

Albania today

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**The word and the deed of the Party
are not something divorced from the glorious
past of the Albanian people**

Khrushchev kneeling before Tito

**The revisionist parties -
typical bourgeois,
counter-revolutionary parties**

**Socialist revolution -
the only road of social advance**

Fatmir Haxhiu TWO GENERATIONS (oil)



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ENVER HOXHA

THE WORD AND DEED OF OUR PA ARE NOT DIVORCED FROM THE GL OF OUR PEOPLE*

«The internal and external enemies pursued and persecuted but more than that they were unable to do. The enemies could never break the progressive, freedom-loving fighting of the Albanians, could not destroy their characteristics, because virtues had age-long roots deeply implanted in the minds and

GREETING TO THE PEOPLE OF GJIROKASTRA

Dear brothers and sisters of Gjirokastra!
Dear students, dear teachers,

Since it is impossible for me to be with you on this outstanding day of great significance and lofty patriotic inspiration, I am speaking to you from Tirana, so that together we can recall those times of glorious history, full of struggles, sacrifice and heroism of our parents and grand-parents, our respected teachers, and the entire people of the region and city of Gjirokastra. Although I am speaking to you from Tirana, in heart, in mind and in memory, I am there, with you, amongst my people, in the small square where sixty years ago, together with my schoolmates of the «Drita» school, I used to run around the little courtyard, with the ABC in my hand, repeating the lesson. Precisely in that square, a series of

leagues, democratic societies and patriotic clubs were founded, one after the other, and carried on their patriotic and cultural activity. Together with my mother's songs and stories, they were the first school of my childhood and early youth, where I learned to love and honour this beloved Homeland, this glorious people, our beautiful language, our brilliant traditions, our ancient and progressive culture with my whole heart, and, like all our honest and patriotic-minded people, to dedicate my life to them. Today, that small square swarming with young pioneers, reminds me of the meadow¹ on Mount Çajup with its sweet-smelling trigonella, in the midst of which rises an obelisk, great and majestic, like all those brave

** This material is the greeting that comrade Enver Hoxha addressed to the people of his birthplace, Gjirokastra, on the occasion of the inauguration there of a museum centre and an obelisk dedicated to all the teachers, pioneers of education, of the Albanian school and language.*

RTY ORIOUS PAST

**our honoured patriots,
ld never prevent the outburst of our people's patriotism,
spirit, courage and loyalty
ause these lofty
hearts of the entire people.»**

men of the rifle and of the pen who fought in very difficult times against ignorance, occupation and tyranny, who followed the heroic, militant freedom-loving traditions of our forefathers, who kept these traditions alive, developed them further and handed them down to us as our heritage, who opened the way for us, tempered us with patriotism, taught us to always keep a firm hold on the gun, to master knowledge and strengthen our love for each other.

Today, we older people, the children of those heroic times, when we were short of both paper and pencil and it was hard to find the ABC's with the old letters of alphabets² of Istanbul and Salonica, smuggled in the knapsacks under the rifle and the goat's hair cloaks of Çerçiz, Bajo, Mihal³ and others, recall with great respect those brave men and fiery patriots who went up and down the streets of the Gjirokastra market place. So deeply are they engraven on our minds and hearts that even now it seems as if we can see them as they were — modest, grey-haired with age and troubles, but with eyes that sparkled when we, the youth and little children, greeted them respectfully.

We, who bowed in respect to Uncle Bajo Topulli, Idriz Guri, Hasan Xhiku, Hysen Hoxha, Hasan Sino, Polo Meksi,

the old priest Papapano, Veli Hashorva and others, who were revolted when the murderous Zog had our Avni⁴, the leader of the youth, killed, and our elder comrades went to storm Tirana, feel very proud of those patriotic men who illuminated the way for us with the rifle and the pen, we feel a special pride because we have had the great privilege of having known them at first hand, of having spoken to them, and had our heads patted by those strong hands that carried and fired the «Mausers» and «Manlichers».

What a wealth of memories is linked with this historic hill in the middle of Gjirokastra, brothers and sisters! There, both rifle and pen have spoken out for Albania; there, shoulder to shoulder with the fighters of the patriotic detachments, stood teachers and pupils; in centres like these the first foundations of the schools that, today, stretch from end to end of Albania, were laid; there, the first stages of the amateur and professional theatre were set up; there, for the first time, our mothers and sisters organized themselves in the «anti-Bastille» (the prison) Association, in 1919, and proclaimed openly that they would fight against ignorance, backwardness, and slavery, into which the occupiers, the anti-popular regimes, the church and the mosque had plunged them.

GREETING TO THE PEOPLE OF GJIROKASTRA

The patriotic societies and clubs which were founded on this hill did not arise by chance on unworked ground. They were the result and direct continuation of the outstanding, all-sided activity that the patriotic societies, clubs and detachments of our National Renaissance had carried on for years on end with the rifle and with the pen and they were, at the same time, an enrichment and a further development, both quantitative and qualitative, of all the former activity of our glorious forbears. These patriotic clubs and societies, which were opened all over the country, became the pivot of that powerful movement that had set itself the aim of winning independence and freedom for the Homeland, of fighting for the Albanian language and the Albanian school, for the development and progress of the national culture, music and theatre, of our wonderful folklore, for democracy, development and social progress.

The internal and external enemies pursued and persecuted our honoured patriots, but more than that they were unable to do. The enemies could never prevent the outburst of our people's patriotism, could never break the progressive, freedom-loving, fighting spirit, courage and loyalty of the Albanians, could not destroy their characteristics, because these lofty virtues had age-old roots deeply implanted in the minds and hearts of the entire people.

In the name of this patriotism resounded the Song of the Motherland of Andon Zako Çajupi⁵, for this sacred land of ours the brave men of Selam Musa Salaria poured out rivers of blood in the epic of the Vlora War⁶ in 1920, while in Paris, the pistol of the revolutionary democrat Avni Rustemi shot the traitor Esat Pasha Toptani in the heart, for the great national cause.

We were young at that time, dear brothers and sisters of Gjirokastra, but I want to tell you about one heroic incident. I don't remember the year, however it was Flag Day⁷, in the time of the Zog regime. Our school was assembled on that bit of ground in front of the old prefecture, which the older folk will recollect, there where the cinema stands today. The prefect, the commander of the gendarmerie, and other top-ranking officials came out and stood between the pillars of the main gate. The prefect began with a few perfunctory words about Flag Day and then went on to boast Zog and his regime. The crowd stood in absolute silence, without the slightest applause then a powerful voice rang out: «Down with the robbers!» There was an immediate uproar. The gendarmes went rushing around, while the prefect and the other authorities disappeared inside the building. We schoolboys, broke ranks and heard our teachers whispering to each other: «Oh, well done!» Suddenly the crowd

parted and we saw Captain Idriz Guri⁸ march forward, head held high, with his hand on his sword-hilt and his black-and-red scarf slung over his shoulder and breast. It was he, the old fighter and comrade-in-arms of Çerçiz and others, who had shouted: «Down with the robbers!» Idriz Guri marched down the street, entered the cafe frequented by government officials, sat down at a table and, crossing his legs, ordered a glass of raki. The men gathered round him. We, youngsters were crowding the street that leads to the Club of the Renaissance, which is being inaugurated today, and, standing on the steps of the gunsmith Aziz Buduku's, in front of Uncle Banush's store, waited to see what would happen.

Soon we heard the tramp of hobnailed boots and a squad of gendarmes, headed by a major, appeared. With difficulty, Zog's major forced his way through the crowd, stood before Uncle Idriz and proclaimed in a loud voice: «Captain Idriz Guri, I have orders to arrest you. Surrender your sword!» Uncle Idriz, with his white moustache curled at the tips, rose to his feet, drew his sword, and shouted: «Idriz Guri does not surrender his sword lightly. Stand back, Major!» We began to shout: «Don't yield, Uncle Idriz!» The people of Gjirokastra, Uncle Idriz's elderly comrades, surrounded the major of the gendarmerie and one of them told him in firm tones: «Go and tell those who have sent you that Idriz Guri is not arrested. We are going to Kuçuk's cafe to celebrate with a drink. If you like you can come there, but you had better come with a whole battalion of gendarmes». The major of the gendarmerie was left speechless and afraid. He backed off and cleared out, while the crowd, with Uncle Idriz at the head, moved off down the market street, with us youngsters coming along behind, singing the Song of the Flag. Ahmet Zog stripped Uncle Idriz of his officer's rank, but he continued his patriotic fight with the «walking sticks» you have in the city museum.

Such were those brave men of rifle and the pen, whom we are commemorating and whose work we are immortalizing. The people preserve the memory of their patriotic efforts as a most sacred thing, and our glorious Party of Labour placed them on a pedestal.

It was on this glorious soil, in this inexhaustible stream of patriotism and courage, in this great school of life that those sons and daughters of our people were taught and educated, who, later, in the difficult years of the fascist occupation, united around the Communist Party of Albania and became its flesh and blood, the glorious heroes of the Party and the people.

The beautiful and meaningful monument you are inaugurating today towers over the whole of Gjirokastra like an everburning beacon of light. The proud castle

sees it. The streets and suburbs of the city, the plain and mountainside see it, Mashkullora, Qesarat and Libohova¹ see it, the schools and the scholars and their teachers see it, the entire people see it, and from the river bank, over the bridge, the monument to the heroes of the National Liberation War seems to be saying: «See, we, too, are here. We fought bravely, with the Party of the Communists at the head, and fell on the field of honour, rifle in hand, because that is how you, our mothers, our fathers, our entire people taught us». And now their sons and daughters thank the Party of Labour that brought Albania into the light, that liberated it for ever and built our beautiful socialist Homeland, putting into practice the motto of the heroes of our National Renaissance: «Knowledge, love for one another, and rifle», which in the time of the Party, became, «In one hand the pick, in the other the rifle.»

In the name of the Party, I thank you and congratulate you on having made a reality of its promise that an obelisk would be erected to the eternal memory of those teachers and pedagogues who toiled courageously and valiantly, facing imprisonment, torture and death, in order to open Albanian schools in Gjirokastra, and in many other places in Albania.

On this occasion, with profound respect and gratitude, I want to recall the names of our first teachers, honoured patriots such as Thoma Papapano, Andrea Konomi, Ilija Dilo Sheperi, Asaf Qipi, and later, a whole galaxy, with Iliaz Hoxha, Xhafo Poshi, Urani Rumbo, Rexho Muçi and others, who, following in the footsteps of Koto Hoxhi and Pandeli Sotiri, after great efforts, opened the Albanian school «Liria» and, later, «Drita» round about here, on this hill.

From their work and struggle, from the great passion and zeal of the students of those patriotic teachers, our teachers, pupils and students have always learned and should learn even more. They should never forget that in their efforts to spread the Albanian alphabet, the first pioneers of our school had to defend every one of its letters against innumerable difficulties, and often, even with their own blood. Our teachers and all our pupils and students, who are working and being trained and educated in such beautiful buildings equipped with all facilities, must never forget that the teachers and students of the first Albanian schools, such as «Liria» and «Drita», had neither books nor pencils, let alone the other teaching means and equipment with which our present-day schools are filled. They understood the importance of the national school, the importance of the alphabet, the importance of the book, the importance of knowledge. Precisely under those conditions, from among the ranks of

those students who attended those schools, that were more like stables, to learn to write and read their mother tongue, such sons of our people as Siri Shaplo, Aqif Selfo, Emin Shtino, Sokrat Kutra, and many and many others, were educated and later became respected teachers. The armed struggle to liberate ourselves from slavery to imperialists and barbarous invaders is inseparable from the struggle for the Albanian alphabet and the Albanian school.

In step with those efforts marched the people's songs:

*On the Pass of Peshkëpi
'Gainst the battalions of Turkey
Stands a son of this suffering people,
Balil, fighting gloriously!*

*Today's the day, Albanian brothers,
To defend our tongue, our alphabet.
Arise, you sons of Albanian mothers,
Our beloved letters in gold to set.*

Two songs of the people with a single sacred refrain:

*Albania, our beloved Homeland,
We'll not leave you poor and abandoned...*

It was not by chance that the clubs of the patriots were clustered around the «Drita» School and Club, it was not by chance that Çerçiz Topulli, Hysen Hoxha, Thoma Papapano Çuçi, Elmaz Boce, Idriz Angoni and their comrades used to dance around the pillar in the middle of the «Drita» Club. It was not by chance that, at that time, we youngsters used to gather to sing the verses I quoted above, and many and many others like them in a similar militant and patriotic spirit.

The liberation of the Homeland from the occupiers was linked with the triumph of knowledge. The men of our National Renaissance considered knowledge as light, because, by means of knowledge, the darkness which had engulfed our people through the centuries would be dispersed, because it would raise high the Albanian's consciousness and patriotism, because, together with the rifle, it would consolidate the independence won, and bring progress and prosperity to the Homeland.

The heroic Party of the Albanian Communists, which knew to implement Marxism-Leninism, this unerring universal science, so well, so correctly, and with such courage and heroism, closely linked with the heroic,

GREETING TO THE PEOPLE OF GJIROKASTRA

freedom and progress-loving traditions of the Albanian people, drove forward gloriously on this road with the heroic National Liberation War. Thus we can see the great value of the activity of those patriotic and cultural societies, clubs and leagues. What a commendable thing you have done, brothers and sisters, in setting up this new museum centre, which, along with other things, is the best testimony that our Gjirokastra is a museum city, first of all, on account of its glorious patriotic and revolutionary history, because of the ceaseless struggles and efforts of its sons and daughters for freedom and independence, for the Albanian language and the Albanian school, for democracy, and for our all-round economic and social development and progress!

Along with the other museums and cultural centres, this new centre will be a true school for the education of the present and future generations with courage and patriotism, with love for our national language and culture, with deep respect and gratitude for all the outstanding traditions and patriotic and revolutionary activity of our forbears.

By acquainting themselves with these outstanding traditions of the past, the present and future generations will gain a better understanding of the political and ideological line of the Party, will understand its philosophy better, because they will see concretely that the word and deed of the Party are not divorced from the glorious past of our people; on the contrary, they are its further continuation and all-round enrichment in content and form with the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Once again I beg your pardon for the fact that, despite my desire to do so, I was unable to come there today to celebrate this marked event together with you, as I promised in

my greeting on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the «Asim Zeneli» School, but I shall find the opportunity to come to see our beloved Gjirokastra that I miss so much, and we shall talk about the new museum centre you are inaugurating in connection with which I have so many memories from my childhood and youth, especially about the «Studenti» Association, of which I had the good fortune to be a member myself.

