national sovereignty and independence against the aims of its expansionist policy, cannot be waged by uniting with the military blocs of U.S. imperialism and, still less, by fighting to attain the objectives of these blocs as the Chinese propagandists advocate.

In the fight against Soviet social-imperialism, the ideal for which it is carried out is of great importance. The imperialists fight one another over spheres of influence and markets, each striving to extend its plunder and exploitation of the other countries. Revolutionaries are guided in their struggle by the communist ideal of socialism and of the freedom and independence of the peoples, of democracy and progress, against all imperialists without exception, against reaction of every hue and stamp. The Chinese leaders call on the peoples to get behind the chariot of the U.S. imperialists, to let themselves be used as cannon fodder to realize its aims.

The Chinese leaders claim that, although U.S. imperialism is still seeking to impose its domination on the world, it has suffered de-

feat, and all it can do is to try to protect its interests and go over to defence in its global strategy.

To pretend that the present “strategy of U.S. imperialism is a defensive strategy” is not just an erroneous analysis of the reality, not just an ignoring and distortion of the facts. This counter-revolutionary “thesis” has also been contrived in order to prettify imperialism and to justify alliance and rapprochement with it. But even worse is that, by presenting the strategy of U.S. imperialism as “defensive,” the Chinese revisionists are endeavouring to disarm the peoples before the imperialist aggression, to demobilize them ideologically, politically and morally before the expansionist and hegemonic offensive of imperialism, to blunt their vigilance. Taken as a whole, the thesis which alleges that U.S. imperialism has gone over to the defensive, that it wants only to preserve the status quo, represents the platform of the imperialist propaganda intended to sabotage and disrupt the liberation movement of the peoples and to justify imperialist aggression.

The Chinese line of “uniting with everyone that can be united” is intended to defend and support not only U.S. imperialism, but also the other imperialisms.

The Chinese preachers say that the “second world” has a “dual character.” But they see only one aspect of this “character,” its possibility to unite with the “third world.” However the question arises: could this “world” unite with the “first world” to fight socialism, the

revolution and the peoples' liberation? History tells us that this world fought with arms shoulder to shoulder with U.S. imperialism, in Korea and Vietnam, in the Middle East it is united with Israel, and it marched to Prague together with the Soviet tanks. To think that the so-called second world will unite with the revolution and the peoples' liberation, as the Chinese revisionists do, means to unite with the international bourgeoisie against the revolution and socialism, against the peoples.

The false slogan that this unity is essential for the defence of national independence cannot rescue the Chinese leadership from this anti-Marxist, counter-revolutionary position. "Defence of the homeland" is a great slogan with which the bourgeoisie and opportunists have been speculating for centuries with a view to using and exploiting the masses for their own ends. But, in the concrete case, if it is a question of the defence of national independence, as the Chinese claim, why is defence against U.S. imperialism not mentioned? For more than 30 years now, the proletariat and the working masses of Europe have been fighting against NATO and American bases in Europe, against interference and control by American capital, against the harnessing of their countries to the chariot of American imperialism. Now they are being told to cease this fight, to submit to American imperialism, to unite with it, to sacrifice themselves for foreign interests!

The call for the setting up of a united front of the "third world" with the "second world,"

according to the Chinese leaders, is a call for liberation, for opposition to the interference of the superpowers, and so on and so forth. But even on this issue, it must be stressed that the Chinese leadership is not calling for the unity of the peoples, but of governments and the bourgeois ruling circles of these countries, and more precisely, for unity of the European monopolies and the big bourgeoisie with the neo-colonialist bourgeoisie of the "third world." Meanwhile, in the scheme of this "front," the peoples and proletariat remain a passive element, an obedient mass, and they must submit to their bourgeoisie and follow it in the inter-imperialist war, which China is inciting and trying to bring nearer. According to China, this "mass" is to keep quiet, must neither think nor speak of revolution, of liberation from neo-colonialism, of closing down foreign military bases or establishing national sovereignty in all fields. China does not want the peoples to make any move in these directions, for if they were to do so, they would run up against NATO, the Common Market, the multinational companies of America and Western Europe, would come up against the opposition of those "who want to defend only what they have," in a word, they would come up against all the pillars of the imperialist system, which like a great monster, is sucking the blood of the peoples not only of the "third world," but also of the "second world."

