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In the Light of the Ideas of the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania



In the Light of the Ideas of the Seventh Congress of the PLA

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WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

**IN THE LIGHT OF
THE IDEAS OF THE
SEVENTH CONGRESS
OF THE PARTY OF
LABOUR OF ALBANIA**

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Publisher's Note

The present edition of *In the Light of the Ideas of the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania*, published by the Norman Bethune Institute, is a collection of twenty-one articles which have been reprinted in *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* from *Zëri i Popullit*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, and other Albanian journals, since the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania was held in November, 1976.

The first article, "The Theory and Practice of Revolution" is the editorial of *Zëri i Popullit* of July 7, 1977. It has also been produced in pamphlet form by the Norman Bethune Institute in English, French, Punjabi, Hindi, Oriya and Persian.

The second article, "On Some Basic Questions of the Revolutionary Policy of the Party of Labour of Albania for the Development of the Class Struggle" by Nexhmije Hoxha, is based on the *Radio Tirana* broadcast of August 19 and 20, 1977, with changes and additions made from the Tirana, French language edition of the pamphlet published by the "8 Nëntori" Publishing House. Both the transcription from *Radio Tirana* and the translation from the Tirana edition were done by the Norman Bethune Institute.

The remaining articles are reprinted from issues of *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* from the period of January to June, 1977. They all appeared under the general title, "In the Light of the Ideas of the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania".

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Theory and Practice of Revolution	5
On Some Basic Questions of the Revolutionary Policy of the Party of Labour of Albania for the Development of the Class Struggle	29
The Party of Labour of Albania — The Sole Leading Political Force of the State and of Socialist Society in Albania	75
A Correct Understanding of Two Types of Contradictions — Necessary Condition for the Successful Development of the Class Struggle	79
Self-Reliance — A General Principle for the Triumph of the Revolution, the Construction of Socialism and the Defence of the Homeland	84
Present Economic Crisis and the Aggravation of the General Crisis of Capitalism	90
U.S. Imperialists and Soviet Social-Imperialists — Instigators of Quarrels, Diversions and Conflicts in the World	96
In Albania, Administrative Apparatuses Serve the People, The Elected Organs, and Render Account Before Them	100
Further Narrowing of Distinctions Between Town and Country Strengthens Incessantly the Alliance of the Working Class With the Peasantry	104

Arms Trade of the Two Superpowers — Noose Round the Neck of the Purchasers, Chains Which Bind Them Hand and Foot	109
The Party of Labour of Albania Has Always Pursued a Single Marxist-Leninist Line	113
Socialist Revolution — The Only Road to Social Progress	118
Nothing Has Changed in Europe After the Helsinki Conference of Insecurity	125
On Contradictions in Socialist Society	129
Questions of War and Peace in the Report of Comrade Enver Hoxha to the Seventh Congress of the PLA ..	136
Increasing and Strengthening the Leading Role of the Working Class in Socialist Society	144
The Hegemony of the Working Class and the Undivided Leading Role of its Party — A Decisive Condition for the Triumph of the Revolution and the Construction of Socialism	149
Fascism — A Real Danger to Mankind	159
Proletarian Internationalism Is the Ideology and Weapon of the World Proletariat for the Triumph of Socialism and Communism	163
The Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Albania Has Always Stood Strong Like Granite	168
Zealous Mouthpieces of the Bourgeoisie	173

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF REVOLUTION

In its issue of July 7, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* carried the editorial of July 7, 1977, of *Zëri i Popullit*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. The complete text of the editorial follows.

Analyzing the present international situation and the revolutionary processes developing in it, Comrade Enver Hoxha declared at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania: **“The world is at a stage when the question of the revolution and national liberation is not just an aspiration and a perspective, but a problem taken up for solution.”** (E. Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania*, p. 159) (1)

This important principled thesis is based on the Leninist analysis of imperialism, on the definition given by Lenin on the essence of the present historical epoch, and is inspired by the historic mission of the proletariat to liberate itself and all mankind from any exploitation of man by man, from the capitalist system. It proceeds from a concrete Marxist-Leninist analysis of the major contradictions of our time. The thesis of the 7th Congress of the Party is a reconfirmation of the Marxist-Leninist strategy of the revolution in the present conditions.

I

In his brilliant works on imperialism, V.I. Lenin arrived at the conclusion that imperialism is capitalism in decline and decay, the final phase of capitalism and the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat. Analyzing the phenomena which characterize imperialism, he wrote: **“All these factors transform the present stage of capitalist development into an era of proletarian socialist revolution”**, that **“That era has dawned”**, and that **“Objective conditions make it the urgent task of the day to prepare the**

proletariat in every way for the conquest of political power in order to carry out the economic and political measures which are the sum and substance of the socialist revolution.” (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Volume 24, pp. 469-470) (2)

In defining the present epoch, Lenin proceeded from the class criterion. He said that it is important to keep well in mind “*which class stands at the hub of one epoch or another, determining its main content, the main direction of its development, the main characteristics of the historical situation in that epoch, etc.*” (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Volume 21, p. 145) Defining the fundamental content of the new historic epoch, as the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, he remained consistently loyal to the teachings of Marx about the historic mission of the proletariat as the new social force which will carry out the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist society of oppression and exploitation and build the new society, classless communist society.

The Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels and their call “**Workers of All Countries, Unite!**” announced that the fundamental contradiction of human society was now that between labour and capital, and the proletariat was called on to resolve it by revolution. With his analysis of imperialism, Lenin showed that the contradictions of capitalist society had reached their culmination and that the world had entered the period of proletarian revolutions and the triumph of socialism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution confirmed the brilliant conclusions of Marx and Lenin in practice. After the death of Lenin, too, the International Communist Movement resolutely adhered to his teachings about the present epoch, adhered to his revolutionary strategy. The triumph of the socialist revolution in a number of other countries confirmed that the Leninist thesis on the present epoch, as the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, reflects the fundamental law of the development of present-day human society. The collapse of the colonial system, the winning of political independence by the overwhelming majority of the countries of Asia, Africa, etc., is another confirmation of the Leninist theory on the epoch and the revolution. The fact that the teachings of

Marxism-Leninism and the revolution were betrayed in the Soviet Union and a number of former socialist countries does not alter the Leninist thesis on the character of the present epoch in the least, because this is nothing but a zigzag in the course of the inevitable victory of socialism over capitalism on a world scale.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always consistently upheld these Marxist-Leninist conclusions. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: “**The fundamental features of our epoch, as the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, of the struggle of two opposing social systems, as the epoch of the proletarian and national liberation revolutions, of the collapse of imperialism and the liquidation of the colonial system, as the epoch of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale, are becoming more pronounced and more clearly obvious each day.**” (E. Hoxha, *Report to the 5th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania*, p. 5, Albanian edition.)

The Marxist-Leninists have always based their definition of the present epoch and their revolutionary strategy on the analysis of the major social contradictions which characterize this epoch. What are these contradictions which characterize this epoch? Following the triumph of the socialist revolution in Russia, Lenin and Stalin spoke about four such contradictions: the contradiction between two opposing systems — socialist and capitalist; the contradiction between labour and capital in the capitalist countries; the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and nations and imperialism; the contradictions between imperialist powers. These are the contradictions which constitute the objective basis of the development of the present-day revolutionary movements, which in their entirety, constitute the great process of the world revolution in our epoch. All present-day world development confirms that since the time of Lenin these contradictions have not waned and disappeared but have become more acute and are more clearly obvious than ever before. Therefore, the recognition and admission of the existence of these contradictions constitute the basis for defining a correct revolutionary strategy.

On the contrary, to deny the existence of these contradictions, to hide them, to ignore one or the other contradiction, to distort their real content as various revisionists and opportunists are

doing, causes confusion and disorientation in the revolutionary movement, serves as a basis for building up and advocating distorted, pseudo-revolutionary strategy and tactics.

II

At present, there is a great deal of talk about the division of the world into the so-called "first", "second" and "third" worlds, about the "non-aligned world", the world "of the developing countries", the "north-south" world, etc. Each of the supporters of these divisions presents his own "theory" as the most correct strategy, which allegedly responds to the real conditions of the present international situation. But as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress: **"All these terms, which refer to various political forces acting in the world today, cover up and do not bring out the class character of these political forces, the fundamental contradictions of our epoch, the key problem which is predominant today on a national and international scale, the ruthless struggle between the bourgeois-imperialist world on the one hand, and socialism, the world proletariat and its natural allies on the other."** (E. Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania*, pp. 172-173)

When Marxist-Leninists speak about the world and various countries and classify them, their judgment is according to the principles of dialectical and historical materialism. They judge, first and foremost, from the socio-economic order existing in various countries; they judge according to the proletarian class criterion. Precisely from this angle V.I. Lenin in 1921, when only one socialist country existed in the world, Soviet Russia — wrote: **"There are now two worlds: the old world of capitalism, that is in a state of confusion but which will never surrender voluntarily, and the rising new world, which is still very weak, but which will grow, for it is invincible."** (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Volume 33, p. 150) On his part, J.V. Stalin, in his well-known article "The Two Camps" published in 1919, also stressed: **"The world has definitely and irrevocably split into two camps: the camp of imperialism and the camp of socialism The struggle between these two camps constitutes the hub of present-day affairs, determines the whole substance of the present home and foreign policies of the leaders of the old and**

new worlds." (J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Volume 4, p. 240) (3)

The view of our Party is that today, too, we should speak about the socialist world, as Lenin and Stalin did, that the Leninist criterion is always correct, just as Leninism itself is vital and correct. The argument of the theoreticians of the "three worlds", the "non-aligned world", etc., who have eliminated the existence of socialism from their schemes, and who refer to the fact of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and some other former socialist countries, and hence to the disintegration of the socialist camp, is without foundation. It is in complete opposition to the Leninist teachings and the class criterion.

The revisionist betrayal, the return of the Soviet Union and a number of former socialist countries to capitalism, the spreading of modern revisionism widely in the International Communist and Workers' Movement and the splitting of this movement, were a heavy blow to the cause of the revolution and socialism. But this by no means implies that socialism was liquidated as a system and that the criterion of the division of the world into two opposing systems must be changed, that the contradiction between socialism and capitalism no longer exists today. Socialism exists and is advancing in the true socialist countries which stand loyal to Marxism-Leninism, such as the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Hence the socialist system, as a system which is opposed to the capitalist system, exists objectively, just as the contradiction and the life-and-death struggle between it and capitalism exists.

By ignoring socialism as a social system, the so-called "theory of three worlds" ignores the greatest historic victory of the international proletariat, ignores the fundamental contradiction of the time, that between socialism and capitalism. It is clear that such a theory, which ignores socialism, is anti-Leninist; it leads to the weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the countries where socialism is being built, while calling on the world proletariat not to fight, not to rise in socialist revolution. This is not to be wondered at: departure from the proletarian class criteria in assessing the situation can lead only to conclusions in opposition to the interests of the revolution and the proletariat.

In his works, Lenin as the great and consistent Marxist that he was, often analyzed the capitalist world and the relationship of forces within it. He did this always to serve the revolution, to define the tasks facing the proletariat, the tasks of the communist parties, the tasks of the first socialist state towards the world proletarian revolution, and to show who were the genuine allies of the revolution and who were its enemies.

Lenin gives us a brilliant example in this direction in his theses and reports at the 2nd Congress of the Communist International in 1920. **"The revolutionary parties must now 'prove' in practice", stressed Lenin, "that they have sufficient understanding and organization, contact with the exploited masses, and determination and skill to utilise this crisis for a successful, a victorious revolution.**

"It is mainly to prepare this 'proof' that we have gathered at this Congress of the Communist International." (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Volume 31, p. 227)

However the so-called theory of "three worlds" does not lay down any tasks for the revolution, on the contrary it "forgets" this. In the scheme of the "three worlds", the fundamental contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie does not exist. Another thing that strikes the eye, in this division of the world, is its non-class view of what is called the "third world". It ignores classes and the class struggle. It treats as a single entity countries which this theory includes in this world, the regimes which dominate there and various political forces which operate within them. It ignores the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and the reactionary and pro-imperialist forces of their own countries.

It is well known that in the countries exploited by imperialism, in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the freedom-loving peoples are waging a stern struggle for freedom, independence and national sovereignty, against old and new colonialism. This is a just and revolutionary liberation struggle, which enjoys the unreserved support of the Marxist-Leninists in the true socialist countries, of the world proletariat, of all progressive forces. This struggle is directed, and cannot but be directed against a number of enemies: against the imperialist oppressors, and first and foremost against the two superpowers,

as the biggest exploiters and international gendarmes, the most dangerous enemies of all peoples of the world; against the local reactionary bourgeoisie, linked by one thousand and one threads with the foreign imperialists, with this or that superpower, with the international monopolies, which are enemies of national freedom and independence; against the still pronounced remnants of feudalism, which rely on the foreign imperialists and are united with the reactionary bourgeoisie against the people's revolution; against the reactionary and fascist regimes, representatives and defenders of the domination of these three enemies.

Therefore it is absurd to pretend that one must fight only against the external imperialist enemies without at the same time fighting and attacking the internal enemies, the allies and collaborators of imperialism, and all those factors which hinder this struggle. To this day there has never been any liberation struggle, no national democratic and anti-imperialist revolution has taken place, without having internal enemies, reactionaries and traitors, sold-out anti-national elements. All strata of the bourgeoisie, including the comprador bourgeoisie, cannot be identified as anti-imperialist forces, as a basis and as factors which carry forward the struggle against imperialism, as the so-called theory of the "three worlds" does. To follow this "theory" means to divert the revolutionary movement from the right road, to abandon the revolution half way, to separate it from the proletarian revolution in the other countries, to set the struggle of the peoples and the proletariat of those countries on an anti-Marxist and revisionist course.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the national question must always be seen as subsidiary to the cause of the revolution. From this standpoint, the Marxist-Leninists support every movement which is effectively directed against imperialism and serves the general cause of the world proletarian revolution. **"We, as Communists," stressed Lenin, "should and will support bourgeois-liberation movements in the colonies only when they are genuinely revolutionary, and when their exponents do not hinder our work of educating and organizing in the revolutionary spirit the peasantry and the masses of the exploited. If these conditions do not exist, the Communists in**

these countries must combat the reformist bourgeoisie, to whom the heroes of the Second International also belong." (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Volume 31, p. 242)

Meanwhile the advocates of the thesis of the "third world" even call the liberation movement the "main force in the struggle against imperialism", even including in this movement the bargaining of the King of Saudi Arabia or the Shah of Iran with U.S. oil monopolies, and their arms transactions with the Pentagon, involving billions upon billions of dollars. According to this logic, the oil sheiks who deposit their oil money in the banks of Wall Street and the city, are allegedly fighters against imperialism and supporters of the people's struggle which is directed against imperialist domination, while the U.S. imperialists, who sell weapons to the reactionary oppressive regimes of these sheiks, are allegedly supplying them to "the patriotic forces" which are fighting to oust the imperialists from the "golden sands" of Arabia and Persia.

The facts prove that today, the democratic and anti-imperialist liberation revolution can be waged consistently and carried through to the end only if it is led by the proletariat, with its party at the head and in alliance with the broad masses of the peasantry and the other anti-imperialist and patriotic forces. As early as 1905, in his book *Two Tactics*, Lenin proved with profound arguments that in the conditions of imperialism the characteristic of the democratic-bourgeois revolutions is that the force most interested in carrying these revolutions forward is not the bourgeoisie, which vacillates and has the tendency to unite with the reactionary feudal forces against the revolutionary drive of the masses, but the proletariat, which considers the democratic-bourgeois revolution as an intermediary stage for the transition to the socialist revolution. And the same thing must be said about the national liberation movements of our time. J.V. Stalin stressed that following the October Revolution: "**The era of liberating revolutions in the colonies and dependent countries, the era of the awakening of the proletariat in those countries, the era of its hegemony in the revolution, has begun.**" (J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Volume 10, p. 250)

These Leninist teachings assume a special value and importance in the present conditions. Today two tendencies have

developed in the world and are acting with a great force, tendencies to which Lenin has drawn our attention: on the one hand, the tendency towards the breaking down of the national boundaries and the internationalization of economic and political life on the part of the capitalist monopolies; on the other, the tendency towards the strengthening of the struggle for national independence on the part of various countries. Thus, in connection with the first tendency, in many countries liberated from colonialism, the ties of the local bourgeoisie with foreign imperialist capital have not only been preserved, but are being strengthened and extended in many neo-colonialist forms, such as the multinational companies, various economic financial mergers, and so on and so forth. This bourgeoisie, which occupies key positions in the economic and political life of these countries, and which is growing, is a pro-imperialist force and enemy of the revolutionary and liberation movement.

As for the other tendency, that towards the strengthening of national independence against imperialism in the former colonial countries, it is linked first of all and mainly, with the increase of the proletariat in those countries. Thus, ever more favourable conditions are being created for the broad and consistent development of the anti-imperialist and democratic revolutions, for the proletariat to lead them, and as a result, for their transition to a higher stage, to the struggle for socialism.

The Marxist-Leninists do not confuse the fervent liberation, revolutionary and socialist aspirations and desires of the peoples and the proletariat of the countries of the so-called "third world" with the aims and policy of the oppressive comprador bourgeoisie of those countries. They know that in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, there are sound progressive currents in the ranks of the peoples, which will certainly carry their revolutionary struggle forward to victory.

But to speak in general terms about the so-called "third world" as the main force of the struggle against imperialism and of the revolution, as the supporters of the theory of the "three worlds" are doing, without making any distinction between the genuine anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces and the pro-imperialist, reactionary and fascist forces in power in a number of the developing countries, means a flagrant departure from the

teachings of Marxism-Leninism and to preach typically opportunist views, causing confusion and disorganization among the revolutionary forces. In essence, according to the theory of the "three worlds", the peoples of those countries must not fight, for instance, against the bloody fascist dictatorships of Geisel in Brazil and Pinochet in Chile, Suharto in Indonesia, the Shah of Iran or the King of Jordan, etc., because they, allegedly, are part of the "revolutionary motive force" which is "driving the wheel of world history forward". On the contrary, according to this theory, the peoples and revolutionaries ought to unite with the reactionary forces and regimes of the "third world" and support them, in other words, give up the revolution.

U.S. imperialism, the other capitalist states and Soviet social-imperialism have bound the classes which are ruling in the countries of the so-called "third world" to them with a thousand threads. Being dependent on the foreign monopolies and wanting to prolong their domination over the broad masses of their own peoples, these classes are, of course, trying to give the impression that they allegedly form a democratic bloc of independent states, which aims to exert pressure on U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and to stop their interference in their internal affairs.

Lenin stressed to the communist parties **"the need constantly to explain and expose among the broadest working masses of all countries, the deception systematically practised by the imperialist powers, which, under the guise of politically independent states, set up states that are wholly dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily."** (Lenin, *Collected Works* Vol. 31, p. 150)

The Party of Labour of Albania has always stood loyal to these immortal teachings of Lenin.

"Similarly regarding the assessment of the policy pursued by various states and governments", stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, **"the Marxists proceed again from the class criterion, from the stands these governments and countries maintain towards imperialism and socialism, towards their own people and reaction.**

"On the basis of these teachings the revolutionary movement

and the proletariat build their strategy and tactics, find, and unite with, their true allies in the struggle against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction. The terms 'third world', 'non-aligned states', or 'developing countries', create the illusion among the broad masses fighting for national and social liberation that a roof has allegedly been found under which to shelter from the threat of the superpowers. These terms conceal the real situation in the majority of these countries, which, in this or that manner, politically, ideologically, and economically, are bound to, and depend on, the two superpowers and the former colonial metropolises." (E. Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania*, pp. 173-174)

The present theories about the so-called "third world", "non-aligned countries", etc., are intended to curb the revolution and defend capitalism, which must not be hindered in the exercise of its hegemony, but should practise some forms of domination a little more acceptable to the peoples. Despite the difference in labels the so-called "third world" and "world of the non-aligned" are as alike as two drops of water. They are guided by the same policy and ideology; one group is so entangled with the other that it is difficult to distinguish which countries are of the "third world" and what distinguishes them from the "non-aligned" and which countries are included in the "non-aligned" and what distinguishes them from those of the "third world".

Efforts are being made to create even another grouping of the so-called "developing countries", in which both the countries of the "third world" and the "non-aligned" are all lumped together. The authors of this theory too, are covering up the class contradictions, advocating the existing status quo, that nothing must be done to annoy imperialism, social-imperialism and the other imperialist powers, on the condition that they provide some "handouts" for building up the economies of the "developing countries". According to the authors of this theory, the big powers ought to make some "sacrifices", give something to the hungry, so that they will be able to pick up some sort of livelihood and will not raise their heads. In this way, they say, a middle road will be found, "a new international order" will be established, in which all, rich and poor, exploiters and the exploited, will live "without wars", "without armaments", "in

unity", "in class peace", in coexistence à la Khrushchov.

Precisely because of the fact that these three "inventions" have the same content and aims, it is noticed that the "leaderships" of the "non-aligned countries", the "third world" and the "world of the developing countries" are in complete harmony. In unison, they are deceiving the masses, the proletariat, the peoples, with their theories and sermons in order to divert them from the revolutionary struggle.

Not only does the theory of the "three worlds" not take account of the contradiction between the two opposing social systems — socialism and capitalism — or the great contradiction between labour and capital, but neither does it analyze the other major contradiction, that between the oppressed peoples and world imperialism, which it reduces to the contradiction with the two superpowers only, and, indeed, mainly with one of them. This "theory" totally ignores the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and nations and the other imperialist powers. What is more, the partisans of the theory of the "three worlds" call for alliance of the "third world" with these imperialist countries and with U.S. imperialism against Soviet social-imperialism.

One of the arguments used to justify the division of the world into three worlds is that at the present juncture, the imperialist camp which existed after the Second World War, in which U.S. imperialism had undivided domination, has allegedly disintegrated and ceased to exist, as a result of the unequal development of various imperialisms. The supporters of this "theory" claim that today there can be no talk of a single imperialist world, because on the one hand, the western imperialists have risen against the U.S. rulers, and on the other hand, a fierce and ever-increasing rivalry exists between the two imperialist superpowers — the USA and the Soviet Union.

In the stage of imperialism, as a result of the unequal development of various capitalist countries, the inter-imperialist contradictions exist and become constantly deeper, inter-imperialist alliances, blocs and groupings are created and broken up according to the circumstances and conjunctures. This is the ABC of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin has provided ample proof that this typical phenomenon of imperialism, which shows that

imperialism, as the final stage of capitalism, is heading irretrievably towards decay, is an objective law, but does this mean that as a result of these contradictions, the imperialist world as a social system has ceased to exist and is divided into several worlds, that the socio-economic nature of this or that imperialism has changed? Not at all. The present-day facts speak not of disintegration of the imperialist world, but of a single world imperialist system, which is characterized today by the existence of two big imperialist blocs: on the one hand, by the Western imperialist bloc, headed by U.S. imperialism, the instruments of which are such inter-imperialist organizations as NATO, the European Common Market, etc., and on the other hand, by the bloc of the East, dominated by Soviet social-imperialism, which has as the instruments of its expansionist, hegemonistic and warmongering policy the Warsaw Treaty and COMECON.

In the scheme of "three worlds", the so-called "second world" includes capitalist and revisionist imperialist countries, which, from the point of view of their social order, have no essential difference either from the two superpowers or from various countries included in the "third world". It is true that the countries of this "world" have definite contradictions with the two superpowers, but they are contradictions of an inter-imperialist character, as are also the contradictions between the two superpowers themselves. In the first place, they are contradictions over markets, spheres of influence, zones for the export of capital and the exploitation of the riches of others, of such imperialisms as the West German, Japanese, British, French, Canadian ones, etc., with one or the other superpower, as well as with one another.

Certainly, these contradictions weaken the world imperialist system and are in the interest of the struggle of the proletariat and of the peoples. But it is anti-Marxist to identify the contradictions between various imperialist powers and the two superpowers with the struggle of the working masses and peoples against imperialism, for its destruction.

It can never happen that the so-called countries of the "second world", in other words, the big monopoly bourgeoisie ruling there, become allies of the oppressed peoples and nations in the

struggle against the two superpowers and world imperialism. History since the Second World War shows clearly that these countries have supported and still support the aggressive policy and acts of U.S. imperialism such as in Korea and Vietnam, the Middle East, Africa, etc. They are ardent defenders of neo-colonialism and of the old order of inequality in international economic relations. The allies of Soviet social-imperialism in the "second world" took part, jointly with it, in the occupation of Czechoslovakia and are zealous supporters of its predatory expansionist policy in various zones of the world. The countries of the so-called "second world" are the main economic and military support of the aggressive and expansionist alliances of the two superpowers.

The supporters of the theory of "three worlds" claim that it gives great possibilities for exploitation of inter-imperialist contradictions. The contradictions in the enemy camp should be exploited, but in what way and for what aim? The principle is that they should always be exploited in favour of the revolution, in favour of the peoples and their freedom, in favour of the cause of socialism. The principle is that the exploitation of the contradictions in the ranks of enemies must lead to the intensification and strengthening of the revolutionary and liberation movement, and not to its weakening and dying out, to an ever more active mobilization of the revolutionary forces in the struggle against the enemies, and especially the main ones, without permitting the creation of any kind of illusion about them among the peoples.

The absolutization of inter-imperialist contradictions and the underestimation of the basic contradiction, that between the revolution and the counter-revolution, the placing of the exploitation of the contradictions in the enemy camp alone in the centre of the strategy and forgetting the main thing — the increase of the revolutionary spirit and the development of the revolutionary movement of the working people and the peoples, neglecting the preparation of the revolution, are in total opposition to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. It is anti-Marxist to preach unity with the allegedly weaker imperialisms to oppose the stronger, to side with the bourgeoisie of one country to oppose that of another country, under the pretext of

exploiting contradictions. Lenin stressed that the tactic of the exploitation of contradictions in the ranks of the enemies should be used "to raise — not lower — the *general level of proletarian class-consciousness, revolutionary spirit, and ability to fight and win.*" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Volume 31, p. 74)

The Party of Labour of Albania has always consistently upheld and upholds these immortal Leninist teachings. "In these moments of major crisis for imperialism and modern revisionism, we should intensify our struggle against them, we should properly utilise the major contradictions among our enemies in our favour, in favour of the socialist states and of the peoples who are rising in revolution, we should keep exposing these contradictions and not be satisfied with the alleged concessions and moderations of their stand which the imperialists and revisionists reluctantly make, until the danger is over, so as to take revenge later. Therefore, we should always be on the alert and continue to strike at them." (E. Hoxha, "Develop the Technical-Scientific Revolution Further in Our Country", *Speeches, 1971-1973*, (Tirana: The "8 Nëntori" Publishing House, 1974) pp. 66-67)

In the presentation of the so-called "second world", which includes mostly capitalist and neo-colonialist countries, which constitute the main supporters of the two superpowers, as allies of the "third world" allegedly in struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the anti-revolutionary and pseudo-anti-imperialist character of the theory of the "three worlds", is quite obvious.

This is an anti-revolutionary "theory" because it preaches social peace, collaboration with the bourgeoisie, hence giving up the revolution — to the proletariat of Europe, Japan, Canada, etc., who have to fight the monopoly bourgeoisie and the system of exploitation in the countries of the "second world" — because the interests of the defence of national independence, and particularly the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism, allegedly require this.

This is also a pseudo-anti-imperialist theory because it justifies and supports the neo-colonialist and exploiting policy of the imperialist powers of the "second world" and calls on the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America not to oppose this policy,

allegedly for the sake of the struggle against the superpowers. In fact, in this way the anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the so-called "third world" and those of the so-called "second world" is weakened and sabotaged.

III

Revolutionary strategy is that which puts the revolution in the centre. "The strategy and tactics of Leninism", wrote Stalin, constitute "the science of leadership in the class struggle of the proletariat." (J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Volume 6, p. 155)

The Leninist strategy considers the world proletarian revolution as a single process, made up of several great revolutionary trends of our era, at the centre of which stands the international proletariat.

This revolutionary process is going on unceasingly in the countries which are advancing on the road of true socialism as a fierce and irreconcilable struggle between the two roads — socialist and capitalist — to ensure the complete and final triumph of the former over the latter, to bar all the paths to the danger of turning back through counter-revolutionary violence and imperialist aggression or through peaceful bourgeois-revisionist degeneration. The revolutionaries and peoples of the whole world are watching this struggle with the most active interest, considering it as a vital question for the cause of the revolution and socialism all over the world. They give the socialist countries their full and unreserved support and backing against any attempt of imperialism against these countries, because in the socialist countries they see a powerful base and centre of the revolution, they see the realization in practice of the ideals for which they themselves are fighting. Lenin's ideas on the necessity and first-rate importance of the aid and support by the international proletariat for the country where the socialist revolution has triumphed, are immortal. But this always implies that we are speaking about a genuinely socialist country, which implements the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism with the utmost vigour and consistently adheres to proletarian internationalism. Otherwise, if it is transformed into a capitalist country, maintaining only a fraudulent "socialist" disguise, it must not be supported.

The revolutionaries and the peoples know that the successes and the struggle of the socialist countries are blows which weaken imperialism, the bourgeoisie and international reaction, that they are a direct aid and support for the revolutionary and liberation struggle of the workers and peoples.

Lenin and Stalin always considered the revolutionary task of the proletariat of a socialist country, as not only to make every effort to develop socialism in its own country, but also as to support the revolutionary and liberation movements in the other countries in an all-round way. "Lenin never regarded the Republic of Soviets as an end in itself", wrote Stalin. "He always looked on it as an essential link for strengthening the revolutionary movement in the countries of the West and the East, an essential link for facilitating the victory of the working people of the whole world over capitalism. Lenin knew that this was the only right conception, both from the international standpoint and from the standpoint of preserving the Republic of Soviets itself." (J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Volume 6, p. 52)

Precisely for this reason, a truly socialist country cannot include itself in such groupings as the so-called "third world" or "non-aligned countries", in which any kind of class boundaries have been erased and which serve only to divert the peoples from the road of the struggle against imperialism and for the revolution.

Only the revolutionary, freedom-loving and progressive forces, the revolutionary movement of the working class and the anti-imperialist movement of the oppressed peoples and nations can be true and reliable allies of the socialist countries. Therefore, to preach the division into "three worlds", to ignore the fundamental contradictions of our times, to call for an alliance of the proletariat with the monopoly bourgeoisie and of the oppressed peoples with the imperialist powers of the so-called "second world", is not to the advantage of the international proletariat, the peoples, or the socialist countries. It is anti-Leninist. J.V. Stalin stressed: "I cannot imagine a situation ever arising in which the interests of our Soviet Republic would require deviations to the Right on the part of our brother parties . . . I cannot imagine that the interests of our Republic, which is the base of the world-wide revolutionary proletarian

movement, could require not the maximum revolutionary spirit and political activity of the workers of the West, but a diminution of their activity, a blunting of the revolutionary spirit.” (J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Volume 8, p. 116)

In the metropolises of capitalism, the process of world proletarian revolution is embodied today in the growing class struggles of the proletariat and the other working and progressive strata against the bourgeois exploitation and oppression, against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to load the burden of the present crisis of the world capitalist system onto the backs of the working people, against the revival of fascism in this or that form, etc. Amongst the broad masses of the working people, headed by the proletariat, the consciousness is developing more and more each day, that the only way out to escape from the crisis and other evils of capitalism, from the bourgeois exploitation, the fascist violence and imperialist wars, is the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Life and the facts prove that neither the bourgeoisie nor its open and disguised lackeys, from the social democrats to the modern revisionists, can stop the rising tide of the revolutionary struggle of the masses. **“The present struggle of the world proletariat,”** said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, **“once again proves the fundamental thesis of Marxism-Leninism that the working class and its revolutionary struggle in the bourgeois and revisionist world cannot be suppressed either with violence or with demagogy.”** (E. Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania*, p. 159)

The objective conditions are becoming ever more favourable for the revolution in the developed capitalist countries. There the proletarian revolution is now a problem taken up for solution. Quite correctly, the Marxist-Leninist parties, which have taken up the banner of the revolution betrayed and discarded by the revisionists, have undertaken the tasks and set to work seriously to prepare the proletariat and its allies for the coming revolutionary battles, for the overthrow of the bourgeois order. This revolutionary struggle, which is hitting the world capitalist and imperialist system in its main strongholds, enjoys and ought to enjoy the full support of the true socialist countries and of all

the revolutionary and freedom-loving peoples throughout the world. But today, the modern revisionists, the supporters of the theory of the “three worlds” and the theoreticians of “non-alignment”, while saying nothing about the revolution and preparation for it, in fact are trying to sabotage it and to keep the status quo of the capitalist order in existence.