I avail myself of this opportunity, brothers and sisters, to send you my heartfelt congratulations on the lofty title of «Hero of Socialist Labour» awarded to the Gjirokastra District a short time ago. The people of the Gjirokastra District fully deserve this title, and I express the conviction that all of you, united closely around the Party will work with even greater determination, like our entire heroic people and, through your all-round work and efforts, will make our socialist Albania, our glorious Homeland, for which so much blood has been shed through the centuries, ever more beautiful, ever more impregnable.

Glory to the heroes of the people, old and young!
Glory to the heroes of the rifle, of work and the pen!
Glory to our beloved Party!
Glory to our heroic people!

May you always be successful in your life and work,
my brothers and sisters of Gjirokastra!

I embrace you
Yours
ENVER HOXHA

Tirana, May 24th, 1977.

1 This refers to the beautiful field on Mt Çajup in front of the town of Gjirokastra.

2 During the 500 year long rule of the Turkish Empire in Albania, the Albanian language was prohibited to be written, and as a result there was no Albanian alphabet. In the second half of the 19th Century, the Albanian patriots outside the country began using various alphabets in order to spread the use of the written Albanian language in Albania. Among the first alphabets were those of Constantinople (Istanbul) and Salonica, named after the cities in which the groups of Albanian patriots were striving for the spread of the Albanian alphabet.

3 The brothers Çerçiz and Bajo Topulli and Mihal Grameno Peoples' Heroes, outstanding patriots and eminent fighters for the independence of Albania.

4 Arni Rustemi, People's Hero, revolutionary democrat, who did the heroic deed of killing Esat Pasha Toptani

in Paris. In April 1924 Ahmet Zogu arranged for his cowardly assassination.

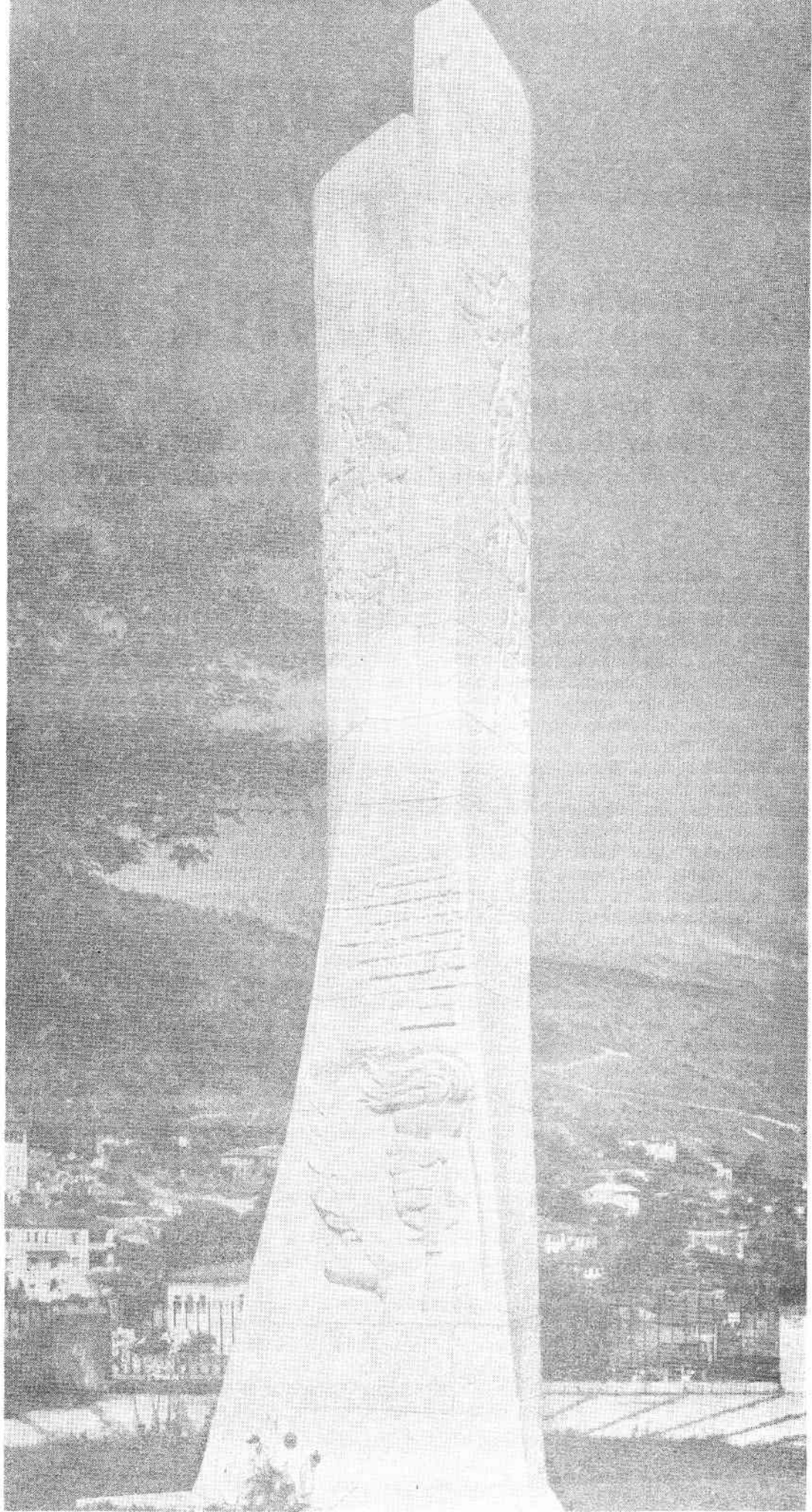
5 Outstanding Albanian poet (1866-1930).

6 This refers to the heroic war of the masses of Albanian insurgents, who drove into the sea the Italian invaders who had occupied the town of Vlora and its hinterland according to the secret 1915 London Treaty. Selam Musa Salaria was one of the leaders of this war; he was killed while attacking the enemy.

7 The 28th November 1912, the day of the proclamation of Albania's independence after 500 years of Turkish rule.

8 When he was stripped of all his official functions, Idriz Guri lived in poverty but never ceased exposing the existing regime. He began making wooden walking sticks on which he used to carve images and initials of allegoric words ridiculing Zog's government, and in this way, expressed people's hatred for the «King».

9 Picturesque villages around Gjirokastra.



The obelisk dedicated to all the teachers, the pioneers of education, of the Albanian school and language, set up recently in the museum city of Gjirokastra, is the work of the sculptors Muntaz Dhrami, Ksenofon Kostaqi and Stefan Papamihali.

THE REVISIONIST PART TYPICALLY BOURGEOIS, COUNTER-REVOLUTION

If we judge the revisionist parties by the content of their activities,

by the policy they pursue, by the ideology which inspires their policy, strategy, as by those who lead them, we see clearly that the revisionist parties of all the interests of the old and new bourgeoisie, which have betrayed

MORE THAN 10 YEARS AGO, AT ITS 5th CONGRESS, OUR PARTY OF LABOUR DECLARED THAT ONE OF THE STRATEGIC AIMS OF MODERN REVISIONISM WAS TO BRING ABOUT THE DEGENERATION AND DESTRUCTION OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES, TO TURN THEM INTO SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, IN ORDER TO SUPPORT THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION, TO UNDERMINE SOCIALISM, AND TO DEFEND AND RESTORE CAPITALISM. AND AT THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, WHILE EXPOSING MODERN REVISIONISM AND SPEAKING ABOUT THE DANGER WHICH MODERN REVISIONISTS, IN GENERAL, AND THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS, IN PARTICULAR, POSE FOR REVOLUTION, SOCIALISM, AND THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE PEOPLES, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA POINTED OUT THAT «**MANY COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF THE WORLD DEVIATED FROM, AND BETRAYED MARXISM-LENINISM, THEY TURNED INTO SOCIAL-CHAUVINIST OR EVEN SOCIAL-FASCIST PARTIES**»¹⁾ AND THAT THE PSEUDO-COMMUNIST PARTIES, WHETHER IN POWER OR NOT, ARE NO LONGER PARTIES OF THE PROLETARIAT, BUT HAVE NOW TURNED INTO PARTIES OF THE BOURGEOISIE, THAT EACH REVISIONIST PARTY IS WORKING TO MAKE ITSELF BEAUTIFUL AND ATTRACTIVE IN THE EYES OF BOURGEOIS OPINION.

But our aim here is not to show how the process of the degeneration of many communist Marxist-Leninist parties into revisionist parties developed, till they were transformed completely from political parties of the working class into typically counter-revolutionary bourgeois parties, from parties of the revolution into parties of compromise, into tools of capitalism, nor to speak of the causes and factors that led to this result with very grave consequences for the international

working class. The problem on which we shall concentrate in this paper is to indicate precisely what it is that determines the counter-revolutionary bourgeois class character of all revisionist parties, those which are in power and those which are operating in the bourgeois capitalist countries, in what it is apparent and how it expresses itself. And to do this, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, «there are only two means: theory and practical experience»²⁾. Therefore, we shall try to use these two means in order to demonstrate the real class character of various revisionist parties.

It is known that the character of a party, like that of a state, is determined, in the first place, by the policy it

pursues, because every political party carries out all its activity for the benefit of the class whose interests it represents; the character of a party is determined by its political ideology, which expresses the orientations, aims, and programmes of its class and its party; it is determined by the ideology which underlies the policy it pursues, because its policy is dependent on its ideology, and every political party builds its strategy and tactics on the basis of the ideology of the class whose interests it defends. And naturally the character of a political party also depends on its social composition, as well as on its forms of organization, etc.

More than as 56 years ago, the leader of the world proletariat, V.I. Lenin, said: «**Whether or not a party is really a political party of the workers does not depend solely upon a membership of workers, but also upon the men that lead it, and the content of its actions and its political tactics. Only the latter determines whether we really have before us a political party of the proletariat**»³⁾.

Proceeding from this viewpoint, which is the only correct one, if we judge the revisionist parties by the content of their activities, by the policy they pursue, by the ideology which inspires their policy, strategy, tactics, and all their actions, as well as by those that lead them, we see clearly that the revisionist parties of all countries are simply bourgeois parties,

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by FIQRET SHEHU

**tactics and all their actions, as well
countries are simply bourgeois parties, which express and defend
the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, and socialism completely and finally.**

which express and defend the interests of the old and new bourgeoisie, which have betrayed the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, and socialism completely and finally.

I

In regard to the ideology, which underlies the policy, strategy, tactics and actions of all revisionist parties, it is necessary to point out that, despite their allegedly Marxist theorising, despite the allegedly Leninist slogans they use, the revisionist parties have long since burnt their bridges with the revolutionary ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism. Regardless of the varying formulations of the «theories» which they spread, in essence, all these parties are guided and inspired in their actions by the same ideology, by the reactionary bourgeois ideology in the form of revisionism. But that is not all: in order to play the role of defenders of the bourgeoisie and the hated capitalist order, the role of saboteurs of the revolutionary movement of the working class and all working people as effectively as possible, all the revisionist parties, their leaders, as well as the revisionist ideologists, try to portray Marxism-Leninism as «obsolete» and «unsuitable» for our epoch. Under the guise of the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist theory according to the «specifics» of the time and place, in fact, they fal-

sify it in the most monstrous manner, distort and mystify it unscrupulously, endeavour to make a reappraisal of the ideas of the classical writers of Marxism-Leninism and to attack, discredit, and «bury» those ideas which have to do with cardinal problems. In fact, they try to transform Marxism-Leninism from a theory of the proletarian social revolution into a theory of social reforms, into an opportunist, counter-revolutionary theory. Their goal: to leave the working class without the indispensable weapon for the revolution and for carrying it through to the end, to divert it from the class struggle and the socialist revolution, from the struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The revisionist parties of all countries and their chiefs, who are competing among themselves for «first place» in revising the ideology of the working class, are galloping down this road, which was opened by the Soviet revisionists 21 years ago at their notorious 20th Congress. Some of them, as is the case of the French revisionist party and its leader, the new Proudhonist George Marchais, go so far as to declare openly that «democracy and freedom are the principal field of the class struggle today»¹⁾, that «a new epoch of democracy and freedom must be opened, this is the pivot of our battle»²⁾, that «in France and in our epoch, there is no other way to so-

cialism except on the democratic road»³⁾ and that, in present-day conditions, the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary! There could be no clearer expression of their betrayal of the proletariat and of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois character of the French revisionist party and of its leaders, who, with such reformist «theories» seek to divert the proletariat from the violent revolution, which is the only reliable road to victory, the road that will lead the proletariat to the seizure of political power, to the establishment of its dictatorship, which will ensure real democracy for the majority and will put an end to all social injustice!

The Italian revisionist party and those who lead it, are in the same positions as the French revisionist party. With their «strategy of the historic compromise» among the various social, political and ideological forces, and with such openly anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary declarations as «we are a great socialist party, because we are a party of reforms»⁴⁾, with their assurances, such as those of Berlinguer, that the Italian revisionists «are far from» making «indiscriminate accusations or criticisms of the state organs and apparatuses»⁵⁾, as a whole, including here even the police and the armed forces, and not only the rank-and-file soldiers, but also their officers, or with such pathetic statements as «... the Italians have never been so well off as they are today...», «to be

honest, in Italy there has never been so much freedom»⁹) ...!, they are rendering to the bourgeoisie an incalculable service.

Once again: there could be no clearer expression of the betrayal of the interests of the proletariat and of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois character of a party than that which, in flagrant opposition to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the absolute necessity to smash the bourgeois state machine, as the fundamental condition for the seizure of political power by the working class, appeals to the workers' movement and to the «democratic» political forces «to establish more extensive contacts with the courts», as well as with the police and the armed forces of the bourgeoisie. If we also mention the fact that the Italian revisionist party has gone so far that its central organs have adopted resolutions which stress «the vital need for unity of all democratic forces, with the aim of ensuring the security of the country and its democratic and republican development, and overcoming the present political and economic crisis»¹⁰), which has gripped Italy, it is quite obvious that the Italian bourgeoisie cannot possibly find more zealous apologists and better defenders than the Togliattist revisionist party and its chiefs. With the illusions they spread about the bourgeois social-economic order, about the present-day bourgeois state, about the main parties of the bourgeoisie, with their propagation of the idea of «democracy for all» and of the «democratic» and «popular» spirit of the reactionary Christian Democrat party, they are very effectively performing their role as extinguishers of the flames of revolution and the revolutionary actions of all the masses of working people, aimed against the capitalist order, which is oppressing them and exploiting them to the bone. Thus, as comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 7th Congress of the PLA, the Italian revisionists are turning «from peaceful travellers on the road of socialism... into armed soldiers of capitalism»¹¹).

