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**INSTITUTE OF MARXIST-LENINIST
STUDIES AT THE CC OF THE PLA**

**THE REVOLUTION — A
QUESTION TAKEN UP
FOR SOLUTION**

*Report submitted to the
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of current world development
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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 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 taken up for solution,"*

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

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 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 the 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 line of demarcation between the 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 revo-

lution was obsolete.

But these “forecasts” were very quickly shown to be false both in theory and practice. V.I. Lenin, in his exposure of these enemies of the revolution, scientifically proved 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

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

led to the creation of the socialist camp, including the triumph of the revolution in our country, shook the rotten capitalist order to its 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 re-

formist policy reveals the hostility to Leninism not only of the revisionists of the Carrillo 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. It opposes to Leninism 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 cannot not be achieved other 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 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 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 completely based 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 developments, 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, between the social character of production and the private capitalist character of appropriation, determines the objective necessity for the socialist revolution and 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

* V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 25, pp. 524-525, Alb. ed.

petty-bourgeoisie of the town and countryside, and part of the progressive intelligentsia, 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, forms 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, the other imperialist powers, such as Germany, Britain, France, Japan and soon 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 the 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, plunder their wealth, 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, Southeast Asia, Africa and other regions of the world.

The 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 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 the 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 socialism, while on the other hand, it facilitates the unity of all revolutionary forces, or as Stalin put 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 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 con-

text 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 the objective factors, the consequences of 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 superprofits of the monopolies.

But the capitalist and revisionist world is striving in vain to find a way out, be it even temporary, from the overthrow towards which

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

the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and peoples, as well as the objective 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 working people to seize power and 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 negate 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 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 proletari-

an 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 yoke, the oppression by reactionary, feudal and semi-feudal regimes weighs heavily, in the

* V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 35, pp. 260-261, Alb. Ed.

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 the socialist revolution.

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 expose 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 the 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 "Chinese 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 social-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.* The 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. The 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 hotchpotch of socialist and capitalist principles, of different world outlooks and ideologies, including nationalist and religious ideologies. This confusion is encouraged and exploited by 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,**" said 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 the peoples. At any moment our country will be found standing beside all those peoples whose freedom and independence are threatened and whose rights are vi-

olated.”*

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 certain countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America under its tutelage, 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.

The revisionist parties of the main im-

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

perialist countries, for their part, regard anti-imperialist revolutions as “dangerous” phenomena which upset the equilibrium and the status quo. Under the slogan of the 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 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 revisionists, and for the realization of the peo-

ples' 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 social-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 show up in only one country or one area. On the contrary, the uneven development and 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, the 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, 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 kind of opportunists cloaked as “leftists,” of anarchists who, from positions of voluntarism, disregard the role of objective factors and proclaim the launching of revolution possible at any mo-

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

ment, 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.

The 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 on principle in the present-day world, thus justifying the conciliation of exploiters with the exploited, of the "third world" with the "second world" and U.S. imperialism.

In our time, along with the development of the general world revolutionary process, revolutionary situations are created at giv-

en 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 revolution. Moreover, the Marxist-Leninists do not

* Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, pp. 247-248, Alb. ed.

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 revisionists preach that the triumph of freedom, independ-

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

ence 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, the revolution would be dangerous and 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 transform 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. The 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,” “par-

liamentary” 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 peoples, the preservation of the rule of the capitalist bourgeoisie and the revisionist cliques. In the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, the present budget allocation for the maintenance of this apparatus is 40 times greater than 25 years ago, while the two superpow-

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

ers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are spending over \$250,000,000,000 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 other countries like these, 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 disguises 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 revolutionary movement.

In present-day society, the proletariat has

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

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 peoples' 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 the 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 the 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-Leninist parties have rejected these anti-Marxist views and are working to enhance the leading role of the proletariat, which is irreplaceable, both in the socialist revolution and 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 the 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 an alliance with the bourgeoisie, the reactionary cliques and the imperialists. Now they are calling for the 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 combatted 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 Marxist-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 neither alter 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 until 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.



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