In trying to divert the attention of the proletariat from the revolution, the authors of the theory of the “three worlds” preach that at the present time, the question of the preservation of national independence from the danger of aggression by the superpowers, especially by Soviet social-imperialism, which they consider to be the main enemy, is the primary issue. The question of defining which is the main enemy on an international scale at a given time is of great importance for the revolutionary movement. Bearing in mind the course of events, the class analysis of the present situation, our Party stresses that American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, these two superpowers, are **“the main and greatest enemies of the peoples”** today, and as such, **“they pose the same danger.”** (E. Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania*, p. 186)

Soviet social-imperialism is a savage, aggressive imperialism, thirsty for expansion, which is pursuing a typically colonialist and neo-colonialist policy, which is based on the power of capital and arms.

In rivalry with U.S. imperialism, this new imperialism is struggling to seize strategic positions and to get its grip on all the regions and continents. It stands out as a fire extinguisher of the revolution and suppressor of the liberation struggle of the peoples. But this in no way means that the other enemy of the peoples and of the whole world, U.S. imperialism, is less dangerous, as the advocates of the “three worlds” theory claim. Distorting the truth and deceiving the peoples, they claim that U.S. imperialism is allegedly no longer warmongering, that allegedly it has been weakened, is in decline, that it has become a “timid mouse”; in a word, U.S. imperialism is turning peaceful. Matters have reached the point that even the U.S. military presence in various countries such as Germany, Belgium or Italy, in Japan and other countries, is being justified and described as a

factor for defence. Such views are extremely dangerous to the freedom of the peoples, and the fate of the revolution. Such theses foster illusions about the aggressive, hegemonic and expansionist nature of both U.S. imperialism and Soviet imperialism.

The proletariat and the proletarian revolution are faced with the task of overthrowing every imperialism, and especially the two imperialist superpowers. Any imperialism, from its very nature, is always a savage enemy of the proletarian revolution. Therefore, to divide imperialisms into more or less dangerous, from the strategic viewpoint of the world revolution, is wrong. Practice has proved that the two superpowers, to the same degree and to the same extent, represent the main enemy for socialism and the freedom and independence of the nations, the greatest force defending exploiting systems, the direct danger that mankind will be hurled into a third world war. To ignore this great truth, to underestimate the danger of one or the other superpower, or even worse, to call for unity with one superpower against the other, is fraught with catastrophic consequences and great dangers to the future of the revolution and the freedom of the peoples.

Of course, it happens and may happen that this or that country is oppressed or directly threatened by one of the superpowers, but this in no way and in no case means that the other superpower does not constitute a danger to that same country, and even less that the other superpower has become a friend of that country. The principle "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" cannot be applied when it is a matter of the two imperialist superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America. These two superpowers are fighting the revolution with every means, are making every effort to sabotage the revolution and socialism and drown them in blood. The two superpowers are striving to extend their domination and exploitation of various peoples and countries. Experience shows that they launch fierce attacks sometimes on one region and sometimes on another, to extend their bloodthirsty grip on the peoples, that each is striving furiously to replace the other. As soon as the people of some country manage to get rid of the domination of one superpower, the other steps in. The Middle East and Africa

provide ample proof of this.

The other major trend of the world revolution in our time is the national liberation movement of the peoples, which is spearheaded against imperialism, neo-colonialism and colonial vestiges. The Marxist-Leninists, the world proletariat, are in full solidarity with and render their full support to the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, regarding it as an extremely important, irreplaceable factor in the development of the world revolutionary process. The Party of Labour of Albania has always supported the peoples who are fighting for their national freedom and independence. "We stand for the unity of the world proletariat and all the true anti-imperialist and progress-loving forces who, through their struggle, will smash the aggressive plans of the imperialist and social-imperialist warmongers. Consistent in their Marxist-Leninist line, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people . . . in the future, too, will spare no effort and will fight, together with all the other anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist peoples, with all the Marxist-Leninist parties, all the revolutionaries and the world proletariat, all progressive people, 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 every moment our country will be found standing beside all those peoples whose freedom and independence are threatened and whose rights are violated." (E. Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania*, p. 193) Comrade Enver Hoxha, on behalf of the Albanian Party and state, also proclaimed this firm stand in the speech he made in the People's Assembly in connection with the approval of our new Constitution. He said, "The majority of the peoples of the world today are making great efforts and forcefully opposing the colonial laws and neo-colonialist domination, the rules, practices, customs, the unequal agreements, old and new, established by the bourgeoisie to preserve its exploitation of the peoples, its odious distinctions and discriminations in international relations . . . The progressive peoples and the democratic states that are not reconciled to this situation and struggle to establish national sovereignty over their resources, that struggle to strengthen their political and economic independence, and for equality and

justice in international relations, enjoy solidarity and full support of the Albanian people and state." (E. Hoxha, "Speech at People's Assembly, December 27, 1976", *Albania Today*, No. 1 (32)/1977)

Ever since the time of Lenin, the Marxist-Leninists have always regarded the national liberation struggle of the peoples and nations oppressed at the hands of imperialism, as a powerful ally and a great reserve of the world revolution, of the proletariat.

In the countries which have won full or partial political independence, the revolution is at various stages of development and is not faced with the same tasks everywhere. Among them, there are countries which are directly faced with the proletarian revolution, while in many other countries, the tasks of the anti-imperialist national democratic revolution are on the order of the day. But in any case, since this revolution is aimed also against the international bourgeoisie — imperialism, it is an ally and reserve of the world proletarian revolution.

But does this mean that such countries must remain at the national democratic stage and the revolutionaries should not speak about and prepare for the socialist revolution, for fear that stages may be skipped or cut out and someone may call them Blanquists? Lenin was talking about the need of the transformation of the bourgeois democratic revolution into socialist revolution in the colonial countries, from the time when the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in these countries were still only in embryo. In criticizing Blanquism, Marx and Engels did not describe either the 1848 revolution or the Paris Commune as premature. Marxism-Leninism never confuses petty-bourgeois impatience which leads to the cutting-out of stages, with the essential need for the uninterrupted development of the revolution.

Lenin pointed out that the revolution in the colonial and dependent countries must be pushed ahead. Since Lenin's time, great changes have taken place in those countries. In his genius Lenin predicted these changes and his response to them is found in the Leninist theses on the world revolutionary process. The carrying out of the proletarian revolution is a universal law and the main trend of our epoch. All countries without exception, even including Indonesia and Chile, Brazil and Zaire, and so on,

must and will go through it regardless of what stages will have to be traversed to get there. If you lose sight of this objective, if you preach the preservation of the status quo and theorize about "avoiding missing out stages", if you forget to fight against Suharto and Pinochet, Geisel and Mobutu, this means that you are for neither the national liberation struggle nor the national democratic revolution.

Europe, too, must and will pass through the proletarian revolution. Whoever loses sight of this perspective, whoever fails to make preparations towards this end, but advocates that the revolution has moved to Asia and Africa and that the European proletariat must join its own "wise and good bourgeoisie" on the pretext of defending national independence, he is in an anti-Leninist position and is for neither the defence of the homeland nor the freedom of the nation. Whoever "forgets" that both the Warsaw Treaty and NATO must be combatted, that both the COMECON and the Common Market must be rejected, takes their side and becomes their slave.

In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx and Engels wrote: "A spectre is haunting Europe, the spectre of Communism. All the Powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre." (Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1975), p. 31) This observation of Marx and Engels is valid for our days, too. The temporary setback suffered by the revolution because of the revisionist betrayal as well as the economic potential and oppressive military strength which imperialism and social-imperialism oppose to the revolutionary movement and ideas of communism, have not been able and will never be able to change the course of history, or overcome the great strength of Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism is the revolutionary ideology that has entered deep into the consciousness of the proletariat and is exerting an ever-greater influence on the broad masses of the peoples who are seeking emancipation. The impact of this theory is so strong that the bourgeois ideologists have always been obliged to reckon with it and have never ceased their efforts to find ways and means to distort Marxism-Leninism and undermine the revolution.

The present day anti-Leninist theories of the "three worlds", "non-alignment", and so on, are also aimed at undermining the revolution, extinguishing the struggle against imperialism, especially against U.S. imperialism, splitting the Marxist-Leninist movement, the unity of the proletariat advocated by Marx and Lenin, creating all kinds of groupings of anti-Marxist elements to fight the true Marxist-Leninist parties which stand loyal to Marxism-Leninism, the revolution.

The attempts to analyze situations allegedly in a new way, differently from Lenin and Stalin, to change the revolutionary strategy which the Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement has always upheld, lead in devious anti-Marxist ways, to abandoning the fight against imperialism and revisionism. Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to the revolutionary strategy of the Marxist-Leninist movement, struggle against all opportunist deviations which the modern revisionists of all hues are spreading, the revolutionary mobilization of the working class and the peoples against the bourgeoisie and imperialism, serious preparation for the revolution, are the only correct road, the only road leading to victory.

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Reference Notes:

1. All references to this work are to the edition published by Norman Bethune Institute, Toronto, 1976.
2. This and all other references to V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, are to the various volumes of the Moscow edition published during the 1960's.
3. This and all other references to J.V. Stalin, *Works*, are to the various volumes of the Moscow edition published during the 1950's.

ON SOME BASIC QUESTIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY POLICY OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Preface to the Tirana Edition

As part of the work to propagate the ideas of the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee of the PLA and the Tirana District Committee of the Party, organized a meeting on June 27, 1977 at which Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, member of the Central Committee of the Party and Directress of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee of the PLA, presented a report "On Some Basic Questions of the Revolutionary Policy of the Party of Labour of Albania for the Development of the Class Struggle", and at which leading cadres of the Party, the organs of power, the army, the mass organizations, the scientific institutions, the propagandists, etc. participated.

This meeting inaugurated the scientific sessions on the class struggle, organized by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies and the district party committees, which took place during the month of July in all the various districts of the country. In these sessions, in addition to the above-mentioned report, four other reports were presented, dealing respectively with: "The Class Struggle in the Political Sphere During the Period of Socialism", "The Struggle in the Ideological Sphere — A Broad and Complex Front of Class Struggle in Socialist Society", "On Certain Questions of Class Struggle in the Economic Sphere" and "Class Struggle in the Party, A Guarantee of its Preservation as a Revolutionary Party of the Working Class". A certain number of related reports and communications were also presented on questions of class struggle in various spheres.

In the present pamphlet, we are publishing the report "On Some Basic Questions of the Revolutionary Policy of the Party of Labour of Albania for the Development of the Class Struggle" which appeared in the theoretical and political organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Rruga e Partisë (The Voice of the Party), No. 6, Tirana, 1977.

The Seventh Congress of the Party devoted special attention to the class struggle, to ensure that it would always be waged correctly and with determination. **"The major successes and victories our people have achieved under the leadership of the Party in their struggle to develop revolution and to construct socialism,"** said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Seventh Congress, **"are linked with the fact that the Party has resolutely upheld the line of the class struggle and waged it consistently against the internal and external enemies as well as among the people and in its own ranks."**

Among other things, their stands on the concept and implementation of the theory of the class struggle distinguish Marxist-Leninists from revisionists. Marxist-Leninists consider the class struggle as the main motive force of class society and wage it with radically revolutionary methods on the basis of irreconcilability with the class enemies and their policy and ideology. Revisionists follow the policy of conciliation with the class enemies, internal and external, the policy of extinguishing the class struggle, not only in the instances when they deny it openly but also in the instances when they accept this struggle in words.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always made the class struggle the foundation of its policy and practical activity. Loyal adhering to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle, it has further developed and enriched the theory and practice of this struggle with its revolutionary experience.

I will deal only with certain questions of the class struggle which have been raised at this Congress, questions of a general character and of principled importance which are connected with the development of the struggle on the **internal and external** fronts.

I THE CLASS STRUGGLE, THE MAIN MOTIVE FORCE IN OUR SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The class struggle is the main motive force, not only in society with antagonistic classes, but in every society divided into classes, including socialist society.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism have described the class struggle as **"a force which determines the development of society", "the true motive force of history" and "the basis of development of society as a whole and its motive force"**.

Is it true of our socialist society too, in which exploiting classes have been eliminated and in which other very important motive forces have emerged?

For as long as the question "Who Will Win?" has not been solved completely and finally, for as long as the fundamental contradiction remains the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, that is until communism, **in essence** the definition which the great teachers of Marxism-Leninism have given about the class struggle does not change. The class struggle is the essence of all the other motive forces in socialist society. Only the profound understanding and the determined and ceaseless waging of the class struggle enables the other motive forces of socialist society to act with all their force.

Our Party has always been clear that class struggle continues through the entire period of transition from capitalism to communism. Attacking the viewpoint of the Khrushchovite revisionists, who have profaned the class struggle of the past in socialism, the Fifth Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania declared that the class struggle continues even after the elimination of the exploiting classes, and at the same time, set out the arguments why and against whom the class struggle continues. This thesis is in full accordance with what Lenin said, that **"the proletariat does not cease the class struggle after the seizure of state power, but continues it until the elimination of classes"**, that is, until communism.

At the 17th Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1934, Stalin also stated bluntly, **"Classless society cannot come**

automatically, you might say. It must be taken through struggle . . . by strengthening the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by waging the class struggle, by eliminating classes, by liquidating the remnants of the capitalist classes, in struggle with both the internal and external enemies."

The Seventh Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania reiterated this correct Marxist-Leninist thesis, proven in practice, describing the class struggle as an objective phenomenon in socialism too, the main motive force which determines the development of society.

The class struggle in our socialist society has its source.

On the one hand, in the existence of remnants of the exploiting classes and in their aims and efforts to regain their lost class power, riches, privileges, and prerogatives; in the hostile revisionist and imperialist encirclement, and in the aims and efforts of external enemies to destroy our socialist order by means of ideological aggression or military aggression; in the emergence of new capitalist elements and new internal enemies who become a great danger to the Party and the proletarian power, to socialism; in the blemishes from the old society which continue to exist for a long time in the consciousness of men, forces which become an obstacle to the proletarian ideology and policy of the Party as the dominant ideology and policy which fully operate in all areas of the life of the country; in the so-called "bourgeois right" in the field of distribution which socialist society is obliged to use although it limits it more and more; in the difference between town and countryside, physical work and mental work, etc. which cannot be eliminated immediately.

The class struggle has its source **not only in these things** mentioned above, but also **in another aspect**, in the aims and efforts of the working class and its ally, the cooperativist peasantry under the leadership of the proletarian party, to uproot every last trace of capitalist society, to carry the socialist revolution through to complete and final victory, to the complete construction of socialist and communist society, to defend every victory of the revolution, and prevent a return to capitalism, to eliminate classes completely as well as to contribute to the elimination of imperialist-revisionist exploitation and oppression and the triumph of socialism on a world scale.

The Class Struggle Is an Objective Law of Development, but the Subjective Factor Plays the Decisive Role in the Outcome of this Struggle

This struggle is a clash of opposing forces. As in every struggle, one side wins, the other side loses. The struggle which is going on at present between socialism and capitalism is not automatically crowned with the victory of socialism, although in general, time is working for socialism. The triumph of socialism in every country and on the world scale depends on the consciousness, readiness, preparation, organization, and mobilization in struggle of the working class and the other working masses, subjective conditions which the Party of the working class as the leader of the revolution prepares.

What must be the relationship of the subjective factor to the objective factor in the class struggle? The Party must follow a revolutionary policy of class struggle built up on the basis of its profound knowledge and implementation of the objective laws and conditions of this struggle, must educate the masses with lofty socialist consciousness, must prepare and organize them in the class struggle to the highest possible level, must wage the struggle with revolutionary methods always together with the masses under its leadership, on the basis of the objective laws and conditions.

Any stand against, or not in conformity with the objective laws and conditions, slowness to act or adventurism, confusion, fear, lack of direction in the struggles, passivity or even worse, capitulation to the pressure of enemies or difficulties and obstacles, are mortal blows to the revolution, cause defeat in the class struggle in the revolution, make it possible for the reactionary bourgeois, imperialist and revisionist opposition forces to win.

On the contrary, to base the policy of the class struggle and leadership of the class struggle on a scientific basis, on the objective laws and conditions, to wage with determination and courage and revolutionary farsightedness, with skill and proletarian maturity, always holding the initiative in the struggle, leads to victory over the class enemies and the reactionary old.

The class struggle is a life and death struggle, between

socialism and capitalism, and as such **it is waged objectively and fiercely** during the entire period of the transition to communism.

The thesis of our Party has been and is this: The class struggle within the country is never extinguished until the complete construction of communist society; **it is waged fiercely, with zig-zags, with peaks and troughs, and is interwoven with the class struggle on the external front.** When we speak about the class struggle it is important to stress its three inherent elements: **a) its stern character, b) the rises and falls of its development, and c) its interconnection with the external front.**

The Seventh Congress of the party pointed out once again that "the construction of socialism is a process of a stern class struggle between two roads, the socialist road and the capitalist road". Hence, not only the existence of the class struggle but also **the stern waging of it has an objective character**, because objectively it cannot happen and it is not to be expected that the class enemy will not resist, will not exert pressure, will turn out to be big-hearted and give up its power and its riches and privileges voluntarily, and consequently will not put up a fierce fight against the social-political forces which are aiming to exterminate it, while on the other hand, the working class, with its allies with the proletarian party at the head, can achieve its decided objectives and the construction of socialist and communist society, only through the revolution and resolute revolutionary struggle.

The rises and falls of degree, which distinguish this struggle, have to do with the concrete questions on which it is being waged, with particular moments of the struggle around one or the other issue, with the internal and international situations and circumstances, as well as with other factors of an objective and subjective character. In practical action, it is of great importance to understand and correctly apply this conclusion of our Party, drawn from the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle and from the long experience over many years of class struggle in our country and internationally, to take a correct stand in all circumstances and never go off into either opportunism or sectarianism. To keep constantly in mind the fact that the class struggle does not die out but carries on fiercely, assists us to never relax our vigilance, to always be on the offensive against

the class enemy, against the snares of the old society and of bourgeois ideology, at all times ready to smash any enemy attack. The falls must never be understood as any slackening of the class struggle. The Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat are never permitted to ease up this struggle, but even if we wanted to do so, the class struggle, for the reasons we have just set forth, could not be attenuated. If we were to slacken the struggle, the enemy would not do so; we would make it possible for it to regain the offensive; we would make it possible for the reactionary old to once again raise its head. On the other hand, the Party also requires that we correctly understand the periods of rise of the struggle. The line of the Party in regard to the class struggle does not alter, either at moments of rises or at moments of falls. In conformity with the situations, the Party takes the appropriate measures so that it always has the situation in hand. **But it does not incite the class struggle artificially**, never undertakes hasty, sectarian, adventurist acts, never confuses the enemy with those who are not enemies, or antagonistic contradictions with non-antagonistic contradictions; it is always waging the class struggle together with the working masses and is fighting at all times in all fields and directions.

The Class Struggle Within the Country Develops In Combination With the External Fronts of the Struggle

The Albanian people have always been very clear about who are our enemies.

With regard to the external enemies, the issue has been relatively more simple. American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are the main enemies, not only of Socialist Albania, but also of all the peoples of the world. Our Party has never cherished any illusion about either of these enemies, has never divided the struggle against the two imperialist superpowers and has prepared the masses of people for merciless and uncompromising struggle against the aggressive and predatory policies and activities of both the one and the other superpower. Yugoslav revisionism and international revisionism, the other imperialists and all of world reaction are also external enemies.

This does not mean that on matters of class struggle, there

have not been questions which have caused us concern. We have from time to time observed the underestimation or the insufficiently deep understanding of the danger of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, of the struggle against this encirclement and against the external enemies in general. The Party has always cautioned us against such underestimation and against such one-sided and superficial conceptions. Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of March 15, 1973, pointing out "How to Understand and Combat the Imperialist-Revisionist Encirclement" is of particularly great importance in this respect. The struggle against all conceptions and attitudes which tend to underestimate the danger of imperialist-revisionist encirclement, of external military and ideological aggression, against all relaxation and all lack of vigilance and preparation, in all aspects, the struggle to deal with these two forms of aggression, remains one of the most important long-term tasks. The 7th Congress called upon us to get totally mobilized in the struggle against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, by strengthening our internal front against this encirclement in all domains, both in defence and in the economy, as well as in politics and ideology. Speaking to the Party activists in Vlora, Comrade Enver Hoxha once again spoke on the great duty we have to deeply understand the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, and above all, on the way we must fight to smash this encirclement.

The enemy pressure from abroad is combined with the regressive internal pressure in a single front against the Party and the working masses, with the aim of providing the soil with the necessary nutrients for right opportunism — revisionism.

The 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania have shed light on the questions of the links between the external and internal enemies and of their coordinated action.

All of the internal enemies, without exception, are at the same time, in one way or another, agents of the external enemies, the imperialists and revisionists, regardless of whether their ties and their collaboration is direct or indirect. The former are linked to the latter by numerous threads. They are not only linked through anti-communist ideology but by the common desire to smash the Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the whole socialist

order in our country. They are also linked through the mutual assistance they render each other in their practical activity, carried out by the former from inside the country and by the latter from outside, to achieve the same goal. Without this mutual support, it is difficult if not impossible for them to act with any success. Needing each other, they are led to seek out the ways and means of cementing not only indirect ties but also direct ones, in order to assure each other the greatest possible support and assistance and to coordinate their hostile activity in the most broad and fruitful manner possible. We had a new confirmation of this in the discovery of the ties and the collaboration between certain revisionist states and the putschist and plotter enemy groups of Beqir Balluku, Abdyl Këllezi and Fadil Paçrami and their tools, which were exposed and condemned in recent years by our Party and people.

On the Antagonistic and Non-Antagonistic Contradictions In our Socialist Society

The class struggle has its basis in the class contradictions. The resolution of these contradictions through the class struggle drives society forward.

Therefore, in order to wage the class struggle correctly, it is necessary to have a profound knowledge of these contradictions and their character, to define the fundamental contradictions in any given stage of the revolution, on the resolution of which the resolution of all the other contradictions depends, and to always follow a revolutionary method of resolving contradictions using ways and means that vary in conformity with the character of one or the other contradiction.

Everybody knows that class contradictions are divided into two major groups, antagonistic and non-antagonistic. The contradictions between socialism and capitalism, between the proletarian ideology and the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, between the socialist morality and the petty-bourgeois psychology and religious prejudices and backward customs, between us and the enemies, are antagonistic contradictions. The contradictions among the working masses, among the various aspects of our socialist order, are non-antagonistic.

Antagonistic contradictions are characteristic of societies with

antagonistic classes. But in a society with non-antagonistic classes, such as our socialist society, where the exploiting classes have been eliminated, what place do these contradictions occupy?

Our Party has always made it clear that antagonistic contradictions have not disappeared in our country with the elimination of the exploiting classes as such. They exist, along with non-antagonistic contradictions.

The fundamental antagonistic contradiction is always the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, between the socialist road and the capitalist road.

This contradiction, as all the experience of the revolutionary struggle shows, is resolved little by little according to the stages of the revolution: first, on the political plane with the seizure of political power; then on the economic plane with the construction of the economic base of socialism in town and countryside; and finally on the ideological plane with the complete triumph of the proletarian ideology over the bourgeois ideology, of communist morality over bourgeois morality. The victory in the ideological field is not achieved immediately after seizure of power and the establishment of socialist relations of production.

The bitter experience of the Soviet Union has shown that as long as the fundamental contradiction has not been resolved in the ideological field too, **the fundamental contradiction in the political and economic fields cannot be considered resolved completely and finally, that is, the triumph of the socialist revolution cannot be considered complete and final.** Thus, neither with the seizure of power or with the construction of the economic base of socialism, has the question "Who Will Win?" been resolved; in other words, the fundamental contradiction between socialism and capitalism, between the socialist and capitalist roads is not resolved finally. This fundamental contradiction remains during the whole period of the transition to communism.

If the class struggle is not waged directly and ceaselessly not only in the ideological field but also in the political and economic fields, the **possibility** exists of the transformation of non-antagonistic contradictions into antagonistic ones. That this possibility has not been eliminated, that not all the antagonistic

contradictions have been eliminated in our socialist society, and that, consequently, the factor at the root of the restoration of capitalism has not been eliminated, is shown by, among other things, the fact that time and again elements hostile to the revolution and to socialism emerge, not only from the ranks of the remnants of the former exploiting classes but also from the ranks of the workers and even from the ranks of the communists. And the very existence of the state proves that antagonistic contradictions exist and that the state is indispensable as a weapon to correctly resolve the antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions and to prevent the latter from being transformed into antagonistic contradictions. Marx and Lenin defined the state as the product and the manifestation of the irreconcilable nature of the class contradictions.

It is for these reasons that the class struggle, as it develops, leads precisely to the resolution of the antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions. Someone might raise the question: "If the class struggle is waged to resolve non-antagonistic contradictions, then it must be supposed that the class struggle is permanent because there will be non-antagonistic contradictions in communism too."

But the issue is clear: In socialism, even though the non-antagonistic contradictions are among the people, within the socialist order, they are in the final analysis contradictions of a class character, which still have the possibility of converting into antagonistic contradictions if they are not dealt with and resolved correctly. On the other hand, in **communism the contradictions will not have a class character.** Hence they will no longer have the possibility of becoming antagonistic. Therefore, the class struggle is not permanent. It ceases when classes disappear **completely.**

So it is necessary to guard against overestimation or underestimation of the one or the other set of contradictions. It would not be correct to consider one set of primary importance and the other of secondary importance. Both antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions have their own important part. Underestimation of one group with respect to the other causes misunderstanding, becomes a source for wrong attitudes and acts.

We are faced with the following question: At the present stage, in what domain are the antagonistic contradictions primarily concentrated? Some consider that it is in the ideological domain, starting from the fact that this is an extremely vast and complex front in the struggle for the solution of the fundamental antagonistic contradiction. Others, taking account of the fact that the political struggle on the question of power, as the essential question of the revolution, is the supreme form of the class struggle, consider that the antagonistic contradictions are concentrated primarily in the political domain, whereas in the ideological domain, according to them, we encounter mainly non-antagonistic contradictions, as a result of the fact that here we are dealing with alien conceptions and manifestations which appear within **our people**.

In reality, we find antagonistic contradictions like non-antagonistic contradictions in all the main fields. The class enemy aims to weaken and eliminate not only the dictatorship of the proletariat and the national independence, but also the socialist economic order and the proletarian ideology. It acts in the three fields, and in the three fields the danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration exists. Hence the class struggle is waged in the three fields, between us and the enemies, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, between the proletarian ideology and the bourgeois-revisionist ideology.

Therefore, the opinions according to which the contradictions of either group are concentrated primarily in one or the other main field, not only do not conform with reality but lead to the weakening of the class struggle, which according to the orientation of the Seventh Congress of the Party, is complete and correct only when it is waged frontally, in all fields and directions, over all issues and in a combined way.

Such opinions may also lead to the mixing up of contradictions, a thing which becomes the source of wrong attitudes and acts of an opportunist or sectarian character.

The Class Struggle Is Waged in all Domains

Our Party has always stressed that the class struggle is waged in all fields and on all fronts, political, economic and ideological. This fundamental thesis was reiterated and further enriched by

the Seventh Congress of the Party.

Before the Seventh Congress, discussions went on as to which is the principal front of the class struggle.

Some people, basing themselves on the theses of the Fifth Congress of the Party which had declared that the class struggle "is today above all an ideological struggle", have sometimes concluded that the ideological struggle is the main front of the class struggle. Our Party has always pointed out, and the Fifth Congress also emphasized, that "the struggle against the enemies remains a duty of prime importance for our Party, our state and our workers", that "the struggle against bureaucratism is one of the essential tasks of the class struggle", that "the struggle against theft and waste of the socialist heritage is also a class struggle". If there have been signs of an attenuation of the class struggle in the political and economic domains, this is above all a result of an **often superficial understanding and application of the ideological struggle**, of the fact that it has been reduced, as Comrade Enver Hoxha criticized at the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee, to a struggle waged through conversations, conferences and slogans, while in fact **the ideological struggle must not fail to tackle any domain, any problem or any task; it must aim at resolving all problems and all tasks — political, economic, ideological, social, military, cultural, etc.**

The main thing is for everybody to understand and apply the lesson which the Seventh Congress drew from our experience of the class struggle, that **"unless it is waged in all its main directions, economic, political and ideological, no class struggle can ever be complete . . .** At given periods, now one or now the other form of class struggle may come to the fore, but in every case it must be faced squarely. We should not forget that the enemy too, is waging his class struggle in all directions, ideological, economic and political." The class struggle is waged on all fronts, not only because the enemy wages his struggle in all directions, but first of all because **we are developing the revolution in all fields and directions**. Therefore, the three fundamental directions — ideological, political and economic — of the class struggle are all very important. If the class struggle is weakened or crippled in one direction, the whole class struggle will be weakened and crippled.

The Seventh Congress pointed out that not only is it equally indispensable and important to wage the class struggle in all fields and directions, but also that **the three main forms of the struggle — political, economic and ideological — “must be interconnected with and supplement one another”**. **The class struggle is waged in this complex way because politics, ideology and the economy are interwoven with one another.**

In practice, there ought not to be and cannot be a simply ideological, simply political or simply economic struggle. A struggle waged in one field, apart from the other fields, would no longer have any value.

Having the triumph of the communist ideology and morality as its objective, **the ideological struggle** must be aimed first and foremost at preservation, strengthening and development of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the preservation, strengthening and development of the socialist property, proceeding from the standpoint that political power is the fundamental question of the revolution, while its ultimate aim is the construction of communist relations of production. Outside these objectives, the communist ideology and morality can never triumph completely. Therefore, the ideological struggle cannot be waged as a struggle in itself, but it is developed as a struggle which creates profound revolutionary convictions in the people, and which serves directly on this basis in the resolution of all the political, economic, cultural and military tasks of socialist construction and the defence of the homeland.

Having the preservation and the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the national sovereignty as its objective, **the political struggle** achieves this objective only on the basis of profound socialist, patriotic and revolutionary convictions of the working people, as well as on the basis of a strong and developed socialist economy, which ensures rapid and all-round development of the productive forces and production. The dictatorship of the proletariat and national independence can never last without their own socialist economic base and their proletarian ideological foundations. Therefore, the political struggle must not be just an administrative struggle, but must also be an ideological and economic struggle.

Having the preservation and strengthening and continuous development of the socialist mode of production as its objective, **the struggle in the economic field** achieves this objective only on the basis of a strong and stable proletarian power of socialist democracy, of the sound alliance of the working class with the collectivist peasantry, of the unity of the people, complete national independence, and also, only on the basis of the profound revolutionary and socialist convictions of the working people. For this reason, the struggle in the economic field is at the same time, an ideological and political class struggle too.

Meanwhile, the objectives in all directions are achieved on the basis of the undivided leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party. Therefore, the class struggle in all fields and directions, must be aimed at the strengthening of this leadership without fail.

It is necessary to understand also that independent of the various directions in which the class struggle is waged and of the equal importance of each of these basic directions, that **until classes and enemies are eliminated, the political struggle remains the highest form of this struggle**, in the sense that over no other question does the class struggle become so severe, amount to such a climax, as over the question of state power. The socialist revolutionary upheavals, as well as the bourgeois-revisionist counter-revolutionary upheavals, always begin with the state power. This is the source of the stern struggle that is always being waged and which is being waged today, between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists over the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Socialist State Is the Most Powerful Weapon of the Class Struggle

The socialist state remains the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat until communism. The “theories” of the Titoites, about the “withering away of the state” already, as well as the theories of the Khrushchovite revisionists about the “state of the whole people”, are nothing but “theories” about the dying out of the class struggle, of the rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin has said, that in order to go on to communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat must be strengthened and not

weakened. Our Party of Labour has always followed these immortal teachings.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the strongest weapon in the hands of the working class and its party. To wage the class struggle correctly, it is important not only to accept that the socialist state, even after the elimination of the exploiting classes, for the entire period of the transition to communism, remains the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also to define the functions of this state for the entire period correctly, on a class basis.