All the «theories», resolutions, declarations, stands and actions of the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries, especially of the Italian, French and Spanish parties, which are

playing the role of the vanguard in revising Marxism-Leninism, in the propagation of reformist illusions, which spread the idea of going «to socialism by reforms», all together — bourgeois, capitalists, workers, the police, the bourgeois army, etc. — which present the issue as though the bourgeoisie has given the working people «pure democracy», as though the bourgeoisie has given up its resistance, and is ready to obey the majority of the working people, as though the state machine for the repression of labour by the capital does not exist in their countries, etc., etc., — show that such parties are nothing but counter-revolutionary parties, parties of the bourgeoisie, and that their leaders are nothing but inveterate betrayers of the interests of the proletariat and socialism.

The falsity and hypocrisy of the «arguments» which the revisionist parties and their chiefs use to condemn the dictatorship of the proletariat and to defend «democracy», are clear to anyone who is not seeking to betray the fundamental principles of scientific socialism. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that there is no such thing as «universal democracy» or «universal dictatorship», that there is no democracy or state outside classes or above classes, allegedly from the viewpoint of the entire people, that to present the problem in this way means to ridicule the fundamental theory of socialism and precisely the theory of the class struggle. **«The present-day defence of bourgeois democracy in the form of palaver about 'universal democracy' and all the current screams and cries against the dictatorship of the proletariat... are outright betrayal of socialism, and indicate the actual going over to the side of the bourgeoisie.»**¹² said V.I. Lenin almost six decades ago, **«because from a society in which one class oppresses another there is no way out other than through the dictatorship of the oppressed class.»**¹³)

And in fact, even without mentioning the other absurdities of the «theories», views and political tactics of the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries, of France, Italy, Spain, etc., of their traitor chiefs, Marchais, Berlinguer, Carillo, and so on, even without mentioning that, out of their fear of

the proletariat, or its role in present-day society, its historic mission as the gravedigger of capitalism, of the unity of revolutionary thought and action of the proletariat of every country and of the world proletariat, they attack the great slogan, «Proletarians of all countries, unite!», launched by the founders of the theory of scientific socialism, and even go so far as to negate the very existence of the proletariat as a class, which has the mission of destroying the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to its foundations and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat — even without dwelling on all these things, and restricting ourselves simply to what we have said, it is clear that the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries have now been transformed into counter-revolutionary bourgeois parties, which render the bourgeoisie a great service precisely because they pose as parties of the working class, as communist parties, although there is no longer anything communist about them, and they are nothing but betrayers of the interests of the proletariat.

The revisionist parties in power are marching steadily, with determined steps, down the road of betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and the interests of the world proletariat, the freedom and independence of the peoples but in a more camouflaged way, trying harder to maintain their Marxist-Leninist façade. And the revisionist party of the Soviet Union is outstanding above all others, for its «theories» and practices, and its counter-revolutionary strategy and tactics.

It is already known that it was the Soviet revisionists who drew from the arsenal of the Bernstein revisionists and loudly propagated the idea of «the peaceful road», the «parliamentary road» to socialism, which was eagerly embraced by the revisionists of all countries; it was the Soviet revisionists who revised the most cardinal questions of Marxism-Leninism, who fabricated and brought out the «theories» about «the party of the entire people», «the state of the entire people», and so on. And again it is the Soviet revisionists, who, doing their utmost to bring about the complete merger of the revisionist parties with the social-democrat parties, have declared recently that «con-

cerning the communists, their line of unity of action with the social-democrats, is not a tactical method... They consider collaboration with the social-democratic parties... a strategic line», that this policy «is their decided long-term policy, up till the sanctioning of socialist society». It is precisely the traitor Brezhnev, who, on behalf of the revisionist party he commands, has expressed his readiness «for the development of collaboration with the social-democrats, in the struggle for peace and democracy, as well as in the struggle for socialism». Finally, it is precisely the leaders of the Soviet revisionist party who, in the present situation, are proposing a «historic solution» to the social-democrat parties, appealing to them for unity of action between the socialists and the «communists»; on a national and international level, so that together they will be able to achieve «radical social transformations in the interest of the working people», and together put an end to «the social inequality and injustice which are engendered by capitalism»¹⁴ (!).

There is no need to point out here what the social-democrat parties and their chiefs stand for, the class of which they are parties, or to speak of their counter-revolutionary character, because this whole problem is very well-known: the social-democrat parties are loyal watchdogs of capitalism and bourgeois domination. However, judging the Soviet revisionists by the Marxist criterion, not by the names and «the labels they give themselves, but by the manner in which they actually settle the fundamental theoretical questions, by their associates»¹⁵, it emerges clearly that, despite the name «communist party» which it bears, the revisionist party of the Soviet Union and its chiefs are ardent defenders of the bourgeoisie on a national and international level, and betrayers of the interests of the Soviet working class and the world proletariat.

The forms which the Soviet revisionists employ for the further distortion and deformation of the revolutionary theory of the working class, even of those most fundamental problems of Marxism-Leninism which have long been distorted by them, have not

exhausted themselves. Such, for example, is the problem of the roads of transition from capitalism to socialism. Not long ago, on March 1, 1977, «Pravda» again carried the revisionist thesis, served up at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, and declared that «the working class in a series of capitalist countries can win the majority on parliament and transform it into a tool to serve the working people, a means capable of overcoming the resistance of the oppressing classes and ensuring the transition from capitalism to socialism»(!) And immediately after this thesis, it supported the programmes of the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe and various other regions of the world «for the thorough-going transformation of the structure of society, for the creation of states of democratic unity», which, according to the Soviet revisionists, «are intended to play the role of ... transitional forms on the road to socialism». In propagating abandonment of the road of violent revolution, the Soviet revisionists go so far that their chief Brezhnev, realising that the tragedy which occurred in Chile is an irreparable defeat of the opportunist theory of «the peaceful road of transition to socialism», considers it necessary to defend that traitorous theory by cynically stressing that «the Chilean tragedy can never wipe out the conclusion of communists about the possibility of various roads of the revolution, including the peaceful road». However, it is Marx himself, who in his time, condemned the idea of «parliamentarianism» as the road to socialism, when he issued the call, «do not slip into parliamentary cretinism!» And Lenin, too, said «The very idea... of a peaceful, reformist transition to socialism is not merely sheer philistine stupidity, but also downright deception of the workers, embellishment of capitalist wage-slavery and concealment of the truth», ... «Only the forcible overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the destruction of the entire bourgeois state apparatus from top to bottom — parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, etc. apparatus, ... only such measures can ensure the real submission of the whole class of exploiters»¹⁶, and make the proletariat

the ruling class, therefore, in a position to wipe out all social injustices, a thing which can be achieved only through violent revolution and never through the reformist road.

Hence, it is clear that the views of the modern revisionists on the road of the transition to socialism in a peaceful manner, through gaining the majority of votes in the bourgeois parliament, are denial of the right of the world proletariat to carry out its proletarian revolution, they are purest reformism, defence of bourgeois reformism precisely at the moment when bourgeois reformism has gone bankrupt all over the world, precisely at a moment when the upsurge of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all bourgeois and revisionist-capitalist countries is impelling the bourgeoisie and its agents and lackeys, who are keeping up their disguise as parties and organizations of «the working class», to try to find theoretical and ideo-political «arguments» to defend the rule of exploiters.

The counter-revolutionary bourgeois class character of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union, its betrayal of the working class and the world proletariat, is clearly displayed also in those statements, «theories» and practices which are intended to divert the proletariat from the proletarian revolution, from its historic mission, by stressing that «the working class is the most humanitarian class, the most humane class», whereas the great teacher of the world proletariat, V.I. Lenin has pointed out that essential aspect, which constitutes the fundamental characteristic of the proletariat in our present-day society, describing the proletariat as **the most revolutionary class**.

The counterrevolutionary bourgeois class character of the Soviet revisionist party is clearly displayed also in those «theories» which seek to present the present Soviet party and state as «above-classes» and «non-class» such as the «theories» about «the party of the entire people» and «the state of the entire people», which were used and are still being used by them to cover up the true character and the real bourgeois class content of the present Soviet party and state. But, since even the «inventors» of such «theories» themselves

understand how absurd they are, because the Marxist-Leninist teachings — completely confirmed by practice — that there is not and cannot be any non-class or above-class political party, because the political party and the state are weapons of the class struggle and express and defend the interests of a definite class, are now very well-known, the Soviet revisionists are trying to perfect their notorious «theories», which aim at the liquidation, in theory and practice, of the proletarian party and state, by adopting and defending the other absurdity that although «the state, which was born as the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is transformed into the state of the entire people, while its vanguard (the party of the working class — my note, — F.Sh.) into the party of the entire people, the socialist nature of the state does not alter and the working class maintains its leading role in society»¹⁷) (1). Hence it seems we allegedly have a state and a party of «the entire people», whereas the nature of the state bears the class seal, and the leading role in this party and in this state of «the entire people» is played by a given class! But such sophistry and machinations cannot deceive anybody who sees and judges things objectively with his thinking unclouded by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois class prejudices, or by predisposition to betrayal, and they cannot stand against the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the party and the state, or historical experience. On the other hand, it is known that when the Marxist-Leninists speak about the proletarian state, they have in mind **«the recognition of the political domination of the proletariat, its dictatorship, i.e., a power which it does not share with others»¹⁸**), that the Marxist-Leninists adhere to the thesis that the state of the working class can be only a dictatorship of the proletariat and **«the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat... has meaning only when one class knows that it is taking political power into its hands alone, and does not deceive others or itself with talk about 'popular' government...»¹⁹**). Whereas, when they speak of the communist party, the Marxist-Leninists have in mind the political party of **the working class**, which is guided by

the revolutionary ideology of the **working class**, which expresses and defends the interests of **the working class** as well as of all the masses of working people, who associate themselves with the views of the **working class**.

In reality, the party which is in power in the Soviet Union and the present Soviet state are not at all of «the entire people», but, like every other political party and state, of whatever type, they have a class character. Though it preserves the name «communist», the revisionist party of the Soviet Union is nothing but a bourgeois, fascist party, which expresses and defends the interests of the new, bureaucratic Soviet bourgeoisie, which is guided by the bourgeois ideology, in the form of revisionism, which follows a counterrevolutionary strategy and tactics, which inspires and works out the internal and external policy, which sanctions the thoroughly reactionary actions of the social-fascist and social-imperialist state, a policy and actions which are, and cannot fail to be, against the interests of the working class and all the working people of Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries, as well as against the interests of all the workers and peoples of the world.

There is no secret now about the hegemonic, expansionist and aggressive, typically imperialist, policy of the present-day Soviet Union, which has been transformed into a neo-colonialist and warmongering power; it is a recognised fact that Great Russian chauvinism has been raised to a dominant ideology and that national oppression has become part and parcel of the bourgeois class policy, which the clique ruling the Soviet Union today pursues, just as there is no secret about the «theories» of «limited sovereignty», «the vital interests of the socialist community», etc., or the «theories» which incite the policy of «great power» megalomania and omnipotence which is pursued by the social-imperialist Soviet Union. In this direction, a typical statement was made recently in the central organ of the Soviet revisionist party «Pravda», a statement which reminds one of Nietzsche's philosophy and his notion of the «superman», which cultivates

the idea of the élite of «the chosen» and which was widely exploited by the ideologists of nazism. According to this Nietzschean statement of «Pravda», «thanks to the existence of the Soviet Union in the world, the European peoples were able to liberate themselves from the yoke of the fascist occupiers, from total enslavement and physical annihilation»²⁰) (1). Of course, the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries highly evaluate the great role that the Red Army, led by the Communist Party (bolshevik) of the Soviet Union and by J. V. Stalin, played in the defeat of fascism. But to declare, as the betrayers of the Soviet peoples themselves are doing today, that the peoples of an entire continent were saved from «physical annihilation» thanks to one state, be it a socialist state, such as the Soviet Union was at that time, and, moreover, that «the freedom and victories of the working people in the entire world» were saved precisely thanks to this state, this is extraordinary, extreme megalomania and utterly reactionary. It is understandable that the aim of such an openly anti-Marxist, anti-proletarian, anti-popular, idealist statement, as well as the aim of the other, entirely similar statement, that «without the existence of the Soviet Union it is impossible for the national liberation movements to succeed»²¹, as well as all the «theories» of this kind, elaborated by the leadership of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union and its chief Brezhnev, are meant to pump the Soviet working people full of aggressive nationalism and to line them up for the realization of its hegemonic aims, by cultivating among them the idea of the Soviet «superstate».

After the foregoing, which is very clear evidence of the bourgeois, fascist class character of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union, mention here of the anti-Marxist «theories» about the «non-capitalist road» of development and the «road of socialist orientation», which are allegedly being followed by many developing countries and which are propagated by the Soviet revisionists, as well as mention of the ulterior aims hidden behind them, seem somewhat pale as arguments to show the real, counter-revolutionary

bourgeois class character of the Soviet revisionist party. Nevertheless, if we take into account that in his life-time V.I. Lenin fought similar views and stressed «the need for a determined struggle against attempts to give a communist colouring to bourgeois-democratic liberation trends in the backward countries»²²⁾, then the real aim of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union, which with such «theories» intends to drive the developing countries into economic and political dependence on the socialimperialist state and to transform them into its vassal regions, can be understood. Not wishing to prolong this, we think we may draw the conclusion: as can be seen clearly from all that has been said, all the revisionist parties, whether in power or not, are typically counterrevolutionary bourgeois parties, parties of national and social betrayal, social-chauvinist and even social-fascist parties.

This conclusion emerges, first of all, from the ideology that inspires them, which is the bourgeois ideology, in its revisionist variant, and from the strategy they follow, which is intended to perpetuate the capitalist order where it is in power, in the bourgeois and in the revisionist countries (in regard to the Soviet Union also to extend its domination and secure its hegemony all over the world), and also to restore capitalism where the dictatorship of the proletariat exists. This conclusion emerges also from the policy pursued by all the revisionist parties, of which one group, the parties which are not in power, seek to occupy a place in the state power together with the other parties of the bourgeoisie, and to become administrators of the affairs of the bourgeoisie, trying to give it the maximum proofs of its loyalty, going so far as to assure it that, if they are represented in the government, they will follow the same internal and external policy which the existing governments are following; while among the other group, the parties which are in power, some are trying to hang on to the positions they have gained in the bourgeois state they run, although they have turned their countries into vassals of Moscow (as in the case of the former socialist

countries which are building their policy under the dictate of their Soviet bosses), while the revisionist party of the Soviet Union, in particular, is striving by means of the social-fascist and social-imperialist state to exert class and national, political and economic oppression and exploitation on the peoples and nations of «its» country, as well as on the peoples of the whole world, in order to ensure maximum profits for the class in power, for the new bureaucratic Soviet bourgeoisie. Finally, this conclusion emerges also from all the activity and all the attitudes, of the revisionist parties, on a national and international plane, activities and attitudes that only counterrevolutionary bourgeois parties could adopt.