Such terms and notions as the "international bourgeoisie," "reaction," "fascism," no longer figure in the political vocabulary

of the Chinese leadership. Is this merely a lapse of memory? Not at all! If you mention the international bourgeoisie, you must necessarily say where it is, what it stands for and, moreover, what must be done about it. But can they speak ill of this bourgeoisie when they are proposing the “second world,” with its capitalists and fascists, militarists and monopolists, to the proletariat and the peoples as allies, when they consider this world one of the pillars of the “broad united anti-imperialist front”?

The same may be said about reaction and fascism. Are there reactionary forces, oppressive, exploiting, fascist, anti-communist and anti-popular governments in our world?

No one has any doubts about this. Even Carter, who poses as wanting to make the bourgeois world “moral,” tries to keep his distance from a number of governments discredited as openly fascist or employing open reactionary methods. But why are the Chinese leaders silent about this? They are silent because the fascist juntas and the reactionary governments, the kings and the shahs, are all lumped together in that world which China calls “the motive force of history,” because they are participants in the Chinese leaders’ “united front.” When Iran is seething with the people’s revolts against the medieval regime of the Shah, Hua Guofeng goes to Tehran and kisses the Shahanshah. Now Beijing has become the Mecca of kings and fascist dictators, of generals of the former Wehrmacht and the Japanese Imperial Army, of warmongers and

reactionaries from all countries.

The present-day reality, the class struggle which is being waged on a world scale and the daily international events are more and more revealing the opposition of the Chinese leadership to Marxism-Leninism and their expansionist aims. As time goes by, these features of the Chinese leadership will become more and more obvious, hence they will be exposed even more badly. The Chinese leadership has cut off its aid to socialist Albania in a brutal and arrogant manner. This act, which public opinion throughout the world condemned, was clear testimony to the chauvinist superpower policy China is now pursuing. It was a deliberate action to attack Albania, to attack what it stands for and symbolizes, its struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the construction of a genuine socialist society, to attack the progress and the strengthening of the international Marxist-Leninist movement and proletarian internationalism.

At the same time, the Chinese leaders incited the Cambodian-Vietnamese conflict and are exerting unprecedented pressure and blackmail on Vietnam, interfering seriously in its internal affairs. The peoples of the world cannot fail to see that these events on China's borders reflect China's strivings for imperialist expansion towards the south, and cannot fail to see its pretensions to present itself as a new superpower seeking spheres of influence and hegemony.

With these acts and many others of this kind, China has now lined itself up with

American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and, in practice, has come into conflict with the peoples, the revolutionaries, the patriots and the honest people in the world.

The Albanian people have not been and never will be alone in the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism, and all other imperialists and reactionaries. Today, many other revolutionary and liberation forces which are colliding with their aggressive policies and actions are fighting them too. Therefore, the **People's Socialist Republic of Albania attaches importance not only to its own struggle, but also to the revolutionary and liberation struggle of all peoples which it supports and links itself with.** The support of the revolutionary and progressive public opinion of the world for the correct struggle and stands of our Party and state in their foreign policy is an objective reality. It is a great source of inspiration and another assurance of the triumph of our just struggle.

At the same time, the history of the new Albania is a vivid testimony to the efforts which our Party and country have made to support and assist the cause of socialism and the freedom of the peoples of the world with all the strength at their disposal, regardless of the attacks of the enemies and the sacrifices involved. It is enough to mention the struggle against modern revisionism, the greatest enemy of the communist movement, the most diabolical saboteur and underminer of the efforts of the peoples for their freedom and independence. The Albanian communists and

people, in the extremely severe conditions of the years 1948, 1960 and 1976, were among the first to rise to expose Yugoslav, Khrushchevite and Chinese revisionism in turn, and to give unhesitating and courageous support to the genuine Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary forces, all those who genuinely wanted to fight for the cause of socialism and communism.

It is this consistent principled and resolute struggle, this lofty internationalist stand, this unshaken confidence that socialist Albania will march on this road, that draws the Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries, the patriots and progressive people of different countries close to our Party and country, and encourages and inspires them to fight to the end for their just cause.