At the Fourth Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, when the building of the economic basis of socialism in town and countryside and the entry into a new stage, that of the complete construction of socialist society, was announced, the Party made it clear that also in this stage the function of repression of the socialist state along with the function of the defence of the homeland remained "very important functions".

However, following the construction of the economic base of socialism, the economic-organizational and cultural-educational role, which the proletarian state began to fill from its birth, deepened and expanded in the sphere of activity of the socialist state.

But its repressive function was not the least diminished as a result. As long as the antagonistic contradictions and the fierce class struggle between us and the enemies, between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist, the function of repression of the socialist state is not eliminated nor does it pass to second place.

Every function of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has its great importance. Its functions of organizations and management of the economy and culture, education, the suppression of hostile and criminal activity, of the defence of the homeland from the external enemy, are exerted in unity, supplement one another.

Overestimation or underestimation of one function of the state to the detriment of the others has grave consequences. Underestimation of the function of repression or of defence, leads to the slackening of revolutionary vigilance and the weakening of the class struggle against internal and external

enemies. Underestimation of the economic-organizational and cultural-educative functions also has catastrophic consequences for the fate of the complete construction of socialist society.

The dictatorship of the proletariat uses violence for the destruction of the old society and the construction of new socialist society, despite resistance put up by the enemies. (It is in this way that it proceeded to liquidate the economic base of the large landlords, the foreign and local capitalists, etc.).

Thus we have **the universal use of violence as a means of the class struggle to settle the issues of the revolution, while the level and the forms of the violence depend on the resistance of the enemies.** Lenin has stressed that **"the greater the extremes of the exploiters' resistance, the more vigorously, firmly, ruthlessly and successfully will they be suppressed."** Hence, the level, forms and severity of the violence, of the suppression, depend on the resistance activity by the enemies, but not the universal use of violence.

The attitude of **making distinctions** in the development of the class struggle is also one of the indispensable elements of the revolutionary method for conducting this class struggle. Our Party and our socialist state have always followed the practice of making distinctions in their class policy.

Distinction is not only made between the kulaks, the elements of the old exploiting classes as a whole, and the anti-Party elements, on the one hand, and their children, on the other hand, but even among the enemies themselves. Depending on his degree of guilt and on the degree of danger that an enemy represents for the society, it is decided who will be left free under surveillance, who will be put in prison, who will be sentenced to two or three years, who will get ten or twenty years, who will be shot.

We are interested in having as few enemies as possible, and this is why we make efforts to re-educate them, both when they are in prison and when they are free, while our control function, our vigilance, must not be relaxed at any moment.

The question is posed: Can we say that the repressive function tends to diminish as the revolutionary education of the masses is strengthened? This is connected with the very development of the class struggle.

The repressive function depends not so much on **the number** of enemies that exist in the country, as on the **gravity of the danger** threatening our dictatorship of the proletariat and our socialist country itself, from the internal and external enemies, which are always linked and coordinate their activity against us, as well as from liberalism, bureaucracy and bourgeois-revisionist degeneration when they are not combatted directly and continuously.

Practice has shown that in the course of the process of development of the revolution, of socialist construction, while a portion of the internal enemies are eliminated or wiped out, there appear others, new ones. If the class struggle is not waged correctly against them, hostile elements can even go so far as to create a bourgeois strata, and a whole hostile bourgeois class, as came about in the Soviet Union.

It is for this reason that the dictatorship of the proletariat always keeps its swords sharp to wipe out the enemies.

The Decisive Factor in Developing the Class Struggle and in the Complete Victory of Socialism over Capitalism and Revisionism Is the Leadership of the Working Class Headed by Its Own Staff, the Communist Party

History has charged the working class with the great mission of destroying bourgeois society, of the complete elimination of classes and the construction of classless communist society. No one can carry out this task other than the class which is most interested in it and most capable from every viewpoint, of liquidating the opposing class, the bourgeoisie, and its offsprings, imperialism, social-imperialism and revisionism.

How can this leadership be obtained, how can it last, to avoid being liquidated once it has been achieved? How can it remain always a revolutionary leadership? Everything depends on this.

Now that a great deal of experience has been accumulated in this regard, that there exists both negative and positive experience, it is possible to give a more complete and exact response to this question.

Seizing on what happened in the Soviet Union, where the new bourgeois bureaucratic class seized the leadership and the political power from the hands of the working class, the ultra-

revisionist servants of the bourgeoisie draw distorted conclusions which serve the interests of the bourgeoisie that allegedly the working class is not capable of leading the construction of socialist and communist society, and this task in present day conditions can be carried out only by the "new historic bloc", only by the "anti-imperialist alliance", only by the "collective working people" headed by the intellectuals, that the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat are not only not essential, but are just as harmful as the bourgeois political parties and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie because they wipe out democracy, that the most appropriate form of socialism is allegedly the "self-administrative socialism", "direct socialist democracy" that the working class merged with the so-called "working people", should lead directly, without the intervention of the Party and of the dictatorship, that the "working people" are able to attain socialist consciousness directly, from the great technical, scientific and social changes without any need of the Party, and other such nonsense.

Thus the class enemy makes use of the fact of the elimination of the socialist order and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, to reject Marxism-Leninism, to discredit socialism, to disorganize and to paralyze the whole International Communist and Workers' Movement.

In the Soviet Union, the leadership of the working class and the socialist order were eliminated precisely because the application of Marxism-Leninism was abandoned. The proletarian class struggle was allowed to die down, the working class was all pushed out and robbed of its leadership and power.

This only goes to show the great and mortal dangers which threaten the leadership of the working class and the socialist order at every step, the possibility of this leadership and this order being smashed if they do not remain loyal to Marxism-Leninism, do not apply its principles with determination and in a creative way, and do not wage the class struggle ceaselessly and with revolutionary methods.

Our experience of the socialist construction not only shows the superficial nature of the anti-communist conclusions which are drawn from the negative experience of the Soviet Union, but also proves completely the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory

on the hegemonic role of the working class and the class struggle.

The leading role of the working class has always been and still is the very essence of the policy of our Party. It has ensured this role through the implementation of its proletarian ideology and political line even when our working class was small in numbers and still not formed as an industrial working class. With the creation of such a class in our country after liberation, with the development of the socialist consciousness of this class, its leading role has been concretized and strengthened in all areas of life.

The leading role of the working class is increasing and growing steadily stronger through the tempering of this class in the political, economic and ideological struggle for the development of the socialist revolution and the socialist construction of the country, as well as through the ideo-political work of the Party to make the working class conscious of its great historical role.

The leadership of the working class is preserved, increased and strengthened continuously in struggle against the dangers which threaten this leadership; bureaucracy, technocracy, intellectualism, are great dangers of this sort.

It is of decisive importance that the working class and its party never allow the cadres to become bureaucratic and degenerate, never allow the emergence of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie as in the Soviet Union, where the bureaucratized and degenerate cadres, new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, seized leadership from the hands of the working class. **"In the Soviet Union", said Comrade Enver Hoxha, "the cadres, naturally the bad cadres, carried out the counter-revolution . . . Cadres have their place, their role, but they must not impose their dictates on the Party. The Party and the class must impose their dictates on them . . . This hegemony of the Party and of its class must be correctly understood by the cadres from the ideological point of view, and they must struggle for the implementation of principles".**

From this the Party of Labour of Albania draws the conclusion that the working class with its ally, the working peasantry, must carry out continuous revolutionary education and tempering of all leading cadres and officials of the state, the economy, culture and the Party, must not allow them to become degenerate and bourgeois, must constantly call them to

account and demand that they always remain proletarians in their ideology and activity, by placing them in such material conditions that there will be no possibility of the creation of privileged strata, which gives rise to the new bourgeoisie and must severely criticize those who commit errors and, as for those who wish to impose their dictates on the working class and on the other working masses, to **"smash their noses"** as Comrade Enver Hoxha says.

The Party of Labour of Albania has made a valuable contribution on the question of the realization of the leadership of the working class and socialism, by means of direct workers' and peasants' control. **"The Party,"** instructs Comrade Enver Hoxha, **"must give the working class pride of place so that it can lead and stand guard, and so that the officials carry out the tasks assigned to them by the Party and the class dictatorship as they should. Workers' control means the workers' vigilance in action, the dictatorship of the class in action. Workers' control is the class in leadership. It is the means of rectifying the mistakes and distortions of bureaucratic officials. Workers' control is the uncovering and severe punishment of enemy work and those who do it."**

But great care must be taken not to confuse the direct workers' control and the direct participation in government with the "direct" leadership of the working class, as has sometimes been done when the "direct leadership function" of the class has been spoken of, parallel to the leadership through the Party and through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

According to the classics of Marxism-Leninism, and on the basis of all revolutionary experience, **the working class exercises its hegemonic role in the revolution through its own party as well as through the dictatorship of the proletariat** when it succeeds in establishing the proletarian power. In the course of history, no class has been able to rule and lead directly, but only through its political parties and organizations and through its own state.

It follows that the expression "direct leadership function" of the working class should not be used. The direct participation of the masses in government and the direct control are not the so-called "direct leadership". They are realized under the leadership

of the Party and have as their aim the preservation and strengthening of the proletarian character of our state and Party, the complete implementation of the proletarian line of the Party and its programmatic tasks, and of the functions and the plans of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In order for the Party to remain always the party of the working class and not degenerate like the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and many other workers' and communist parties into an anti-communist and anti-worker party, it is its duty to put itself under the permanent control of the working class and the other working masses, to work with all its forces to raise the level of their consciousness, especially that of the working class, as nearly as possible to its own level of consciousness.

That party which divorces itself from the working class and places itself above it, which only speaks on behalf of the class, which does not remain always an inseparable part of the class, its vanguard unit, which does not aim at and succeed in making the working class and the whole people conscious and mobilizing them to build socialism themselves and to defend what they build, cannot be called a genuine party of the working class. And if it is so at the beginning, it will soon degenerate into a bourgeois-revisionist party. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, **"The masses build socialism, the Party makes them conscious."**

So the experience of Albania confirms that it is only under the leadership of a genuine party of the working class that the revolutionary and creative energies of the working masses can flower and burst out with all their force, that these masses can become fully conscious of their struggle for their social liberation, completely masters of their own fate, truly capable of destroying the old world of oppression, exploitation, misery and darkness and building the new world of freedom, independence, progress and socialism with their own hands.

"Nothing can happen to our socialist country", explained Comrade Enver Hoxha, **"if the Party is on its toes, as strong as steel, vigorous and fearless. Nothing can happen to our socialist country if our Party remains as it is, an organized vanguard detachment of the working class."**

The Organic Connection of the Class Struggle With the Other Motive Forces of Socialist Society — Essential Condition for the Correct Development of This Struggle

To wage the class struggle correctly and with complete success means, among other things, that every progressive force, all revolutionary energy, every other motive force within the country, must be evaluated correctly from the proletarian class standpoint and used in favour of socialism and the revolution.

There are many such forces in every country. The motive forces are of varying social, political and moral character.

The Party of Labour of Albania has wide experience in the class use of the inexhaustible progressive and revolutionary, social, political and moral forces, of every motive force in the ranks of the Albanian people for the good of the revolution and socialism, for the good of the people.

The major **moral** motive force is the traditional patriotism of the Albanian people. In the class struggle, in the heat of the revolution, under the influence of the proletarian ideology and policy of the Party, the class character of this patriotism has been reinforced immensely. It has been imbued with the proletarian socialist element.

The major **social** motive force has been and remains the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, created by history and forged by the Party in the flames of the struggle for national liberation, for socialist construction and the defence of the country. This alliance has become ever stronger, as more revolutionary, socialist economic, social, ideological, educational and cultural transformations have been made in the countryside.

The major **political** motive force has been and still is the unity of the people around the Party. All the progressive, revolutionary social, political and moral forces of the people have blended in this unity.

The waging of the class struggle in our country cannot be conceived of separately from the patriotism of the people, from the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, from the unity of the people around the Party, just as the patriotism of the people, the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, and the unity of the people cannot be conceived of separately from

the class struggle. Between them there exists a mutual connection and interdependence, in the sense that the class struggle cannot be waged correctly and victoriously unless it powerfully relies on patriotism, on the alliance of the working class and the collectivist peasantry and on the unity of the people, and conversely, these motive forces cannot be preserved and strengthened except on the basis of the class struggle, of the politics and the proletarian leading role of the Party. Thus, it is only by constantly bearing in mind this mutual connection and this interdependence that we will be able to adopt correct attitudes and to avoid making opportunist or sectarian errors in the practical activity of the basic organizations, the organs of power and of the economy, the organizations of the masses, the cadres and the communists.

The revolutionary methods which the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat use in their political, ideological, economic, cultural and other leading activity, in their educational and organizational work, are also very important motive forces.

One of these forces is criticism and self-criticism. It constitutes a powerful weapon to expose, strike at and correct faults and errors, to smash the regressive old and to open the way to the revolutionary new, to ensure the revolutionary education of the people. Without criticism and self-criticism, socialist democracy cannot be achieved, and neither can the class struggle in the ranks of the people be waged correctly.

Each motive force necessarily has its own political, economic and ideological basis. Therefore, the class struggle, to ensure the strengthening of each of the aspects of this basis, must also be waged at the same time on the political, economic and ideological fronts, must be at the same time class struggle against enemies and class struggle in the ranks of the people, for the preservation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the defence of the homeland, for the preservation, strengthening and development of the socialist property, for the increase of the socialist consciousness of men.

These are several questions of the revolutionary policy of our Party concerning the class struggle internally. The implementation of the ideas and decisions of the Seventh

Congress on the class struggle will certainly result in our waging this struggle ever better and more effectively.

In all the points which have just been stressed, a very important element to correctly wage the class struggle is the elimination of all one-sided thinking in understanding and developing this struggle. One-sided thinking in class struggle always leads to errors, to distortions of the line of the Party. In practical activity, we have observed and continue to observe many signs of one-sided thinking with regard to this struggle: Thus we raise the issue of the struggle against opportunism, and we see the manifestation of sectarian attitudes; we raise the issue of the struggle against liberalism, and concessions to conservatism are then made; we demand the implementation of the mass line, and discipline in work is forgotten; we stress one question and another is neglected.

One-sided attitudes cannot be reconciled with materialist dialectics, upon which the revolutionary line of the Party is built, and thus they cannot be reconciled with the line of the Party either. One-sided thinking stems from metaphysics. In the decisions and directives of the Party, in the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the ideas and decisions of the Seventh Congress, we always find all the various aspects of the class struggle in unity, in dialectical relationship with each other. To avoid as much as possible deviations in practical activity, an incorrect interpretation, a narrow conception and an incomplete carrying out of the class struggle, it is above all necessary to consistently wage the class struggle with the greatest possible firmness — inside the Party as everywhere else — on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of the teachings and the rich experience of our Party, and above all, on the basis of the conclusions which have been reached and the tasks that have been assigned by the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Plenums and the 7th Congress of the Party.

II

THE PROLETARIAN ATTITUDE OF THE PLA FOR THE CORRECT DEVELOPMENT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE INTERNATIONALLY

All of the class struggle which has been and is being carried on resolutely and successfully in our country under the leadership of

the PLA has not been nor can it be looked at as struggle confined simply within the bounds of the country's problems, as a class struggle of exclusively national character and significance. On the contrary, the class struggle in our country has been and remains an important constituent part of the entire general process of sharp class struggle which is going on at the present time on the world scale.

Faithfully and resolutely holding to the proletarian principles of class struggle, our Party has always developed its policy in such a manner as to serve the great cause of the revolution. It has done this and continues to do this in two directions at the same time: by successfully and consistently leading forward the construction of socialism in Albania, which also constitutes a victory for the revolution internationally, and by pursuing a correct revolutionary foreign policy in such a manner that all positions adopted and all actions it takes contribute actively to the cause of the proletariat, to the struggle of the peoples and to the progress of the revolution.

Our Party, from its founding, has appraised international events and has adopted the required attitude towards them, always considering them through the prism of class, the prism of the interests of the revolution and of socialism.

In the same way the PLA, throughout the development and leadership of the class struggle in the country, has always been guided by the proletarian internationalist principle according to which the only communist parties which can be considered as upholding correct positions are those which view their struggle and their efforts as intimately linked with the struggle and efforts of the whole International Workers' and Marxist-Leninist Movement, a struggle aimed at bringing about the triumph of the revolution and of socialism, at defending and applying proletarian ideology in absolutely resolute fashion, at striking out intransigently against modern revisionism and all opportunism, at tearing off their masks and denouncing them and completely wiping them out.

"In the face of imperialism, social-imperialism and their fierce aggressive and expansionist acts", Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the Seventh Congress of the PLA, "in the face of the bourgeoisie, of the international monopolies and of their

barbarous exploitation, in the face of reaction, of the violence and terror which it unleashes, are ranged, with strength increased tenfold, the world proletariat and the resolute revolutionaries, the peoples who are struggling for freedom and democracy, for socialism." The clash of these opposing forces is a sharp class struggle which takes in all countries and all aspects of present-day society.

The dialectics of the development of the class struggle will finally lead without fail to the victory of the cause of the proletariat throughout the world. But to leave one's future to the mercy of spontaneity, to wait arms folded for the class struggle in support of the proletariat to develop spontaneously, would mean, as Lenin pointed out "to die while waiting".

As experience continues to demonstrate, it often happens that, in one country or in several at the same time, the objective conditions for revolution exist, the contradictions between the antagonistic classes become aggravated to the extreme and the revolutionary situation ripens, that the ruling classes are therefore no longer capable of governing as before and that the oppressed classes and peoples are no longer willing to tolerate the oppression and exploitation, but in spite of everything, the revolution does not break out, or that, even when it does break out, that it fails, that it is drowned in blood.

This brings out and testifies to the very great importance which the subjective factor has for the development and the victorious conclusion of the class struggle. In particular, the existence of the proletarian party — and not only one which gives itself this name, but which in fact is a proletarian party, shown above all, by its Marxist-Leninist line and activity, by its close links with the masses, and by its ability to lead them in revolution — constitutes the determining condition and the prime subjective factor for the development and the victorious conclusion of the overall class struggle and of the proletarian revolution in particular.

The experience of the development and of the happy culmination of our people's revolution is the best witness to this. The Communist Party of Albania, having just been born, was able to understand, analyze and judiciously profit from the situation which was created in Albania following the fascist

invasion. By struggling simultaneously against the opportunist conceptions of the elements who had the circle spirit, who wanted put off the question of the people's revolution forever, and against the "Trotskyist-extremist formulae" of other elements who by their "ultra-reactionary" phrases, played the game of fascism, the Communist Party of Albania was able to define and consistently put into practice a clear and correct political, ideological and organizational line. This was the line of the struggle for the mobilization and organization of the entire people in the National Liberation Front, of laying the foundations of the new power in the flames of the struggle for freedom and independence, the line of the organization of the armed general uprising and the creation of the National Liberation Army, the line of the judicious combination of the struggle for freedom and national independence with the struggle for social liberation from all forms of oppression and exploitation. The consistent implementation of this Marxist-Leninist line led to the great historic victory — the complete liberation of the country, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the gradual transformation of Albania from a feudal-bourgeois country into a socialist country, by-passing the stage of advanced capitalism.

We can thus see the considerable and decisive role played by the subjective factor in the development and victorious conclusion of the class struggle on the basis of the class positions of the proletariat!

The subjective factor in the development of the class struggle is the effective means which enables the proletariat and peoples to confront the apparatus of propaganda and oppression which the imperialist-revisionist bourgeoisie uses against their revolutionary struggle, to prolong its existence as long as possible. The imperialist-revisionist bourgeoisie has more than ever based its hopes on violence and terror, diversion and armed intervention. It particularly resorts to struggle on the ideological front, in order to bring about degeneration in the socialist countries, to sow confusion among the proletariat and peoples, to poison their consciousness, to prevent the elaboration and organization of measures for the revolution, to especially strike at and corrupt the political and ideological headquarters of the

proletariat, the communist parties. This is nothing but class struggle, waged by imperialism on the basis of its own positions.

The conversion of the Soviet Union into an aggressive and hegemonist social-imperialist state, the addition of the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, to the imperialist front of class struggle, has still further aggravated and complicated the class struggle of the proletariat, of the peoples and of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties.

Seeking to justify their betrayal to the proletariat and peoples and to cover it up, in order to better deceive them, the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, and all the other opportunists clearly have justified and will always continue to strive to justify their actions theoretically, to pass them off as "the last word in Marxism", as "a creative development of Marxism in the present conditions".

They have always striven and will continue to strive to present their general line of betrayal as the result of "profound transformations" which have allegedly been brought about in the content of our era.

It is precisely on this problem, **on the correct definition of the nature of our era**, that a very sharp struggle has always gone on between Marxism-Leninism, on the one hand, and modern revisionism and the various opportunist trends on the other. Our Party of Labour upholds the following definition: **our era**, which has as its basic content the transition from capitalism to socialism, is "the era of the clash of two opposing social systems, the era of socialist revolutions and national liberation revolutions, the era of the collapse of imperialism, of the liquidation of the colonial system, the era in which other peoples will take up the path of socialism, of the triumph of socialism and communism on the world scale."

The correct understanding of the nature of our era, of its content, of its motive forces, constitutes for each Marxist-Leninist party a fundamental condition for the elaboration of a correct political and ideological line, of consistent revolutionary strategy and tactics. It follows that it is the line, the strategy and the tactics of a party (or of parties) which are and which must be determined through a correct understanding of the era, by its content; and not the objective content of the era which depends

(and it cannot depend) on the strategy, and even less on the desires, of one or several parties. It happens that some parties, and this is the case for all the present revisionist parties, wish to present their entirely false and anti-Marxist strategy and tactics as being based on the understanding of the nature of our era, when in fact they simply formulate "theories" to suit their convenience, to support their pragmatist policy. It is precisely in this regard that the revisionists and opportunists have always exceeded all bounds. Their political opportunism leads them to "scientific" charlatanism; it leads them to present objective social reality and its processes in a false light and from this to derive erroneous anti-revolutionary conclusions.

In its struggle against these distortions, the PLA has stressed and continues to stress that the only scientific criterion for the correct understanding of the content of our era is **the analysis, the assessment in class terms, on the basis of the positions of Marxist-Leninist science, of the basic events and phenomena of our era, of its motive forces.** The point of departure in this undertaking is the Leninist analysis of the basic contradictions of our times, of the phase in which they are to be found, of the struggle which is being waged or must be waged to resolve them; all these are elements which define the content of this era.

After the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin and Stalin wrote in their works about the following principal contradictions of the epoch: **the contradiction between socialism and capitalism; the contradiction between labour and capital, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries; the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism; the contradictions among the imperialist powers themselves, among the monopolies.**

For the historical epoch we are living in, the fundamental contradiction is that between socialism and capitalism. **In the socialist countries,** this contradiction expresses itself in the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road. **In the capitalist and revisionist countries** it expresses itself in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. **On a world plane,** it expresses itself in the struggle between socialism and capitalism.

The objective reality in all its aspects has confirmed and is

confirming that today, far from disappearing and becoming milder, these contradictions have become even deeper and more acute.

Confronting each other are two sets of opposing forces. **On the one side** stand the socialist countries and the world proletariat as the **principal social force** of the great cause of the revolution and socialism, and shoulder-to-shoulder with them, the oppressed peoples or those in danger of being oppressed, all the revolutionary, progressive and freedom-loving forces of the world.

On the other side stands United States imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, as the chief enemies of the peoples and socialism, and along with them, the other imperialist and revisionist powers, the monopoly bourgeoisie, the fascist forces, all international reaction and revisionism.

The profound class analysis made by the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania of the present-day situation in the world, of the mounting struggle of the proletariat, the peoples and the Marxist-Leninist parties, on the one hand; as well as of the attempts of imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction to strengthen their oppressive and exploitative order, on the other hand, confirmed once more that, "as a social system, capitalism can never escape its contradictions and its woes, that it is incapable of ensuring its own superprofits while at the same time preserving an internal social equilibrium." Failing to take this objective reality into account, and to propagate in opposition to it, the commencement of "detente", "easing of tension", "peaceful integration of capitalism into socialism", and to claim that "imperialism has become more reasonable and moderate", that we are living in an epoch of "universal international harmony" and "general security", that "United States imperialism is in decline and does not constitute the same dangers that it did", etc., etc., as the Khrushchovite modern revisionists and others have been doing, is not conceivably a mere "theoretical error", an accidental slip from the positions of Marxist-Leninist science. The distorted presentation of the content of our historical epoch by the modern revisionists and the other opportunists, has been and is deliberate in order to quell the class struggle of the proletariat so that it does not rise in

the struggle against the bourgeoisie, revisionism and reaction, but reconciles itself to the situation and stands docile, accepting the yoke of oppression and exploitation to the end. **"From this",** says Comrade Enver Hoxha, **"also stems the other revisionist thesis that Leninism is allegedly obsolete, that the fundamental theses on imperialism, classes and class struggle, the state and revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, have become outdated also."**

Always standing loyal to Marxism-Leninism throughout its existence, the Party of Labour of Albania has encountered such anti-communist theories and practices and analyzed them from sound class positions and has attacked them resolutely without the slightest hesitation.

The Party of Labour of Albania has accumulated especially impressive experience in this direction in its fight against Khrushchovite revisionism as the ruling ideology and outlook of a great power which stands at the head of the modern revisionist front. The Party of Labour of Albania has always made a proper Marxist-Leninist analysis of such notorious theories bearing the brand of the Soviet revisionists as those on: the party and the state of the "whole people"; "peaceful coexistence" with anybody at all and in all domains; a world "without armies, without weapons and without wars"; the "peaceful revolution"; "limited sovereignty", etc., etc., and has revealed their anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary efforts and has exposed them openly and ruthlessly. Our Party has never toned down its fight in this direction, nor will it do so in the future, because it is very well aware that 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 on all questions", and that "the Khrushchovite theories 'represent' a consciously chosen course for the elimination of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism."

All the other bourgeois-revisionist theories, such as that of the Yugoslav revisionists about "workers' self-administration", or those on the "consumer society", "intermediate non-capitalist development", the "society of the technical-scientific revolution", etc. also serve these counter-revolutionary aims.

Likewise, the "new concept" about the content of our epoch

according to the so-called "theory of three worlds" analyzed and attacked from the class angle, is nothing but a **theory of the dying out of the class struggle** — a theory which covers up the fundamental contradictions of our epoch, that causes confusion and disorganization, that creates illusions in the ranks of the proletariat and the peoples and the Marxist-Leninist parties.

In the first place, the so-called "theory of three worlds", like its twin sisters which speak of the "non-aligned countries", the "developing countries", etc. is not based on Marxist-Leninist class criteria in the grouping of countries. Conscious of this "lack", the authors of this "theory" pretend that Lenin in his time also divided the world in this manner. But this is false.

"In the world today", wrote Lenin, **"there are two worlds, the old world, capitalism, which is in a state of confusion, but which will never surrender voluntarily, and the emerging new world which though very weak, will grow for it is invincible."** As we have seen, Lenin makes this division of the world basing himself on the class criterion, on given economic social orders which are diametrically opposed to each other because the relations of production themselves, on which these orders are built, are entirely different from and opposed to each other, just as the classes which stand at the head of these orders are diametrically opposed to each other.

While erasing the class boundaries in the division of the world, the "theory of the three worlds" draws no conclusions in regard to the revolution. On the contrary, it ignores the revolution. For example, according to this "theory", among the countries of the so-called "third world", there are dependent countries, capitalist countries or countries ruled by fascism, as well as socialist countries. Under this "theory", the contradiction between socialism and capitalism as the fundamental contradiction of our epoch at the national and international level does not exist. It has been eliminated. The authors of this "theory" justify this notably with the fact that after the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and a series of other countries which were formerly socialist, the socialist camp no longer exists.

But with the going over of the Soviet Union and a number of countries of people's democracy to the camp of the counter-revolution, can it be said that socialism has been wiped out as a

social and economic system? By no means. Socialism is alive and growing steadily stronger and more consolidated in the true socialist countries. It is the inevitable future of human society and there is no force which can eliminate it. There is no force which can stop its triumph on a world scale. Proceeding from this reality, the true Marxist-Leninists do not divide the world on the basis of blocs, but on the basis of economic-social systems. This criterion has been and is unshakable, even if only one socialist country exists in the world. Lenin himself, explaining that there are two worlds in the world today, had in mind a whole capitalist world, and, fighting it, a single socialist country, the Soviet Russia of that time. Thus, to adopt the so-called "theory of three worlds" means to distort the teachings of Lenin in the most flagrant manner, to have no confidence in the inevitable triumph of socialism.

To follow or implement this "theory" in a socialist country means to weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat and to undermine the victories of socialism. To propagate this "theory" means to call on the international proletariat not to fight or rise in revolution, not to fight for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat but to submit to domination and exploitation by the big capitalist monopolies. It means to call on the people not to rise in struggles against reactionary regimes like those of Pinochet, the Shah of Iran, and some others like them, but to accept their enslavement.

The all-pervading bourgeois-revisionist propaganda has been mobilized as never before in the service of the strategy of United States imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism in order to quell the class struggle of the proletariat for the triumph of the revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or to reduce the objective of this struggle to such claims as the bloodthirsty rulers permit and approve. One side is telling the proletariat to reconcile itself to the situation because it will go to socialism through the "democratic freedoms" which the bourgeois order guarantees. Others emphasize "fraternization despite divergencies". Here it is advised not to rise in revolution because "if the superpower balance is upset the atomic bomb will go off". There it is advised to "bend its back and tightens its belt to overcome the crisis". On the one hand, it is

recommended to support the bourgeois governments and armies, NATO and the European Common Market in order to defend its country against the social-imperialist threat. On the other hand, it is called upon to support the revisionist clique in its own country, Soviet social-imperialism and the Warsaw Treaty in order "to defend the homeland against the imperialist threat". According to the modern revisionists and the other opportunists, it is precisely these things that are the problem of the day for the international proletariat, and not proletarian revolution.

The true Marxist-Leninists see this vital problem quite differently. For them **the question of the revolution is on the order to the day. "The world is at a stage"**, said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, **"when the triumph 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."**

As has been stressed, all of the principal contradictions of our epoch have now sharpened to the maximum, and as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, they will lead inevitably to revolution. The Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present-day situation shows that everywhere, both in the developed capitalist countries and in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have just won their freedom or are fighting colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialist intervention, the objective conditions have been created for the proletarian revolution or the democratic liberation revolution. Hence, the above conclusion of the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania does not represent a subjective desire, but is a conclusion that stems from the Marxist-Leninist analysis of concrete, actual situations. The modern revisionists and the various opportunists make the accusation that the true Marxist-Leninists allegedly "do not take the situations into account", that they "want to skip the stages", that they are "impatient" and put forward only "the question of the proletarian revolution" and so on and so forth. These are the well-known old tactics resorted to by all scabs. In fact, it is not they but the true Marxist-Leninist parties that make the necessary distinctions between ultra-leftist slogans and the objective development of events. **"Those who want to accelerate the development of things artificially"**, said Comrade Enver

Hoxha, "are lacking in correct Marxist-Leninist judgment, because the revolution is not organized and carried out in one day. It is not a wedding party, but a great people's war . . . However, the Marxist-Leninists are not afraid to fight, . . . on the contrary, in war and revolution they become stronger and more invincible."