II

The bourgeois character of the revisionist parties of all countries is obvious also from the social composition of these parties and their leaderships. And this is quite understandable: opportunism in the ideological and political field is always associated with opportunism in the organizational field.

And, in reality, this is what happened in all the revisionist parties, which violated all the principles and norms on which a true Marxist-Leninist party is built, stripped them of their Leninist, revolutionary spirit and content, and having distorted and transformed them into their opposite, into reactionary bourgeois, fascist principles and norms, used them, and still use them, as weapons to carry on their revisionist course and their counterrevolutionary policy and aims. Besides this, they also abandoned the teachings of Lenin in connection with care for the improvement of the quality of the members of the political party of the working class, which, in order to carry out its role as the revolutionary vanguard of the most revolutionary class, in order to lead the proletariat in the struggle against capitalism and in order to build communism, must include in its ranks the finest representatives of the class and masses oppressed in the conditions of capital, those and only those who are sincerely

devoted to communism. Thus, the revisionist parties opened their doors to all sorts of elements, to non-proletarian, white collar, intellectual and other elements, while at the same time, expelling revolutionary militants and workers.

Some revisionist parties which are not in power took from the revisionist arsenal of the past the idea of one big democrat party, open to all and to everybody, of a party which must follow the road of reforms and class collaboration, and in order to win as many votes as possible in the parliamentary elections, they admitted anybody of all into their ranks!

Let us take, for example, the revisionist party of France, from among the parties which are not in power, and see to what plight it has been reduced in theory and practice in regard to the social and ideological composition of its membership. Let us mention here, first of all, some theses and statements by George Marchais, from which it is obvious how the French revisionists conceive their party. Speaking of the need for a «strong» and «influential» party, Marchais says that this «presupposes... a very considerable increase in the ranks of the party», that «to carry out a great policy (implying: a policy of class compromise — my note — F.Sh.) requires a great party», that this will be achieved through «pluralism», which «is not only social», but also «philosophical and political», and, in this context, «the rapprochement between communists and christians assumes great importance»²³⁾, that «already a significant number of these people (christians — my note — F.Sh.) who... have not given up any of their beliefs, or their religious practices», as G. Marchais boasts, «are militating in the party...»²⁴⁾.

Hence the party of the «working class» is conceived by the revisionists not as a party with perfect organization, with steel discipline, with strong unity of thought and action, irreconcilable with the existence of factions and opportunist elements in its ranks, consisting of revolutionary elements, with a single ideology and philosophy, Marxism-Leninism, but as an amorphous party, as an assembly, in which «workers, office-employees, technicians,

peasants, teachers, a growing number of engineers, artisans and people of the cultural sector are united»²⁵), as an «assembly in which freedom of expression of ... many trends of opinion is respected»²⁶). And these anti-Marxist concepts about the party find their expression in practice, apart from other things, in the composition of the party. Let us refer to some recent data on the composition of the French revisionist party. It seems of interest at this point to mention the fact that, though this party is not in power, hence it directs neither the state, its various organs and institutions, nor the state administration, etc., at its 22nd Congress 42 per cent of its delegates were from among the ranks of officials and office workers, and if the number of self-employed professional people and students is added, they amount to 45 per cent. It must be stressed that this percentage does not include the delegates from all the strata of the petty-bourgeoisie. Of course, the Marxist-Leninists do not negate the admission to the party of elements from various petty-bourgeois strata, but, according to Marxism-Leninism, they can join the ranks of the party of the working class only if they put aside their interests as a class and embrace and defend the interests of the proletariat, if they fight for the interests of the proletariat and under the banner of the proletariat. But this is not the case with the French revisionist party which we mentioned above: it admits the strata of the petty-bourgeoisie **en masse, and as they are**, as strata of the petty-bourgeoisie, «they have even the right of a Constitution»²⁷). Here is another interesting fact concerning the composition of the French revisionist party, this time about the length of party membership of the delegates to the 22nd Congress of the party: 61 per cent of the delegates to this Congress had been admitted to the party from 1968 onwards, 83 per cent since 1958²⁸). This means that almost all the delegates were elements educated and formed not on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory, but on the basis of the revisionist theses and the practice of the revisionist betrayal of the proletariat. And this is quite understandable. It was not for nothing that, at the 21st Congress of his party,

the anti-Marxist Marchais had declared: «Our party has never demanded of Frenchmen and women, who wished to become communists, whether they had read and assimilated Marx, Engels, Lenin. It would be absurd to do such a thing today» (!).

Many other interesting facts could be brought up about the composition of the French revisionist party, as well as about the concepts about the party and the composition of the revisionist parties in the other bourgeois capitalist countries. But we think that what we have mentioned is sufficient to indicate that, from this viewpoint, too, all the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries are bourgeois parties, of the social-democrat type, such as to serve the implementation of their reformist, counterrevolutionary policy, the implementation of the policy of sacrificing the interests of the proletariat in favour of the interests of «their own» bourgeoisie, and the international bourgeoisie.

The situation in the revisionist parties which are in power, in regard to their concepts and practices on the organization of the party and the social composition of the party as a whole and of the leadership, in particular, is essentially the same as that of the revisionist parties which are operating in the bourgeois capitalist countries.

It must be said that in these directions, too, among the revisionist parties in power, the Yugoslav and Soviet revisionists hold first place in revising Marxism-Leninism and the use of anti-Leninist practices. In order to justify and disguise the practices which led to the degeneration of the political parties which are in power in these countries and their transformation into bourgeois parties, both the revisionist party of Yugoslavia and the revisionist party of the Soviet Union have invented many «theories», which were and are intended to deny in practice the proletarian class character of the party of the working class.

In regard to the organization of the party, the Yugoslav revisionists have brought out the most varied anti-Leninist versions. We need go no further than to mention here that the 4th Plenum, following the 7th Congress of the Communist League of Yugosla-

via, speaking about what this revisionist party represented, said:

«Now its basis has changed to the point that we can say: no longer the representative of the working class, but the working class itself». It is obvious that this is a thoroughly liquidatory thesis, because it completely eliminates the distinction between the party of the working class, as its organized vanguard, and the working class itself. And liquidatory views are bound to lead to liquidatory practices. In fact, a good 20 years ago in stigmatizing the views of Kardelj and Tito, that the role of the party was simply an educational one, as hostile and liquidatory views, comrade Enver Hoxha said: «**There** (in Yugoslavia — my note — F.Sh.) **they have a central committee, and a few officials, while all the party apparatuses have been abolished**»²⁹). In fact this situation existed in Yugoslavia long before the 7th Congress of the Communist League of Yugoslavia, at which all the views and practices of the Yugoslav revisionists, including those about the party, were summed up and codified in the notorious programme of the Communist League of Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, at its 8th Congress, an openly anti-proletarian thesis was launched, and it was said that, «we do not idealize the workers», «but they interest us as bannerbearers of class interests»; in other words, the phrases about the working class are used by the Yugoslav revisionists for the sake of demagoguery, in order to preserve their proletarian disguise. And at the 9th Congress it was declared openly that the revisionist party of Yugoslavia «also began the process of change and transforming itself from a classical party into an ideological-political leadership organization of a new type». There is no need to explain what the Yugoslav revisionists imply with the term «classical party», because everybody now knows that for them the «classical party» is the party of the Leninist type, which requires, among other things, the preservation of the class criterion in the structure and composition of the party, but which, according to the Yugoslav revisionists, «has become obsolete». Therefore, to confront the party of the Leninist type, they bring up the «new party» of the type of the Communist League of Yu-

goslavia, which they propagate as the example of the true «communist» party.

In keeping with these anti-Marxist concepts on the structure of the party, the Yugoslav revisionists began to flood the party with «cultured» people, with technocrats, bureaucrats, careerists etc., who now rule the roost in this party of the bourgeoisie, whose members, as Tito himself has admitted, «hanker after the Dinar». And as a result of these «theories» and practices, the so-called Communist League of Yugoslavia is nothing but an amorphous party, in which even one of the fundamental requirements of being member of the communist party, such as the payment of membership dues, over which Lenin waged a great struggle with the opponents of Marxism-Leninism nearly three-quarters of a century ago, is not observed. Thus, for instance, in 1969, in Croatia 34 per cent, and in Macedonia 74 per cent of the members of the Communist League did not pay their membership dues. And this phenomenon continues: in 1972, in Croatia 25 per cent and in Macedonia 40 per cent of the members did not pay their dues. Besides this, the Yugoslav revisionist party is being eroded by factions, which, as Tito himself was obliged to admit at the 10th Congress of the League, «were becoming consolidated organizationally» and striving to instigate «the struggle for power», just as he was obliged to admit, also, the tendencies to «the transformation of the organization into a sort of debating club».

We deem it important to mention also the class concept of the Yugoslav revisionists concerning the role of the intelligentsia in the party, a concept which was expressed at their 10th Congress. «We must also liquidate the tendencies to the division of the workers from the intelligentsia, which ... is a constituent part of the working class. The intellectual creators... have always had an important and distinguished place in the Communist League...», said that Congress.

Now, on the basis of the data from the 10th Congress, let us see what place the workers occupy in the Yugoslav revisionist party: in the end of 1960, workers occupied 36.1 per cent, by the end of 1970 — 29.9 per cent, and by

the end of the year 1972 — 28.7 per cent. This decline is caused not only as a result of the fewer admissions of workers, but also as a result of expulsions and of workers resigning from the party, and there are many resignations. Thus, the percentage of workers expelled or resigning voluntarily has been: in 1969 — 51.3 per cent, in 1970 — 47 per cent, in 1972 — 40 per cent of the total expulsions. As for the peasant members («agricultural producers» as they are called in Yugoslavia), in 1960 they represented 13 per cent of total membership of the League, and in 1970 — 6.5 per cent.

While not wishing to dwell at greater length on other such figures, which are a very significant indication of the policy in connection with the social composition and class character of a political party, we want to stress that even the many resignations of workers from the CLY, which according to the figures of the Yugoslav revisionists themselves, up till 1973, reached ten to fifteen thousand workers per year, are an indication of the bourgeois class nature of the League, because it is evident that nobody has reason to leave a party which expresses and defends the interests of his class. But in reality, from every viewpoint, the CLY has long been a political party of the Yugoslav bourgeoisie and expresses the interests of this class, while barbarously oppressing the working class and the other masses of the working people of Yugoslavia and exploiting them to the bone.

In regard to the revisionist party of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist parties in power, it is important to stress that their proletarian social composition has been changed in favour of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the other exploiting strata by following an anti-proletarian policy of admissions and expelling revolutionary militants and workers from the party *en masse*, under the cloak of the renewal of party cards, and so on.

The «theory» which they invented about the «party of the entire people», which was intended precisely to negate the proletarian class character of the workers' party, assisted the Soviet revisionists to admit the maximum number of non-proletarian elements and

to transform the party into a party of officials, bureaucrats, and technocrats. Thus, abandoning the teachings of Lenin, who said that, «**We shall never rely on the intellectuals, we shall rely on the vanguard of the proletariat that leads all the workers and poor peasants**»³⁰), ... «**we say the proletariat will set the pace**»³¹), ... «**we are apprehensive of an excessive growth of the Party, because careerists and charlatans, who deserve only to be shot, inevitably do all they can to insinuate themselves into the ranks of the ruling party**»³²), the revisionist party of the Soviet Union stresses the major role of the intelligentsia, the technocrats, and the bureaucrats in the development of the present-day Soviet society, in the «phase of the construction of the developed socialist society» of the Soviet Union, and this also finds expression in the social composition of the party, and especially of its leading organs.

In fact, one of the chief characteristics of the Soviet capitalist society is that the present Soviet Union is ruled by a caste of bureaucrats and technocrats, which has all the links and leading levels of the party, the state, the economy, culture, etc., firmly in its grasp. The figures given at the 25th Congress of the Soviet revisionist party, speak very clearly about this, as well as about the non-proletarian composition of the party. Thus, in the total membership of this party, white-collar workers make up 44.5 per cent, whereas the specific weight of students admitted to the party between the 24th and 25th Congresses increased 2.3 per cent. If we mention that, according to figures provided by the Soviet revisionists themselves, the overwhelming majority of those admitted to the higher schools are the children of city intellectuals, including state officials (in the Novosibirsk region, for example, 82 per cent of the students who graduate from the middle schools come from this category, while only 18 per cent are children of collective farmers, or state farm workers), the trend to increasing intellectual technocrat influence in the Soviet revisionist party becomes even more obvious. Technocratism and the bourgeois class character of this party is still more clearly seen in the social composition

of its leading organs: 99.5 per cent of the secretaries of the CC's of the Republics, regions and districts are intellectuals, of whom 70 per cent are engineers, agronomists, or technicians³³). According to official figures, only 41.6 per cent of the members of the Soviet revisionist party are workers. But here we must remember the fact that the Soviet revisionists, like the Yugoslav, Polish, and other revisionists, consider and reckon as workers also the chiefs of factories and various other managers of production, in general that stratum which, according to the Marxist-Leninist concept, constitutes the worker aristocracy in the capitalist countries. And it must be said that the renegade Brezhnev is trying to present this situation, which is evidence of the fact that the working class in the Soviet Union has ceased to be the ruling class and a very clear confirmation of the leading role of the bureaucrats and technocrats, as a «qualitative improvement» of the party, which, in reality, from the aspects of its composition, too, has been transformed completely into a bourgeois party, just as the whole of Soviet society has become bourgeois down to its tiniest pores, as comrade Enver Hoxha put it at the 7th Congress of the PLA.

The same phenomena has been and is observed in the revisionist party of Poland, too, in which within 20 years the percentage of the workers in the party dropped from 60 to 40, and in which in just three years, from 1956 to 1959, the Gomulka clique expelled 47.6 per cent of the party membership of the year 1956.