Our Party and people have been and are conscious that their fight against imperialism and revisionism, their open and unreserved support for the struggle of the proletariat and peoples, inevitably brings down upon it the wrath and vengeance of the enemies, their pressure and blockades, blackmail and threats. But no force, no reason can turn our Party and people from the honourable course which they have always steered, nothing can induce them to renounce their internationalist stand. To act otherwise would be a catastrophe. Stalin explains this question very well when he says, "This is the alternative: **either** we continue henceforth to implement our revolutionary policy, rallying the proletarians and the oppressed of all countries around the

working class of the USSR — and then international capital will hinder our progress in every way; or we give up our revolutionary policy and make a series of concessions on principles to international capital — and then, perhaps, international capital will not be against ‘helping’ us to bring about the degeneration of our socialist country into a ‘docile’ bourgeois republic.” And he adds: “America demands that we renounce in principle our policy of support for the liberation movement of the working class of the other countries and then everything would go smoothly. Should we make this concession?,” he asks, and replies himself: “...We cannot make such a concession without negating ourselves.”*

These great proletarian principles and this outstanding Leninist stand were brutally trampled underfoot and abandoned by Khrushchev and his followers. Their reconciliation with imperialism, with big international capital, the opportunism in their relations with the pro-imperialist cliques of the new countries of Asia, Africa and other continents, turned them into enemies of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

The same thing is happening now with the Chinese leaders. In order to secure aid and credits from the USA and from the big capital of the world, they went over to the side of imperialism, neo-colonialism, and together with them are fighting against the peoples, the revolution and socialism. With their policy

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, pp. 55-56, Alb. ed.

of rapprochement and collaboration with imperialism and colonialism, they have negated the Chinese revolution itself and are assailing the international solidarity of the workers and peoples of the entire world.

The Party of Labour and socialist Albania have stood loyal to the Leninist teachings of proletarian internationalism and the great revolutionary traditions of the proletariat.

They have always made a high assessment of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class against the bourgeoisie and revisionism, the struggle which the oppressed peoples are waging for freedom and independence, against imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction, as a struggle which strengthens our freedom and independence too. "Just as the Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive people everywhere in the world have helped us in the past, in our struggle for national liberation and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we too are duty bound to help the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist parties and all the progressive forces in the struggle they are waging, so that their peoples, too, will achieve their freedom and socialism."*

Socialist Albania has always wished the peoples of all countries well, including those who live under a different social system, but not their oppressors and exploiters, with whom it has always been and will be irreconcilable. "The progressive peoples and democratic

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 287, Alb. ed.

states that... are fighting to establish their national sovereignty over their assets, who are fighting for their political and economic independence, for equality and justice in international relations, enjoy the full solidarity and support of the Albanian people and state,"* Comrade Enver Hoxha has declared. With regard to the states which do not maintain a hostile stand towards our country, Albania has always been and is for building normal relations on the basis of equality and respect for sovereignty, mutual benefit and non-interference in internal affairs.

But while struggling for good understanding, for the establishment of good neighbourly relations and the preservation of genuine peaceful coexistence with other countries, our Party, at the same time, adheres to the principles that state relations, at whatever level, cannot be made the excuse for ceasing the ideological struggle and reciprocal polemics. **The ideological struggle pervades the entire foreign policy of our socialist state.** Nineteen years ago, in an article about this problem, Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote: "The Yugoslav leaders and their organs of propaganda deliberately confuse two entirely different and opposite things: the question of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different socio-economic systems, and the struggle against revisionism. And they ask: How can one be reconciled with the other? Thus the revisionists are people who confuse even

* Enver Hoxha, From his speech at the People's Assembly, December 27, 1976, Alb. ed.

the clearest and simplest things. Peaceful co-existence of socialism with capitalism... does not imply ideological reconciliation between them. And, consequently, the improvement of the international situation does not, in any way, infer 'reconciliation' with revisionism. On the contrary, peaceful coexistence in the ideological field is the recognized platform of lackeys of the imperialist bourgeoisie, of opportunists and revisionists."*

The implementation of this principle has great significance because, for a socialist country, preservation of its ideological independence, preservation of the right to fight in the international arena, too, against all idealist, anti-Marxist and reactionary ideologies and practices, against all those trends and organisms which impede the progress of the world towards socialism and communism, is just as important as the preservation of its state independence. Our Party has always upheld this stand, and did so again at its 7th Congress, the report to which reads: "Our socialist state does not interfere in the internal affairs of any country with which it has various political, economic and cultural relations. But this does not mean that, for the sake of these relations, or of good neighbourliness with the bordering states, and the policy of non-interference in internal affairs, the Albanian state should not express its opinions on international policy in general, as well as on the ideological and political stands of these states, just as they too

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 17, pp. 357-58, Alb. ed.

have the right to express their opinions on the ideological and political stands of the Albanian state.”*

The policy of our socialist state is an independent policy which expresses the sovereign will and judgement of our people because it has been formed independently of any foreign dictate and is not influenced by temporary international circumstances.