The true Marxist-Leninist parties always take careful account of the stages of the revolutions, and have supported both the proletarian revolutions and the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples and the democratic revolutions everywhere in the world with all their might, considering them as extremely important, irreplaceable factors in the development of the world revolutionary process, as links in the chain of the proletarian revolution. The Party of Labour of Albania has always been on the side of the peoples that fight for freedom and national independence. **"The progressive peoples and democratic states which . . . struggle to establish their national sovereignty over their wealth, who struggle to strengthen their political and economic independence, for equality and justice"**, says Comrade Enver Hoxha, **"enjoy the solidarity and full support of the Albanian people and state."**

What the opportunists are really after with their accusations is not to "save" the stages of the revolution, but precisely to extinguish, to avoid the revolution itself. They chant the slogan of "patience" because allegedly "conditions for the revolution have not been created". In reality the conditions for the revolution exist and are maturing day by day. The proletariat is being increasingly subjected to most savage exploitation and oppression. Every day is seeing the cost of living mount. Workers are threatened with joining the army of unemployed and are forced to make innumerable sacrifices. This situation is convincing the proletariat that **in order to put an end to the never-ending sacrifices, the time has come for it to make "the supreme sacrifice", to rise in revolution and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.**

Another fact makes the all-round preparation of the proletariat for the revolution even more essential. There is a real danger that another world war might break out. The duty of the proletariat is to struggle against the aggressive war and it must do

this. When this war becomes inevitable, the proletariat must turn it into a revolution. This cannot be done in one day. Nor can it be done without systematic prior preparation and a high level of revolutionary consciousness, mobilization and organization, without the leadership of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties.

The genius of Marx discovered the historic mission of the proletariat as the most revolutionary class that stands at the centre of our epoch. This mission, this objective reality cannot be covered up by any demagoguery or bourgeois or revisionist "theories".

Bourgeois ideologists and the modern revisionists, as well as the opportunists of every hue have long been bringing up other "theories" which deny the proletariat this mission.

Some of them leave this mission in the hands of the "technocrats", or the "intermediate strata". Others leave it in the hands of kings, emirs and reactionary governments and fascists, **ruling the countries** where they are in power, who, according to the theory of "third world", have allegedly become **"the revolutionary motive force which drives the wheel of history forward"**! But after all this, these so-called "theoreticians" swear that they remain loyal to the theory of Marx and Lenin. These are distortions of truth. **"The main thing in Marx's doctrine"**, says Lenin, **"is the elucidation of the world historic role of the proletariat as the creator of socialist society"**. It is clear that the opportunists have distorted and discarded the **main theme** in Marx's doctrine, the historic mission of the proletariat as the most revolutionary force of society.

The creation and strengthening of alliances against imperialism and reaction and particularly against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, is a task facing the proletariat, the peoples and the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties.

Of decisive importance for a correct orientation on this problem, as on any other problem or phenomenon, is the establishment of the clear class criteria: **Alliance with whom, and for what?** This is how Marxist-Leninists present the question. Proceeding from this correct criterion it is evident that for Marxist-Leninists it is altogether alien and extremely harmful to call for an alliance that denies the proletariat its hegemonic role

in the revolution, that is not centred on the proletariat as the main social motive force of the epoch, that does not establish a definite criterion for the division between the proletariat and the reactionary bourgeoisie, between the peoples fighting for freedom and independence and the fascist regimes, the clergy, the dregs of society, lumpen elements, etc., but lumps them all together. **"According to the doctrine of socialism, that is, Marxism, . . . the true motive force of history is the revolutionary struggle of classes,"** says Lenin. **"According to the doctrine of bourgeois philosophy, the motive force of progress is the solidarity of all elements of society. The former outlook is materialist, the latter is idealist. The former supports the tactics of the proletariat, in the present-day capitalist countries; the latter, the tactics of the bourgeoisie."**

The champions of anti-Marxist "theories" with regard to the alliance which the proletariat and the people must create in their struggle, try to present their preachings as Marxist-Leninist, but in reality, such views of theirs are far from being Marxist-Leninist.

They call for "alliances" among different "worlds" or countries, but they "forget" that in those so-called "worlds" and countries, there are people, classes and class interests diametrically opposed to one another. Hence, first the opportunists wipe out the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, divert the attention of the proletariat from its preparation for revolution; second, in the so-called "alliances" that the opportunists recommend, the hegemonic and leading role which the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party should play is not taken into account. On the contrary, this role either remains altogether undefined or is divided among different classes and parties. The positions of Marxism-Leninism in connection with this problem are the complete opposite. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that for the attainment of its strategic aims, **the true Marxist-Leninist party must employ skillful revolutionary tactics, must win over the natural allies of the proletariat and secure their support, must exploit the contradictions that arise among the imperialist powers and set up alliances with those forces and classes, which even for a limited time and to a limited extent, are interested in the revolution. But,**

stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha, "this party must not lose its individuality, enter into any sort of front and destroy itself; on the contrary, it must always preserve its independence, principles, and norms. It must without fail achieve its hegemonic role in the revolution through struggle and its correct policy. . . But no one will give you hegemony. It must be won."

Throughout its history, the Party of Labour of Albania has consistently upheld these principles. In the years of the anti-fascist National Liberation War, it exploited the contradictions created as a result of nazi-fascist aggression correctly, and accepted the Anglo-American Soviet alliance, coordinating the struggle of the Albanian people with the struggles of the other peoples against the nazi and fascist occupiers. But at the same time, the Party of Labour of Albania knew how to make the proper distinction between the Soviet Union on the one hand, and the Anglo-Americans on the other. It knew also; how to keep its independence, and that of the Albanian people intact in the framework of the anti-fascist alliance. It never allowed the struggle of the Albanian people to be made dependent on the orders of the Allied Military Command; to be led or exploited by it. Later, when the Anglo-Americans, under the guise of "allies", requested permission to send their forces into Albania, the Communist Party of Albania took the only stand toward this that it could take. It did not permit other occupiers, the Anglo-American imperialists, to supplant the nazi occupiers.

In regard to alliances, the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania) followed a flexible and always principled policy on the internal plane too, during the anti-fascist National Liberation War. Right from the beginning of the war in our country, it called on the entire people without distinction as to class, religion and ideology, to unite in a single front in the struggle against the foreign invaders, and did great work to win over all those who were interested in the freedom and independence of Albania. But along with this, our Party kept its independence, its leading role in the anti-fascist National Liberation Front and the hegemonic role of the working class in the revolution complete and intact. The Communist Party of Albania did not accept that its leadership of the struggle, and of the new people's power which was being created in the fire of the

struggle, could be shared with anyone else. The immediate condemnation by the leadership of the Party of the notorious Mukje compromise is an example in this direction.

In advocating various "alliances", the "creation of an anti-imperialist front," the modern revisionists and other opportunists who call for the "unity of various countries," allegedly in the struggle against the two superpowers, but in fact against one of them, claim that in this manner they are exploiting the **inter-imperialist contradictions**.

The supporters of the so-called "theory of three worlds", for example, call on the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which according to them constitute the "third world", to unite with such capitalist countries as England, France, or West Germany, which according to them constitute the "second world", in order allegedly, to face up to the threats of the two superpowers, which constitute the "first world"; but in fact, to face up to the threats of only one of them, Soviet social-imperialism. Among other things, you only have to read the speech of the United States President, Carter, at the summit meeting of representatives of the fifteen richest industrialized capitalist countries which was held in London recently, or to follow the so-called "north-south dialogue" which was held in Paris between some developed countries of the "second world" and some developing countries of the "third world", to see for yourself on what weak, non-class foundations the "theories" of the division of the "three worlds", the illusions and the absurdities about the alliance among these "worlds", have been built.

To define correctly which is the principal enemy on an international level in a given historical period is of capital importance if you are to follow a correct revolutionary foreign policy.

The view of the Party of Labour of Albania on this question has always been clear. The Seventh Congress of the Party once again expressed the view that today, United States imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the two superpowers, are "the main and greatest enemies of the peoples", and as such, "they pose the same danger".

This conclusion is drawn from the Marxist-Leninist class

analysis of the objective international conditions, of the fundamental contradictions on a world scale.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 defined the main enemy of the peoples at that time as fascism, represented by nazi Germany, fascist Italy and militarist Japan. That fascism was the principal enemy of the peoples was thoroughly confirmed in the Second World War.

Following the Second World War, the leading forum of the International Communist Movement, which was the Information Bureau, defined United States imperialism as the main enemy of the peoples, a thesis that was re-emphasized at the First Moscow Meeting in 1957, and at the Second Moscow Meeting in 1960, despite all the efforts which the Khrushchovite revisionists made to avoid this definition.

When the Soviet Union was transformed from a socialist country into a revisionist-capitalist and social-imperialist country, apart from United States imperialism, another main enemy was added, thus making two main, equally dangerous enemies of socialism, the revolution and the peoples.

We say that it is a mistake to declare that at the present day there are not two main enemies of the peoples, but only one, Soviet social-imperialism, and that it is more dangerous than United States imperialism, because allegedly only Soviet social-imperialism wants war, whereas United States imperialism allegedly does not want war, because it is allegedly weakened and wishes only to preserve the status quo. Such a thesis is not only incorrect, but it is very harmful to the revolution and the peoples.

The Party and people of Albania support the correct Marxist-Leninist conclusion of the Seventh Congress of the Party that, "Each separately or together, the two superpowers represent to the same degree and to the same extent, the main enemy of socialism and the freedom and independence of nations, the greatest force defending oppressive and exploiting systems, and the direct threat that mankind will be hurled into a third world war."

The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have not had, do not have and never will have the slightest illusions about the aggressive, hegemonistic and expansionist nature of both United States imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

If it is not always **kept in mind and put into practice** at every instance, that the **two superpowers are the main enemies** of socialism and the peoples today, this leads to catastrophic consequences for one or the other Marxist-Leninist party, for one or the other country or people which forgets this great truth.

It does occur that a given country is oppressed or threatened more directly by one of the two superpowers, but this does not mean that the other superpower is less of an enemy or no enemy at all to that country. Each superpower fights the revolution and socialism with might and main to prevent them from triumphing in any country, wherever it may be. Likewise, each of them is poised, ready to establish its own imperialist domination immediately over whatever country manages to break away from the other superpower.

Life is confirming more clearly day by day, that the new superpower, Soviet social-imperialism, is employing all means and methods to penetrate everywhere in the world to secure markets and the largest possible spheres of influence, to compete as "a worthy partner" of the other superpower, brawl with it over its own interests, and at the same time, to unite with it in the fight against the peoples, the proletariat and the proletarian revolution. While making a correct assessment of the objective nature of this superpower, the Party of Labour of Albania has never been nor is it now of the opinion that the other superpower, United States imperialism, has become less dangerous, has grown weaker, and that hence, as the opportunists say, that we may neglect the struggle against it, or can even rely on it! To the Party of Labour of Albania, both United States imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are equally dangerous, equally savage and aggressive. Hence, one must not rely on either one or the other, or on the other imperialist or revisionist states, which are docile tools of these superpowers.

Only by having a correct appreciation and a thorough understanding from the strategic viewpoint that the main enemies of socialism and the peoples in our days are the two superpowers, can one follow a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist foreign policy.

Only on the basis of this correct appreciation and understanding which is based on the real state of things, can the

class struggle be conducted correctly on the external front, can this struggle be spearheaded against the two superpowers as the main enemies of socialism and the peoples, never divorcing the struggle against the one superpower from the struggle against the other.

It is only in this way that we will be able to avoid the opportunist errors which consist either of ceasing or attenuating the political and ideological struggle against one or the other of the two superpowers; of relying on one imperialism to combat the other; or further, of determining the position to take with regard to one or another international event, or with regard to one or another international conflict, not on the basis of class positions, but of pragmatist and utilitarian positions, always placing oneself on the side of the forces opposed to one of the superpowers, even when these opposing forces are manipulated or directed by the other superpower, even when they are ultra-reactionary.

Attacking the theories and actions of opportunists about their alleged exploitation of inter-imperialist contradictions, the Party of Labour of Albania has stressed:

First, the exploiting of inter-imperialist contradictions should be regarded only as an auxiliary and temporary factor in the country or countries where the dictatorship of the proletariat has triumphed. As life is continually proving, no matter how fierce the contradictions and conflicts among the imperialist powers, the real danger of aggressive actions by imperialism against the socialist countries always exists at every moment. Comrade Enver Hoxha says that we must "**exploit the great contradictions among the enemies properly, correctly, to our advantage, to the advantage of the socialist countries and the peoples that are rising in revolution, must expose them unceasingly, and must not content ourselves with those so-called concessions or moderate attitudes into which the imperialists and revisionists are forced in order to overcome the immediate danger and take revenge later. . . Our socialist countries must employ tactics all the time, but these tactics must always conform to our ideology and must serve our strategy in the interests of our socialist countries and the revolution.**"

Second, the Party of Labour of Albania upholds the view that

the exploitation of inter-imperialist contradictions, as a component part of the foreign policy of the socialist countries, cannot be an aim in itself and must not be done from some narrow, short-term interests of one or several socialist countries to the neglect of the development of the revolutionary and liberation movement of the other countries. Stalin said, "I cannot imagine how the interests of our Republic could require not the maximum revolutionary spirit and political activity of the workers of the West but the reduction of this activity, the weakening of the revolutionary spirit."

Third, the Party of Labour of Albania, basing itself on Lenin's teachings, has never conceived the exploitation of inter-imperialist contradictions as supporting one imperialist state or one imperialist group against the other. While supporting the just national liberation wars and movements of the peoples, the Party of Labour of Albania has always taken a clear-cut stand against imperialist war, has called on the peoples of the world to be vigilant and to do everything in their power to forestall the danger of the aggressive war which the United States imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are preparing. But if such a war breaks out, the Party of Labour of Albania upholds Lenin's teaching . . . "the duty of the representative of the revolutionary proletariat is to prepare the world proletarian revolution as the only escape from the horrors of the world slaughter . . . This is what internationalism means, and this is the duty of the internationalist, of the revolutionary worker, of the genuine socialist."

Over all these problems, a fierce struggle has been and is going on between Marxism-Leninism and all shades of modern revisionism, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the forces of the revolution and the counter-revolution. This is a stern class struggle, which, as we have stressed, has involved the whole society and has to do with the most cardinal and worrying problems of the times.

* * *

History has charged the international proletariat and the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties with the mission of carrying this struggle forward, of waging it always from the positions of

Marxism-Leninism. Along with the growth of the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat and the rise in its struggle, and as a result of this struggle, in many of the countries where the former communist parties have slid into revisionism, for some years now, new Marxist-Leninist parties have emerged and are becoming firmly established, and they will take the great cause of the proletariat completely into their hands and carry it forward. These parties are still young, but precisely because they are saplings of the revolutionary new, they will grow steadily stronger and more consolidated, become genuine, proven leaders.

Appreciating the great importance of this revolutionary process of the emergence and growth of the new Marxist-Leninist parties, the Party of Labour of Albania has always been solidly behind their correct line, has backed them up in all directions ideologically, politically and organizationally, considering genuine and sincere assistance to these parties as its internationalist duty.

Failing to support this revolutionary process on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, or even worse, under the guise of "assistance", to exert an influence toward ideological confusion and disorganization among them, means to do great harm to the cause of the proletariat and the revolution.

Precisely in the course of this struggle and these difficulties, the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties are growing and becoming stronger day by day. The internationalist rallies held recently by a series of Marxist-Leninist parties such as those of Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Greece show that day by day these new parties are assuming the leadership of the working class and the other oppressed masses of their countries.

The future belongs to these new revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties, no matter how small and powerless they may appear today. Whereas, the revisionist parties, no matter how great and powerful they seem to be, will end up where the social-democratic and reformist parties of the Second International have ended.

The class struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world will become even fiercer. More and more true revolutionaries, enlightened by the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin

and Stalin, will rally to their ranks. The international proletariat and the other masses of the working people under the leadership of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties will become ever more conscious of their role in carrying the revolution through to its successful conclusion. Thus, the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist revolutionary front will be extended from day to day and the triumph of the peoples will be brought nearer.

As an inseparable component of this anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist front, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people will continue their unvarying course of the relentless and consistent waging of the class struggle and the ceaseless revolutionization of the whole life of the country, the course of the class alliance, and support for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and peoples of the world. This way, our Party and people will fulfil their national and international duty as always, and will march with sure steps toward socialist and communist society.

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA— THE SOLE LEADING POLITICAL FORCE OF THE STATE AND OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN ALBANIA

In its issue of January 17, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* carried excerpts from an article, under the above title, from *Zëri i Popullit*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The article points out that: "The Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania stipulates that 'The Party of Labour of Albania, the vanguard of the working class, is the sole leading political force of the state and of the society.' The fact that this basic principle is enshrined in the Constitution is in accordance with a fundamental requirement of Marxism-Leninism and affirms one of its great teachings. This teaching has been fully confirmed by our historic experience. As Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed in his report (on the new Constitution) at the People's Assembly, without the leading role of the Party, there would be neither free Albania, nor socialist society."

The article continues, pointing out that "The leading role of the Party is the concentrated expression and the highest form of the dominant role of the working class. Historic experience has proved that the masses cannot play their decisive role in carrying out the revolution and in building a socialist society if they are not consciously mobilized around the political line of the Party for the implementation of its revolutionary program. As the most conscious detachment, armed with revolutionary theory, the Party alone is in a position to give political and ideological content to the daily struggle of the masses, to correctly define the fundamental strategic targets and tasks at every stage of socialist construction, to work out the methods, courses of action and means whereby the masses can be deployed in the most courageous revolutionary actions and can implement the Party's program and principles. The essence of this question

lies in the established Marxist-Leninist principle expressed by Comrade Enver Hoxha in the following manner: **'Socialism is built by the masses, the Party makes them conscious.'**

"The construction of socialism is accomplished through a stern class struggle which continues during the whole period of transition from capitalism to communism, as a struggle between two roads, the socialist road and the capitalist road of development. In the process of this struggle, the education of the new man with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and ideology, with the virtues and features of communist morality, as the decisive factor in the construction of the socialist and communist society, is also carried out.

"As Comrade Enver Hoxha reiterated at the 7th Congress of the PLA, such a struggle cannot be waged successfully and carried through to the end if it is not led by a Party armed with Marxist-Leninist ideology and with its own experience, with unity of thought and action and closely linked with the masses."

The article continues: "Assessing this role as a general law of the revolution and of socialist construction, the PLA has resolutely refuted the bourgeois-revisionist views promoting a so-called 'system of many parties' in socialism; which opposes the leadership of a sole political party under the pretext that this allegedly is in opposition to socialist democracy. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that as the political parties represent the interests of certain classes and a protracted struggle is waged between them as the most defined expression of the class struggle, any attempt to legalize the presence of other non-Marxist parties in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, especially after the construction of the economic base of socialism, serves only the enemies of socialism, because they try to turn their parties into centres for plotting against the socialist order, to obtain a share in the state power of the working class for the representatives of the exploiting classes or their remnants, to impair or liquidate the leading role of the working class and its Party and to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Our Party has never shared state power with representatives of the bourgeois elements and, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has never allowed the creation of

bourgeois parties, either within the Albanian Democratic Front, as the opportunist Sejfulla Maleshova once preached, or outside it. It has also unhesitatingly fought against every related revisionist theory such as the theory of the so-called cessation of the leading role of the party in the period of transition from capitalism to communism, leaving it only an educative role, as the Yugoslav revisionists preach, or the theory of the transformation of the party of the working class into a 'party of the entire people' as the Khrushchovite revisionists propagate, etc.; because all these 'theories' have always had only one target: to deprive the working class and the people of their leadership and, in this way, to pave the road to counter-revolution, to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism.

"The regressive process which took place in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries, did not take place in Albania because our Party has firmly maintained its revolutionary stand. It has never made the slightest concession on principle, and has exposed wrong views and nipped them in the bud, never allowing them to become trends. Our Party has not allowed and will never allow the existence of two lines in the Party. 'A Marxist-Leninist party which is respected as such', Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, 'cannot allow the existence of two lines in the party. Thus it cannot allow the existence of a faction or of many factions. And if factions manifest themselves, the party cannot and must not allow their existence, even for a short period of time.' Our Party has loyally implemented the Leninist lessons on the party, waging a consistent struggle for steeling its ideological and organizational unity and uninterruptedly revolutionizing its ranks on the basis of revolutionary understanding, implementation and defence of the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms."

The article goes on: "With the development and consolidation of socialism, not only does the leading role of the Party not weaken, as the bourgeois-revisionist ideologues pretend, but every aspect of it is strengthened and improved in all fields, both in the base and in the superstructure. Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania: **'The more the revolution advances and deepens, the more the**

leading role of the Party must be strengthened and perfected in every sphere of life, and of state and social activity.' As a living political organization, the Party is growing and strengthening, reflecting the changes that are taking place in the economic-social sphere, in the class structure and the spiritual life of the society.

"In Albania, in the conditions of the revolution and socialist construction, this phenomenon has not only remained a fundamental requirement of Marxism-Leninism, but has also become living reality, embodied in the great historic victories achieved by our people during more than three decades under the leadership of the Party.

"... As a result of the great work of the Party and of the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution, Marxism-Leninism has become the dominant ideology. It has been embraced by the broad masses of the people.

"Not only has the 7th Congress of the PLA devoted special attention to the indispensability of further strengthening the Party and its leading role in compliance with the tasks of the times, but it has also put forward the concrete methods for the attainment of this target."

The article stresses that in strengthening and perfecting the leading role of the Party, it is extremely important to "deepen the struggle against liberalism and bureaucratism as two lethal dangers to the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat" and to strengthen "the role of the party branch organization as the fundamental and decisive link which ensures the leading role of the Party in every aspect of the life of the people and the consistent implementation and the constant deepening of the mass line by the party organs and branch organizations". In conclusion it states "Consultation with the masses, rendering accounts before them systematically, developing the workers' and peasants' control, remain the most effective methods which are of very great importance for the Party to enable it to make correct decisions and in due time, prove their correctness in revolutionary practice, draw lessons and constantly strengthen and perfect its leading role."

A CORRECT UNDERSTANDING OF TWO TYPES OF CONTRADICTIONS — NECESSARY CONDITION FOR THE SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

In its issue of January 23, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* carried an article, under the above title, from *Zëri i Popullit*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The article began by pointing out that "The great victories the Albanian people have achieved under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania in the development of the revolution and the construction of socialism, which were summed up in a scientific Marxist-Leninist way by Comrade Enver Hoxha in his Report to the 7th Congress are connected with the fact that the PLA has known that it must apply Marxism-Leninism with loyalty and in a creative way, mobilize the broad working masses and put them into action, determinedly adhere to the class struggle and develop it consistently, always correctly assessing the two types of contradictions existing in socialist society."

The *Zëri i Popullit* article continues: "The PLA teaches us that in socialist society there are two types of contradictions — antagonistic contradictions, that is, those with the class enemy, and non-antagonistic contradictions, that is, those within the ranks of the people. Admission or refusal to admit the presence of these two types of contradictions in socialist society is an important matter of principle and a line of demarcation between Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists.

"The Soviet revisionists propagate the view that allegedly, with the construction of the economic base of socialism and the liquidation of the exploiting classes, the transitional period comes to an end, and after this, we can no longer speak of antagonistic contradictions. Moreover, some of them even go so

far as to say that to accept the existence of antagonistic contradictions in socialism means 'to equate socialism with capitalism'. They preach that in socialism there are only non-antagonistic contradictions, and, indeed, even these gradually become of secondary importance because socialism is allegedly the 'dialectic of unity' and not the 'dialectic of struggle', because the existence and development of socialism does not depend on the struggle of opposites and the solution of contradictions.

"The Soviet revisionists need to propagate such idealist and metaphysical concepts in order to conceal the profound antagonisms which are eroding Soviet society today, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 7th Congress of the PLA, 'has become bourgeois down to its smallest cell, capitalism has been restored in all fields', so as to divert the working class and the working masses from the revolutionary struggle for the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Led by the ideas of the classics of Marxism-Leninism on socialism, the PLA has always fought determinedly against the sham bourgeois-revisionist views about the development of socialist society."

The article elaborates that the experience of socialist Albania which is the experience of a country which is building socialism adhering to the life-giving teachings of Marxism-Leninism and where the dictatorship of the proletariat has always been strong and invincible, shows that for as long as elements of the former exploiting classes remain, and remnants from the past in the consciousness of people and influences of bourgeois-revisionist ideologies still exist, for as long as the country is under the all-round pressure of the internal and external enemies and new anti-socialist elements emerge from the ranks of the people, not only can we speak, but it is absolutely necessary to speak about the existence of antagonistic contradictions in socialist society.

"The internal antagonistic contradictions in socialism do not result from the essence of the socialist relations of production, which are relations of collaboration and mutual assistance between classes and strata of working people. They are the result of traces of the old society which are preserved in socialism and of the external pressure of the capitalist world. The Party teaches us that this must in no way lead to ignoring or underestimating

the antagonistic contradictions which in one form or another, will continue to exist during the entire historical period of the construction of socialism, right up to communism. During this period, the antagonistic contradictions require careful handling, and in the resolution of them it is important that the class struggle is waged correctly and the dictatorship of the proletariat is defended and strengthened unceasingly, as Comrade Enver Hoxha instructs us.

"On the other hand, the PLA has stressed that everywhere in socialism, at all times, in all fields, and in all the stages of the construction of socialism, a series of non-antagonistic contradictions exists, without which the development of socialist society and its special features cannot be conceived. Such, for example, are the contradictions between the productive forces and individual elements of socialist relations of production, between production and consumption, between the equality of the working people in relation to the means of production and a certain inequality which exists in the field of distribution, between immediate and long-term interests, between the base and various elements of the superstructure, between the advanced workers and those who lag behind, the distinctions between town and countryside, between mental work and physical work, etc."

The article goes on to say: "Defending the Marxist-Leninist thesis that development in socialism, as everywhere else, takes place on the basis of contradictions and the struggle of opposites, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have condemned and refuted the views of the Yugoslav revisionists according to which 'bureaucratic socialism' (which is what they call genuine socialism), is caught tight in the grip of its own contradictions, therefore it must be liquidated and replaced with the so-called 'self-administrative socialism', 'democratic' or 'liberal socialism'.

"Refuting both the anti-Marxist views of the Soviet revisionists, who for known aims deny the existence of antagonistic contradictions in socialism, and the eclectic, bourgeois views of the Yugoslav revisionists, who present socialism as caught tight in the grip of antagonistic contradictions, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha stress that both these concepts, although they set out from opposite

directions, lead to the same conclusion, have the same aim, and the same ideological base — revisionism. These anti-Marxist concepts, this distorted image of socialism, is widely propagated by the Soviet, Yugoslav and other revisionists in order to attack scientific socialism and to justify the restoration of capitalism in their countries. Therefore, the PLA has always considered the stand towards these two types of contradictions which exist and which define the development of socialism, as a theoretical and practical question of first rate importance. The PLA is working to create clear dialectical materialist concepts about the development of socialist society in the consciousness of the people, to fight idealistic remnants or views, superficial thinking or a one-sided, narrow-sighted stand toward this great problem.”

Exposing the opportunist and sectarian stand towards the two types of contradictions, the article continues:

“Opportunism narrows the range of antagonistic contradictions in an artificial way, because in essence it is reconciliation with the class enemy, with the alien influences of bourgeois-revisionist ideology, a tolerant, liberal, sentimental and indifferent attitude toward the negative phenomena which hinder the advance of the revolution. Opportunism also means a lack of courage to hold a clear-cut and stern stand, in conformity with the orientation of the Party, toward the degenerated people who violate laws, damage socialist property, or who have an anti-socialist stand at work, in society, etc. On the other side, sectarianism, by seeing everything dubiously, increasing shortcomings and weaknesses and making a fetish of administrative measures so as ‘to be on the safe side’, extends the range of antagonistic contradictions in an artificial way, that is, it also considers as enemies those people who might have made mistakes, or bearers of alien influences, but who in general are on our side, etc.

“So, both opportunism and sectarianism have the same roots in dealing with the two types of contradictions. They yield the same result. They disrupt, one from the right and the other from the ‘left’, the unity of the people, the unity of the Party, and pave the way to revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. Opportunism has been and remains the main danger also as far

as this question is concerned, but it must be stressed, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress, ‘**Opportunism cannot be fought successfully if sectarianism is not fought at the same time, and vice-versa.**’

The article concludes by pointing out: “The Party teaches us to consider as alien and fight the opportunist and sectarian stands, in whatever form they may appear, to have a correct understanding of the two types of contradictions in socialist society, to draw a correct line of demarcation between them, according to their nature and the Marxist-Leninist teachings of our Party.

**SELF-RELIANCE — A GENERAL PRINCIPLE FOR
THE TRIUMPH OF THE REVOLUTION,
THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM
AND THE DEFENCE OF THE HOMELAND**

In its issue of January 31, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* carried an article, under the above title, from the newspaper, *Zëri i Popullit*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. The article is reprinted below.

"In the Report which he delivered at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha, among other things, devoted a special place to the great Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance. The teachings of the Party of Labour embodied in its revolutionary practice are clear evidence of the vitality of this principle, both during the war for the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as during the struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland", writes *Zëri i Popullit*. The article continues:

"In the implementation of this principle, the Party of Labour has based itself on the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the internal factor is the determining and decisive factor in social development, while the external factor is an auxiliary factor and does not exercise its influence directly but through the internal factor.

"At the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: 'The principle of self-reliance demands, first of all, firm reliance on the creative mental and physical energies of the people guided by the Party. Socialism is the work of the masses, therefore, everything produced and created is the fruit of work, of the sweat and brains of the people.'

"Our Party consistently implemented this great principle during the anti-fascist national liberation war — not waiting for

others to bring them freedom, but raising all the people in struggle under the slogan **Freedom Is Not Donated But Won**. According to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, in the conditions of Albania, the Party of Labour of Albania elaborated the experience and the military art of the people's war, etc.

"This principle has always been implemented during the entire period of the socialist construction, non-stop.

"Just as during the years of the National Liberation War, this principle has always been consistently implemented by the Party of Labour during the period of the construction of socialism as well. Proceeding from this principle and implementing it in practice, the Party has always seen it in close connection with conditions of the savage encirclement and blockade, the crisis in the capitalist-revisionist world and the pressure which they exert on Albania.

"At the same time, the Party of Labour reiterated at its 7th Congress that self-reliance not only does not exclude cooperation and mutual aid between the revolutionary and socialist forces, but presupposes this.

"The granting of this aid constitutes an important internationalist duty. It is reciprocal and meets not only the interests of the country which receives it, but also of the country which gives it, because every victory of socialism and the revolution in any country serves also the victory of the revolution and the consolidation of socialism in other countries.

"Remaining loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the Party of Labour of Albania has exposed all the 'theories' and the neo-colonialist, expansionist and enslaving practices of the two superpowers and the other imperialist powers, which under the mask of 'fraternal' aid, 'development' and 'progress', exert pressure on other countries, subjugate and plunder them, spread their reactionary and decadent ideology and culture and violate the freedom and independence of other peoples and countries.

"It has also exposed the anti-Marxist theories of the Soviet revisionists who proclaim this principle to be 'a deviation from the positions of internationalism', and 'the slipping into positions of narrow nationalism', or as 'isolation, and withdrawal into the national shell', etc.

"The reactionary bourgeois and revisionist propaganda describes the implementation of this principle in practice as the 'isolation' of the country which pursues this course.

"At the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "This is the capitalist-revisionist view of things. The imperialists and revisionists consider that country which has closed its doors to the invasion through their decadent culture and degeneration, through enslaving credits, tourists and spies, as isolated. From this point of view, we really are, and intend to remain, an isolated country.

"Implementing the principle of self-reliance, the Party of Labour has consistently developed and extended international relations with states which respect the well-known principles of equality, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and mutual benefit. Today, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania maintains diplomatic relations and has trade relations with seventy-four different states of the world and in the first place, relations of fraternal internationalist friendship, cooperation and mutual aid with the sister People's Republic of China. For the correct and courageous stand it maintains, for its principled and unwavering struggle which it has always waged against imperialism and in particular against the two superpowers and modern revisionism, in defence of Marxism-Leninism and in support of the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the working people and peoples, Albania enjoys high international authority and prestige. It is encircled by the respect, love and internationalist solidarity of the revolutionaries, the progressive people and all the peoples of the world.

"Proceeding from the vital importance of this principle, the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania sanctions, 'In the construction of socialism, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania relies mainly on its own forces'. The sanctioning in the fundamental law of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat of such questions as the prohibition of the establishment of foreign military bases or forces on the territory of the socialist homeland, the prohibition of granting concessions or the creation of foreign companies or economic and financial institutions, the prohibition of the

creation of joint companies with the bourgeois and revisionist capitalist states and monopolies, the rejection of any loan or so-called 'aid' from them, are a reconfirmation of the unwavering implementation by the Party of Labour and the Albanian socialist state of the principle of self-reliance.