On the basis of figures from the 7th Congress of the Polish revisionist party it emerges that its composition has undergone great changes, which have led to the increase of bourgeois and counterrevolutionary elements in its ranks. In the period between the 3rd and 7th Congress, 2,300,000 new members were admitted to the ranks of the Polish revisionist party, of whom 40 per cent were workers, but at the same time 600,000 workers were expelled³⁴). All this movement has brought about that the bourgeois element prevails in this party. The main method for the transformation of the proletarian composition of the Polish

party has been the expulsion *en masse* of, and the very few new admissions from among, the workers. Moreover, it must be stressed that even those workers admitted have been chosen from among those who may follow the revisionist policy, untested workers with petty-bourgeois views, whereas the revolutionary workers who have understood the bourgeois character of the Polish revisionist party are leaving this party which has betrayed the interests and ideals of the working class.

Since mass expulsions and mass admissions have been carried out in this party, proceeding from criteria alien to the proletarian party, and since many revolutionary workers have resigned from the party, it is clear that the Polish revisionist party has become a completely «new» party, a typically bourgeois party, in which even the worker aristocracy, or the untested workers with petty-bourgeois concepts, constitute a minority. Technocrats, intellectuals, rich and middle peasants predominate in the composition of this party. Let us quote an example here to illustrate this reality of the present state of the Polish revisionist party. At the 7th Congress of this party, amongst the delegates there figured a certain Zigmund Stan-kowsky, a delegate from the countryside, who was considered to be the poorest among the delegates. This delegate, «thanks to his work», has equipped his home with a TV set, a refrigerator, two modern electric kitchen-ranges, a radio, a tape recorder, a telephone, a truck and a trailer. At that time, he was in the process of building a 6 roomed house as well as stables for his livestock, and he has 9 hectares of land as his private property. We think this needs no comment, because the significance of this case is self-evident: when the poorest of the delegates to the Congress lives in such conditions, which even give him the possibility to exploit others, it is clear that the party which is holding the congress is nothing but a party of the bourgeoisie of town and countryside, which savagely oppresses and exploits the workers and poor peasants.

This is also borne out by the strikes and protests of workers, such as the events of last June in the cities of Radom and Ursus, which developed

into bloody clashes and were directed against the bases of the existing state, as were the clashes of the year 1970 in the Baltic ports, etc., because it is understood that the working class does not rise in strikes, revolts, and protests against the state, if it is its own state and if it is led by its own party. Therefore, the uprising of the workers in strikes and revolts against the savage exploitation of the new bourgeoisie in Poland, as well as in the various Republics of the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries, is a clear testimony to the fact that the revisionist parties in power in all these countries are typically counter-revolutionary bourgeois parties.

* * *

To conclude: it is known, but we underline it, that all the revisionist parties, whether or not in power, are doing their utmost to preserve their disguises at all costs and style themselves parties of «the working class», and «communist» parties. They need their disguises and demagoguery in order to blunt the vigilance of the working class, to lull it to sleep, to paralyse its revolutionary thinking and action. The-

refore, the task of the Marxist-Leninist parties and of all Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries is to uncover and expose the real counterrevolutionary bourgeois content of the revisionist parties, to wage consistent struggle against them; therefore, as comrade Enver Hoxha put it at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «... the deepening of that great polemic which began after the 1960 Moscow Meeting, constitutes an important and imperative duty for all Marxist-Leninists, for all true revolutionaries»³⁵). In the present conditions, when the revisionist parties are striving in every way to preserve their Marxist-Leninist façades, it is necessary to make it clear to the proletariat in all the bourgeois and revisionist capitalist countries that its unity, which is indispensable for the proletarian social revolution, can be realized only by the truly revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party, only in determined struggle against all other parties, bourgeois, social-democrat, or revisionist; the proletariat must be shown that the revisionist parties are betrayers of its interests, the revolution, and socialism, and that the leaders of these parties, who seek to safeguard their reputation as Marxist-Leninist and communists in the

eyes of the workers, are the greatest traitors and renegades history has ever known. In the present conditions, especially, when the question of the proletarian revolution has been put on the agenda in practice and is not just an aspiration of the working class, it is essential to show the workers that «the working class cannot achieve its revolutionary world aim without waging merciless struggle against this apostasy»³⁶); the urgent need to break with revisionism and every kind of opportunism, must be explained to the masses of workers as well as the absolute necessity of placing themselves under the leadership of genuine communist parties. Because, as comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 7th Congress of our Party, in the great and difficult struggle against world imperialism, social imperialism, the capitalist bourgeoisie, and world reaction, the proletariat «must act in close unity, but the unity of its ranks is achieved only by faithfully following and applying the Marxist-Leninist doctrine»³⁷), only by placing itself under the leadership of revolutionary political parties of the working class, true Marxist-Leninist parties, which base their line, policy, and all their activity on the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat.

1. Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the Party, p. 236
2. V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 20, p. 62
3. V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 258
- 4, 5, 6. George Marchais, Report at the 22nd Congress of the French revisionist party
7. G.C. Payetta, «Europeo» magazine, N° 24, 1974
8. E. Berlinguer, «Unità» newspaper, June 4, 1974
9. G. Amendola, «Europeo» magazine, N° 4, 1974
10. TASS Agency, March 17, 1977
11. Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, page 227
12. V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 28, p. 458
13. V. I. Lenin, *ibid.*, p. 371
14. All quotations on the necessity for the unity of revisionists with social-democrats, mentioned on pages 10 and 11 are taken from B. Ponomarev's article «Facing an Historic Alternative», published in the Soviet magazine «Kommunist», N° 17, year 1976.
15. V. I. Lenin, «Materialism and Empirio-criticism», 1955, p. 222
16. V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, pp. 186-187
17. «Pravda», March 1, 1977
18. V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 25, p. 404
19. V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 32, p. 274
20. A. Viktorov's article «The historic Mission of the Working Class», «Pravda», March 1, 1977
21. B. Ponomarev's article in the magazine «Kommunist»
22. V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 149
- 23, 24, 25, 26. George Marchais, Report to the 22nd Congress of the French revisionist party
27. Bernard Lisbonne, Revisionist «Defenders» of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, p. 43
28. *Ibid.* p. 44
29. Enver Hoxha, Works, Vol. 14, p. 330
30. V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 28, p. 214
31. *Ibid.*, p. 215
32. V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 47
33. Magazine «Partijnaja zhiznj», N° 14, year 1976, p. 17
34. All data concerning the Polish revisionist party are taken from the magazine «The Red Flag», N° 1, February 1976
35. Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 226
36. V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 28, p. 233
37. Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 239.

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION - THE ONLY ROAD OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

by **ZIJA XHOLI**

Crises, degeneration, corruption are inevitable fellow-travellers of capitalism and have their roots in this system of oppression and exploitation. The only way out is that which Marxism-Leninism has disclosed and verified. This road is the socialist revolution, the violent overthrow of the imperialist-revisionist bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat

THE 7TH CONGRESS OF THE PLA, THE HISTORIC REPORT OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, AND ALL ITS OTHER DOCUMENTS ARE A PROFOUNDLY PRINCIPLED SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS, FULL OF REVOLUTIONARY CONCLUSIONS, OF THE SITUATIONS IN WHICH THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY AND THE ENTIRE PRESENT-DAY COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT IN THE WORLD ARE DEVELOPING. ONE OF THESE CONCLUSIONS IS THE THESIS THAT «THE WORLD IS AT A STAGE WHEN THE QUESTION OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION OF THE PEOPLES IS NOT ONLY AN ASPIRATION AND A PERSPECTIVE, BUT ALSO A PROBLEM TAKEN UP FOR SOLUTION».

In their theoretical works, Marx and Engels made an analysis of the internal mechanism of capitalist society, delved into its deepest secrets and discovered that the capitalist order is moving irrevocably towards its destruction, that this destruction will be the deed of the proletariat which will carry out the socialist

revolution and set up its own dictatorship. The development of history has fully confirmed Marx's conclusion. Capitalism very soon revealed its incurable ills. It quickly became an arena of fierce class battles for the revolution, for the establishment of the proletarian state power.

The new features which capitalism gained with its transition to imperialism made all the irreconcilable inter-

nal contradictions of capitalism even deeper, turned capitalism into a decaying and expiring order, into an order which is on the eve of the revolution. «Imperialism,» said Lenin, «is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat. Beginning from 1917 this has been confirmed on a world scale».

Lenin's analysis of imperialism preserves all its force and validity, his forecast that the social revolution of the proletariat is the only alternative, remains unshaken to this day. Day by day from the world of capital and the bourgeoisie comes gloomy news, many open or indirect signs, which speak of the increasing severity of all the basic contradictions of imperialism, between the all-powerful monopolies and the masses of

currency crisis in which the whole system of payments and exchanges is floundering, show with the greatest clarity that the capitalist system based on the absolute power of insatiable monopolies is incapable of administering the productive forces of society, that it destroys them *en masse*, depriving society of any possibility of development. The capitalist system remains what it has always been, a system of exploitation of man by man, a system of mass misery and poverty, a system that takes a toll of millions and millions of lives. By its very existence, imperialism turns the proletariat into an opposition force, inevitably drives it towards the revolution, leaves it no other way of salvation but to rise against the system and establish its own dictatorship, the dictatorship of the proletariat, by violence.

The other typical contradiction of capitalism, too, the contradiction among the imperialist powers for the division and the redivision of the world, has now become fiercer than ever. Today, such superpowers as U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism confront each other with unprecedented savagery. With their policy of expansion and hegemony, their frenzied arms race to equip themselves with the most powerful weapons, they have become a permanent danger, a daily threat to the freedom and security of many peoples, big or small, distant or near at hand, on all continents. As long as it exists, no imperialism can give up its aggressive tendency. Aggression is the very nature of imperialism. With the pressure they exert on the peoples, with the plots they hatch up everyday against their freedom and independence, with the new world war they are actively preparing, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have become the main enemies of the peoples. In these circumstances, the peoples have no alternative but to throw themselves into the liberation struggle, the proletariat has no alternative but to rise in violent revolution and establish its state power. The triumph over the bourgeois-

sie of its own country is also the principal condition for the proletariat to cope with the threat posed by the two superpowers. The bourgeoisie of the various countries is linked in one way or another with this or that superpower. This makes it absolutely essential that the proletariat, which is moving towards the revolution, while fighting its own bourgeoisie, must not forget the danger that threatens it from the superpowers, and while fighting against the threat posed by the superpowers, it must not forget its own bourgeoisie that oppresses and exploits it. The struggle against its own bourgeoisie and the struggle against the threat from the superpowers do not constitute two different problems, but two aspects of the same problem, which only the revolution of the proletariat and its state power can solve once and for all.

Just as in the past, world imperialism, especially the two most rapacious and most savage imperialisms of our time, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, cannot do without the oppression and exploitation of their own peoples, or without the oppression and exploitation of other peoples of entire continents, such as Asia, Africa and Latin America, which at one time were 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 some areas of the world, such as Vietnam and Cambodia, US imperialism has sustained irreparable defeats. But this does not diminish the imperialist threat to these peoples, does not remove their national liberation struggle from the order of the day. In their frenzied contest for exploitation, domination and hegemony, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism follow a typically colonialist and neo-colonialist policy. They are ready to use any intrigue or blackmail in order to embroil these countries in their spheres of influence, to set up military bases in them, to transform them into bases for aggression and intimidation. Besides this, the grave eco-

the working people, between imperialism and the oppressed peoples, and among the imperialists themselves. They testify to the deepening of the general crisis that has seized all aspects of bourgeois-revisionist society, whether economic and political, or ideological and cultural, its entire base and superstructure.

The closing down and bankruptcy of hundreds and thousands of factories and plants in all capitalist countries without exception and, on this basis, the ever increasing chronic unemployment of millions and millions of workers (more than 100 million today), the increasing cost of living that is rising not just each year, but each month and day, the anarchy of production which is assuming ever greater proportions, the monetary and

economic crisis that has gripped the imperialist world makes the imperialist powers more desperate and savage in their efforts to get their claws on the economic and human resources of those countries and to shift the burden of the crisis on to their backs. The situation becomes even more tragic when, in many countries, such as Brazil, Thailand, Indonesia, Chile, etc., fascist dictatorial regimes which have turned into tools of imperialism have been placed at the head of affairs and carry out an open doors policy, the policy of betrayal of the supreme interests of the peoples of their countries. All these circumstances arouse the peoples and throw them into the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle. As long as it is spearheaded against world imperialism, and especially, against the most savage, the most aggressive imperialism, such as U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the national liberation movement of the peoples of the world is the natural ally and a powerful reserve of the proletarian revolution, just as the proletarian revolution and the truly socialist countries are the reliable support of the revolutionary struggle and liberation movements of the peoples.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that, in the present epoch, the world is divided into two diametrically opposite worlds that stand confronting each other: the world of the proletariat, of the revolution and socialism, to which the working class and all the oppressed peoples have turned their eyes, and the world of the bourgeoisie, of the imperialist-revisionist counter-revolution, to which all the counter-revolutionary forces, with the two world gendarmes, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism at the head, are looking. A correct materialist class concept of the present-day social reality rules out any other perspective of development and advance apart from that of the revolution and of the anti-imperialist liberation movement.

On the question of the assessment of our epoch, of the relationship among classes in the world, and as a consequence, of the strategy and tactics of the proletariat and its party, the PLA upholds the thesis of Lenin who, as long ago as 1921, when only one socialist state, Soviet Russia, existed in the world, wrote: «In the world today there exist two worlds, the old world of capitalism, that is in a state of confusion but which will never surrender, and the rising new world, which is still very weak, but which will grow, for it is invincible.» In the light of this clear thesis of Lenin and a whole dialectical materialist conception of history one sees how groundless is the so-called theory of «three worlds». Theoretically, this anti-Leninist thesis is mistaken because it gives a distorted picture of the present-day world and of the real class tendencies operating in it; politically and practically, it is harmful because, by ignoring socialism as a social system, it ignores the most profound contradiction of the times, that between socialism and capitalism, which 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. Whereas the Marxist-Leninist conception of our epoch and its contradictions, which are: the contradiction between labour and capital in the capitalist countries; the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and nations and imperialism; the contradictions among the imperialist powers, argues in favour of the proletarian revolution and opens brilliant prospects for it, the anti-Leninist theories of the «three worlds», of «non-involvement», etc., are intended to impede the revolution, to put down the struggle against imperialism and social imperialism, to split the Marxist-Leninist movement and the unity of the proletariat.