It is possible to maintain and implement this independence because, apart from its sound ideological basis, our country has all the other essential objective and subjective conditions needed for such a thing. In the first place, our country is economically independent — it does not depend on foreign powers for anything, it does not accept credits, has no debts, has no joint companies and so on, which transform political independence into meaningless formulas and determine both the internal and foreign policies.

Therefore, the refusal of our country to accept credits, aid, etc., from the imperialist and capitalist countries, its non-participation in international organizations which restrict national sovereignty or condition freedom and the free exercise of the people’s will, principles which have been sanctioned in the Constitution, are a guarantee that Albania will always pursue an independent policy and create the practical conditions which make it possible to really implement this policy.

The bourgeois and revisionist propaganda

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 230, Alb. ed.

has long been screaming that Albania is an isolated country because it does not have diplomatic relations with this or that state, because it does not trade with this or that country, etc. They do this with evil intent, and also because they proceed from the old bourgeois concepts that inter-state relations imply only treaties, military alliances, enslaving credits, the activities of multinational companies and the importing of the degenerate bourgeois way of life.

This concept which has found favourable soil in the day-to-day practice of the capitalist states is an expression of the policy of the great imperialist powers which seeks to break down all barriers and extend the political, economic, military and cultural domination of imperialism over all countries and states. It represents an instrument for interference in internal affairs and to justify national and colonial oppression.

Marxism-Leninism and the practice of socialist construction of our country have exposed and refuted this reactionary concept. They have proved that the independent economic development, national defence, the raising of the cultural level of any country, regardless of the size of its territory and population, can be achieved and carried forward on the basis of self-reliance while maintaining complete independence in all fields.

When the Party of Labour and the Albanian people expose and fight the economic and military integration of imperialism, when they reject the enslaving system of capitalist

credits and aid, they are not seeking the isolation of the country and its autarchy. They reject the old bourgeois mentality according to which no state can walk on its own feet, but not the development of normal trade relations based on mutual interests, useful cultural exchanges, etc.

The long practice of the international relations of our state in these fields thoroughly vindicates the correct and principled stand it has maintained. Socialist Albania today has diplomatic relations with 82 states and commercial exchanges with scores of countries. Albanian books, films and music have crossed the borders of many states, just as the progressive cultural values of the other peoples come into Albania. Albania is a country closed to enemies and reactionaries, but it is open and hospitable to those who wish it well, who fight together with it against imperialism and reaction, for national freedom and the progress of mankind.

The concepts of relations and isolation are thus two completely different notions to the bourgeoisie and the communists. Therefore, we are not isolated, but the imperialists and the bourgeoisie are isolated from their own peoples.

With evil intent and in order to sow doubts about the Albanian proletarian state continuously, but more especially at given moments, the various enemies insinuate that Albania will side with this or that imperialist power. But as our Party has declared, the whole world ought to know that socialist Albania has never

held out its hand to any imperialist power and will never do so, and that the borders of Albania are inviolable. The Albanian people, who know well their and the peoples' enemies are well aware of where the dangers come from, will fight resolutely and unwaveringly in defence of their freedom, independence and sovereignty, as they have always done. They look to the future with confidence, because they have confidence in their own strength and enjoy the support, assistance and solidarity of international progressive public opinion, and of numerous friends and well-wishers all over the world.

* * *

The theoretical foundations, the objectives and directions, the strategy and tactics of our foreign policy generally, have been worked out by the Party of Labour of Albania over a long period of struggle and efforts to defend the freedom and independence of our Homeland, to defend the victories of our People's Revolution, the cause of socialism in Albania and in the world.

They have been defined at the Congresses of the Party, in the plenums of the Central Committee and in a number of documents of the Party. But the major contribution and the great work of Comrade Enver Hoxha is at the source of our foreign policy, its development and consolidation, and the formation of its features and style.