"The resolute advance along this road, implementing with precision the general line of the Party of Labour and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, has changed Albania's past appearance completely. Today, the entire industrial output of 1938 is produced in less than four days. The heavy industry has been given priority development, the output of which in 1975 as against 1938 was 112 times greater, while the output of mass consumption goods was more than 80 times greater. The annual average rate of growth of industrial output for the 1966 to 1975 period was more than 10.6 percent, the highest rate of any country in Europe.

"By implementing the course of standing on both feet, industry and agriculture, at the end of 1976, agricultural output had increased over four-fold as against the pre-liberation period. All the other economic-social sectors have developed in harmony with these branches.

"According to this development, our economy, as the 7th Congress of the PLA decided, will be able to secure self-reliantly, 90 percent of the needs of the people with mass consumption goods, by the end of the 6th five-year plan.

"In 1976, a victory of great political, economic and strategic importance was achieved. For the first time, all the people's requirements for bread grain were produced within the country. Our industry secures about 85 percent of the country's needs for spare parts and at the end of the 6th five-year plan it will be about 95 percent, without mentioning the great extension the energy base has assumed which is able to put into motion a powerful and advanced material-technical base. Another great victory is the pouring of the first steel of the Albanian brand. The local production of pig iron and steel has opened new, even greater, perspectives to the development of the productive forces and further strengthens the economic independence.

"Such a development and progress of the country does not in the slightest indicate that the country has undergone an autarchic

development, as our imperialist and revisionist enemies slander. To implement such an economic policy, the results of which are clear in the rapid development of the country by relying on its own forces, to raise gradually and surely the well-being of the people, keeping stable prices at a time when the capitalist and revisionist countries are in the grip of the crisis and when prices are rising every day, to increase exports at faster rates than imports, to develop culture, science and advanced technology, to have a powerful defence of the whole armed people, does not indicate autarchic development, but is clear evidence of the independent, political and economic development of the country, and the sure advance on the road towards the complete construction of socialism.

"The newspaper writes further that this road has demanded the surpassing of great difficulties arising from the backwardness inherited from the past, numerous difficulties of the growth and many difficulties and obstacles raised by the internal and external enemies, the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. Now the attempts of the Yugoslav revisionists and later on, of the Soviet revisionists, are known. They tried by all means to hinder the development of our country on this road; to keep it under their dependence. Known also are the farsightedness of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha and the unprecedented support and mobilization of the Albanian people around the line of the Party to smash these neo-colonialist and enslaving attempts which endangered the fate of the homeland, its political and economic independence, even its existence as a nation and independent state.

"The correctness of the road on which the PLA has led and is leading us with courage and farsightedness, firmly relying on our own forces, is also seen in the country's economic stability, which is increasing and strengthening, non-stop.

"In conclusion, the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit* writes, 'The entire work our people are doing under the leadership of the party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, for the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland, in the conditions of the all-round imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, the magnificent victories achieved and the brilliant objectives the 7th Congress of the PLA

set, the numerous initiatives that have burst out everywhere in our country, testify to the consistent implementation of the great Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance."

PRESENT ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE AGGRAVATION OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

In its issue of February 15, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* carried an article, under the above title, from the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The article points out: "The present-day economic crisis, the greatest in the last 40 years, has gripped all the developed and less developed countries of the capitalist-revisionist world. Despite the demagogy of the spokesmen of capital, its state representatives, social-democracy and revisionism which are trying to persuade the working masses that the difficult situation created by the crisis will end today or tomorrow, the crisis continues to become sharper. The programmes of a profound anti-popular character for savings, stimulation of investments, production, export, etc., that the bourgeois-revisionist governments are hastily working out and implementing from time to time do not provide any way out from the crisis. In this situation, the bourgeois-revisionist apologists are doing their utmost to invent new arguments to explain the causes of the crisis which they pretend has been overcome, describing it as an economic-social phenomenon, due to the 'new changed capitalism'. But the Marxist-Leninist theory has long since and adequately proved that the real causes of the economic crises in capitalism are the irreconcilable contradictions between labour and capital.

"The present-day economic crisis is an all-round one with the energy and monetary crises being a part of it. Despite this, there is a temporary crisis of overproduction. A distinguishing feature of this crisis is that it burst out and is developing in the conditions when the general crisis of capitalism has been aggravated a great deal. As a result of this, the contradictions of the bourgeois-revisionist order as a world system have become sharper.

"Speaking on this question at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that 'The present crisis . . . is an economic crisis, but also a political and ideological, a military and cultural crisis, affecting the structures and the superstructures of the bourgeois-revisionist system'.

"Due to prolonged depression and the fact that it is international in scope, the present-day economic crisis has aggravated in all directions the general crisis of capitalism. The general crisis of capitalism represents a whole historic period which has as its fundamental feature the uninterrupted revolutionary process and the fierce class struggle on a national and international scale between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, between the oppressed peoples and imperialism and social-imperialism. The general crisis of capitalism represents the period of disintegration and collapse of imperialism, social-imperialism and capitalism as a result of the creation of revolutionary situations, of the development and triumph of proletarian revolution and the national liberation revolutions of the oppressed peoples.

"The present-day economic crisis has further aggravated such specific and corroding phenomena of the general crisis of capitalism as the unequal economic and political development of the capitalist and revisionist countries, the spread in breadth and depth of state monopoly capitalism, the non-utilization in a permanent and complete way of the productive capacities, the permanent mass unemployment, inflation and the monetary crisis, the militarization of economy and, together with it, the use of an ever greater part of the national wealth for non-productive aims, etc. All the phenomena have increased the instability a great deal and have accelerated the rottenness of the capitalist-revisionist order. They testify to the fact that the capitalist relations in production cannot guarantee any longer the vital space to the productive forces for their normal development.

"In our time, some of the phenomena of the general crisis of capitalism in the economic field have assumed unprecedented proportions. Today, over 100 million workers are unemployed in the capitalist-revisionist world. Inflation and price hikes have assumed no less threatening proportions for the life of the working people. The question has gone so far, that inflation is

increasing by 30-50 percent annually.

The militarization of the economy by the two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, as well as by the other imperialist powers, the unprecedented increase of military expenditures, the swelling of the state apparatuses of violence and oppression and the increase of subsidies to the advantage of the monopolies, have led to the increase of the great chronic deficits of the state budgets of every bourgeois-revisionist country. The emission of new paper money and the increase of taxes on working masses are extensively used to cover these deficits. Under these conditions, inflation and the great shaking of the financial system become a permanent phenomenon of the capitalist-revisionist economy. The inflationary emission of U.S. dollars and the free use of this device by the USA to recover the great deficits in its balance of payments as well as to represent gold in the international transactions, spread inflation in the entire world system of the capitalist-revisionist economy.

"A general characteristic of the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism is the deepening of the disproportion between the paper money in circulation and the reserves of gold and the fund of the commodities both in separate countries and in the whole capitalist-revisionist world. This lies at the foundations of the financial and monetary crisis and the dumping and monetary speculation which are presently plaguing the capitalist-revisionist world, which decrowned the U.S. dollar and the British sterling from their privileged positions, which ruined the international monetary system of Bretton Woods and have lowered to a great extent the purchasing power of the bourgeois-revisionist currencies.

"Since the time when the general crisis of capitalism emerged, the capitalist countries have been characterized by unequal economic and political development. The present-day economic crisis and the attempts being made by U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the other imperialist powers to come out of it to the detriment of the others, have further deepened their unequal development. On this basis, the political-economic conflagrations and contradictions between the monopolies and the imperialist powers have been increased. On this basis, there have come onto the battlefield, on the one hand, the USA and

the revisionist Soviet Union, which want to preserve their privileges in the world system of the capitalist-revisionist economy and on the other hand, the Common Market, Japan, Canada, etc., which contest these privileges, which try to penetrate the spheres of influence of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. These are contradictions and rivalries among imperialist wolves, to draw each for themselves the greatest possible profits from the blood and sweat of the peoples. Therefore, it is necessary to expose and reject the deceitful demagoguery and tactics of the imperialists such as the slogans of the Soviet revisionists on 'anti-imperialism', or those on 'anti-social-imperialism', propagandized by the USA and the western monopoly bourgeoisie, etc.; not to allow the peoples to become victims of the enslaving manoeuvres of one or the other imperialist grouping. The facts prove that, when the question is to suppress the proletariat and the working masses and to plunder the peoples, when the question is to preserve the bourgeois-revisionist order and to fight against the revolution and socialism, U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the other imperialist powers unite with one another as the class brothers they are and coordinate their plans.

"The attempts of imperialism, social-imperialism and all of international capital to shift the burden of the present economic crisis onto the developing countries have accelerated the process begun for economic decolonization, which aims to consolidate the gained political independence through the attainment of economic independence. The struggle being waged by the peoples of the developing countries to put the national riches and resources under their national control, to strengthen their economic and political independence and to attain equality and justice in international relations, is directed against world imperialism, and especially against the two biggest international oppressors and plunderers — U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. But this struggle is directed also against the anti-popular, fascist and pro-imperialist regimes in power in a number of countries such as Chile and Brazil, Saudi Arabia and Iran, India and Indonesia, Rhodesia and South Africa, etc. The anti-imperialist national liberation struggle, consistently waged under the leadership of the working class and

the Marxist-Leninist party, in alliance with the broad strata of peasantry and other progressive forces, constitutes a colossal force to overthrow world imperialism. It is a powerful ally of the international working class and a reserve of world proletarian revolution.

"The general crisis of capitalism and its aggravation in the political field have always been manifested in the form of the open attack of big capital, the monopoly bourgeoisie and reaction against the democratic freedoms and rights of the working class, having as its target the establishment of open and fierce fascist dictatorships. This is taking place today in the majority of the capitalist-revisionist countries, where the economic crisis has greatly aggravated the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and where the struggle of the working class and other working masses is becoming ever more powerful. In such countries as Spain, Italy and elsewhere, the class struggle against the danger of fascism is put on the agenda for the working class and the other working masses. The proletariat and the other working masses have met the attack of the bourgeoisie with the intensification of their protests and revolutionary struggle. The waves of this struggle are on a constant rise. They show that neither bourgeois-fascist violence, nor social-democratic demagogy, nor the undermining activity of the modern revisionists can prevent the outburst of the revolutionary energies of the working class, the decisive force for the overthrow of world capitalism. The development of a broad Marxist-Leninist movement is a vivid testimony showing that the working class in the capitalist-revisionist world is becoming aware of its revolutionary role and mission.

"The bourgeoisie has in its nature the political oppression and economic exploitation of the proletariat. Imperialism and social-imperialism cannot exist without economic expansion, without political interferences and military aggression, without oppressing and exploiting other people. All the bourgeois-revisionist order and its world system have been built on these foundations and exist only on them. These foundations and the unchanged oppressive, predatory and aggressive nature of imperialism and social-imperialism can neither be softened, nor can they be reformed. They can be liquidated only through

the proletarian revolution and the revolutionary struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation, until the bourgeois-revisionist order and its whole world system is wiped out from the earth.

"The present-day economic crisis which has gripped the capitalist-revisionist world and the further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism have created tensions and great class conflicts of a political, economic and social character, and have sharpened greatly all the great contradictions of our time. This clearly shows, just as the 7th Congress of the PLA stressed, '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'."

**U.S. IMPERIALISTS AND SOVIET
SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS — INSTIGATORS
OF QUARRELS, DIVERSIONS AND CONFLICTS
IN THE WORLD**

In its issue of February 20, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* carried portions of an article, under the above title, from the newspaper *Bashkimi*, Organ of the Democratic Front of Albania. The article is reprinted below.

“To pave the way for their economic, political and military expansion, as well as their frenzied hegemonism, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists instigate conflicts between the peoples and states, revitalize centuries-old disagreements between neighbouring nations, instigate local wars, implement the colonialist principle ‘divide and rule’ everywhere. Exposing this warmongering policy and these odious colonialist methods, in his Report to the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: **‘In fact, whether U.S. imperialism, in its open and savage way, or Soviet social-imperialism, likewise in its way, which is just as savage, but masked with a pseudo-socialist propaganda, they are working to aggravate relations, to stir up and inflate the contradictions among the peoples to further their own interests, to establish naval bases in various countries, to build military alliances, to conclude enslaving trade agreements, etc.’**”

“The increase of the military tension and the complicated situation in Europe, the explosive situation in the Middle East, the tragedy of Lebanon, the situation in Cyprus, and the increase of tension in the Mediterranean, the conflicts and quarrels in Africa and other regions of the world, all these have been and are a direct result of the intensification of the aggressive and hegemonistic policy of the two superpowers, their interference, intrigues and efforts to preserve and extend their spheres of

influence, to place the sovereign states under their control and tutelage. Unlike what the imperialists and revisionists propagate, there is no detente in the world; on the contrary, dangerous hotbeds are being created constantly.” The article stresses further that “by stirring up various conflicts, the USA and the Soviet Union make use of them in the first place as a pretext to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. With their imperialist logic, Washington and Moscow instigate conflicts among sides and then appear as arbiters to establish ‘tranquility’. By granting themselves the so-called ‘special responsibilities’ for the destinies of peace and nations, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists persist in having the right to decide on everything.

“One of the most typical examples of the implementation of the role of international gendarme, the policy of interference and ‘responsibility’ the two superpowers want to have, is the Middle East. The USA and the Soviet Union, with set aims, have long since created a tense situation. They instigate Israel’s annexationist aims in various ways, while trying to split the Arab peoples and hinder their liberation struggle through numerous intrigues. The USA and the Soviet Union are trying to make use of this complicated situation which they themselves nurture, to penetrate as deeply as possible in that region, to ensure important economic and strategic positions, with the main aim of laying hands on the rich oil resources. On the other hand, while trying by all means to preserve the tension in the Middle East, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are raising a great demagogic clamour, demanding the summoning of the Geneva Conference on the Middle East, so as to come in the role of the arbiter of the situation to impose their hegemonistic solutions.

“On the African continent too, the USA and the Soviet Union are hatching up one thousand and one intrigues to weaken the revival of that continent, and to hinder the struggle of the African people against the interference and plunder of the two superpowers and the other imperialist powers and to strengthen their national independence and sovereignty. The events in Angola revealed the intrigues of Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism, their rivalry and ambitions to establish

their dictate and control everywhere.

"The two superpowers are hatching up numerous plots and intrigues against the peoples of the European continent. This policy is especially evident on the Balkan peninsula, where the imperialist powers and their agents have introduced their fuses and detonators. To realize more easily their expansionist ambitions and their economic and military penetration, to enslave these peoples, the two imperialist superpowers are trying to stir up the old quarrels and conflicts and set the Balkan countries against one another. All the historical development has proved that the enemies of the Balkan peoples, the sold-out cliques and the tools of imperialists have always kept the fuses of the powder barrel. The Soviet social-imperialists, for instance, have turned Bulgaria into a *place d'arme*, into a country which hatches up intrigues and exerts blackmail on the other Balkan countries. In the same way, it has already become clear that the tense situation which continues to exist in Cyprus and the worrying consequences in the neighbouring areas, are first and foremost the result of the rivalry of the two superpowers and their imperialist plans.

"The two superpowers," continues the newspaper *Bashkimi*, "make use of the dangerous conflicts and hotbeds, as a means to spread a general psychosis of war and fear and to exert blackmail and pressure on the peoples and states. This psychosis serves them to advertise as their salvation the U.S. or Soviet umbrellas, thus to introduce the states under their military protection, demanding for this in exchange political and economic concessions and concessions in the field of national sovereignty. Through constant conflicts, the two superpowers are trying to create permanent markets to sell their arms stocks thus to ensure colossal profits. Suffice it to mention that during the period from the October 1973 Israeli aggression until the end of 1974 alone, the USA and the Soviet Union exported arms to the Middle East to the tune of \$7,400,000,000 and \$6,700,000,000 respectively. The two superpowers make use of this frenzied arms trade to plunder the riches of others and to penetrate further, especially in Africa, the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, in Latin America and Asia.

In conclusion, *Bashkimi* writes: "The course of events ever

more clearly is revealing the intensification of the rivalry and efforts of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism for expansion and zones of influence and exposes them as instigators and as those who are really responsible for the conflicts and quarrels between the peoples and nations. This requires that the peoples of the world enhance their vigilance and intensify the struggle to expose and oppose the oppressive and predatory plans and plots of the two superpowers, and their numerous interferences and intrigues against the freedom and independence of the peoples.

**IN ALBANIA, ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUSES
SERVE THE PEOPLE, THE ELECTED ORGANS,
AND RENDER ACCOUNT BEFORE THEM**

In its issue of February 21, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* carried an article under the above title from the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The article began by saying: "The PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have always laid stress on establishing correct relations between the representative organs and the administrative apparatuses so that the administration is never placed above the elected organs and the people, but that the administration is put fully in the service and under the direct control of the people and their representatives.

"The people in power run and administer the country, stresses the open letter of the CC of the PLA of March 1966, while the office workers, officials of apparatuses are but servants of the people.

"Fighting to increase the leading role of the organs of power and the participation of the masses in governing the country, the PLA has not denied or underestimated the role of the state apparatus in the socialist society, because it is indispensable for the working class."

The article continues further: "Historical experience has shown that in every exploiting society the administrative apparatus tends to rule in the country. In fact, in bourgeois society, the bureaucratic apparatus governs the country. It is laden with full-time functionaries and various organs, through which the bourgeoisie realizes its class domination over the people, the domination by the minority of the majority. For this purpose, the bourgeois state apparatus has elaborated and improved its own system and method to run the country, despite the fact that governments are changed from time to time and the country may

remain for a time without government. The bourgeois practice of dividing legislative, executive and juridical power, is done so that the bureaucratic apparatus serves the interests of the bourgeoisie in the best way, to concentrate and exercise the whole power to the detriment of the working masses, by masking at the same time the exploiting character of the bourgeois state.

"The negative experience of the Soviet Union and of the other revisionist countries shows that in the socialist state too, there exists the danger that in the administrative apparatuses, those nominated become detached from the working masses and the organs of power, and if they are not placed under the strict control of the Party, the working class and the masses, they become rulers over the people. There the process of the degeneration of the Party itself and of the dictatorship of the proletariat began from bureaucratism and degeneration of the apparatuses. This happened because of the failure to implement the lessons of the classics of Marxism-Leninism drawn from the experience of the Paris Commune that 'not to lose again its just regained power, the working class . . . must secure itself from its deputies and employers', must take measures 'against the transformation of the state and the state organs from servants of the society into masters of the society'.

"In the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, administration through swollen apparatuses constitutes a fundamental feature of the activity of the state, while bureaucratism has been transformed into a system of governing. Just as in the bourgeois countries of the West, in those countries, too, office work is considered a profession and privilege of the caste of the bureaucrats and technocrats, of the strata of bourgeoisified intelligentsia irrespective of the fine words about democracy, the working class or about 'anti-bureaucratic' and 'self-administrative' measures in Yugoslavia, through which the 'direct leadership' of the working class is allegedly realized. At the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: 'Not only does the working class not play a hegemonic and leading role in the Yugoslav state and society, but on the contrary, through the system of self-administration, it has been placed in such conditions as to be unable to defend its overall interests and act as a compact and united body.'

"The experience of the development of the socialist revolution in our country shows that in the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the domination of the administration on the state organs constitutes only one possibility and is not in the least an inevitable phenomenon. On the contrary, the dictatorship of the proletariat, being democracy for the majority, cannot exist and strengthen itself other than through the broad participation of the working masses in all the political, economic, military and administrative life of the country and the incessant struggle against any bureaucratic inclination and practice.

"The measures the Party has taken for the activation of the elected organs and people and the strengthening of their ties with the electors have increased the role of the representative organs of the people.

"Certainly, the administrative apparatus is necessary, but its role must not be made a fetish; it serves the organs elected by the people in the implementation of the tasks and is compelled to render accounts to them. Therefore, the workers of the administration, who are assigned to set jobs, are not above the society, above the class, but the society and the working class are above them. Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses that: **'The state of the proletarians, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is not only the administration, but first and foremost the state power of the working class triumphant in the socialist revolution which is led by the Party.'**

"Thanks to the special care the Party is showing for the increase of the role of the elected organs — both of the state power and of the mass organizations — there has been a heightening of the sense of responsibility felt by the councillors and other elected people for the tasks with which the masses have entrusted them and in the initiative they are showing to exercise the power according to their areas of authority. At the 7th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha said: **'Now we have almost three times as many elected cadres as there are appointed ones, and more than 70 percent of them are workers and cooperativists.'** The more strongly and the better we rely on the people elected, as well as on the big army of activists, the more tightly will the doors be closed to the dangers of bureaucratism, technocratism and liberalism.

"Those elected have come from the people, are closely connected with the people and can be recalled by them. The Party teaches us that the will of the broad masses of the people is sovereign. The masses can halt their activity, correct and change them if they are unsuitable and mistaken.

"The manifestation of bureaucratism in the activity of apparatuses, especially their swelling, leads to the bypassing of the elected organs, the solution of problems only by the office workers.

"In the Soviet Union, it was the 'Aparatchiki' who together with other bureaucratized cadres seized the power of the working class and the other working masses, and strangled the state and the Bolshevik Party. Therefore, at the 7th Congress of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that not only the people elected, but also the office workers appointed by the state are compelled to render account to the masses and be subject to their direct control."

The article writes in conclusion about the work being done and the work that must be done to increase the role of the elected organs and people in the state and social activity, as well as about the ways and forms applied to put the administrative apparatuses under the ever greater control of the elected organs.

"At the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: **'No activity whatsoever of the executive organs and their apparatuses, of the leaders and the working people of these apparatuses, should escape the control of the elected organs or the rendering of account to them and to the masses.'**"

**FURTHER NARROWING OF DISTINCTIONS
BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRY STRENGTHENS
INESSANTLY THE ALLIANCE OF THE
WORKING CLASS WITH THE PEASANTRY**

In its issue of February 28, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency*, carried an article under the above title on the further narrowing of distinctions between town and country. It wrote:

"Guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Party of Labour of Albania has always taken special care for narrowing the distinctions between town and country. At the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, 'One of the problems which has constantly concerned the Party has been and is the narrowing of distinctions between town and countryside. In this question it has been guided by the principle that socialism is not built only in the town just for the working class, but also in the countryside and for the peasantry'. The narrowing of these distinctions is one of the fundamental tasks of the present state of the complete construction of the socialist society in our country. In the June Plenum 1963, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that socialist relations of production had been established both in the town and countryside. Their establishment eliminated any basis for antagonistic contradictions between town and country to appear. Nevertheless distinctions still exist which have to do with the level of the development of the productive forces, the scale of the socialization of the means of production and work, the standard and the way of living, the development of culture, education, health service, etc.

"Abiding by these teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Party has paid special attention to the development of the productive forces. After the establishment of the people's power, the Party paid due attention to the development of the productive forces in the countryside, to the increase of the

agricultural production. As a result of the all-round measures taken by the Party, our socialist agriculture has achieved great results. In 1975, as compared to 1938, the arable land was 2.3 times larger, agricultural production four times greater, and the rural population grew about two times.

"No village had electricity before liberation, while today, Albania is one of the first countries in the world where all villages have electricity. The electrification of the countryside assisted the development of the productive forces in the countryside. Chemical fertilizers were unknown in pre-liberation in Albania. Now Albania is ranked among the first countries as to the use of the active matter per hectare of the arable land. In 1980 as compared to 1975, the use of chemical fertilizers in active matter per hectare will increase 64 percent.

"The successful implementation of the tasks set by the Party for narrowing the distinctions between town and country is closely linked with the increase of the qualification of the cadres agriculture needs. Before liberation Albania had only a few veterinarians, while today their number is over eighty times greater without mentioning the middle agricultural cadres."

The article goes on to further explain: "The Party has taken important measures also in the field of productive investments to help the mountainous and hilly cooperatives. Implementing Marxism-Leninism in a creative way in compliance with the concrete conditions of the country, along with the increase and strengthening of the property of all the people, the Party has attached great importance also to the development of the cooperativist property. The creation of the higher-type cooperatives is a new contribution of our Party in enriching Marxism-Leninism, which has to do with the gradual transformation of the property of the group into the property of all the people.

"The further improvement of the economic ties for the exchange of products between town and countryside, agriculture and industry, plays an important role in the development and continuous improvement of the relations of production in the countryside. The improvement of the system of accumulation, the improvement of the supply of the countryside with industrial goods, the implementation of a correct policy in

the field of prices, etc., are of importance in this direction.

"Through price reduction of industrial goods and food stuffs and the increase of the purchase prices on the agricultural and livestock products, the real incomes of the peasantry have also increased. From 1950 to 1969, prices of general consumption goods have been reduced 13 times. The annual profit for all reductions has been 1 billion and 26 million leks. After the decision of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Council of Ministers of April 1976, the prices on some means of production the state sells to the agricultural cooperatives were reduced and the prices on some agricultural and livestock products the state purchases grew. Part of the investments on land, irrigation and the development of agriculture will be met by the state.

"The Party has always shown special care also in the field of distribution of the material goods — not allowing great differences in the level of income and the way of living of the classes and groups of the population, and not allowing the creation of a privileged and favoured strata. With the measures taken, the unique and centralized system of pensions and social security for mother and child, the expenditure for day nurseries, kindergartens, dormitories, museums, theatres, maternity homes, clinics, consultory centres, etc. are met with the funds of social consumption.

"The abolishment of taxes and levies is worthy of mention. All these measures have assisted the further narrowing of distinctions between town and country and the increase of agricultural production and have further strengthened the alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry.

"The narrowing of distinctions between town and country is reflected also in the improvement of the way of living in the countryside. Along with the indices which speak of the standard and way of living are the national incomes, the increase of real income, consumption per capita, extension of educational, cultural and health network, the rate of the construction of dwelling flats, demographic indices. As a result of the correct policy of our Party all these indices have been improved constantly.

"Priority will also be given to the real income per capita of the peasantry during the 6th five year plan. The real income per capita of the rural population will increase over three times faster than that of the urban population. Marching on this road, the revolutionary meaning of well-being in socialism will be further strengthened, that is, the well-being for all the people.

"The increase of the well-being of cooperativist peasantry, besides the aid from the state, is done mainly through the increase of income from the common economy, increasing the agricultural and livestock production, intensifying the participation of people in work. On this basis, in 1975, the average income per manpower in the agricultural cooperatives increased over 29 percent as compared to 1970.

Before liberation the education and cultural level of our peasantry was very low. With the extension of education in the countryside, the increase of the cultural level, the great and all-round work of the Party, the lifestyle has changed radically.

"In 1973, as compared to 1950, the number of children in the kindergartens of cooperatives increased twelve times. Now there is no village without schools. An eight year education is compulsory. Middle education is wide-spread. In the countryside it has been set up in compliance with the needs of agriculture, to train qualified workers for this main branch of the economy. Many pupils from the countryside attend professional middle schools and higher schools as well.

"The Party has considered the health service as an important factor to narrow the distinctions between town and country. It has always abided by the principle that the well-being of the people cannot be understood without the protection of their health. Medical service is free of charge both in the city and countryside. New houses are being built. Now, about 45 percent of the rural population lives in new houses set up on the basis of plans as in the cities. But, as the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha instruct, the investments for the constructions in the countryside should be greater to meet the housing demands of cadres and volunteers who go to live and work in the countryside. These constructions are done with the state funds. The state has made great investments for various constructions. Today, all the villages have telephone lines. Television, washing machines,

refrigerators, etc., are being used more and more.”

The article concludes by saying: “By constantly taking care of the elevation of the material and cultural level of the masses, our Party works not only to preserve and further improve the well-being of the people, but also ensures its elevation to a considerable extent for all the people. This is one of the great successes of the general line and economic policy of the Party, which shows the superiority of our socialist economic-social order over the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist order in such a vital and decisive field as the care for the people and their all-round needs. The carrying into effect of all the measures the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have taken and are taking to the benefit of the countryside, along with the increase of the citizen’s standard of living, has strengthened and will strengthen further the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania.”

ARMS TRADE OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS — NOOSE ROUND THE NECK OF THE PURCHASERS, CHAINS WHICH BIND THEM HAND AND FOOT

In its issue of March 6, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* quoted at length from an article, under the above title, from the newspaper *Bashkimi*, Organ of the Democratic Front of Albania.

The article points out that: “Arms trade serves the superpowers as an important means to realize their global strategy, to stamp out the revolution and the liberation struggle of peoples everywhere, to suppress and exploit them and to establish their hegemony and world domination.

“The arms trade of the two superpowers is instigated by political, military and economic aims. They place these arms in service of the reactionary cliques and regimes, sell them to various governments to pave the road to or increase their political and military influence in this or that country. But the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are always very careful in preserving the superiority and proportions. Washington and Moscow keep the most up-to-date weapons for themselves, each accusing the other to justify their frenzied arms race, and as blackmail against the peoples, to intimidate them, to make them accept one or the other superpower as their tutor, to seek the U.S. umbrella or the Soviet one as their salvation.

“The U.S. weapons”, continues the newspaper, “are sent first and foremost to the defenders of U.S. interests. They are given to the fascist regimes of Spain, South Korea or South Africa, to West Germany and elsewhere. In Latin America they are given to the reactionary regimes of Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Colombia, etc. Washington and Moscow are fiercely vying with one another in their attempts to extend arms sales to other countries of Latin America. Likewise, in the Middle East, the U.S. imperialists, aiming to ensure their permanent presence, regularly supply

arms to the Tel Aviv regime as well as to a number of reactionary Arab regimes. The data shows that since the launching of the Israeli aggression in October 1973, until the end of 1974, the U.S. imperialists have exported arms to the Middle East to the tune of \$7,400,000,000. Recently, this dirty trade has assumed still greater proportions.

"A fierce rivalry is taking place in the Middle East between the two superpowers to sell weapons to the Arab countries, to divide and stir up conflicts among the Arab countries, to elbow one another, all in service of the hegemonistic policy of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, in service of the plunder of the riches of Arab oil by these imperialist wolves.

"The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists alike have become big arms dealers, inspirers of counter-revolutionary plots and instigators of conflicts among the nations. They are doing this even in the Middle East, where the Kremlin military men and the Jordanian reactionary regime agreed on the conditions under which the Soviet arms will be sold to the servant of all the imperialist powers — King Hussein.

Exposing the fierce rivalry between the two superpowers for arms markets and hegemony, the article mentions that during the last 15 years Washington has increase armaments export ten-fold, while Moscow about seventy-fold. The profits they draw from this business every year amount to about 20 billion dollars. Profits in foreign exchange is one side of the coin. The other is the political and military profit of the two superpowers from their arms deals. Instigating and stirring up conflicts and hotbeds in various regions of the world, they aim to ensure their presence, to make the people of these countries purchase their arms stocks in cash, and to plunder their natural resources."

The article goes on to say that "The political condition of arms sales by the two superpowers is also expressed in the fact that when some country which purchases arms, in its efforts to defend its sovereign rights, dares to impair the interests of the two superpowers in the slightest, then its arms supply is suspended, as the Soviet social-imperialists did with Egypt, during and after the Israeli aggression of October 1973.

"The two superpowers ensure the greatest profit when the conflict, instigated and caused by them between states or factions

inside the state, ends up in the victory of their interests represented by one government or the other, by one faction or the other. They have followed this policy in the Middle East, Angola and elsewhere.

"While selling arms," continues the newspaper, "the two superpowers try to strike bargains on the conditions, in order to allow their penetration and control of the economic and political life of the purchasing country. Arms sales by the two superpowers in most cases are accompanied by the granting of set credits and loans precisely for this aim, thus, ensuring a double profit. Thus, through "aid" the two superpowers finance the arms trade and together with the weapons, they dispatch their military experts and advisers.