A meaningful fact which shows that there is no way out apart from the

revolution of the proletariat is the systematic and continual failure of the plans of the imperialist-revisionist governments to escape from the crisis. In every imperialist-revisionist country without exception, from the United States to Japan, from the Soviet Union to the European revisionist countries, inflation is growing, the cost of living is rising, unemployment is spreading, degeneration is becoming more rampant and reaction more savage day by day and year by year. The underlying cause of the successive failures in every capitalist-revisionist country is that the governments try to solve their contradictions and escape from the crisis in the conditions of the existing capitalist-revisionist order, while preserving this order. This is an impossible task. Crises, degeneration, and corruption are inevitable fellow-travellers of capitalism and have their roots in this system of oppression and exploitation. The only way out is that which Marxism-Leninism has disclosed and verified, that which the PLA has consistently defended and which it defended again at its 7th Congress. This road is the socialist revolution, the violent overthrow of the imperialist-revisionist bourgeoisie, 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 help and collaboration of the revisionist parties and reformist tradeunions. The revisionist parties of Italy and France, of Spain and Portugal have long ceased talking about the revolution and the proletariat. Instead of the violent revolution of the proletariat, the Italian revisionists talk about and strive for the «historic compromise», for alliance with the principal bourgeois parties of Italy. On their part, the French revisionists allege that, in the conditions of present-day capitalism, the proletariat no longer exists, that it has become a working class, and that, consequently, the transition to so-

cialism will be brought about through the development of bourgeois freedoms and democracy. In the theses of the French revisionists and their chief, Marchais, there is nothing original. They are merely a revival of the illusions spread by the father of modern revisionism, the renegade Kautsky, and criticised and exposed by Lenin. As Lenin explained, there is no such thing as pure democracy. Any kind of democracy is the dictatorship of one class to suppress another class. In this sense, bourgeois democracy, too, is nothing but a dictatorship in the hands of the bourgeoisie to suppress the working class and the masses of the working people. Lenin also showed who created and who needed the illusion about «pure democracy». «It is valuable to the bourgeoisie,» explained Lenin, «which needs it to hide the bourgeois character of the present-day democracy from the people, to represent it as universal democracy, as pure democracy, and in repeating this the Scheidemanns, like the Kautskys, in reality are abandoning the viewpoint of the proletariat and taking the side of the bourgeoisie». Against Kautsky's bourgeois stand, Lenin raised the proletarian revolutionary perspective, the perspective of the replacement of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, even if it is disguised as «the most democratic republic», with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Since Lenin wrote these lines many years have gone by and many events have taken place, all of which have proved that «pure democracy», «democracy for everyone» is an utter fraud. In reality it is one form of its dictatorship which the bourgeoisie maintains as long as it is useful to it and abandons as soon as its interests require that it go over 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 masses of the working people of these countries and the world proletariat that bourgeois legality and bourgeois de-

mocracy are not the slightest impediment to the bourgeoisie, when the time comes for it, to establish its fascist dictatorship and drown the liberation struggle of the proletariat and the broad masses of the working people in blood.

In the light of Lenin's teachings, in the light of the materialist-dialectical analysis of the situation in the capitalist-revisionist countries quickening with revolution, it is clear that the road of «transition to socialism» through the «economic competition» preached by the Soviet revisionists, through the «historic compromise» advertised by the Italian revisionists, and through the «extension of bourgeois freedoms and democracy» publicized by the French revisionists, are the roads of renegades from the proletarian revolution, of traitors to Marxism-Leninism, roads of complete submission to capitalist domination.

Lenin worked out and developed the theory of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as all the other major problems of the revolutionary theory and practice, in struggle against open or disguised defenders of capitalism. Lenin stressed that «the only Marxist line in the workers' movement of the world» is «to make clear to the masses the absolute and inevitable necessity of breaking with opportunism, to educate them for the revolution through a merciless struggle against opportunism». The PLA has placed this Leninist tradition of ruthless exposure of, and irreconcilable struggle against, the revisionist enemies of Marxism-Leninism at the foundation of all its activity. It continued this tradition at its 7th Congress. In his report to the Congress, comrade Enver Hoxha ripped up, one by one, all the disguises revisionism assumes today, ranging from the open anti-communism of Marcuse and Garaudy to that of Berlinguer, Marchais and Carillo, from the pseudo-socialism of the Soviet revisionists to that of the Yugoslav revisionists. He showed the great danger that modern revisionism poses

for the life of the peoples, the cause of freedom and socialism in the world. The fight against revisionism has been and still is an indispensable precondition for the triumph of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

How many times, in the course of the century or so, since the name of Marx became known and Marxism was born, have the reactionaries and revisionists declared socialism as «buried»! How loudly they are trumpeting that «revolution has become unnecessary», that «capitalism is no longer what it was before», that «it has found within itself the strength to emerge from the crisis»! How many times has Marxism-Leninism been declared «obsolete», left behind by «new creative doctrines» which allegedly respond to the new circumstances and conditions! However, the dialectics of history has developed in such a way that the enemies of Marxism have suffered defeat and been exterminated, that those who denied it have been forgotten and nobody spares them a thought, (except, perhaps unkind ones), while the cause of the proletariat and revolution has been built up with greater power and vitality.

The present situation in the world is turbulent. The policy and activity of the imperialist bourgeoisie, especially of the imperialist bourgeoisie of the two superpowers, are the real cause of this grave situation. The difficulties and obstacles which the class struggle of the proletariat has to overcome are great. But through these difficulties and obstacles the socialist revolution is advancing and the liberation struggle of the peoples is mounting. «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 that can stop their coming about». With this assurance the proletariat is living and fighting today on the barricades of the class struggle and the revolution.

People's press day

On August 25, 1942, in the heat of the antifascist national liberation war, the first issue was published of the newspaper «Zëri i popullit», organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania, today the Party of Labour of Albania.

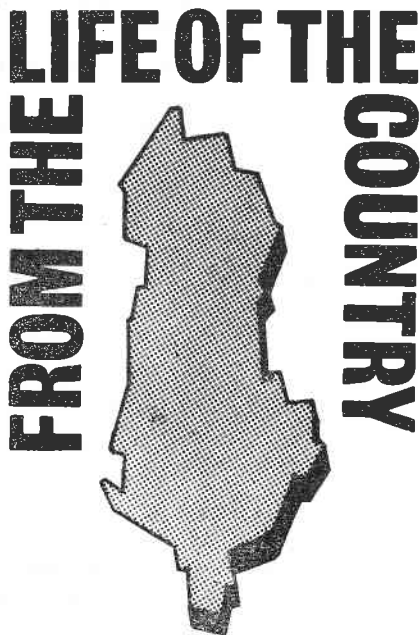
This was a very important event not only for the Communist Party of Albania but also for the whole Albanian people. From its founding the Communist Party of Albania placed itself at the head of the whole people against the fascist occupiers and traitors to the country, therefore «Zëri i Popullit» was not only the newspaper of the communists but also of all the working masses of Albania, of all Albanian patriots who hated fascism and dreamed of a free and independent Albania. «Zëri i Popullit» performed its mission honourably. Although it was published illegally, although it was distributed illegally in the conditions of the savagest fascist terror, it became the banner of the communists and all the working masses, and mobilized all the genuine patriots in the great struggle for freedom and social progress. Inspired by the teachings of the party, under the direct leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha, «Zëri i Popullit» set the hearts of the workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals ablaze, enlightened them with the most revolutionary ideas, mobilized all the forces of the people in the anti-fascist war, and, at the same time, sowed the seed of the new society which would be born in Albania after the liberation of the country. In this way, «Zëri i Popullit» and the other organs which came out later such as «Bashkimi», «Kushtrimi i Lirisë», etc., were very dear for the people who waited their publication impatiently, read and distributed them to the most remote corners of the country. After liberation, too, «Zëri i Popullit» and the

other organs performed their lofty mission very well as powerful weapons of the Party for the education of the working masses with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and mobilizing them in the great struggle in defence of the freedom and independence of the country and the construction of socialism.

As the organ of the Central Committee of the Party, «Zëri i Popullit» has always been an example for all the organs of the people's press in Albania, therefore the anniversary of the publication of its first issue was proclaimed as Albanian People's Press Day, and is celebrated every year with many activities.

This year was the 35th anniversary of the publication of the first issue of the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit», therefore it was celebrated with more than usual prominence. Many different activities took place in the framework of the jubilee. All the press, Radio and TV, and the Albanian Telegraphic Agency organized talks and meetings with readers, voluntary correspondents and collaborators, held broad meetings which dealt with the importance of the press and the widest possible participation of the working people in it, etc. Visits were organized also to the places where the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» and other organs were published illegally, as well as talks with veterans of the press who related how the underground paper «Zëri i Popullit» was printed and distributed and the love with which the working people welcomed the newspaper which carried the fiery words of the Party.

Many central and local organs organized scientific sessions on the occasion about the experience gained in the work at which ideas on how to advance the work of the press were expressed. A scientific session about



all the organs of the press was organized on August 24, in Tirana. Attending were journalists, correspondents, workers of the central press organs, ATA and Radio TV, local organs of the press, and the Radio, etc. Also present were Ramiz Alia, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Qirjako Mihali, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and First Secretary of Tirana district Party Committee, etc.

Agim Popa, editor-in-chief of the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» declared the scientific session open. He spoke about the Albanian press as the work of the Party of Labour of Albania and as a powerful weapon to carry its line to the masses. Then a series of papers were delivered on different problems of the reflection of the life of the country and the directives of the Party in the press.

In the framework of the 35th anniversary of the publication of the first issue of the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» many sports and artistic activities were organized, in which thousands of sportsmen and artists participated. An exhibition was opened, too, which brought out very well the extension of the press in Albania and the improvement of its quality.

The celebrations of the 35th anniversary of the publication of the first issue of the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit», People's Press Day in Albania, served to link the organs of the press more closely with the people and mobilize the press workers to put into practice the teachings of the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha, to make the press organs torch-bearers of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist thought in all the fields of life.

In its editorial devoted to People's Press Day entitled: «Tribune of the great and vital Party-people consultation», «Zëri i Popullit» writes: our revolutionary press is the deed of the Party. From its birth in the days of the savage fascist occupation, it


became a part of the general cause of the Party. In the glorious days of the great epic of the anti-fascist national liberation war, in illegal conditions, by always giving sympathetic expression to the deepest aspirations of the people, our press became the closest assistant of the Party in mobilizing the masses in the struggle for national and social liberation and a powerful weapon for the exposure and branding of the fascists and the traitors to the country, in order to achieve the historic victory of November 29, 1944.

Since the years of the war, our press has been just as close and dear to the people and has always fulfilled its mission with honour because it has always been under the constant care of the Party, of its leadership and comrade Enver Hoxha personally, who was the first editor of the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit», the founder and promoter of our new press. From the first issue of the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» onward, comrade Enver Hoxha has not only guided our press with special instructions but, through various editorials and other articles, has himself put forward and analysed the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party about fundamental problems in the pages of the press. With his articles, which are models of revolutionary Albanian journalism, the beloved leader of the Party and people, comrade Enver Hoxha, has given us a brilliant example of how to write clearly and with courage about everything, how to speak to the people, in order to touch their heart strings, how they can be aroused in struggle and in the revolution, how the views, demagogy and lies of the enemies must be attacked, how the characteristics of revolutionary propaganda, powerful Marxist-Leninist logic, the communist spirit of principle and revolutionary optimism, unwavering confidence in the triumph of the just cause of the proletariat and the people, should stand out in the articles of our press. 35 years have gone by since the time of the publication of the first issue

of the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit». In the post liberation years, our new press, with the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» at the head, has achieved great allround successes in quality and quantity. All the magnificent victories: the self-sufficiency in bread grain, or the production of the first Albanian iron and steel, the combines and plants, the powerful turbines of the hydropower stations, the electrification of all the villages, the new life in the highlands, the flowering of education and culture, the free health service, the education of the new man of our society, etc., achieved in the brilliant epoch of the Party, as comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «bear seal of our people's press, led by the Party». The great contribution of our people's press stands out, also, in the always triumphant struggle of the Party and the people against internal and external enemies, against old and new imperialism, modern revisionism, the bourgeoisie and international reaction. Just as it has always honourably performed its duty by the working class and the people, our press also has always performed its internationalist duty by international communism and freedom-loving peoples to the letter.

The road of our people's press is the road of the Party and the people under its leadership. Its successes are the successes of the Party, they are an expression of its correct Marxist-Leninist line, and its close ties with the masses. Our Party has called our press the tribune of the great and vital party-people consultation. By means of the press the Party and the people are in communication every day, every hour. Our press carries the line of the Party to the masses, educates them, mobilizes and guides them in their revolutionary activity. At the same time, our press has always been a real tribune of the masses, in which the voice, opinion and experience of the workers, cooperativists, people's intellectuals, army men, women, young men and women, find vivid reflection in the struggle for the construction of socialism, the all-