The consistent, correct and principled

policy pursued by the new Albania in the difficult and complicated international circumstances which characterize the period after the Second World War, its accurate directions and resolute stands, are closely linked with the name of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The profound dialectical analysis which Comrade Enver Hoxha makes of the international phenomena and events, the scientific conclusions and convincing arguments he uses, the wise and flexible tactics he adopts to cope with the fiendish attacks of the enemies, the correct course he chooses to realize the aims and objectives of the foreign policy of our Party and state, all bear the stamp of his Marxist-Leninist personality.

The struggle waged by the Party of Labour and the people of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, against imperialism and reaction, and in particular, the struggle for the ideological and political exposure of Yugoslav, Soviet and Chinese revisionism, will remain as one of the most outstanding acts of revolutionary courage, political bravery and clarity about the future.

Today, the Party of Labour and socialist Albania enjoy great prestige, respect and sympathy among the revolutionaries and progressive people of the world. And this is not for sentimental reasons or for some special preference. The place which socialist Albania occupies in the world, its prestige and authority are due, in the first place, to the successes it has achieved in the liberation of the country from foreigners and in the successful

construction of the new socialist society, to its long and resolute struggle against imperialism and revisionism, and the correct policy and the clear revolutionary stands it maintains on all important international key issues.

As a result of the expansionist and hegemonic policy of the United States of America, the Soviet Union and now China too, towards the small countries, even when they are not included in blocs and spheres of influence, continuous attempts are being made to impose various forms of dependence on them. Albania has resolutely fought and fearlessly exposed these policies.

Bravely standing up to the many storms which have been crashing around it, Albania has shown everybody that even in the present-day world, fraught with so many dangers, with so many unexpected and unknown elements, **the freedom and independence of the Homeland, socialism, the revolutionary principles and ideology, can be defended with success when the people are determined to fight to the end, when they are led by a genuine Marxist-Leninist party and are fully convinced that they can triumph over the enemies.**

CLOSING SPEECH

Comrades,

We are winding up the proceedings of this scientific session. On this occasion, I would like to congratulate and thank all the comrades who through their work contributed to the elucidation of a series of problems concerning current world developments, the revolutionary and liberation movement, the struggle against modern revisionism and the foreign policy of our Party and state.

And I would especially like to greet and thank the comrades from the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties who honoured us with their participation in this session. Their presence and the papers they read here, which reflect the revolutionary thought and practice of the Marxist-Leninists in their struggle for the cause of revolution and socialism, represent another valuable, interesting form of exchanging opinions and experience on questions of common interest between Marxist-Leninist students from different countries.

Comrades,

The proceedings of this session not only clearly showed the utility of but also the need for carrying the studies on problems of the current world revolutionary process to a higher stage. This is required by the present situations when the Marxist-Leninists of all countries are faced with a series of important questions of the struggle of the working

class and the peoples of the world, questions towards which a clear theoretical and scientific stand should be adopted. This is made even more necessary under the conditions when the ideological struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, between socialism and capitalism, has become sharper, when Chinese revisionism has joined the front of the enemies of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, of the ideologists of imperialism and modern revisionism — the Khrushchevites, Titoites and Eurocommunists.

We Marxist-Leninists are guided by our scientific theory — Marxism-Leninism — in our activity and stands. Every stand and action of ours is in compliance with the operation of the objective laws of development of the society, with the principles of dialectical and historical materialism. It is exactly because our ideas are based on this truly revolutionary doctrine which explains for us the past, draws a faithful picture of the present and illuminates the future, that our analyses of the development of events of the present world respond to reality, that our view of the future is optimistic.

This scientific analysis gives us a clear picture of the prospects of the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat for the overthrow of the exploitative and oppressive capitalist order, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of the socialist society. Regardless of inevitable zigzags in the general sequence of the world revolutionary process, the working class

and its movement are growing stronger and stronger day by day, breaches in the capitalist structures and superstructures are deepening and the proletarian revolution, in visible and invisible forms, is cutting across history. This historical process can be halted by neither the "consumer society," nor fascism, nor the sabotage of the modern revisionists through their preachings about the "spontaneous integration of capitalism into socialism," the "peaceful, democratic and parliamentary road," the "historic compromise," nor the alliance with the bourgeoisie as the "theory of three worlds" advocates. We Albanian communists voice our firm conviction that, as the 7th Congress of the PLA stressed, the working class and its revolutionary struggle in the bourgeois and revisionist world can be put down neither by violence nor demagogy.