"Making use of the demand for arms of purchasing countries, the two superpowers dispatch specialists, occupy bases, seek privileges and interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. According to the Soviet provisions, the Soviet aircraft and missiles purchased by the other countries cannot be used without the permission of the Kremlin, something which means that in case of armed conflicts, they should have the permission of the Kremlin to act in self-defence. In those countries, the modern weapons sold by Washington and Moscow, have also the condition of the concentration of military men, who often have the proportions of regular armies such as South Korea, India, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Spain, etc. Facts are proving that the arms trade of the two superpowers, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said '**constitutes a new noose round the neck of purchasers, chains which bind them hand and foot**'. The course of events shows more and more the intensification of the rivalry and attempts of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism for expansion and spheres of influence and is exposing them as instigators and the real authors of the conflicts and divisions among the people and nations. They expose the demagogy of the two superpowers on 'disarmament', 'detente', creation of 'areas of peace and security' etc."

The article concludes: "In face of the policy of aggression and war, and the dirty arms deals by the two imperialist superpowers, the peoples of the world should enhance their vigilance, strengthen their struggle, to expose and oppose with all their

forces the predatory plans and plots, the innumerable interferences and intrigues against the freedom and independence of the peoples hatched up by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists.”

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS ALWAYS PURSUED A SINGLE MARXIST-LENINIST LINE

In its issue of March 10, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* carried an article under the above title from the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The article points out that the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour emphasized that “One of the main factors which has enabled our Party to ensure its leading role throughout its whole existence, to ensure so completely, monolithically and effectively the hegemony of the working class, is its steel-like ideological and organizational unity.”

The article continues: “The classics of Marxism-Leninism teach, that for every revolutionary party of the working class, unity is the most powerful weapon to cope with the attacks of the class enemies, to overcome difficulties and carry out the programmatic tasks in the revolution and the construction of socialist and communist society. Lack of ideological and organizational unity in the revolutionary party, the crystallization of factional currents and opposing anti-Marxist lines in its ranks turn it into a bourgeois-revisionist, social-democratic party, or destroy it. **‘A self-respecting Marxist-Leninist party,’** says Comrade Enver Hoxha, **‘cannot allow the existence of two lines in the party; thus it cannot permit the existence of one or several factions. Even if such a thing does occur, the party cannot and must not allow their existence even for a short time.’**

“All the Marxist-Leninist parties destroyed or transformed into revisionist parties so far, have been destroyed or turned revisionist because they have renounced the Marxist-Leninist principles and allowed the creation and operation of opposite lines and factional anti-Marxist trends in their own ranks, thus, being unable to combat and liquidate them. The Khrushchovite revisionist line which finally crystallized after the death of Stalin,

managed to triumph over the Marxist-Leninist line and liquidate the Bolshevik Communist Party when this party became stuck in routine, bureaucratized and lost its vigilance and consequently, was not able to eliminate the Khrushchovite revisionists by use of the revolutionary methods of struggle which it had once used to destroy the Mensheviks, the Trotskyites, the Bukharinites, the Zinovievites and other enemies."

The article continues: "Revisionism has been unable to strike root or triumph in the Party of Labour of Albania, as it did in many former communist and workers' parties, because the Party had prevented the work of the traitors and the anti-party groups and elements in its ranks from turning into a line opposed to the Party's Marxist-Leninist political line.

"How has the Party of Labour of Albania managed to prevent the creation of opposing revisionist lines in its ranks?

"Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist line, according to which it is impermissible to have two lines in the party to allow factions to exist and act, the Party of Labour has unceasingly waged the class struggle with revolutionary methods, within and outside its ranks against enemies and anti-Marxist views, against violations and distortions of the directives, principles and norms of the Party, against shortcomings and errors. This struggle has not been a struggle between the two lines, but a struggle to safeguard, implement and enrich a single, Marxist-Leninist line in the tide of revolutionary actions, to preserve and strengthen proletarian unity of the Party, leaving no loopholes.

"The Party of Labour of Albania has not allowed itself to be intoxicated with successes, to become swellheaded and overcome with euphoria because of its strong unity, its correct line, its sound ties with the masses and the great victories achieved under its leadership. To fight and not to allow oneself to become swellheaded, overcome with euphoria, means to destroy the ground for the petty bourgeois and revisionist worm, to prevent it from entering the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat to destroy them from within.

"The loss or weakening of revolutionary vigilance, whatever its causes, constitutes the same danger. These pressures are foiled, the dangers averted, opposing revisionist currents and lines are denied any passage only by always remaining vigilant,

thoroughly knowing the enemies, the methods, forms and means of their destructive work, never underestimating the pressure exerted on it by the reactionary, retrogressive enemy forces from outside and inside."

The article continues: "The fact that the party must be consistent in its Marxist-Leninist strategy, tactics and practice, is of great importance. As Comrade Enver Hoxha says, 'Throughout its life, full of revolutionary battles, our Party has upheld in principle and applied in practice a correct Marxist-Leninist theoretical line'. The victories of the party are 'the work of an heroic people and Party, the inevitable deduction from the consistent implementation of the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.' This consistent Marxist-Leninist course of the Party of Labour in all the periods of revolution is one of the basic factors which has made it possible to prevent the creation of any opposing currents and lines in the Party. Vacillations and uncertainty in its stands, decisions, and definitions of slogans, unprincipled changes over questions of internal and external policies, subjecting this policy to circumstances of the moment or to merely pragmatic and utilitarian reasons, cause confusion and disorientation, create the ground for anti-party currents and lines, and hostile activity in the ranks of the Party.

"Whether or not an opposing line is created in the party", the article continues, "greatly depends on the stand the party adopts towards its own shortcomings and mistakes. The proletarian party does not fear to acknowledge its mistakes or faults in its line or practical activity. But however important it is to acknowledge mistakes and shortcomings, it is just as important to be determined to fight to the end to correct them and to know how to do so. Mistakes, weaknesses, deviations, which are not disclosed and fought in time through revolutionary methods, may become a source of revisionist groups, trends and platforms. 'Any concession, any abuse or liberalism,' teaches Comrade Enver Hoxha, 'causes untold damage and brings about a rotten situation.'

"Whether or not an opposing line is created also depends on the stand taken towards anti-Party groups, when such groups are formed in the ranks of the Party. Revolutionary practice has taught the Party of Labour that it must not in any way permit the

existence and activity of any kind of anti-Party group either briefly or for a long time. Regardless of the forms and means they use, whether open or secret, all kinds of anti-Party groups are equally harmful; therefore, they must be fought and thoroughly destroyed, otherwise they develop into opposing trends and lines.

"There is no doubt that the struggle against anti-Party elements, groups and views is in the first place ideological struggle. But it is also an organizational struggle and a political struggle.

"The Party of Labour has always closely linked the ideological struggle with organizational measures, considering this as an essential condition for the success of this struggle. After all means of persuasion have been used, it has never allowed anti-Party traitor elements to remain in the Party, even less in the Central Committee, when it has been proven that this is what they are. The revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, cannot fail to use violence against enemies of the proletarian party, the people and socialism. Antagonistic contradictions cannot be resolved otherwise. To try to resolve antagonistic contradictions as the non-antagonistic contradictions among the people are resolved means to slip into idealism, religious softheartedness, to give up the class struggle."

Zëri i Popullit continues: "Opposing currents and lines in the Party can also result from outside interference. Because the Koçi Xoxe group was a faction in the Party leadership, the Yugoslav revisionists left no stone unturned to turn this group into an anti-Marxist line on a Party scale, to make the Trotskyist-revisionist trend triumph over the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. The Soviet revisionists made intensive attempts, directly and through Liri Belishova and Koço Tashko, to split the Central Committee of the Party, aiming to make the Khrushchovite revisionist course triumph over the Marxist-Leninist one. There is not a single anti-Party group that has been destroyed in Albania which did not have the encouragement and support of the external enemies of Marxism-Leninism. The 7th Congress of the Party pointed out that the latest plotting groups discovered and smashed in our Party acted in coordination with some foreign revisionist powers. But all these efforts of the external enemies of

Marxism-Leninism to sow the seed of disruption and bourgeois-revisionist degeneration in the Party of Labour, to create opposing currents and lines in its ranks, have failed in the face of the firm, principled stand of the Party towards foreign interference. The struggle against any interference from the outside has protected the Party from the danger of disruption and degeneration, or tailing behind one trend of international revisionism or another, and has strengthened its vigilance and sharpened its class perspicacity. The experience of this struggle has taught it that there is no more reliable way to always follow a correct revolutionary line than independently working out and implementing this line on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, which is the only compass for any genuine party of the working class. The unity of the Party is preserved and strengthened, the opposing lines in its ranks are avoided, if the political line and principles and norms of Marxism-Leninism, embodied in the Constitution of the Party, are applied with loyalty and in a revolutionary way. The CPSU and other former communist and worker parties, which betrayed the cause of Marxism-Leninism, deviated from the Marxist-Leninist line, at the same time, gave up the principles and norms of the revolutionary party of the working class, either through abandoning them or transforming them to dead formulas.

"Therefore, the 7th Congress of the Party reiterated that 'the loyal and revolutionary application of the Party line, the Leninist principles and lines in the activity of every leading organ, every base organization and every communist is of decisive importance' for the preservation and strengthening of the unity.

The article concludes: "The wide experience and firm revolutionary course of the Party of Labour of Albania, which has been further enriched with the ideas and decisions of the Seventh Congress, ensure that in the future as always, it will have a steel-like Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational unity and a single Marxist-Leninist line, a condition which is indispensable to achieving the undivided leadership of the working class in the complete construction of the socialist and communist society."

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION — THE ONLY ROAD TO SOCIAL PROGRESS

In its issue of March 14, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* carried an article under the above title from the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. The article is reprinted in full below.

"The 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, the historic Report of Comrade Enver Hoxha and all the other documents from the Congress are a profoundly principled scientific analysis, full of revolutionary conclusions, of the situation in which the construction of socialism in our country and the entire present day communist and workers' movement in the world are taking place. One of these conclusions is the thesis that 'the world is at a stage when the cause of the revolution and the national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a prospect but a problem which has been taken up for solution'.

"In their theoretical works, Marx and Engels analyzed the internal mechanism of capitalist society, went into its most profound secrets, and discovered that the capitalist system is heading inevitably for its destruction, that this destruction would be the work of the proletariat which would carry out the socialist revolution and establish its dictatorship. The development of history has fully confirmed Marx's conclusion.

"The new features, which capitalism gained with its transition to imperialism, brought about a further deepening of all the inner irreconcilable contradictions of capitalism, transformed capitalism into a decaying and dying system which is the eve of the revolution. Lenin said '**Imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat. Beginning from 1917 this has been confirmed on a world scale**'.

"The Leninist analysis of imperialism remains entirely valid and true. Lenin's prediction, that the social revolution of the proletariat is the only alternative, remains unshaken to this day. The capitalist system remains as it has always been, a system of

exploitation of man by man, a system of mass poverty and suffering, a system which wipes out millions and millions of lives. With its whole existence, imperialism turns the proletariat into an opposition force, impels it inevitably towards revolution, leaves it no way out except to rise against the system and establish its dictatorship, the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of violence.

"As well, the other typical contradiction of imperialism", *Zëri i Popullit* stresses, "the contradiction between the imperialist powers for the division and redivision of the world, has become more acute than ever today. Confronting one another today with unprecedented ferocity are the two superpowers, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which with their policy of expansion and hegemony and with their headlong contest to arm and equip themselves with the most powerful weapons have become a daily threat and a continuous danger to the freedom and security of many peoples, big and small, near or far at hand, on all continents. As long as it exists, imperialism cannot put aside its aggressive tendencies. This is its nature. With the pressure they exert upon the people, with the plots they organize day by day against the people's freedom and independence, with the new world war they are actively preparing for, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have become the main enemies of the peoples. In this situation, the people have no alternative but to hurl themselves into the liberation struggle, the proletariat has no alternative but to rise in violent revolution and establish its own state power. Triumph over the bourgeoisie of its own country is the main condition for the proletariat to be able to cope with the danger of the two superpowers. The bourgeoisie of various countries are linked in one way or another with one or the other superpower. This makes it essential that the proletariat, which is moving towards revolution, while fighting its own bourgeoisie, must not forget the threatening danger of the superpowers, and while fighting against the danger of the superpowers, it must not forget its own bourgeoisie which oppresses and exploits it.

"The struggle against the bourgeoisie and the struggle against the danger posed by the superpowers are not two different problems, but rather two sides of the same problem which the

revolution of the proletariat and its power can solve once and for all.

“As in the past, world imperialism, especially the two most insatiable and savage imperialisms of our era, such as American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, cannot do without the oppression and exploitation not only of its own people but also of other peoples of whole continents, such as Asia, Africa and Latin America, which were formerly colonies and semi-colonies. It is true that today the colonial system of imperialism has suffered heavy blows and is disintegrating. It is also true that in a number of zones of the world such as in Vietnam and Cambodia, American imperialism has suffered irreparable defeats. This does not lessen the imperialist danger hanging over the heads of these peoples and it in no way removes their national liberation struggle from the agenda. In their feverish contest for exploitation, domination and hegemony, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are following a typically colonialist and neo-colonialist policy. They spare no intrigue and blackmail to include these countries in their spheres of influence, to build up military bases there, and transform them into *place d'armes* of aggression and threat. Apart from this, the grave economic crisis which has the imperialist world in its grip, makes their efforts to grab the economic and human assets of these countries and to saddle these countries with the burden of the crisis more desperate and fierce. The situation becomes more tragic when, in many countries, like Brazil, Thailand, Indonesia, Chile, etc., dictatorial fascist regimes have obtained power and have turned themselves into tools of imperialism pursuing an open door policy, a policy of betraying the supreme interests of their own peoples. It is all these circumstances that raise the people to their feet and throw them into the anti-imperialist national liberation movement. As long as it is directed against world imperialism and in the first place against the most savage and aggressive imperialisms — American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism — the national liberation movement of many peoples of the world comprises the natural ally and powerful reserve of the proletariat and the revolution just as the proletarian revolution and the genuinely socialist countries constitute a reliable support for the revolutionary struggles and

liberation movements of the peoples.

“Marxism-Leninism teaches us, that in the present epoch the world is divided into two diametrically opposite worlds which are confronting one another: the world of the proletariat, revolution and socialism, to which the eyes of the working class and all the oppressed peoples are turned, and the world of the bourgeoisie, of the imperialist-revisionist counter-revolution, to which all the counter-revolutionary forces, headed by the two world gendarmes, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, have turned their eyes. A correct materialist class concept of the present day social reality excludes any other prospect of development and progress apart from that of revolution and the anti-imperialist liberation movement.

“The continuous and systematic failure of the plans of imperialist and revisionist governments to escape from the crisis is significant evidence that there is no way out apart from the revolution of the proletariat. In every imperialist and revisionist country without exception, from the USA to Japan, from the Soviet Union to the European revisionist countries, inflation has increased from year to year. The cost of living has become more burdensome, unemployment greater, degeneration more wide-spread, reaction fiercer. The main cause of the successive failures in every capitalist and revisionist country is that the governments are trying to solve their contradictions and come out of the crisis in the conditions of the existing capitalist-revisionist order by preserving it. This is an insoluble task. Crises, degeneration, corruption are inevitable features of capitalism and have their roots deep in this system of oppression and exploitation. The only way out is that which Marxism-Leninism has discovered and proved, that which the PLA has always defended and which it defended again at its 7th Congress. This is the road of the socialist revolution, the violent overthrow of the imperialist and revisionist bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

“In their efforts to find a palliative for the crises of the capitalist system, the capitalist governments have secured the assistance and collaboration of the revisionist parties and reformist trade unions. It is a long time since the revisionist parties in Italy, France, Spain and Portugal have even mentioned

the words revolution and proletariat. Instead of the violent revolution of the proletariat, the Italian revisionists talk about and try to achieve the 'historic compromise', alliance with the main bourgeois parties of Italy. The French revisionists, on their part, pretend that in the conditions of capitalism today there is no longer a proletariat, that it has become a working class and that consequently the transition to socialism will come about allegedly through the development of bourgeois democracy and bourgeois democratic freedoms. There is nothing original in the thesis of the French revisionists and their leader, Marchais. It is simply a revival of the illusions spread by the father of modern revisionism, the renegade Kautsky, which were criticized and exposed by Lenin. As Lenin explained, there is no such thing as pure democracy. Any kind of democracy is a dictatorship of one class to oppress another class. In this sense, bourgeois democracy is nothing but a dictatorship in the hands of the bourgeoisie to oppress the working class and the masses of the working people. Lenin also exposed who created and who needed illusions about pure democracy. **'It is advantageous to the bourgeoisie and it is obliged to hide from the people the bourgeois character of present day democracy, to present it as democracy in general, as pure democracy, and by repeating such a thing the Scheidemanns and Kautskys are really abandoning the viewpoint of the proletariat and taking the side of the bourgeoisie.'** Against the bourgeois stand of Kautsky, Lenin put forward the proletarian revolutionary perspective, the perspective of the replacement of the bourgeois dictatorship, regardless of whether this was disguised as the most democratic republic, with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Since the time when Lenin wrote these lines, many years have passed by and many events have taken place, which have all proved that 'pure democracy', 'democracy for all' is complete deception. In fact it is only a form of dictatorship that the bourgeoisie maintains for as long as it is beneficial to it and abandons when it is in its interests to pass on to more savage forms of violence and terror. The bloody events in Indonesia and later in Chile, once more showed the working class and the broad working masses of these countries and the world proletariat that bourgeois legality and bourgeois democracy

are not at all an obstacle for the bourgeoisie to establish fascist dictatorship and to quench in blood the liberation struggles of the proletariat and the broad working masses, whenever its interests seek it.

"In the light of the teachings of Lenin, in the light of the materialist dialectical analysis of the situation in the capitalist revisionist countries that are pregnant with the revolution, it is clearly seen that the road of the 'transition to socialism', preached by the Soviet revisionists through 'economic competition', by the Italian revisionists through 'historic compromise', by the French revisionists through 'the extension of bourgeois freedoms and democracy' are roads of the renegades to the proletarian revolution, the traitors to Marxism-Leninism, the roads of the complete subjugation to capitalist domination. Lenin, through struggle against the open or disguised defenders of capitalism, worked out and developed the theory of revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as all the other major problems of revolutionary theory and practice. Lenin emphasized that **'the only Marxist line in the workers' movement of the world is to explain to the masses the essential and inevitable need to break with opportunism, to educate them for revolution with a merciless struggle against opportunism'**. The PLA has put this Leninist tradition of the exposure and irreconcilable struggle against the revisionist enemies of Marxism-Leninism at the foundation of its activity. This tradition was carried on at its 7th Congress. In his Report to the Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha tore the mask from all the faces which revisionism has assumed today, from the open anti-communism of Marcuse and Garaudy to that of Berlinguer, Marchais and Carrillo, from the pseudo-socialism of the Soviet revisionists to that of the Yugoslav revisionists. He pointed out the great danger which modern revisionism constitutes to the life of the peoples, the cause of socialism and freedom in the world. The struggle against revisionism has been and still is an essential condition for the triumph of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"How many times, during the last century since the name of Marx first became known and Marxism emerged, have the reactionaries and revisionists declared socialism to be 'buried'?"

How loudly they are trumpeting today that 'revolution has become unnecessary', that 'capitalism is not what it was before', that 'it has discovered within itself the strength to get out of the crisis'. How many times Marxism-Leninism has been declared 'outdated', left behind by 'new creative doctrines', which allegedly respond to the new circumstances and conditions. However the dialectic of history has developed in such a way that the enemies of Marxism have suffered defeat and have been wiped out, that the falsifiers of Marxism-Leninism have been forgotten; no one can remember them (except to revile them) while the cause of the proletariat and the revolution has become more powerful and essential."

Zëri i Popullit concludes: "The situation in the world today is disturbed. The real causes of this grave situation are the policy and activity of the imperialist bourgeoisie, especially of the imperialist bourgeoisie of the two superpowers. The class struggle of the proletariat has to overcome great difficulties and obstacles, but the socialist revolution is marching through these difficulties and obstacles and the liberation struggle of the peoples is rising. **'The socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat'**, said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the PLA, **'are an historic necessity, and there is no force which can stop their coming about.'** Sure of this, the proletariat is living and fighting today on the barricades of the class struggle and the revolution."

NOTHING HAS CHANGED IN EUROPE AFTER THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE OF INSECURITY

In its issue of March 19, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* carried an article, under the above title, from the newspaper *Bashkimi*, Organ of the Democratic Front of Albania.

The article begins by stressing that "nothing has changed since the Helsinki Conference on so-called European Security. At the time of the conference, the Party of Labour of Albania declared its views about the Helsinki Conference calling it a 'Conference of European Insecurity'. As the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit* has written in the article 'Conference of European Insecurity' on July 29, 1975, 'the agreements, treaties, concessions and compromises manipulated and concluded under the direction of the Soviet Union and the USA can never contribute to the strengthening of peace and security, either on a regional plane, or on the international plane.' In fact, the Helsinki Conference has brought nothing good in Europe, on the contrary, in the hands of the two superpowers, it is serving as a means to spread their liberal pacifist spirit. They allege that today all the world problems and international class conflicts can be solved through 'peaceful' talks and personal contacts, and that those who are at the head of the Kremlin and the White House are 'wellwishers' of mankind and are also concerned about peace.

"The documents signed in Helsinki did not reflect, even indirectly, the interests or concerns of the European peoples. The Soviet Union and the U.S.A. imposed on others an international document in which the spheres of influence are recognized and accepted, and in which the political, military and economic domination of many European countries by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism is recognized and allowed.

"The chieftain of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique Brezhnev, considered the Helsinki Conference a 'success' that he

would present at the 25th congress of the Soviet revisionist party. He wanted to hide the efforts for the consolidation of domination inside the country and in the satellite countries, the efforts to give a new impulse to the hegemonic policy in other regions. But these aims were badly exposed. The peoples of the satellite countries of East Europe felt the oppression of the Soviet revisionists still more heavily. The Soviet troops in those countries not only were not reduced, but on the contrary increased. The efforts of Moscow are being intensified to completely integrate the satellite countries into the Soviet state.

"The period after Helsinki did not change the character of U.S. imperialist activity with regard to Europe either. Under a new demagogic guise, Washington strengthened its pressure on the countries of West Europe. To keep in place the elbows which its European partners employ against Washington from time to time, the latter has increased its blackmail against the West European countries, to compel them to be more obedient and calm in their demands and to compel them to carry a greater weight of the U.S. crisis and difficulties. Likewise, it wants to group them better as its rear area and base in its rivalry with the other superpower, the revisionist Soviet Union.

"To quell the claims of their allies, to keep them under their reign and to dominate in Europe, both U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have devoted first rate importance to their aggressive blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, as well as to the European Common Market and the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. Besides the increase of their forces and weapons, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty have conducted a great series of military manoeuvres. In the meantime, the feverish military and diplomatic activity of the two superpowers in Europe, aims to keep their allies under their heel, to make them obedient tools of the policy of Washington and Moscow.

"Both the imperialist superpowers, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, thirsty for hegemony and spheres of influence, cannot stay idle without interfering in the affairs of one another and of other imperialists, without employing the elbow policy. They acted in this way before the Helsinki Conference, they are acting the same today. The Soviet Union is trying to create any loopholes for itself in the countries of West Europe. It has

intensified its efforts for greater interference in those countries. Its attempts at interference in Portugal were clearly seen, as the U.S.A. tried to do the same thing trying to penetrate the revisionist countries of East Europe in various ways. So the two superpowers are keeping a watch over one another, having tried to find ways to undermine the positions of one another, but on the other hand, they both consider Europe as a territory of expansion, and its peoples, the resistance of these peoples, as the number one obstacle to realize this expansion.

"After Helsinki, the wave of anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist struggle, which the two superpowers aimed to strangle, has extended further. The entire aggressive, bandit-like activity of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists has made the people see better the true countenance of the "security" the two superpowers offer them. Those who cried at the top of their lungs at Helsinki about peace, did not change their nature as occupationists. Those who prior to the Helsinki Conference occupied Czechoslovakia, have increased their occupation forces in Bulgaria, Hungary, etc., have increased the number of their warships, which together with those of the U.S. imperialists, roam as monsters in the Mediterranean and threaten the Nordic peoples.

"In the Middle East, the two superpowers supply Israel with arms and manpower, hatch up plots and raise a hue and cry about the Geneva Conference to prolong the 'no war no peace' situation, while in Europe the aggressive NATO and Warsaw Treaty blocs, the two instruments for the preparation of and the launching of war, which they head, are facing one another with bases and numerous forces.

"The more one bloc arms itself, the more the other bloc increases its arsenals. In the meantime, the dull refrain of the demagogic talk about the reduction of the forces and armaments in central Europe, the SALT talks, etc., is continuing.

"Both superpowers have also created a sham psychosis that the coming war which may be launched by one superpower or the other, will be a lightning war, so short that within three to four days the Soviet social-imperialists will occupy the whole of Yugoslavia (since Albania according to them will be 'swallowed at one bite') and thus the Soviet tanks will reach the East Coast of

the Atlantic, in Portugal, in a matter of ten days. At the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: 'Our Party holds that this propaganda and these views represent a special strategy and tactics to establish imperialist and social-imperialist control and domination over the national political, economic and military life of all states. Therefore as such, they must be resolutely combatted. As to 'Albania's being only one mouthful' — watch out, gentlemen, for socialist Albania is a hard bone that'll stick in your throat and choke you! Should the Soviet social-imperialists undertake such a venture against our country, they will suffer an irreparable defeat.

"The same holds good for U.S. imperialism, too. Should it dare perpetrate such aggression, it, too, will never come out of it alive. The lessons from its defeat in Vietnam and Cambodia are very fresh.'

"Nothing has changed after the ill-famed so-called Conference of European Security, in which not only Albania but also the European peoples did not take part," *Bashkimi* stresses. "The hue and cry of the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda about the so-called 'Spirit of Detente' aims to drive the people on the road of the weakening of their revolutionary vigilance, of their submission, the creation of the illusions that the promises made by Brezhnev or the 'realistic declarations' of Carter will bring peace to Europe and the world. But the peoples are not nourished with an empty spoon, and cannot be deceived. They are clear that in the conditions when the two superpowers are making headlong preparations for war, when the U.S. and Soviet military bases and troops are still in Europe, when the policy of armaments, threats and military blackmail by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists continues, when the aggressive NATO and Warsaw Treaty blocs are still on foot and ever more aggressive, nothing can be said about European security.

"Security, true peace can be realized only through the determined struggle of the peoples against their sworn enemies, U.S. imperialism Soviet social-imperialism and all the dark forces of reaction which are trying by all means to prolong the days of their domination."

ON CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

In its issue of March 30, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* carried an article, under the above title, from the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. The article is reprinted in full below as it appeared in *ATA*.

"To orientate itself correctly in the complicated processes and situations of social life, where many diversified factors are interlaced and cooperate to correctly understand the present-day situation and the future prospects, to correctly evaluate the relationship between the class forces and their nature, the Party relies on an irreplaceable weapon, on Marxist-Leninist dialectics, especially on the theory of contradictions, which has been considered by Lenin as the essence of the dialectical method. The dialectical theory on contradictions is run through by the revolutionary spirit, because it substantiates the objective necessity of the overthrow of the bourgeois order through the proletarian revolution and the inevitable victory of communism. Therefore, in their struggle against Marxism-Leninism the bourgeois ideologists and the opportunists of every hue never forget to direct their spearheads against the dialectical theory on contradictions.

"The history of the International Communist and Workers' Movement proves that the problem of the contradictions, of their nature and role in the process of the development of social life, has always been in the center of the principled divergences between Marxism-Leninism and the ideological opponents of the working class. In order to justify their departure from Marxism, Bernstein and the other opportunist chieftains of the Second International launched the ill-famed slogan: 'Turn Back to Kant', which was an appeal to give up and abandon the materialist dialectics with contradictions and leaps and replace it with vulgar evolution. The revision of the dialectical theory on

contradictions prepared the ground for the social-democratic parties of the Second International to be transformed completely from the parties of social revolution into parties of class reconciliation and social reforms. Summing up the new historic experience of the epoch of imperialism, Lenin discovered the fundamental contradictions of that epoch and the objective laws of their inevitable aggravation. He substantiated the new prospects of the revolutionary movement of the working class, which was crowned with the triumph of the October Revolution.

“The problem of contradictions occupied a very important place also in the great polemics of the communist movement with Trotskyism and Bukharinism. J.V. Stalin criticized on the one hand, the viewpoints masked under ‘leftist’ slogans of the troskyites, who accepted only antagonistic contradictions in the socialist society. On the other hand, Stalin also waged an irreconcilable struggle against the rightist viewpoints of Bukharinites, who accepted only the non-antagonistic contradictions, who with their ill-famed theory of ‘equilibrium’ denied the class struggle and upheld the idea of the ‘spontaneous integration of capitalist elements in socialism’. Only by smashing the leftist and rightist metaphysic viewpoints with regard to contradictions in socialism, the Bolshevik Party, led by Stalin, defended and implemented the Leninist platform of the socialist construction in the conditions of the capitalist encirclement.

“After Stalin’s death, the Soviet Union diverted from this road with the treachery of the Khrushchovite revisionists, who revived the old anti-dialectic theories and placed them in the service of their counter-revolutionary policy. The modern revisionists displayed a special zeal to deny the objective class basis and the laws of the aggravation of the antagonistic contradictions between socialism and capitalism, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between revolution and counter-revolution, between the oppressed peoples and imperialism, and the other contradictions of our epoch.

“The opportunist stand towards the contradictions gave a free hand to the modern revisionists to prepare and implement the counter-revolutionary turning point of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries.

“The experience of the International Communist and Workers’ Movement has taught our Party to attach great importance to the defence of the Marxist-Leninist theory on contradictions from the distortions which the modern revisionists make of it and its implementation, in analyzing every problem, even of little importance, in the development of the socialist society. Our Party considers the objective contradictions as the source and driving force of the development of the world in general, and of the social life in particular. The socialist society, too, develops through various kinds of contradictions.

“To understand correctly the fundamental problems of the development of the society in the period of the transition from capitalism to communism, not only is the acceptance of contradictions in general of great importance, but also the distinction of various kinds of contradictions, and their specific features. Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed that the key to a profound analysis of the development in this period is the acceptance of two kinds of contradictions: antagonistic and non-antagonistic, which play a decisive role during all the entire process of the construction of the new socialist society. This thesis is in full opposition with the viewpoints of the modern revisionists, who speak about the development of socialist society only through non-antagonistic contradictions.

“In the period of transition from capitalism to communism, alongside with the non-antagonistic contradictions, there also exist many antagonistic contradictions, which are also called contradictions between us and the enemy. The antagonistic contradictions are contradictions between social class forces with diametrically opposite fundamental political and economic interests and which emerge from the relations of the domination of one force over the other. The antagonistic contradiction of this type in the transitory period exists not only as external contradictions (between every country which builds socialism and the external front of the counter-revolutionary forces — imperialism, social-imperialism, world reaction) but also as internal contradictions (between the working people, with the working class in the lead and the exploiting classes, all the enemies of socialism). Antagonistic contradictions also exist

after the liquidation of the exploiting classes, after the construction of the economic base of socialism.

"Socialism is built in the social conditions when the social class antagonism have not been avoided by the society. This is connected with the existence of the remnants of the exploiting classes, of the enemies from the ranks of the working people, the influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and other factors. These are factors whose influence remains for a long time, which should be taken into consideration during the entire transitory period and should not be neglected, the more so for they act in coordination with the foreign inimical forces.

"The Marxist-Leninist stand is distinguished from the revisionist one not only by the acceptance of the two kinds of contradictions, but also by the estimation of the role of the antagonistic contradictions in the period of transition from capitalism to communism. The main content of the class struggle in this period has to do with the struggle between two roads, the capitalist road and the socialist road of development. Therefore, alongside the non-antagonistic contradictions, the antagonistic contradictions are presented as fundamental, first hand contradictions in the transitory period and not as temporary and sporadic contradictions. This assessment of the role of antagonistic contradictions of this period complies with the teachings of V.I. Lenin, who in his work *Economy and Policy in the Epoch of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* has written: **'From the theoretical viewpoint, there is no doubt that a set period of transition exists between capitalism and communism. It cannot fail to join in itself the features and qualities of these two forms of social economy. This period of transition cannot fail to be the period of the struggle between capitalism that dies and communism that emerges, or in other words, between defeated capitalism, but which is not yet liquidated, and communism which has emerged, but which is still very weak'.**

"Historic experience has fully proved these teachings of Lenin. It shows that if the antagonistic contradictions are not considered or their role is neglected, the revolutionary vigilance of the people is weakened and capitalism may be restored even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes, as it happened in the Soviet Union and in other revisionist countries.

"Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that it is not enough to accept the antagonistic contradictions in the period of transition from capitalism to communism, but one should also deal with them correctly, solve them through ways and methods which comply with their very nature. The sole road of the solution of antagonistic contradictions is the fierce class struggle. In the socialist order, the working class, led by its Marxist-Leninist party and in alliance with labouring peasantry, is able to solve the internal antagonistic contradictions. First and foremost, the possibility of the complete construction of socialism in the conditions of capitalist encirclement depends on this. **'As long as the class struggle continues,'** Comrade Enver Hoxha says, **'which is not instigated artificially, but exists objectively as a struggle between the two roads of the socialist and capitalist development, there is no room for spirit of tranquillity, self-satisfaction and liberalism that we have allegedly liquidated all the evils and have avoided every danger. On the contrary, the sword edge of the class struggle should always be kept sharp, because it is the most powerful weapon which defends us from the enemies, which cleanses us of the evils which tempers us as proletarian revolutionaries. We should wage this struggle consistently, always making clear the character of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions and firmly relying on the masses'.** The strengthening of the socialist order in the process of this struggle is a premise and also its aim. In the struggle to solve the antagonistic contradictions, the dictatorship of the proletariat resorts to the method of violence, restriction against the enemies, who try through counter-revolution to seize the power from the working class.

"The opportunists of various hues distort the nature of antagonistic contradictions, darken their features to deny the indispensability of the use of violence against the enemies. They claim that the dictatorship of the proletariat must be generous towards the enemies of socialism, to realize with them a kind of 'peaceful coexistence' and then have a kind of 'constructive' dialogue. This is an opportunist liberal treatment of the antagonistic contradictions which denies the class essence and the very indispensability of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which, as it is the broadest and most real democracy for the

working masses, cannot fail to be revolutionary violence for the enemies of socialism. By always having a clear view of the character of antagonistic contradictions, and fighting against their liberal opportunist treatment, our Party does not mix them with the non-antagonistic contradictions. To mix them means to keep the snake in the bosom, to cease the struggle against the enemy.

"In the period of the transition from capitalism to communism, the non-antagonistic contradictions, which are also called contradictions in the fold of the people, play a great role. They are contradictions between social forces which have objectively a broad common base of fundamental interests, but which have at the same time different interests for second hand or partial problems. Such are for instance, the contradiction between the working class and labouring peasantry; between special sides of the relations in production and productive forces; between the old forces of the organization and management of the work and social production and the new demands of the development of the productive forces; between the new ideological, cultural and technical-professional level of the working people and the level of production; between administrative forms and methods of managing the economy and the participation of the masses in this management, etc.

"In the process of the struggle to solve the non-antagonistic contradictions the method which complies with their specific nature is the method of conviction, education, criticism and self-criticism. These contradictions are solved by extending constantly the basis of the common interests and gradually narrowing the differences existing between social forces which are bearers of this kind of contradiction. Our Party has gained a very rich experience in solving the non-antagonistic contradictions of our society. It is expressed, among the other things, in the strengthening of the unity of the people round the Party, in the strengthening of the working class-cooperativist peasantry alliance, which constitutes the loftiest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Making the distinction between the antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions, our Party," *Zëri i Popullit* writes in conclusion, "has waged correctly the class struggle, has ensured

the non-stop march of the proletarian revolution in our country and is leading our people in the struggle for the complete construction of socialism."

**QUESTIONS OF WAR AND PEACE IN
THE REPORT OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA
TO THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PLA**

In its issue of March 31, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* carried an article, under the above title, from *Zëri i Popullit*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. The article is reproduced below.

"In the Report to the 7th Congress of the Party, the questions of war and peace hold an important place, because, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed: **'The problems of war and peace have always preoccupied the peoples of the world, the broad working masses, who want no new disaster to befall mankind again.'** In our time the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, pacifist and warmongering 'theoreticians' continue to spread confusion about these problems and befuddle the people. Some want to persuade the peoples that today in the world, as a result of the creation of weapons for mass annihilation, world war has become impossible; some others say that it is fatally inevitable. Some simply preach that the leaders of the imperialist states have become 'reasonable' and do not want war, and so on and so forth. Objectively, all these theories hide the real causes and those who are responsible for the predatory wars, discourage the efforts of the peoples and the working masses against the warmongers, and pave the way for imperialist and social-imperialist aggression.

"Marxism-Leninism teaches us that **'war emerges from the essence of imperialism'**, that it is a consequence of the deepening and aggravation, to the sharpest degree, of all the contradictions of capitalism. It has been so in the past; it is so today. The same political, economic and social causes, as a whole, which have incited the outburst of previous imperialist wars, still exist at present.

"Today, deep economic contradictions, fierce rivalries for markets and spheres of influence, continuous economic and

political crises exist in the imperialist system. The restoration of the economy of the imperialist and capitalist countries destroyed in the years of the Second World War, has sharpened the inter-imperialist competition and rivalry for markets and for pillaging the peoples. The advent to power of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union led to the creation of a new centre of imperialism, aggression and international counter-revolution, a new dangerous hotbed of contradictions and tensions.

"The imperialist collaboration and contention of the two superpowers, the frenzied armaments race they are carrying on, the expansion and intervention they undertake to put spheres of influence under their control and to quell the revolutionary and liberation movements everywhere, in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, in Africa or Latin America, pose the greatest threat to the peoples, to the security of peace. They are the main source of tensions in the world. On the other hand, imperialism, social-imperialism and world capitalism have never reconciled with the existence of the true socialist countries, as well as with the independent and free development of many countries. They will always try to include all the world in their system of exploitation and enslavement.

"The present deep crisis which has the international capitalist and revisionist system in its grip has greatly aggravated the contradictions of the present epoch. In this background, the struggle of the working class and the other working strata against exploitation and the attempts of the bourgeoisie to shift the burden of the crisis on the working masses, and against the reactionary dictatorships and the growing tendency towards fascism, has been raised to a new degree. The struggle of the oppressed peoples and the developing countries for national liberation and to get rid of the neo-colonialist yoke, in defence of their sovereign rights over their national assets from the expansion and plunder by the imperialist powers, and first and foremost, by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, has assumed new dimensions. While the bourgeoisie and imperialism, especially the two superpowers, seek a way out in expansion, aggression, imperialist war and by unleashing fascism, the proletariat and the freedom-loving peoples tend

evermore clearly to the revolution and the liberation struggle.

"It is precisely these developments that the 7th Congress of our Party meant when it stressed that the present international situation appears very complex, full of great contradictions and confrontations, among which the most important are the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between imperialism, social-imperialism and the monopoly bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the world proletariat and the peoples who are fighting for freedom, democracy and socialism, on the other hand. These contradictions and their aggravation in the present conditions, once more prove the immortal theses of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the development of bourgeois society and on the proletarian strategy of the revolution.

"The classics of Marxism-Leninism have substantiated that, as a result of the deepening and aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions, reactionary wars burst out which aim to preserve or re-establish the old social order and to prevent social progress; wars of oppression and aggression on a local or world scale, which aim to enslave other people, burst out. All these kinds of wars are unjust, they are predatory, imperialist wars. Therefore the Marxist-Leninists and the peoples have always resolutely pronounced themselves against them. But there are also just wars, the wars of the progressive forces against the reactionary forces, the revolutionary, liberation and defensive wars of the workers and peoples against class and national exploitation and oppression, which are inevitable as long as capitalism, imperialism and social-imperialism exist. These are wars which serve social progress, wars which advance history. In our time such just wars are the struggle of the people of Vietnam, those of Cambodia and Laos against the aggression and intervention of U.S. imperialism and against the reactionary forces in its services, which were crowned with victory, the struggle of the Arab people and, particularly of the Palestinian people, against the Israeli-Zionist aggressors and the interference of the superpowers, the struggle of the peoples of Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe against the racist regimes, as well as the struggle of the other African peoples for true national independence, etc. Likewise, the struggles of the revolutionary, progressive and patriotic forces against the dictatorial and pro-

imperialist regimes in Brazil and Bolivia, in Thailand and Malaysia, the resistance of the peoples of Chile, Argentina, Indonesia and Spain against the fascist regimes, etc., are just struggles which promote the development of society and, for these reasons, they deserve all the support of the revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world.

"Thus, as various kinds of wars exist, the question of defining their character and, on this basis, defining the stand towards them, is an important question of principle. The Leninist teachings on this question are a guiding compass. Lenin pointed out that: **'The character of the war (whether it is reactionary or revolutionary) does not depend on who the attacker was, or in whose country the 'enemy' is stationed; it depends on what class is waging the war, and of what politics this war is a continuation.'** Proceeding from this class criterion, the communists, by all means, support the just wars — the wars of the peoples for freedom and independence, the revolutionary wars — and condemn the unjust wars, the imperialist and reactionary wars. The 7th Congress of the Party unreservedly expressed itself in support of the peoples and their revolutionary struggles. Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed: **'Today, Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute a broad front of struggle against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the other imperialist powers. The peoples of these continents are making great and all-round efforts to strengthen their political independence, to shake off colonial and neo-colonial domination . . .**

' . . . we must base ourselves on the mobilization and strength of the peoples, on the unity of all those who want to throw off the imperialist-revisionist yoke. We stand for the unity of the world proletariat and all the true anti-imperialist and progress-loving forces, who through their struggle, will smash the aggressive plans of the imperialist and social-imperialist warmongers.

' . . . the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people . . . will spare no effort and will fight, together with all the other anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist peoples, with all the Marxist-Leninist parties, all the revolutionaries and all the world proletariat, all progressive people, 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 every moment our country will be found standing beside all those peoples whose freedom and independence are threatened and whose rights are violated. We have repeatedly declared this stand, and not just in good times, but in dangerous times as well, the peoples of the world can be sure that socialist Albania is with them and fears no sacrifice.”

“On the other hand, our Party has always adopted a resolute stand against the imperialist wars, the reactionary wars. The 7th Congress once more resolutely expressed itself against such wars. The Congress also revealed concretely where the real danger stands for the bursting out of a new world war and who are its instigators. It condemned the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the USA, which pursue an open aggressive policy and vie with one another for spheres of influence, for markets, for hegemony, for world domination. Therefore, the two superpowers are the main and the biggest enemies of mankind, of the peoples, equally savage and dangerous for world peace. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, **‘Each separated or together, the superpowers represent, in the same degree and to the same extent, the main enemy of socialism, and the freedom and independence of nations, the greatest force defending oppressive and exploiting systems and the direct threat that mankind will be hurled into a third world war.’**

“The Party of Labour of Albania, bearing in mind the Leninist teachings on war, adopts a clear-cut stand. It openly declares that the two superpowers are preparing for war, that both the USA and the Soviet Union remain aggressive powers, enemies of the peoples; therefore neither one of them can be supporters of the peoples’ freedom and independence. The rivalry between the two superpowers, their aims to ensure spheres of influence, each for itself, their hegemonistic and expansionist policy, lead both superpowers toward war. And no matter which of the two superpowers will be the first to launch a war against the group of states of the bloc of the other superpower, this war will certainly be a war among the imperialist groups. For this reason our Party is fighting against the war being prepared by the USA, as well as the war being prepared by the Soviet Union. It is also fighting against NATO and against the Warsaw Treaty, because the two are instruments

of wars of aggression.

“Bearing in mind the feverish war preparations of the two superpowers, the question rightfully arises: What should the people, the proletarians and the revolutionaries do? Leave the imperialists and social-imperialists in tranquillity to set the world on fire, or fight against their warmongering plans, against their aggressive actions, against the local ruling bourgeoisie, which has united with and serves the warmongering plans of Soviet social-imperialism or U.S. imperialism?”

“The 7th Congress of the Party, considering these questions on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, gave a clear principled answer. It pointed out that in fact the imperialists and social-imperialists are leading towards the aggressive, reactionary, imperialist war and it is not excluded that it may burst out in Europe, in Asia against the People’s Republic of China, or in the Middle East, but the superpowers are not fully free to act as they like. Today, the true socialist countries, the world proletariat, the peoples who are against war, against hegemonism and imperialist and social-imperialist oppression, constitute a colossal force able to restrain the warmongers. But for this, as was stressed at the 7th Congress, it is of special importance that the peoples should not wait, should not stand with folded arms, should not fall into fatalism, become passive observers and be caught unawares; they must be prepared for the worst and fight to prevent it from occurring.

“The PLA has been and is against the viewpoints of the modern revisionists, who connect the possibility of preventing war with giving up any kind of revolutionary and national liberation struggle, with the establishment of class reconciliation, concessions and capitulation in face of the enemies. At the same time, it is also against the viewpoint which conceives the launching of world aggressive wars as fatally inevitable, because in this way the force of socialism and the world proletariat, the force of the peoples and their struggle is not taken into consideration. Our Party upholds the thesis that aggressive world wars can be prevented if the world proletariat, the peoples of the entire world, will not allow the imperialists and social imperialists to set the world on fire.

“Thus, in face of the growing danger of the imperialist war, it is

the duty of the peoples, the workers of all countries, and the revolutionaries to rise and fight against such a war, to fight against the superpowers which prepare the war, to fight against the local monopoly bourgeoisie which backs up the war. Lenin's teachings on this question, too, are a compass. Lenin has stressed: **'If the war is a reactionary, imperialist war, that is, war waged by two world groups of the reactionary imperialist bourgeoisie, violating and predatory, then every bourgeois (even that of a small country) becomes participant in plunder and, my duty, the duty of the revolutionary proletariat is to prepare the world proletarian revolution, the sole salvation from the horrors of a world slaughter. I must not judge from the viewpoint of "my" country . . . but from the viewpoint of my participation in the preparation, propagation and bringing near of the world proletarian revolution. This is what internationalism is, this is the task of the internationalist, the revolutionary patriot, the genuine socialist.'** This means that the peoples, including the American and the Russian people, the German and the Polish people, the revolutionaries in Spain, Germany or Czechoslovakia, etc., should rise against the preparations for aggressive imperialist wars, against the warmongering policy and activity of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism both in the East and the West, as well as against the pro-war stand adopted by the local monopoly bourgeoisie and the revisionist cliques. In its revolutionary struggle against such a war, the proletariat, whose leading role is indisputable, powerfully relies on the broad masses of the people and the strata who are against this war as it relies on the anti-imperialist struggle of the other peoples, especially of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. This is a Leninist, revolutionary stand.

"But history also shows another stand, that of the traitors of the Second International, who not seeing the imperialism of their own country, ranked themselves beside it and gave all their support to the European bourgeoisie in its imperialist war for the division of the world. In the name of the 'defence of the homeland', they set the European workers to massacre one another, at the same time, making all their attempts to conceal the imperialist and predatory character of the war. It is well-known how V.I. Lenin has stigmatized them. Lenin said, **'The social-chauvinists betrayed socialism, participating at the same time in**

the governments that wage the imperialist war, voting at the same time for credits or loans, opposing at the same time the revolutionary struggle in their country'.

"Fighting and rejecting the social-chauvinist stands, the genuine communists and revolutionaries forcefully denounce the imperialist and social-imperialist warmongers wherever they are, expose their aggressive actions and call on the peoples and the revolutionaries of the two aggressive blocs to sabotage this war, to fight for the destruction of the bases the superpowers have established and created in various countries, in the East and in the West.

"If the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists begin a war, despite the opposition and resistance of the peoples, in this case too, the proletariat and the revolutionaries do not submit to the plans of the enemies. On the contrary, the peoples and the revolutionaries oppose both the imperialists and social-imperialists and the warmongering monopoly bourgeoisie of the country, and they act with determination to turn the imperialist war into a revolutionary liberation war. Comrade Enver Hoxha says: **'If an aggressive imperialist war cannot be prevented, then it is the task of the revolutionaries and the proletariat to turn it into a liberation war.'**

"But in order to realize such a possibility, it is the duty of the genuine revolutionary and patriotic forces to prepare the proletariat and the peoples for all the eventualities. In this framework, they must also create the alliances and make use of the contradictions on an internal and external plane.

"Such a principled stand mobilizes and unites all the factors which oppose the imperialist powers and their preparations for war, it helps for an efficient exploitation of inter-imperialist contradictions and the isolation of the superpowers in favour of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

"Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 7th Congress, **'It is essential that we Marxist-Leninists work to arouse the revolutionary spirit in the masses of the proletariat and its closest allies, the peasantry, the working masses, the progressive and patriotic people. This we must do without fail, because all the enemies are competing with one another to destroy socialism, to strangle the revolution and enslave the peoples.'**"

INCREASING AND STRENGTHENING THE LEADING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

In its issue of April 4, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* carried an article under the above title from the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. The article was published under the signature of Rita Marko, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and President of the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions. The article is reprinted below.

"The further increase and strengthening of the leading role of our working class in the socialist society, the incessant strengthening of its consciousness," writes Rita Marko, "constitute one of the fundamental ideas and tasks of the 7th Congress of the Party. **The political leadership of the working class in the revolution and the construction of socialism and communism constitute one of the fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism,**' stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party. **'No class or social stratum other than the working class, can play a leading role in the struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the construction of the new socialist society. This role will be preserved and strengthened in the future too, so long as the classes and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat exist.'**

"As one of the key problems of Marxism-Leninism, of the theory and practice of scientific socialism, the hegemonic role of the working class has always constituted the demarcation line between the Marxist-Leninists and the renegades to Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism. The problem of the leading role of the working class in the revolution and construction of the socialist and communist society has to do with the acceptance of such cardinal problems as the unique leading role of the proletarian Marxist-Leninist party in the revolution and socialist construction, Marxism-Leninism as the

sole leading ideology in the socialist society, the indispensability of the dictatorship of the proletariat until the construction of the classless communist society, the class struggle as the major driving force to communism, the leading role of the working class in its relations with the peasantry and intelligentsia, etc.

"The working class realizes its hegemonic role in socialism through its party and state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without its Marxist-Leninist party, which is the supreme leading force of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class can never carry out its historic mission. The experience of our Party has proved this in the best way. All the historic victories we have achieved are indissolubly linked with the Party, with its wise and farsighted leadership. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us: **'Only the revolutionary party of the working class, armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory, makes the working class conscious of its historic role, clearly defines the targets of the struggle and the ways to achieve them'**. Through the all-round and persistent work and struggle of the Party, the leading role of the working class in this country has kept increasing. Its opinions, words and actions set the tone for the whole life of the country. Now it takes a direct part in all the major problems the Party lays down and with its example, it educates the other working people.

"A large number of cadres from the ranks of the working class are now working in the organs and apparatuses of the Party, the people's power, and mass organizations, in those of the economy, art, culture, etc. This has further revolutionized the work and is serving directly the further strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The direct control of the working class, under the leadership of the Party, has been increased. The political role and activity, mass heroism, innovative and creative spirit of the working class have been raised to a higher scale to carry into effect the historic decisions of the 7th Congress of the Party. The working class and all the working people are studying with special attention, and are delving into mastering the ideas, conclusions and tasks, of the Report of Comrade Enver Hoxha and other materials of this Congress. Herein stems the increase of the enthusiasm and mobilization of the working class at work to successfully carry out the tasks of the plan. Herein stem the revolutionary

initiatives, actions and movements of the working class, such as that of the *Tractor* plant in Tirana, to work fight and live as under seige, of the *Enver* plant to merit the title 'Shock Worker of the 6th Five Year Plan', of the workers of the superphosphate plant in Lac, 'Standard Bearer of the Implementation of the Ideas of the 7th Congress of the Party', of the working people of Sukth state farm, Durres District, to realize the yields of the year 1980 in 1977, and many other initiatives with profound ideological, political and economic content.

"Our Party, consistently and creatively defending and applying Marxism-Leninism, has waged and is waging an irreconcilable struggle against the 'theories', viewpoints and practices of the Soviet-led modern revisionists and all the various opportunist trends, which lead to the weakening and elimination of the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, as a condition to preserve and restore capitalism. They spearhead their blows in the first place against the proletarian party and its unique leading role. Trumpeting their 'theories' on the party and the state of the entire people, of the party as merely an ideological factor, or as an instrument of coordination, with their sermons about spontaneity in the workers' movement, pluralism and transition to socialism under the leadership of other political classes and forces. They intend, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the Party, **'to leave the working class without leadership and disarmed in the face of the enemy, which is organized and armed to the teeth, to sabotage the revolution, to eliminate the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat'**. The Khrushchovite revisionists consider the working class in their countries as a mere productive force and have turned it into an oppressed and exploited class, at the expense of which the new bourgeoisie enriches itself.

"Our glorious Party of Labour has forcefully exposed the anti-Marxist viewpoints and theses of the modern revisionists, which lead to the denial of the role of the working class in the revolution and socialist construction. It has resolutely fought against the anti-Marxist and anarchist viewpoints on 'self-administration', on the 'direct leadership' of the working class and at the same time, has placed our working class in the historic role belonging

to it in the socialist society.

"Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the Party: **'The further enhancement and strengthening of the leading role of the working class, the growth of its ideopolitical influence and the efficiency of its work, depend to a considerable extent on its revolutionary education and tempering, on raising its consciousness to such a level as to enable it to accomplish its mission in socialist society'**. From this conclusion derives the great and very responsible task for the all-round education of the working class, to temper incessantly its consciousness with the Marxist-Leninist theory, with the teachings of the Party.

"Our Party, relying on the teachings of V.I. Lenin, has charged the trade union organizations with the great and very responsible task for the communist education of the working people. Comrade Enver Hoxha once more underlined at the 7th Congress of the Party: **'The main task of the trade union organization has been and still is the communist education of the working people.'** On the foundation of this education are the study and mastering of the Marxist-Leninist theory, of the documents of the Party and works of Comrade Enver Hoxha by the working class. The increase of the enthusiasm and mobilization of the working class, the revolutionary spirit and readiness, mass heroism, initiatives, revolutionary movements and actions and many other qualities of proletarian morale characterizing our working people today, are a lively and concrete expression of the understanding and mastering ever more profoundly of the directives and decisions of the Party and of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, of the creation of sounder ideological and political convictions for the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, that our Party works and fights only for the interests of the working class, working people and the people, that there are no other interests besides these. Rita Marko writes further on about the importance and care taken of the education of the working class youth, which at present holds an important weight in the ranks of this class, as well as for the ideological and political education of the women workers for the further elevation of their educational, cultural and technical-professional level.

"The ideological tempering of the working class is inseparable

from the work for the further elevation of her educational-cultural and technical-professional level. Under the direct leadership and care of the Party, a colossal work has been and is being done to educate and qualify the workers for the extension of their cultural level. Through this revolutionary road, thousands of middle and higher cadres have recently been trained for the various sectors of our work and socialist life.

In conclusion, Rita Marko writes, "On June 20 this year, the 8th Congress of Albanian Trade Unions will convene. This is an event of great political importance for the working class and for all our working people. The Congress will be a new and powerful expression of the steel-like unity of the working class around its Party, a success in the realization of the magnificent tasks laid down by the historic 7th Congress of the PLA. Comrade Enver Hoxha, speaking at the 7th Congress of the Party on the indispensability of the increase of the leading role of the working class, stressed that **'in the future too, the Party will work untiringly to ensure and strengthen more and more the leading role of the working class in the entire life of the country.'**"

THE HEGEMONY OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE UNDIVIDED LEADING ROLE OF ITS PARTY — A DECISIVE CONDITION FOR THE TRIUMPH OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

In its issue of April 12, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* carried an article, under the above title, from *Zëri i Popullit*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. The article, written by Figret Shehu, reads:

"Only a few months have passed since the 7th Congress of the Party. The theses and ideas expressed in the Report which Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered on behalf of the Central Committee at that historic Congress, have to do with the new phenomena of our epoch, with the main tendencies of the present world development, with the main revolutionary motive forces of present society and with those negative subjective factors which hinder social progress. The more we study this Report, the better we understand the great value of this important Marxist-Leninist document for the cause of the revolution and socialism, the more clearly we see how similar the fierce struggle being waged today between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists, is to the struggle waged by Lenin and Stalin against all traitors to the working class, against all renegades from Marxism-Leninism.

"This can be easily explained. First of all it can be explained by the fact that, regardless of the new phenomena which have occurred in the world, today, as at that time, we are in the same historical epoch, the fundamental content of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism; the classes confronting each other are the same — the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; the historic task that demands solution is the same — the overthrow of the hated capitalist order; and the way in which this task must be carried out is the same — through the socialist

revolution; and the main leading force which will carry it out can only be the proletariat as the most revolutionary and progressive class of society, under the leadership of its political party, the Marxist-Leninist communist party.

"Therefore the struggle between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists and opportunists of all hues is being waged over the same problems, which are, in fact, the cardinal problems of Marxism-Leninism. One of these problems is the question of the historic mission and hegemonic role of the working class and that of the leading role of the working class party in the revolution and the construction of the new, socialist society.

"Today, the question of the stand towards the working class, towards its hegemonic role in the proletarian revolution, in the revolutionary movements in general, and in the construction of socialist society, as well as the stand towards the undivided leading role of its Marxist-Leninist political party is one of the most acute ideological problems and more than ever before, constitutes a line of demarcation between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists and opportunists of all hues, between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries.

"Nearly 130 years ago, the founders of the revolutionary theory of the working class, Marx and Engels, told the proletarians of all countries of their role, their task, their mission as the grave-diggers of capitalism; that they must be the first to throw themselves into the revolutionary struggle against capital, and unite all the toilers and exploited around themselves in this struggle. Lenin has described this as the great historic merit of the two brilliant teachers of the proletariat.

"But Marxism-Leninism teaches us that only under the leadership of its conscious vanguard, the revolutionary communist party, can the proletariat carry out its historic mission and play the hegemonic role that belongs to it. Only under the leadership of such a vanguard can it demonstrate all its revolutionary power and drive, and gain that determination, which is not only an historical factor, but a factor for victory in the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of communism.

"The experience of history has completely confirmed the correctness of these Marxist-Leninist teachings. It has confirmed that the direction and outcome of the revolutionary struggle

depends on whether it is led by the Marxist-Leninist party or some other political force. The fate of the new society — whether or not it advances to communism or turns back to capitalism — depends on whether the party of the working class remains in the leadership of the socialist society, whether it maintains or loses its leading role in the entire life of the country.

"Thus, in Socialist Albania the Party has always been in the vanguard role. During the anti-fascist national liberation war and the people's revolution, or after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of the foundations of socialism, the Party has never dreamt of and never allowed its leading role to be shared with anyone at all, nor permitted itself to be displaced from this leading role in the slightest. On the contrary, it has crushed all the enemies who have tried to undermine this role. This is a great and positive example of what the working class is able to do, regardless of how small and unconsolidated as a class it may be at the start, when it is led by its revolutionary party which is enlightened in all its activity by proletarian ideology. In fact, all the colossal victories which have been achieved in our country (the triumph of the people's revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the non-stop advance of socialism) are the result of the fact that during all its thirty-five year long life, our Party, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress 'with the greatest loyalty and unwavering consistency has upheld the great principle that ensuring the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party constitutes the decisive condition for carrying out the revolution, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism' and has considered that the leadership of the Party, which is the concentrated and the highest expression of the leading role of the working class, represents 'the number one subjective factor for putting its revolutionary programme into practice'.

"The example of the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries, where capitalism has been completely restored and the working class is savagely oppressed and exploited by the new, bureaucratic bourgeois dictatorship shows what catastrophic consequences the working class suffers from the usurping of the leadership of the Party and the dictatorship of

the proletariat by any clique of revisionist traitors which, camouflaged under the cloak of Marxism, works persistently for the degeneration of the whole party, and thus leaves the working class without its revolutionary leading staff.

"The events of the last few decades also show what end the revolutionary movements of the working class and other working people have had when they have not been developed and carried out under the hegemony of the proletariat and the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party. In these instances, regardless of the deceptive and illusory 'theories' which the revisionists spread about the 'non-capitalist road of development' and 'the road of socialist orientation' which certain countries allegedly follow, the fact is, that the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution has not been carried to the end in any of these countries, whether in Europe, Africa or anywhere else. In none of them are we dealing with a socialist order or a 'socialist orientation'. Comrade Enver Hoxha, speaking at the 6th Congress of the PLA about the hegemony of the working class and the role of its party, which can and must lead **"not only the struggle for socialism, but also the struggle for national independence"**, stressed that **"If the political party with a clear programme and scientific strategy and tactics is missing, the struggle will either stop halfway or fail altogether. The present revolutionary experience of the numerous struggles of the peoples in various continents also teaches us this."**

"Such is the historic reality which cannot be denied or ignored by anyone who adopts a correct proletarian class stand. However, today as in the past, the revisionists and all the opportunists, without the slightest scruple, take a stand denying the hegemonic role of the proletariat and the leading role of its political party in the revolution and the construction of socialism. In the present situation, when, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stated at the 7th Congress of the PLA, **"The world is in a phase when the question of the revolution and the national liberation of nations is not just an aspiration and a prospect, but a problem taken up for solution"**, denial of the hegemonic role of the proletariat and the leading role of its Marxist-Leninist party is a great betrayal of the proletariat and all those who are suffering under the iron heel of capital and imperialist

subjugation.

"It is a recognized fact that the modern revisionists, as ardent defenders of the bourgeoisie, as guard dogs of the capitalist order and direct saboteurs of the revolutionary movement of the working class and the working people as a whole, with all kinds of 'theories', deny the historic mission and hegemonic role which devolves on the proletariat in present-day society. This is because they, like the bourgeoisie itself, are scared to death of the proletariat because they are all terrified of the fact that the proletariat is the only class which is revolutionary to the end, and therefore, the only class which can play the hegemonic role in the socialist revolution which will overthrow the bourgeoisie.

"All the revisionist and bourgeois 'theories' — whether those which openly deny the role of the proletariat in present-day society and indeed its very existence, such as those which describe 'the proletariat of Marx as a mythical entity', and which claim that in the present conditions, 'it is no longer possible to speak about the proletariat but only of the working class' — or those which spread such nonsense as, 'all classes of society today are interested in socialism', that other non-proletarian classes and forces such as the national bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie, the patriotic and progressive intelligentsia, etc., can lead the struggle for socialism — all these so-called theories have the one objective, i.e., to turn the proletariat away from the socialist revolution, to spread bourgeois and petty-bourgeois prejudices against the revolution, to hinder the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by means of which mankind will escape from all the suffering and misery that stems from the detested capitalist system, etc. Hence, rejection of the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the present-day revolutionary movement is, as Lenin said, the most vulgar form of reformism.

"In our epoch, which is the epoch of the collapse of imperialism and the triumph of socialism, in the present conditions when the fundamental contradiction of capitalist society, that is, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and all the other contradictions of present-day society are coming to a head, all views and attitudes that do not treat the proletariat as the main revolutionary social motive force of society, amount, in fact, to ignoring and denial of the

hegemonic role of the world proletariat, denial of the right of the proletariat to carry out the proletarian revolution, and so fall into the positions of opportunism.

"In every one of their actions today, the Marxist-Leninists aim to serve the revolution, the cause of the freedom and independence of the peoples, the cause of the routing of imperialism, social-imperialism and the international bourgeoisie. But the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries never, in any situation, forget that their ultimate aim is to achieve the socialist social order and that this lofty objective can be attained, as our great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin tell us, only by means of the proletarian revolution, the main revolutionary force in which is the proletariat.

"The international bourgeoisie and its revisionist minions have long understood that the strength of the working class stems from its powerful vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party. That is why they aim their fiercest attacks against the revolutionary party of the working class; that is why the revisionists of all countries are drawing from the revisionist arsenal of the past and are fabricating anew, all sorts of 'theories' which aim to leave the proletariat without its conscious vanguard in the revolution and the construction of socialism.