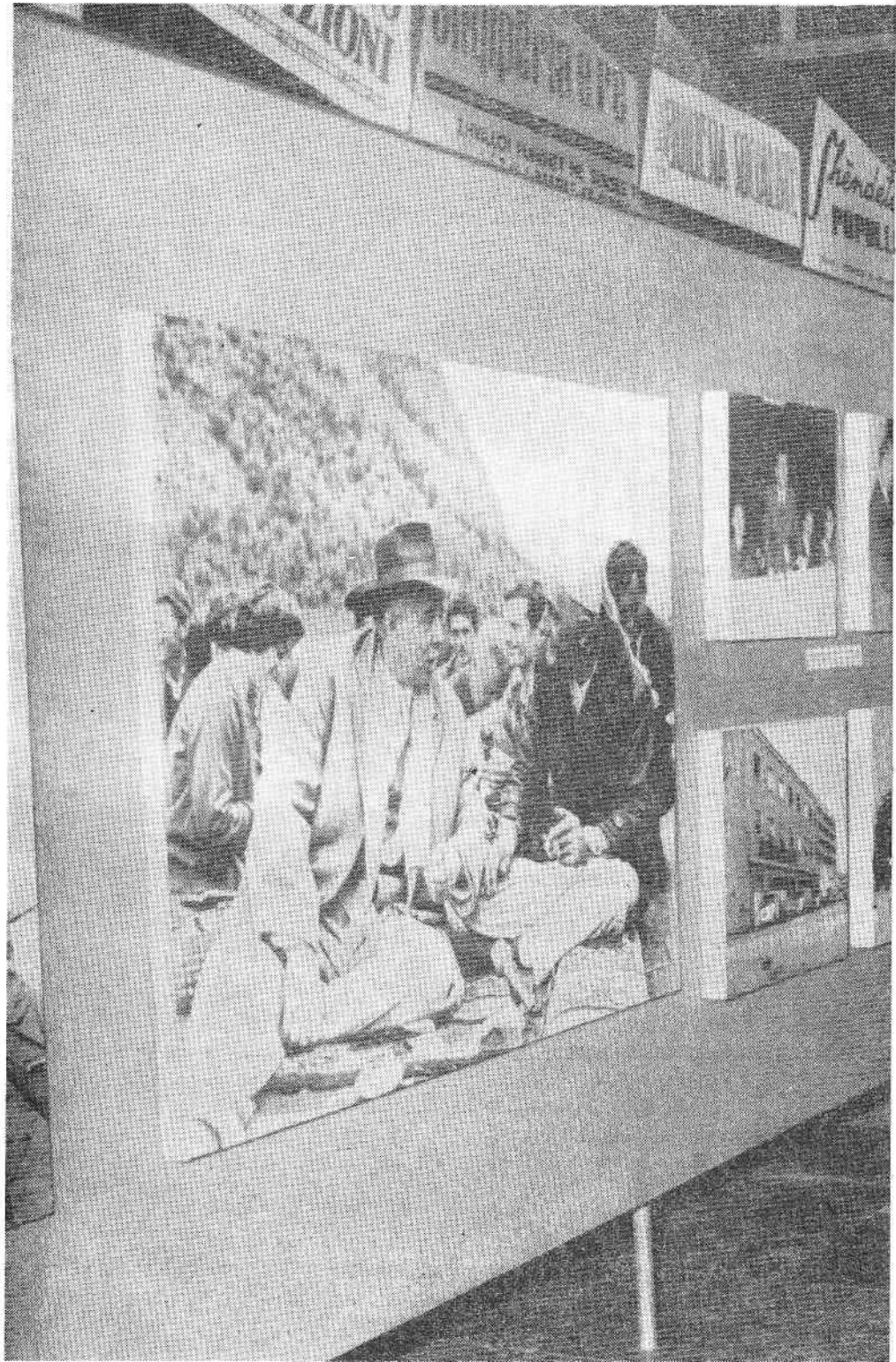
FROM THE
LIFE OF THE
COUNTRY



round strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the constant increase of the defence capacity of the homeland. By taking an active part in the class struggle, under the leadership of the Party, our press has been moulded with such revolutionary features as communist partisanship and lofty ideals, the commu-

nist spirit of principle and truth, irreconcilability with the enemies and their reactionary ideology, and the militant spirit of attack. These the Party has implanted deeply in our revolutionary press.

The historic moments we are passing through and the great tasks laid



down by the historic 7th Congress of the Party, demand from all the press workers that they ceaselessly increase their concern for the strengthening of these distinguishing features of our Marxist-Leninist press.

Let our pen support the pick and rifle, let us write simply, clearly and courageously about everything, just

like the people, just as the people want, with that great courage which characterizes our people, so that we march more impetuously on the road which the Party, Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha show us, march steadily forward with revolutionary drive, courage and optimism.

On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the Day of the Press an exhibition was inaugurated in the Palace of Culture of the Capital. In the photo: working people of the capital visiting the exhibition.





The new school year

On September 1st, the new school year began in a splendid revolutionary atmosphere in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, where young and old, the working class, all the other working people and the younger generation have risen to their feet and hurled themselves into new actions and taken new initiatives in the fields of production, the country's defence, and education, to put into practice the historic decisions of the 7th Congress of the PLA.

This school year is beginning just after the 8th Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions and on the eve of the 7th Congress of the Labour Youth Union of Albania.

Our school has gathered rich experience. Our pupils and students study and master the Marxist-Leninist theory, take part in the solution of the problems which the PLA puts forward, militate in the class struggle which is being waged in our country against the internal and external imperialist-revisionist enemy, against liberalism and bureaucracy, and further strengthen their ideological and political convictions.

The school and student youth are implementing the decisions of the Party with enthusiasm. Our students are turning into reality the orientation of the Party: after finishing school, they are going to work and live wherever the Homeland needs them most. The activity of our school is centred on the work and struggle for the all-round revolutionary preparation of the younger generation so that they become completely capable of taking the torch of the revolution and socialism into their reliable hands.

Another feature of the school in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is its mass character. In this direction, too, further successes are being achieved from year to year. The PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha have made education the property of the masses. In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania today one in every three people is attending one of the various categories of school, full or part time. There will be more than 700,000 pupils and students this school year.

The 35th Anniversary of the historic Conference of Peza

On September 16th, 1942, on the initiative of the Communist Party (now the Party of Labour of Albania) the Conference of Peza, which laid the foundations of the National Liberation Front and the people's state power, was convened. It affirmed the leading role of the Communist Party of Albania in the National Liberation War.

The Conference of Peza was not a conference of political parties. Only the Communist Party, which was its organizer, took part in it as a political party. There were no other anti-fascist political parties.

Thus, the National Liberation Front was not created as a coalition of political parties. The Conference of



Children on their first steps to school. The first day of lessons

Peza gave legal form to the voluntary union of the broad masses of the people, the foundations of which have been laid from below in the fight against the occupiers. The Communist Party was the architect of this union and the direct and only leader of the Front. At its foundation, the Front had the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, which constituted its broadest base.

The 35th anniversary of the Conference of Peza was celebrated with solemnity all over the country. In all districts, in centres of work and production, in agricultural cooperatives, army units, schools and cultural institutions, various activities, such as scientific sessions, jubilee meetings and rallies, were organized.

A big rally was organized at Peza, with the participation of working people from the capital and the villages

of the Tirana district. Comrade Enver Hoxha and other leaders of the Party and State were present.

The celebrations of the 35th anniversary of the Conference of Peza were characterized by the great revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of our working people who are multiplying their efforts to implement the historic decisions of the 7th Congress of the PLA ever better with each passing day.

SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMM

TELEGRAM

TO THE 2nd CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN (M-L)

Dear comrades,

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania was happy to learn about the summoning of the Second Congress of the sister Communist Party of Spain (M-L). Through this message, we want to express to the Spanish Marxist-Leninist communists, the fraternal feelings and internationalist solidarity of the Albanian communists and working people with your revolutionary party, the Spanish militant proletariat and peasantry and wish this high forum of your Party full success.

The 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L) is held at important moments for the revolutionary struggle of the Spanish proletariat, and people. The Communist Party of Spain (M-L), a worthy heir of the revolutionary traditions of the Spanish proletariat, has grown and become tempered in fierce battles against francoism, against capitalist oppression and exploitation and imperialist domination, for national independence, for the republic and socialism in Spain. Thirteen years of existence of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L) are years of determined efforts and struggle to defend the interests of the Spanish proletariat and people and for the cause of defence of Marxism-Leninism in the fight against the treachery perpetrated by the revisionist party of Carillo and all the other opportunists.

In Spain today, the monarcho-fascist Juan Carlos regime, which has also been joined by the revisionists and all other opportunists and is being assisted by imperialism and reaction, is playing the farce of pseudo-liberalization of the country. The Communist Party of Spain (M-L) is the only Party which upholds the banner of the republic and the proletarian revolution in Spain.

The growth and strengthening of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L) clearly indicate that the Spanish proletariat has never laid down its arms. Your Party's struggle against the oligarchy and the reactionary bourgeoisie, against the two superpowers, United States imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, against modern revisionism and all opportunist currents, shows that nothing can hold back the march of the revolution. At the same time, the Communist Party of Spain (M-L) is fighting resolutely and on the correct path to defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the spirit of proletarian internationalism, thus making its own contribution to the cause of strengthening unity in the Marxist-Leninist movement in the world.

Dear comrades,

The communists, the working class and all the working people of socialist Albania are following the struggle of the Spanish proletariat and all the Spanish working people with great sympathy and have constantly expressed their full solidarity with their just struggle for democracy, for the republic, for the cause of the revolution and socialism in Spain.

The internationalist ties and fraternal cooperation between our two parties, based on the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, are becoming constantly stronger. The participation of the delegation of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L) in the 7th Congress of the PLA and the recent visit of the delegation of your Party to Albania, were another expression of this internationalist cooperation. They once more confirmed the spirit of complete Marxist-Leninist unity, of the friendship and proletarian

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN (M-L)

solidarity which exists between our two parties and are a sound basis for the development of the internationalist solidarity and contribution to the cause of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement in the world.

Once again, we wholeheartedly want to wish your 2nd Congress complete success in the implementation of its programme. We express the profound conviction that the 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L) will give a new boost to the struggle of your Party and

the Spanish proletariat for the cause of the revolution and socialism in Spain.

Long live the Communist Party of Spain (M-L)!

Long live the proletarian friendship between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of Spain (M-L)!

Glory to triumphant Marxism-Leninism!

ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

First Secretary

ENVER HOXHA

TELEGRAM

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA TO COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

Dear Comrades,

On the eve of the closing of the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist) we want to convey to you our fraternal, militant and communist greetings.

The fervent greeting that the Central Committee of the PLA, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has sent to our Second Congress, was welcomed with so deep emotion and enthusiasm as no word can describe them. Standing and with their clenched fists raised, all the delegates to the Congress cheered for the heroic Party of Labour of Albania and its great leader, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

This greeting is for us, the Marxist-Leninists of Spain, a powerful inspiration, an evidence of the active proletarian internationalism, a corroboration of the fact that the old and always relevant slogan «Proletarians of all countries, unite»! is always valid.

Our Congress was convened one year and a half from the day when we launched the slogan: «intensify the class struggle in the ranks of the party» and «promote the proletarianization of our ranks and our leading organs». In this struggle, our

Party, its members and cadres at all the levels, have unleashed a devastating offensive against the tendencies to the right and reconciliation, which were appearing, against all those who covered up or distorted the unchangeable principle that the class struggle is the driving force of history.

Our Party has emerged very strong from this struggle and our ranks have been purged. We inform you with great satisfaction that 87 per cent of the delegates to the Congress are proletarians or semi-proletarians, rural day labourers, workers of metallurgy, construction, fishermen, miners, poor peasants, etc.

The newly elected Central Committee has been strengthened a great deal because the industrial proletarians and the labouring peasantry make up its overwhelming majority.

Our Congress analysed and unanimously condemned the rotten theory of «three worlds», as a revisionist «theory» which betrays the interests of the international proletariat, which tries to hide, distort and confuse the class struggle, which glosses over the principal contradictions of our

epoch, which under the pretext of opposing Russian social-imperialism prettifies U.S. imperialism and international reaction, which underestimates the primary role of the Marxist-Leninist parties. These stands are conducive to the opportunism to rely on one superpower to fight the other, to prettify the reactionary bourgeoisie in power in capitalist Europe, to present the assassins of the type of Pinochet, Mobutu, Reza Pahlavi, and others as «allies» of the peoples.

The Second Congress reiterated with enthusiasm the stand that, far from falling into adventurism, or cutting out the stages, exists only one road to the overthrow of the power of the monarcho-fascist reaction in Spain and to the establishment of a people's and federal republic: the road of the armed struggle, the road of people's war.

Dear comrades: our Second Congress hailed with enthusiasm the stand of the Party of Labour of Albania both with regard to the development of socialism in Albania and the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and with regard to the defence without compromise of the immortal principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Likewise, the Second Congress reiterated our stand to fight for the extension and strengthening of the unity between the Marxist-Leninist parties, both through bilateral and multilateral meetings, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In particular, the delegates to the Congress hailed the steel-like unity existing between our two parties, unity which has been steadily tempered over the last years and which has been based on mutual understanding and respect, on the same ideological struggle and the common unwavering loyalty to the universal principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.



As the newspaper «Vanguardia Obrera», organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L) informs, the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L) convened from June 23 to 26. The newspaper stresses the enthusiasm of the Party and the importance of this event, which marks the culmination of an intensive struggle against right-wing and bureaucratic tendencies and which ensured the consolidation of the proletarian line of the party. The Congress approved the

revolutionary line pursued by the Central Committee, which is the line of the struggle against opportunism and class collaboration both on the internal and international plane.

In a communiqué on the Second Congress, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L) points out that out of about 300 delegates to the Congress, 64 per cent were proletarians and 28 per cent women. The average age of the delegates was about 28 years old.

The communiqué stresses that the

Dear comrades,

For us, just as for all the genuine Marxist-Leninists of the world, the heroic Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, is today the radiant beacon of the revolution at which millions of people throughout the world are looking with hope. Yours has been and continues to be a heroic struggle in all the fields. The Party of Labour of Albania has never knelt down, it has unwaveringly upheld the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Today, too, like yesterday, the Party of Labour of Albania rises like a granit rock which nothing and nobody can destroy.

The Second Congress of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist) wants to great and convey our respect to the beloved and esteemed Comrade Enver Hoxha, to all the leaders of the glorious Party of Labour of Albania and, with special emotion, to Comrade Mehmet Shehu who fought in our Spain as well as to all the Albanian comrades who took part in the legendary international brigades.

Long live the heroic Party of Labour of Albania!

Long live the outstanding Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live the revolutionary and militant friendship between our two peoples and two parties!

Long live active proletarian internationalism!
Marxism-Leninism will triumph.

FOR THE SECOND CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN
(Marxist-Leninist)

RAUL MARCO

Madrid, June 30, 1977.

Congress was attended by delegates from party organisations of Andalusia, Aragon, Asturias, old Castile and new Castile, Catalognia, Galicia, Valencia, etc. Present were also delegates from the party organisations of the Spanish emigrants in different countries of Europe as well as representatives of the cells of important factories such as those of construction in Madrid, transport and mines in Barcelona and other cities of the country. A group of veteran leaders of the Republican Army, among

whom also founders of the glorious 5th Regiment, leaders of guerillas decorated for their active participation in the war against nazi-fascism and heroic partisans who continued the armed struggle against the Franco regime in Spain as late as the 50s, also took part.

The communique points out that some dozens of delegates discussed at the Congress about the ideological and political problems, the international situation and other problems raised in the report. They displayed their militant spirit, their loyalty to the principles and the unbent will to always implement a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line. They also approved with enthusiasm the report of the Central Committee and the resolution worked out by the commissions of the congress on the work with women, the youth, the countryside, nationalities, in the trade unions, propaganda work, etc.

The Congress decided to proclaim heroes of the Party the comrades S. Marcos, X.H.B. Alonzo, H.L.S. Bravo and R. Sans who were killed by the criminal dictatorship of Franco.

The Congress received many messages of greetings from workers of various factories, mines, rural areas, militants of the Party who are in jail as well as from a great number of Marxist-Leninist parties. It acclaimed with enthusiasm and special emotion and profound satisfaction the message sent by Comrade Enver Hoxha in the name of the Central Committee of the glorious and valiant Party of Labour of Albania.