Our firm confidence in the victory of the liberation, anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle of the peoples against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and reaction is also based on our Marxist-Leninist science. Neither the aggressions and armed interventions of imperialism, nor the fraud of sermons by the revisionists about the "peaceful liberation," a "new order of international relations" or the "third world" can halt the growing impetus of this struggle or weaken our firm confidence in the final victory of the just cause of the freedom-loving peoples. As V.I. Lenin has argued in a scientific way, the overthrow of imperialism through the powerful and combined blows of the proletarian

revolution and the struggle of the oppressed peoples is inevitable.

The enemies of socialism and the revolution are resorting to every means to raise insurmountable walls between the liberation movement of the peoples and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat so that they can pit them against each other. The task of the Marxist-Leninist scientists is to defend the glorious Leninist ideas on the uniting of the proletarians with the peoples of all countries, to explain to them the problems arising from the development of their revolutionary and liberation struggle, and especially to mercilessly expose all those who seek to divide and split the proletariat and the peoples into first, second, third, interdependent "worlds," etc.

Nowadays it is more necessary than ever to enhance our vigilance on the ideological front against the dangerous activities of the enemies who employ different tactics and manoeuvres against Marxism-Leninism, socialism and the revolution, who work out and propagate all kinds of theories in order to sow confusion, who distort reality and whitewash capitalism in order to save the bourgeois system from collapse, and undermine and subvert socialism. It is our task to expose and ward off all these attempts of the enemies, either coming from the Khrushchevite, Titoite or Eurocommunist revisionists, or when they are the offspring of the so-called Mao Zedong thought.

In particular we should study the new social, economic, ideological and political phe-

nomena which testify to the further decay of the present capitalist and revisionist society, and to the creation of ever better conditions for the revolution. It is necessary to study the crises and their characteristics in the present epoch, the extension of state monopoly capitalism and the inter-state monopoly mergers, the nature of multinational companies, the various forms of neo-colonialism, the peculiarities of the degeneration of, and the restoration of capitalism in, the different revisionist countries, etc. The necessity of studying these problems and phenomena, of interpreting them in a correct and scientific manner, of drawing revolutionary conclusions, becomes even greater because it is exactly with these phenomena and problems that the modern revisionists speculate in order to sow confusion and to undermine the revolution.

In this fight against modern revisionism and its various trends, we must delve ever deeper and more thorough in the study of the teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and of their uninterrupted struggle against opportunism and revisionism. These teachings are of great value and importance, for with all peculiarities of modern revisionism over several fundamental problems, the modern revisionists have exhumated, appropriated and coated in new words, many of the theories and preachings of their predecessors ranging from Proudhon, Bernstein and Kautsky to the anarcho-syndicalists and Bukharin, which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have exposed and refuted in their time.

The struggle against revisionism is the common cause of all Marxist-Leninists. All of them fight revisionism inside their own countries as well as in the international arena, thus making their contribution to this struggle. The present situations, and especially the emergence of Chinese revisionism, call for a deeper Marxist-Leninist criticism of the bourgeois-revisionist theories and preachings. Without doing this, the Marxist-Leninist movement, as the leading force of the present world revolutionary process, cannot be strengthened, tempered and advance. The Party of Labour of Albania, as a Party loyal to Marxism-Leninism, has constantly considered the principled, unwavering and uninterrupted struggle against all shades of modern revisionism as its lofty internationalist task.

The problems of the world international situation and the relations among states concern all those who are fighting for social emancipation and national liberation. The stand towards U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, Chinese social-imperialism, neo-colonialism, etc., has become a cardinal point of the strategy and tactic of the world revolutionary and liberation movements. The problems of war and peace, international solidarity of working people, etc., have similar importance.

The imperialists, the bourgeoisie and reaction have worked out very elaborate strategies and tactics to defend their system of op-

pression, to help spread neo-colonialism ever more widely and to enslave the peoples.

Bourgeois and revisionist theories out of number and a frenzied counter-revolutionary propaganda are designed to justify imperialist aggression, interference in the others' internal affairs, plundering of assets and violation of the sovereignty of nations.