"Some of them, the revisionists of capitalist countries, such as the Italian, French and Spanish revisionists, are spreading the idea of a single big democratic party open to all, a party that will take the road of class collaboration. They worship bourgeois democracy and in the name of bourgeois democracy they reject the great doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they talk about 'historic compromise' and 'political pluralism'; hence they offer the working class as its road to 'salvation', not the road of struggle against the bourgeoisie, but the road of reforms. In this way they become open propagandists of the ideas of class conciliation and collaboration, the most zealous defenders of bourgeois reformism, precisely at a historic moment when bourgeois reformism has proved itself bankrupt throughout the world. Thus, they turn the former communist parties of these countries from parties 'of the clenched fist', into parties 'of the outstretched hand', that is, from parties of the revolution into parties of compromise, tools of capitalism.

"The others, the revisionists who are in power, the Soviet, Yugoslav and other revisionists with their 'theories' about the 'party of the whole people', about the reduction of the leading role of the party in the conditions of socialism to that of an 'ideological factor' or a 'coordinating centre', etc., act as liquidators of the party of the working class and negators of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine about the necessity for the undivided leading role of the proletarian party in the revolution and the construction of socialism, as saboteurs of socialism and liquidators, in theory and practice, of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"On the other hand, all the modern revisionists, whether in power or not, do everything in their power to deny the importance of revolutionary theory, without which there can be no revolutionary movement. They preach the 'theory of spontaneity', which is, in fact, the basis of opportunism and talk about the need for 'philosophic pluralism' and of fusion of the proletarian ideology with all sorts of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, clerical and other trends. They do all these things to leave the working class without the weapon which is essential if the revolution is to be launched and carried through to the end.

"However, in whatever form it is done and under whatever disguise, denial of the role of the party of the working class and its revolutionary ideology is the most serious blow that can be dealt to the working class. It cannot carry out the mission in society which devolves upon it and achieve its revolutionary ideals, except under the leadership of one political party, its own revolutionary party, which is the conscious bearer of the Marxist-Leninist theory. Therefore all their 'theories' and practices aimed against the undivided leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the revolution and during the historic period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or against the class character of the proletarian party, testify to the betrayal by the modern revisionists of the cause of the proletariat. This is because they are all intended to disarm the working class completely, ideologically and organizationally, in favour of the bourgeoisie, to leave it disarmed facing the savage attacks of the enemy, who, very well-organized and armed to the teeth, is waging a furious struggle against the revolution and socialism,

against the working class and all the revolutionary peoples of the world.

"Our Party, as a revolutionary party, has always taken a strong stand, loyally upholding the positions of Marxism-Leninism. It has always rejected with disgust and exposed all the 'theories' of the revisionists and all the bourgeois ideologists who deny the undivided leading role of the proletarian party. It has ruthlessly exposed the opportunist, counter-revolutionary content of the 'theory' about 'political pluralism' which, in instances when the working class is not in power, is intended to undermine the revolution and perpetuate the rule of the bourgeoisie, while in the countries where socialism has triumphed, is intended to lead to the restoration of capitalism.

"Marxism-Leninism teaches us and practice has constantly confirmed, that the revolutionary process of society always encounters the resistance of reactionary, retrogressive forces. In fact, in recent years when a powerful upsurge of the struggle of the proletariat can be seen in all the bourgeois and revisionist capitalist countries, in order to preserve the positions which they have and to achieve their counter-revolutionary strategy, all the reactionary forces of present-day society — the imperialists, social-imperialists, revisionists, all the reactionary bourgeoisie — are using their two well-known methods, violence and deception, using the most savage political reaction as well as the most refined ideological reaction. They are also making extensive use of counter-revolutionary violence and are persecuting, interning, imprisoning, and barbarously torturing and killing Marxist-Leninist communists, outstanding revolutionary fighters.

"In such conditions — when, in order to put down any revolutionary movement, the enemies of the proletariat and all the peoples are sharpening up all their ideological, organizational and military weapons — the words of V.I. Lenin, a good many decades ago, that **'as a man of practice and a man of politics, the Marxist must be clear that now, only traitors to socialism can stand aside from the task of explaining the necessity for the proletarian revolution . . . of explaining the need to prepare for this revolution'**, assume special importance and the struggle to throw the proletariat into class battles is a

primary duty for every true communist party.

"Indeed, how similar is the present situation in the world with that when Lenin put before the parties of the working class the task that **'the proletariat must be shown with concrete measures how the revolution can be carried forward!'** At the present time such a revolutionary task can be carried out only by the Marxist-Leninist communist parties which teach the masses of the proletariat to recognize their true political interests, to fight for the revolution and socialism. They show the masses the urgent and essential need to break away from revisionism and opportunism, from the influence of all ideological trends and organizational forms which act under the direction and in favour of the bourgeoisie, and they arouse the revolutionary spirit in the masses of the proletariat and its close allies.

"Today the Marxist-Leninist communist parties have undertaken and are carrying out this honourable task. They are setting for themselves the objective that they must make the proletariat capable of carrying out its great historic mission. They are working to introduce socialist consciousness into the proletariat, are leading all forms of its class struggle, explaining to it the historic importance of the proletarian revolution, showing it who are its friends and who are its enemies, with whom it should unite and against whom it should fight, and working to prepare the armed uprising for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

"The important political demonstrations that have been held and the fierce class battles that have been waged recently by the proletariat and working masses in many capitalist countries, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, which are growing bigger and stronger, are a source of optimism and inspiration to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries of all countries. As Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 7th Congress of the PLA, **'This is living testimony that the proletariat has not lost its faith in Marxism-Leninism, that it sees it as its most powerful weapon in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and for the triumph of the revolution'**.

"The great cause of communism requires that the unity of the Marxist-Leninists should be constantly strengthened on a national and an international level. The fragmentation of the

Marxist-Leninists, their organization in different groups and detachments, does not serve this aim. The Party of Labour of Albania upholds the view that in each country there can be only one genuine revolutionary party of the working class because the interests of the working class in each country are the same and it has a single ideology, Marxism-Leninism. The only true party of the working class is that which consistently applies the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat, which resolutely confronts all bourgeois and revisionist parties, which follows a proletarian class policy, which courageously mobilizes the proletariat and leads it into class battles, which prepares it for the decisive battle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and which tries to draw all the strata of the exploited working population that associate themselves with the views of the proletariat into this struggle for salvation. Only such a party can be the revolutionary staff of the working class and lead it towards the achievement of its revolutionary ideals and aspirations.

“There is no doubt that fierce and protracted battles still lie ahead for the world proletariat, but the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries believe what the great teacher of the proletariat, V.I. Lenin has told us, that, **‘it is a worthy thing to pour all our strength into this struggle: the difficulties are great, but so is the cause of the elimination of oppression and exploitation for which we are fighting.’** And the Marxist-Leninists have the clear perspective and the unshakeable conviction that, regardless of the ups and downs of the revolution and its difficulties and temporary retreats, and however great the waves of the counter-revolution may be, the final victory will go to the proletariat, and the future of mankind is communism.”

FASCISM — A REAL DANGER TO MANKIND

In its issue of April 23, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* carried an article, under the above title, from the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. The article reads in part:

“At the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, **‘It is known fact that when capital finds itself driven into a blind alley and under the heavy blows of the working class, it is compelled either to declare itself bankrupt or establish its fascist dictatorship and head for war.’** This Marxist-Leninist thesis of the PLA is being verified today by the events which are following each other in the rotten and disintegrating bourgeois-revisionist world.

“Fascism, as an ideology and a form of the bourgeois state, is not a commonplace phenomenon. On the contrary, and this has been proved by history, it represents the form of an open terrorist dictatorship which is the most brutal and ugly form of dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the epoch of imperialism and revolutions, in the epoch of grave economic, political-social crises which erode the capitalist order from within. The innumerable facts of our days provide clear evidence that it represents the rule of monopoly finance capital, serves the defence of the interests of this capital, and the interests of the multinational monopoly companies in particular. It has the aim of suppressing the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the broad working masses, liquidating even the few partial freedoms allowed them by the so-called bourgeois democracy, and laying the grounds for rapacious and aggressive wars against the other countries.

“Today, not only has fascism become a **‘thing of fashion for the war-loving bourgeoisie’**, as J.V. Stalin said on the eve of World War Two, but it constitutes an ever greater and more actual danger.

“As in the period of the twenties and thirties, the neo-fascist

movements and fascism are being supported by the same political-social forces, the big monopolies of the armaments industry, the military circles which are seeking revenge, the counter-revolutionary and reactionary forces of the extreme right, etc.

"In internal policy", continues *Zëri i Popullit*, "the bourgeoisie is using the neo-fascist organizations in a number of capitalist countries to terrorize the workers, peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals; to scare them with the 'communist spectre'; to lead them away from the road of revolutionary struggle for the defence of its own interests.

"In foreign policy, present-day fascism — and this is also proved by the actual activity of the two imperialist superpowers — is implementing and encouraging chauvinism in its most brutal form, cultivating bestial hatred against the peoples and pitting them against one another, while between the different fascist forces of Europe and Latin America, regular collaboration has been established; they support and back one another under the umbrella of American imperialism and the CIA. The coordinating centre of the fascist organizations is no longer solely in Italy, Spain and Argentina, but in Britain, in West Germany and other countries as well.

"Once again, demagogy accompanies the acts of open violence. The bourgeoisie and its parties in many capitalist countries, in their efforts to hinder and sabotage the struggle of the proletariat and the other working masses for the defence of their rights, are screaming themselves hoarse with such slogans as 're-establish order' and 'guarantee the law'. Under these slogans, the strikes of the working masses — and in particular those of the working class and the peasants in Chile and in Spain, — the peasant movement to seize the land from the rapacious landowners in Latin America, the student movements in South Africa, Italy and other countries, are all being suppressed by force of arms and terror.

"Clear evidence of the fascization of life is the continuous extension and modernization of the repressive police apparatus. In the 1976 budgets of several capitalist countries, expenditure was increased for the salaries of the police staff, while expenditure for the police apparatus as a whole over the last

seven years has more than trebled. The main task of the colossal repressive police apparatus has remained the same — the suppression of demonstrations and strikes of the working people, their ousting from the plants they occupy, the forceful eviction of poor citizens without shelter who occupy apartments which remain empty and which the owners rent only at astronomical rents which the working people could never afford, the eviction of the peasants from the land they occupy (in Latin America), and so on.

The newspaper continues, "In many capitalist states, the fascists have their own seats in parliament, are members of municipal councils, prefectures and other state organs, even up to the highest organs. They have their own people in the army and particularly in the organs of the police and security forces; they have radio and television stations at their disposal, meeting halls, squares for rallies, newspapers etc. In other words, they are organized, defended and supported on a broad scale.

"Precisely in these moments of the large-scale re-activation of the fascist forces, the revisionist parties, through their participation in the bourgeois parliaments and other state organs, have become an integral part of the social and state capitalist systems in power and serve these systems. Just as the betrayal of the reformist leaders of social-democracy in the past opened the road to the advent to power of fascism, today too, through the betrayal of the revisionist leaders who are doing their utmost to lead the working class and the working masses away from revolutionary action, the road is being opened once more to the advent to power of fascism. The Italian revisionists have even gone so far as to take the fascists under their protection.

"The process of the revival of fascism and its activity has been made easier, and is encouraged by the advent to power of revisionism in the Soviet Union and a series of other revisionist countries, by the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its replacement with the dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie of social-fascism, by the transition to the positions of social-imperialism, the implementation of chauvinist, aggressive and hegemonic foreign policy and by the cooperation both with American imperialism as well as with the different dictatorial and anti-people regimes. Evidence of this is the brutal aggression

carried out against Czechoslovakia in 1968.

"History and the development of events during the last decades of the 20th century show that fascism is a sworn enemy of mankind. The danger it poses to the proletariat is direct, colossal and permanent. But this danger has not been decreed by fate. The advent of fascism to power, the establishment of the fascist dictatorship can be avoided and opposed with success and be victoriously defeated. This demands the enhancement of the revolutionary vigilance of the working masses, the union of all the revolutionary forces in the great anti-fascist and anti-capitalist struggle, under the leadership of the true Marxist-Leninist parties.

"The feverish efforts of the capitalist-revisionist bourgeoisie to set up fascist dictatorships in various countries", concludes the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit*, "are not signs of strength, but of their weakness, signs of the culmination point of despair. **The present struggle of the world proletariat**", said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the PLA, **'once more proves the fundamental thesis of Marxism-Leninism that the working class and its revolutionary struggle in the bourgeois and revisionist world cannot be suppressed either with violence or with demagogy.'**"

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM IS THE IDEOLOGY AND WEAPON OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAT FOR THE TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

In its issue of May 29, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency* carried an article under the above title from the review *Rruga e Partisë*, theoretical and political organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. The article reads in part:

"Proletarian internationalism is a component part of Marxism-Leninism, indissolubly linked with it. **'Proletarian internationalism'**, stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha, **'is the ideology of the proletariat, is one of the most powerful weapons and a condition for the triumph of the revolution and the construction of communism. It is an indivisible whole, and there are not several kinds of internationalism, one Soviet, one Italian, one Yugoslav, one French, etc., as the revisionists claim.'**

"Internationalism can be only proletarian for the Marxist-Leninists. There is not and cannot be internationalism in general. At the time when the world bourgeoisie in its struggle against the proletariat, the peoples and socialism, tries to unite its forces, to create internationalist unions, this too must be done by the proletariat in its struggle against the internal and external bourgeoisie, against imperialism, social-imperialism and world reaction. In this case, proletarian internationalism serves not only as a condition to defend the proletariat from the bourgeoisie, but also as a weapon to triumph over it. If you take the word 'proletarian' away from internationalism, this is accepted with satisfaction also by the bourgeoisie and that is also the aim of the efforts being made by the modern revisionists to sell out their new commodity in such form as 'international solidarity' or the so-called 'new internationalism', because this kind of unity does not touch the bourgeois order in the slightest.

The palavers, too, of some present-day modern revisionists that the expression 'proletarian internationalism' divorces the 'broad working masses of the people' from the struggle for the solution of the present-day international problems, is completely a lie, because only the bourgeoisie and its servants are afraid of proletarian internationalism. The proletariat and the working masses draw their strength from their unity and cohesion; this strength will wipe out the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

"For the Marxist-Leninists, proletarian internationalism will always be a militant revolutionary clarion-call for cohesion and unity in struggle against the main enemies of the proletariat and the peoples, against imperialism, social-imperialism and the international bourgeoisie.

The article points out that every detachment of the world proletariat and every Marxist-Leninist party carries out its internationalist duties while fighting to solve the tasks raised by the struggle against the bourgeoisie, imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction, the struggle for the preparation and carrying out of the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the struggle for the construction of socialism and the preservation of the achieved victories, first and foremost, on a national scale. You cannot be internationalist, if you do not fight to accomplish the tasks of the revolution in your own country. In the struggle to correctly solve the tasks of socialist revolution, proletarian internationalism combines and unites into a single whole the national interests with the international ones, gives a new content to the national sentiments, cultivates socialist patriotism. The principles of proletarian internationalism serve not only for the strengthening of the cohesion and unity of the world proletariat, but also for the cohesion of the democratic, liberation and anti-imperialist forces, the unity of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat with the national liberation movement against imperialism, social-imperialism, the international bourgeoisie and world reaction.

"In his Report submitted to the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that the present situation in the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement resembles the heroic periods in which Marx, Engels, Lenin and

Stalin struggled and worked. Today, too, just as at that time, the victory over imperialism, social-imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction requires first and foremost, unity, solidarity and cohesion in the Marxist-Leninist movement, which is the vanguard of the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat. But its unity and solidarity is achieved only by faithfully implementing the Marxist-Leninist theory. **'Our Party'**, stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the PLA, **'has marched and will continue to march on this road. It has and always will put Marxism-Leninism in command.'**

"According to the viewpoint of our Party, the relations between the revolutionary communist parties are built up and developed only on the basis of equal and complete rights, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Guided by the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which is common for all of them, by the unity of the viewpoints on the internationalist duties of the working class, they coordinate their common actions and come out as a sole internationalist force which defends the interests of the world revolution and socialism. Even when they exchange opinions on important problems preoccupying the proletariat and peoples of the world at the present time, the Marxist-Leninist parties have no other goal but to serve the interests of the revolution, socialism and the strengthening of the unity of the internationalist Marxist-Leninist movement.

"The assistance which the Marxist-Leninist parties give to one another is not an interference in their internal affairs. Interference is in the very nature of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, who are guided by the 'law of the jungle', whereas unity, mutual aid, and militant cooperation exist among the communists, who are guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Marxism-Leninism and revolution mean unity. Revisionism, counter-revolution, mean splittism and destruction.

"In its 7th Congress, our Party devoted special attention to the problem of the unity of the **Marxist-Leninist** movement. This Congress too, was characterized by the high spirit of proletarian internationalism, unity and militant solidarity. **'As internationalist communists'**, Comrade Enver Hoxha said at this Congress, **'we need to exchange our experiences and, each of**

us, in the conditions of his own country, must act on the basis of Marxism-Leninism." In this way, our Party once more reiterated that cooperation between the communist parties indispensably presumes the independence of each party to act with initiative in its own country on the basis of concrete conditions.

"As the 7th Congress of our Party pointed out, without returning to the old organizational forms, such as those of the Comintern, which for the time being are inappropriate because the conditions and the situations have changed, the problems have become more complicated and, consequently, it is impossible for all the activity of the Marxist-Leninist parties to be directed by a sole centre, our Party stands for a many-sided cooperation between the Marxist-Leninist parties which should be done in a truly revolutionary way. According to its opinion the exchange of experience may be done on a bilateral and multilateral basis. But it is understandable that bilateral meetings alone are insufficient for the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the International Marxist-Leninist Movement. Therefore, our Party is of the opinion that the multilateral and broad meetings of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties have superiority over bilateral meetings; they serve the aims of the Marxist-Leninist movement better. They have superiority because they can deeply analyze the situations created at any time, broadly discuss the main problems raised by every new situation before the Marxist-Leninist movement in general or before the Marxist-Leninist parties of this or that group of countries in the world. Besides this, the representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties at these broad meetings have the possibility to freely discuss, broadly and sincerely exchange their opinions and viewpoints, to discuss and exchange each other's experiences, to carry out principled and comradely criticism and self-criticism. And, in the final account, the broad meetings play an important role as to the adoption of common stands towards various situations and the coordination of actions in the revolutionary struggle against the common enemies.

"Our Party has always pointed out that the unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Movement is not given once and forever. It, too, is subjected to dialectics, it is developed; it gets strengthened more and more with regard to the new main

problems the Marxist-Leninist communist parties are faced with. For this reason, the frequent multilateral meetings further develop and strengthen the revolutionary solidarity, the unity and cohesion among the revolutionary parties of the proletariat.

"The Party of Labour of Albania", writes the article in conclusion, "once more assured its brothers and comrades of the same ideal from the tribune of its 7th Congress that 'The international working class and the Marxist-Leninist parties, all those peoples who are fighting against the superpowers, against the bourgeoisie and reaction, have found and will always find in the Party of Labour of Albania, in the Albanian working class and people, a loyal ally, a reliable support and backing.' Our Party will continue to fight with determination against the common enemies, for the victory of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism, as it has done up until now."

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN ALBANIA HAS ALWAYS STOOD STRONG LIKE GRANITE

In its issue of May 31, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency*, carried an article under the above title from the newspaper *Zëri i Rinisë*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labour Youth Union (ALYU) which pointed out that the establishment on November 29, 1944, of the state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a powerful and decisive weapon to carry the socialist revolution ahead through to final victory, constitutes the greatest victory in the century-long history of the Albanian people.

“Our younger generation”, writes the newspaper, “found in the dictatorship of the proletariat the embodiment of its aspirations. The dictatorship of the proletariat created for our youth, the younger generation of socialism, a favourable economic and political situation in which to live and work happily to enrich their spiritual world outlook and consciousness, to become mentally and physically tempered.

“The dictatorship of the proletariat”, the newspaper underlines, “is a powerful weapon, through which, as the 7th Congress of the Party stressed, are realized the vital tasks of the revolution, the all-round development of socialist economy and culture, the organization and direction of the construction of socialism and communist society. Besides this, it plays a perceptible role to liquidate all the traces of the old society from the socialist social life. The experience of the revolution and the construction of socialism in our country has fully proved the Marxist-Leninist teaching that the working class is in need of the dictatorship of the proletariat to suppress the resistance of the class enemies, old and new, to make their attempts at restoration always suffer a shameful defeat, and to cope with the external danger which comes in two ways: first, from the aggressive intentions of

imperialism and social-imperialism to strangle and destroy the socialist order with fire and steel, with blockade and starvation; and second, from the ideological aggression of the capitalist-revisionist world.

“Concerning the question of the stand towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, two diametrically opposite lines exist in the world and a fierce struggle is being waged between the genuine Marxist-Leninists and proletarian revolutionaries, on the one hand, and the opportunists and renegades of every hue from the working class, on the other hand. All the revisionist renegades and the lackeys of the bourgeoisie have always directed their main blows against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Through their frenzied demagoguery about ‘state bureaucratism’, ‘liquidation of the consequences of the personality cult’, ‘liberalization and democratization’, ‘direct democracy’ and the ‘state of the entire people’ as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the PLA, the present-day revisionists have as their purpose ‘to attack the very essence of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution and to destroy the fundamental instrument of the proletariat for the building of the new socialist life’. They have fabricated a series of anti-scientific pseudo-theories which run contrary to the fundamental principles formulated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism in the field of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. There are some of them who trumpet that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not historically necessary, because socialism can be established also without waging the class struggle and without carrying out the proletarian revolution by violence, but in the framework of the so-called bourgeois democracy. Some others say that the dictatorship of the proletariat is only a form of the political organization of the society in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism; it is suitable only in the economically backward countries and where the advanced forms of political democracy do not exist. Still others predict that the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary only in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, whereas after the liquidation of the exploiting classes, they consider the dictatorship of the proletariat as liquidated, replacing it with the so-called ‘state of the entire people’. All these pseudo-Marxist

theories preached either by the Soviet and Yugoslav revisionists or the Italian and French ones have only one target: to attack the dictatorship of the proletariat.

“Rejecting the anti-Marxist theorizations of the revisionists on the dictatorship of the proletariat and summing up the all-round historic experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, as a precious treasure for all the Marxist-Leninists and the peoples, for all the countries which embark on the road of socialism”, the newspaper stresses, “the Party of Labour of Albania has the great merit that it has constantly and consistently defended and has creatively applied the Marxist-Leninist teaching that the road to socialism and communism passes only through the political domination of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a universal law, which Marx formulated in the following way in his work *Critique of the Gotha Programme*: **‘Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.’**

“Whereas Lenin has formulated this law, without the implementation of which socialist and communist society can be built in no country whatsoever, in the following way: ‘. . . the essence of Marx’s teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a *single class* is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the *proletariat* which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire *historical period* which separates capitalism from “classless society”, from communism.’

“Historical events have proved the correctness of the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Experience has shown that the dictatorship of the proletariat may be established through the triumphant socialist revolution, but it can be liquidated later on, either through armed counter-revolution, or through the ‘peaceful’ revisionist counter-revolution. It may also happen that after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it may be gravely endangered, the state power may be partially usurped by counter-revolutionary elements, but later on, the usurpers and

their poisonous ideology should be overthrown and smashed in a revolutionary way, the dictatorship of the proletariat should be fully re-established and successfully defended. It is also fully possible that after its establishment, the dictatorship of the proletariat is preserved always pure and inviolable and firm in all its links and directions, developing and improving itself constantly. To the latter, testifies the experience of our country, where the dictatorship of the proletariat has always stood strong and unbreakable, like granite.

“Proceeding from Lenin’s lesson that it is easier to seize the state power than to maintain it, and, on the basis of a profound analysis of the regressive phenomenon of the degeneration of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, as well as from the revolutionary experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha have drawn valuable theoretical and practical lessons on how to surely carry forward the cause of socialism, how to preserve, strengthen and improve the dictatorship of the proletariat, how to wipe out the traces and influences of the old society, how to avoid the dangers of its bourgeois-revisionist degeneration, how to increase the active role of the state in all the spheres of the complete construction of socialist society.

“Among the most important theoretical conclusions the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have drawn on the dictatorship of the proletariat, we may mention that **‘the ensuring of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party constitutes the decisive condition for carrying out the revolution, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism’**, that **‘the ensuring of broad socialist democracy constitutes a fundamental condition for the protection and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself, just as the dictatorship of the proletariat constitutes an indispensable and decisive condition for the existence of genuine democracy for the working people’**, that **‘in whatever the field the class struggle is waged between the two roads, the socialist road and the capitalist one, in the political or economic, ideological, cultural or military fields, it is in the final account, struggle over whether the dictatorship of the**

proletariat will be preserved and strengthened, or will degenerate and will be overthrown', etc. All these conclusions as well as the measures implemented in our country on their basis, are fully reflected in a series of articles of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

"As the general road for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and our entire socialist order, the Party has defined the development of the democracy of the masses so that they have their say in solving the social and state problems, exercise control on anyone and on everything, take part in an active way and on a broad scale, in an organized way and in various forms, in the running of the country. Only in this way may the socialist construction be carried forward and our state and society preserved from bourgeois-revisionist degeneration.

"The constant increase of the leading role of the Party, the incessant steeling of the alliance between the working class and cooperativist peasantry, as the loftiest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the enhancement of vigilance, the smashing in a merciless way and at the proper time of all the diabolic attempts of the enemies of all hues, internal and external, the control of the masses from below, and especially the direct control of the working class and the successful development of class struggle to root out the bureaucratic and liberal distortions, etc., are guarantees which do not allow the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania into an anti-popular, revisionist and bourgeois dictatorship, so that it will always be a powerful weapon of the revolution and socialist construction", the newspaper *Zëri i Rinisë* writes in conclusion.

ZEALOUS MOUTHPIECES OF THE BOURGEOISIE

In its issue of June 9, 1977, *Albanian Telegraphic Agency*, carried an article under the above title from the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. The article reads in part:

"The activity of the modern revisionists during the present period, is characterized by open attacks against Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the ideals for which the working class and the other revolutionary forces are fighting. Both for the Soviet revisionists and those of the East European countries, who, after betraying Marxism-Leninism, smashed the dictatorship of the proletariat, and for the other revisionist parties of the West European countries, such as the Italian, French, Spanish and other parties, there is now no longer any question of how deeply they have plunged into bourgeois degeneration. This has long been clear. Apart from the name, these parties retain nothing communist whatsoever.

"The treacherous activity of these revisionist parties day by day is more and more clearly demonstrating that they have taken over all the opportunist and reformist theses of social-democracy, which Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary practice exposed and rejected long ago.

"By rejecting the necessity for establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the West European and other revisionist parties negate the class struggle and the revolution. To this end, they loudly trumpet counter-revolutionary theories, according to which violent proletarian revolutions are now a thing of the past, the state power can now be seized from the bourgeoisie through so-called peaceful ways, on the parliamentary road, through the reformist humanitarian revolution. **The thesis of democracy and bourgeois liberties as**

the road to socialism', stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Seventh Congress of the PLA, 'is a gross deception for the masses, a facade for the capitalist society.' Like the bourgeoisie, the revisionists of the type of Marchais, Berlinguer and company, make a great play of words about the so-called bourgeois democratic freedoms, about the alleged new conditions created in the society today, etc. But, in the epoch of imperialism, within the framework of bourgeois society, not only can there be no increase in freedom and democracy for the masses despite the claims of the bourgeois-revisionist chorus, but on the contrary, there is even more restriction of them; there is increased imperialist reaction in all fields, and an immense inflation of the bureaucratic military and police apparatus."

The newspaper *Zëri i Popullit* continues: "The modern revisionists miss no opportunity to mention that in order to emerge from the crisis all that has to be done is to 'nationalize the big monopolies' within the framework of the 'democratized' bourgeois state. Such slogans are identical with those of social-democracy. Nationalizations have been carried out before now, but the proletariat never gained any benefit from them.

"With their slogans, the modern revisionists are trying to push the working people precisely in the direction the bourgeoisie wants, to the denial of the revolution, in order to keep them imprisoned within the walls of reformism and economism, thus perpetuating the bourgeois order. To this end, in the situation of the crisis, Marchais, Berlinguer, Carrillo and other revisionist bosses are calling on the working people to make 'sacrifices', are preaching 'easy does it', and are taking part in the electoral game of the bourgeoisie. Now, without abandoning anything from their obscurantist ideology, even Christians can 'militate' in the ranks of the French revisionist party, the party 'of the outstretched hand', so that together with the devil and his son, they can build socialism *à la* Marchais within the consumer society. The aim of the circulation by the modern revisionists of all sorts of formulas and justifications which allow and legalize their unity with the social-democrats and the Vatican, with the multinational companies, with NATO, and U.S. imperialism, with anyone who is against the revolution, against the proletariat and socialism, is the coordination of the activity of all the most

ominous forces of society which have the same class interests and are doing their utmost to defend the exploiting capitalist system.

"Therefore", stresses the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit*, "in fact, there is nothing which links the proletariat of Western Europe with the modern revisionists, lackeys of the consumer society.

"The modern revisionists of Western Europe", writes *Zëri i Popullit*, "have now become the watchdogs of capital. They are zealously playing their role in the bourgeois parliament, the regional councils and other organisms of the bourgeois state, where, for deceptive purposes, the bourgeoisie has given them a few bones. Moreover, the French revisionists like their brother traitors, the Italian and other revisionists, have included their parties in the different international mechanisms which big capital and the multinational concerns have created. Within the framework of a so-called united Europe, of this economic and political unity of the monopolies, the revisionists take part in the assembly of West European union, which operates in close cooperation with the aggressive NATO pact. By taking part in this union, the French and Italian revisionists want to convince the peoples that this monopoly union, the offspring of European capital, allegedly has the aim of peace and progress. The French revisionists, like the Italian, Spanish and all the other revisionists, officially guarantee American imperialism that if they get into the government they will continue the same policy of cooperation with the United States. At a time when the French and all the European peoples are up in arms over NATO, this aggressive block ruled over by American imperialism, the French revisionists, according to the words of Jean Canapa, chief of the section of foreign affairs of the French revisionist party, during an interview given to the American bourgeois magazine, *Foreign Affairs*, support 'France's continued membership in the Atlantic alliance'. This has also been done by the Italian revisionists and the Spanish revisionists through their leaders themselves.

"The revisionist parties of the West", stresses the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit*, "particularly those of Italy, France and Spain, in their feverish efforts to take part in the state administration together with the bourgeoisie, are not only collaborating with, but have also become ardent defenders of, the nationalist

interests of this bourgeoisie on the international scene too. In this direction, they often come up against the interests of their Moscow patrons. In these 'clashes', two tendencies are noticed: one, to win 'independence' from the 'mother party' of Moscow and the other, not to 'completely' break away from it or sever the threads of all-round relations with it.

"Naturally, the chiefs of the Soviet revisionists are doing their utmost to stop the revisionist parties of Western Europe from completely breaking away from dependence on Moscow, publicly announcing their abandoning of Marxism-Leninism, because this would put the Moscow revisionists themselves in a very awkward position and would tear the mask off their efforts to preserve the appearance of Leninism and socialism. On the other hand this would put an end to the use by the Soviet revisionists of these revisionist parties as a means and relatively easy method of the Soviet Union's intervention in Western Europe, and its conspiratorial and sabotaging activity in the ranks of the European proletariat and the working class.

"The modern revisionists of West Europe are being exposed more and more in the eyes of the working people as collaborators with anyone who is against the revolution and in the service of the national bourgeoisie, against the proletariat and socialism, with anyone who defends the capitalist system of exploitation. But they have never been and will never be capable of erasing the revolutionary ideas from the hearts and minds of the proletariat, the ideas of the struggle for democratic rights, against capitalism and the bourgeoisie. The proletariat has a great treasury of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. In the struggle for the great cause of the revolution and communism, against capitalist oppression and exploitation, against the agents and lackeys of the bourgeoisie, social-democracy and the revisionists, the Marxist-Leninist parties of different countries of the world are developing, strengthening and scoring growing successes. There is no force in the world which can hinder the triumph of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which are historical necessities", *Zëri i Popullit* writes in conclusion.