The various imperialists, from the American, the Soviet, down to the Chinese, are making all-sided efforts to befuddle people's minds, to force them to abandon the revolution and the liberation struggle. They resort to every means in order to subjugate the peoples to their dictate and use them as cannon fodder in the interests of the warmongering imperialists.

Under these conditions, the exposure and rejection of the "theories," "doctrines" and "theses" of various imperialists in an argued and convincing way on the basis of facts directly serves the struggle of the peoples against their most dangerous enemies, it serves the causes of freedom and independence, democracy and social progress.

Standing today on the forefront of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class for the socialist transformation of society are the Marxist-Leninist parties, which have raised high and hold firmly in their hands the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin which the modern revisionists have thrown in the mud.

In spite of the ferocious attacks of the

bourgeoisie and its lackeys — the opportunists of all hues — the Marxist-Leninist movement is forging ahead, confident in the unavoidable triumph of the great cause of communism. The efforts of the enemies at creating an atmosphere of underration of and mistrust in the Marxist-Leninist parties will have no success. The strength of the genuine revolutionary parties of the proletariat never lies on the number of their members, but first of all on the great ideas and the just cause which they stand for, on the revolutionary struggle they wage. They are the standard-bearers of social progress and the future belongs to them.

The further strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist movement, its increased educative, organizational, mobilizing and combating ability for which all the genuine revolutionaries and communists of all countries are unceasingly working, will better link the Marxist-Leninist parties with the working masses, will further temper and steel them as their devoted and loyal leadership.

With the Marxist-Leninist students, who follow the problems of the Marxist-Leninist movement with attention, rests the noble burden of treating and elucidating the problems of the building of the communist party of the Leninist type, of the strengthening of unity and of the defence of the principles of proletarian internationalism, in which all the vanguard detachments of the international working class are interested.

To our communists and students, the work of Comrade Enver Hoxha is a great introduct-

ive and inspiring example of the scientific summing up of the revolutionary experience of our Party, of its struggle against the revisionist betrayal in defence of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. This summing up, this experience and struggle, are reflected in his comprehensive and all-sided work which is comprised of 28 volumes in series and six volumes of "Reports and Speeches" published until today, as well as another series of special publications.

The ideas and teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the Party and its leading role, on the National Liberation War and the People's Revolution, on the ways of the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the development of socialist democracy, on the all-round revolutionization of the life of the country through the class struggle, on the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland according to the principle of self-reliance, etc., are based on the glorious science of Marxism-Leninism applied and developed in a creative manner in the concrete conditions of Albania. These ideas and teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha illuminate the sure road to the complete construction of socialism and communism for our Party and people. At the same time, they represent an invaluable contribution to the common treasure of Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism.

The Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the historic struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against modern revisionism of all

trends and variants are a powerful weapon for the exposure and rejection of the demagoguery of all those who speculate with the slogans of socialism in order to disguise their treachery to Marxism-Leninism and the revolution.

In the present period of struggle against modern revisionism, Comrade Enver Hoxha's new book "Imperialism and the Revolution" is a weapon in the hands of the communists and working people, which enables them to get wiser to the danger of various revisionist currents to face up to their treacherous attacks against the revolution and socialism, to defend Marxism-Leninism better. Proceeding from the immortal teachings of Lenin on imperialism as the final stage of capitalism, in his book Comrade Enver Hoxha makes a profound analysis of the development of the world imperialist system at the present phase, and an all-sided criticism of all trends of modern revisionism, the Chinese variant in particular. This book is a scientific synthesis of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist strategy under the present conditions. It is a brilliant example of the unshakeable loyalty to our revolutionary doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, and its creative development in the new conditions of our epoch. The reports and papers we heard here are based on the analyses, theses and arguments which Comrade Enver Hoxha's book "Imperialism and the Revolution" expounds. Hence the high ideological and scientific level of the proceedings of this session.

The continuous study of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works, the profound analysis of

his teachings are the permanent duty of all socio-scientific workers of our country and an indispensable condition to make valuable studies, not only on the problems of the socialist development of our country but also on the problems of present world development.

Comrades,

In conclusion, I want to congratulate the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee of the Party which took the initiative in organizing, preparing and successfully carrying out this activity of ideological and scientific value in our country.

Let me wish the organizers, the participants of this scientific session, as well as all our socio-scientific workers and activists, further successes in their valuable work.

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania and its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!



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