The communiqué stresses that the report of the C.C. on the activity of the Party since its 1st Congress, on the economic and social situation and the policy of the Party, on the development of the Party and its main tasks, on the ideological problems, the problems of the present political situation and the struggle against revisionism as well as on the international Marxist-Leninist movement was presented at the Congress

by Comrade Raul Marco, Elena Odena and Julio Moreda.

The Congress adopted unanimously the political line, the program and the constitution of the Party and elected the new Central Committee. The Congress adopted also the General Resolution.

After pointing out the victories achieved under the leadership of the Central Committee and the Executive Committee against the plotters and factionists to degenerate the Party, to liquidate it politically and organisationally as well as the steps forward to give a more pronounced proletarian character to the leading organs and in general all the party organizations, the General Resolution points out that the Congress expressed the determination of all the Party to continue and extend the struggle against revisionism, opportunism and their manifestations in the fold of the Party.

The Congress confirmed the great truth that the Party is strengthened when it is purged of the opportunist elements. The struggle it is waging against its internal and external enemies is part and parcel of the struggle going on in the fold of our people, as well as of that going on on an international scale in defence of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, in face of modern revisionism which has been transformed into an open reactionary force, as well as in face of the opportunists who want to foil the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin through the notorious theory of the «three worlds» which the Congress condemned categorically and unanimously, and to transform the communist movement (M-L) into an appendage of the bourgeoisie and Western imperialism with the USA at the head.

The Congress expressed its full approval for the course of denunciation and attack by all means against those forces, which working in the fold of the people propagate reconciliation with the monarcho-fascist enemy.

In these moments, reads the Resolution, main detachment of the enemy in our country is the Carrillo-Ibaruri clique.

The Congress expressed its full support for all the organisations, forces and committees which are united in the antifascist and patriotic revolutionary front, which in its entirety, represents the revolutionary unity, which the Spanish proletariat and people are tempering and which is fully necessary to pave the road to the people's revolution.

Likewise it supported the Republican Convention, which for more than one year has become the standard bearer of the republican unity of the people of Spain, against the fascist monarchy and imperialism, for the republic, for national independence, for self-determination of the oppressed nationalities and for the social victories the masses are demanding.

The 2nd Congress analysed the great importance of the movement of workers' assemblies and supported the initiative for summoning the congress of the workers' assemblies as a form to facilitate the union of the broad working masses in the revolutionary trade unionist movement, to isolate the counterrevolutionary and anti-worker line of yellow organisations, to bar the road to the «social pact» and to fight frontally against the plan of the «stabilisation» of the monarcho-fascist government.

The Congress decided to take the necessary measures to give a great impulse to the revolutionary work with the masses of day labourers and poor peasants, as well as to support the peasant movement against the monopolies, the big land proprietors and imperialism.

The Congress pointed out the need for the increase of the struggle of our people for national independence, to oust US imperialism from Spain and at the same time, to enhance the vigilance in face of the danger social imperialist expansionism represents, which has left no occasion to penetrate into the Iberian peninsula and

having no little interest in our country is acting more and more actively to place groups and politicians of various colours in its service.

The aid which must be rendered to the anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement of the peoples for ousting all the foreign bases, mainly those of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism in many a country, for ousting the US and Russian military fleets from the Mediterranean and other seas, against the aggressive blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, for denouncing the imperialist nature of the Common Market and COMECON, etc., is a component part of our struggle for national independence.

The Party, which from its reconstruction has defended the incontestable Marxist-Leninist principle of the armed struggle and the people's struggle to overthrow the old fascist power and to carry out the revolution, pointed out at its 2nd Congress the drive of the movement of the masses in the big strikes and in the broad movements, and instructed them to equip themselves with defence and war means, which will enable them to cope with the forces of oppression; fascist gangs and the armed hangmen, servants of the big bosses. The Congress ratified its line to place the Party in the van of the masses, of their struggles, and strive to turn the slogan «the people must arm themselves in face of the fascist gangs, the civil guard and the police in service of reaction», into reality.

With regard to the economic policy of the monarchy, the Congress denounced the feverish preparations of the Suarez regime to impose a new plan of »pulling in the belt« or «stabilisation», after the recent electoral comedy.

In face of this criminal plan of the monarcho-fascist government, the Congress called on the proletariat and the working masses in town and country to launch themselves promptly into a massive battle in defence of their jobs and against unemployment, aga-

inst wage freeze and the high cost of living, against lay-offs, against the oppression by the police and the bosses, for freedom of strikes, meeting and assembly in associations and demonstrations, against the «social pact» and yellow trade unionist centres.

The Second Congress stressed that the Party must raise high resolutely and forcefully the banners of the struggle against national oppression, for the incontestable rights of the oppressed nationalities and carry these banners to the broad movement of the masses and make efforts to draw to its right positions the broad strata of the people, victims of centralized oppression, and those strata of the petty and middle bourgeoisie which are also interested in the solution of this problem.

The Resolution stresses further on that the Congress turned down and exposed the ill-famed theory of «three worlds», as a battle horse of the new opportunists, as a theory which denies the class struggle as a driving force of history, denies the character of our epoch as the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, opposes the leading role of the proletariat, divides the world into geopolitical terms which cover up and deform the true class character of the present great forces and, mainly, it reconciles with U.S. imperialism and prettifies Western capitalism, its imperialist blocs, as NATO and Common Market, as well as the fascist regimes which are in power on all the continents with the aid of CIA.

In face of this opportunist theory, the Congress forcefully stressed that not one superpower, but both of them, not only Russian socialimperialism, but the latter and U.S. imperialism constitute today, jointly and separately, the biggest and most dangerous enemies of the peoples of the world. The Second Congress stressed that it is impossible to rely on one of the superpowers to fight the other, because both of them collaborate throughout the world to suppress the revolution, socialism and the peoples,

at a time when they are quarrelling with one another for zones of influence, trying to seize the ground of one another, unleashing partial imperialist wars through their tools and with their boundless ambition they create the danger for a new general imperialist war.

The Second Congress heard, appreciated and applauded with enthusiasm the fervent greeting of the glorious Party of Labour of Albania, signed by its great leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha personally. The Congress laid the stress on the historic importance for all Marxist-Leninists of the whole world of the 7th Congress of the PLA, and mainly the report delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha, report which proves the firm principled line which the Party of Labour of Albania has always defended in face of the difficulties, in face of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and pressures of every kind. The Congress expressed its complete internationalist solidarity with the heroic Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha, with socialist Albania, the beacon of the revolution and socialism.

The Second Congress denounced the revisionist variant of «eurocommunism», as a trend which defends the parliamentarianism of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the bourgeois order with the greatest shamelessness. Just as all the revisionists, the «eurocommunists» too, have given up the revolution, proletarian internationalism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party of the class, they have been transformed into bourgeois parliamentarian parties, owners of banks, shares and supermarkets and follow a reactionary policy which is a shameless support for the big capital.

The Second Congress expressed its firm determination to defend, on the international arena, the principles of Marxism-Leninism as well as the militant proletarian internationalism, against old and new opportunism, which deforms and attacks these principles.

HOLD HIGH THE INVINCIBLE BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM

The theory of the three worlds is openly opposed to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. The roads which they point to are different. The one leads to revolution (for national and social liberation) while the other, to the maintenance of the capitalist-imperialist system. One road favours the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat, while the other binds the working class and the progressive forces to the bandwagon of the bourgeoisie

FOUR YEARS AGO, «A CLASSE OPERARIA» PUBLISHED THE ARTICLE «ON THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE». THIS ARTICLE WAS AN AFFIRMATION OF THE RESOLUTE STAND OF THE CC OF THE CP OF BRAZIL IN CONNECTION WITH THE FALSE ROLE WHICH WAS BEING ATTRIBUTED TO THE SO-CALLED THIRD WORLD. THIS ARTICLE ARMED THE BRAZILIAN COMMUNISTS WITH A CORRECT UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT AND GAVE THEM A CLEAR PERSPECTIVE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE REVOLUTION AND THE HEGEMONY OF THE PROLETARIAT.

SINCE THAT TIME, LIFE HAS FULLY CONFIRMED THE ASSESSMENT MADE IN THIS ARTICLE. THE PARTY WAS NOT SUCKED IN BY THE HARMFUL ORIENTATION WHICH PREACHED REFORMIST SOLUTIONS ACCORDING TO THE THEORY OF THE THIRD WORLD TO THE DEPENDENT COUNTRIES. THUS IDEOLOGICAL CONFUSION IN ITS RANKS WAS AVOIDED.

Today, when the confusing, counter-revolutionary theory of three worlds is taking form and efforts are being made to implant it in the communist movement, the article, «On the Anti-imperialist Struggle» is as-

Article of the newspaper «A Classe Operaria», central organ of the CP of Brazil (July 1977), published in «Zêri i Popullit», of August 30, 1977

suming greater importance and is very valid today for our Party. Although all the problems included in this theory are not dealt with, the arguments which the article presents are opposed in essence to the mistaken theses from which it is formed.

At the present time, the ideological debate is centred on the theory of three worlds, against all aspects of which a consistent struggle must be waged. We are living at a moment when everyone must take his stand. Just as in the sixties, the question is posed again, whether to accept or reject an orientation which is a fundamental violation of the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The «Decadence» of US Imperialism

One of the arguments most in fashion which the partisans of the theory of three worlds are spreading is the hypothetical decadence of US imperialism. This decadence allegedly determines the possibility that US imperialism can become one of the allies in the struggle against social imperialism and facilitate the rise of the third world. «A Classe Operaria» has opposed this thesis, which is neither new nor original and has always been linked with the «peaceful road», since that time.

The Brazilian comrades long ago recognised its real content. In 1945, basing himself on Browderism, Prestes defended the idea that «imperialism had lost its teeth», and in this way, to some degree accepted that its nature had changed. According to him, the USA was no longer able to stop the advance of various countries to democracy. Thus he substantiated the opportunist orientation of the peaceful road which the party was following. It did not take long for it to be shown that this thesis was without foundation. In 1947, Truman went on the offensive, with the aim of establishing world domination, and the feeble democracy in Brazil was wiped out.

Later in 1956, it was Khrushchev who claimed that «imperialism had lost its teeth». Allegedly a profound change had taken place in the ratio of forces in the world, and this would allow the communist and workers' movement to achieve its objectives in a peaceful way. Moreover, with the «decadence» of imperialism, the conditions had allegedly been created for the existence of a world «without arms and without wars». Such an orientation caused the revolutionary movement great harm and did not respond in the least to the reality.

Now this issue has emerged again on the political scene, decked out in new raiment, but still with the same

opportunist character. By talking about the «decadence» of US imperialism, efforts are being made to minimize its aggressive and predatory activity, to present it as less dangerous than its Soviet rival, to justify alliance with it (reliance on one superpower to combat the other). If this theory were taken to its logical conclusion it would be catastrophic for the peoples.

As long ago as in his time, Lenin stressed that imperialism is capitalism in its death throes, in decay. Although it continues to develop as a system, it has now reached its peak, and is in its fatal decline. In this way we can speak of the decadence of imperialism, both US imperialism and Soviet imperialism and the others. This shows that the historical conditions are ripe for socialism, that the proletarian revolution has become an objective necessity.

However the decadence about which the partisans of the theory of three worlds are speaking is something quite different. According to them, the decadent imperialism is the one which is falling behind its competitors, the one that is in decline in comparison with the positions it occupied earlier in the context of its exploitation of the world. In this case, they say, its nature is not what it was before and it can play a positive role in the struggle against the more powerful forces, and even become a reserve of the revolution. But the very nature of capitalism in its monopoly phase is aggressive, expansionist, and predatory. It will continue to display this character in any circumstances, and will carry it to the grave. It is known that British, French, German and Japanese imperialism have lost their former «brilliance» and that the ambitious post-war plans of US imperialism are being cut back. Nevertheless, British imperialism coped with nazi Germany. In the fifties British imperialism, together with French imperialism, attacked Egypt. In the fif-

ties and sixties the French monopolists waged the war in Indochina and Algeria. German and Japanese imperialism are raising their heads and preparing to secure a «place in the sun». In regard to US imperialism, it has been the banner-bearer of armed aggressions since World War 2. They have all suffered defeats at the hands of the national liberation movements. Despite this, however, they have not reconciled themselves to defeat, have not become harmless to the peoples, and certainly not their friends. All of them, without exception, are striving for expansion and trying to find neo-colonialist formulas to achieve their ambitions.

US imperialism is the savagest oppressor and exploiter of the peoples, one of the greatest enemies of national freedom and independence. With its use of the atomic bomb in Japan and the horrors of the war in Korea and Vietnam, it has shown just what it is capable of in its attempts to achieve its aims. The champions of the theory of three worlds say that now it is on the defensive, whereas social imperialism is on the offensive. But defensive does not indicate any change in the war-mongering and exploiting nature of imperialism. On the contrary, frequently it is the form in which to prepare for a future aggression. In any case the question must be asked: who is on the offensive in the Middle East, Latin America and even the Indian Ocean region? Likewise in Spain and Portugal? Who commands the military union of Western Europe in the framework of NATO? It is clear that it is the USA despite the contradictions and differences it has with the governments of some of these states. One of the criteria for assessing the offensive or defensive positions of a given country, in regard to its ambitions for world domination, is its preparations for war. At present the USA is leading in the armaments race. In total volume, no other country spends

so much, none is so intensively perfecting death-dealing weapons. Indeed, Carter is ready to order the serial production of neutron bombs, weapons intended to wipe out people on an unimaginable scale. The Soviet Union, too, is intensifying its armaments industry. It is increasing its war fleet to extraordinary proportions, has built up its stocks of nuclear missiles, and has created new types of devastating offensive weapons.

The fact is that US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism are competing fiercely for world hegemony and are preparing for a new world bloodbath. Each of them is striving to gain strategic positions. In a number of zones, the Russians are on the offensive, in others, the Americans. But their plans run up against the struggle of the peoples, who are dealing them continual blows and opposing their plans for domination. Sometimes they are forced to withdraw from the places in which they had been established, but they never abandon their ominous aims.

In trying to argue the «decadence» of US imperialism, the partisans of the theory of three worlds point to the superiority of social imperialism in all fields. It is true that capitalism develops unevenly, and consequently, it is possible that the Soviet Union will outstrip the USA but it cannot be said flatly that the Soviet Union is ahead of the Americans. It must be pointed out that the great development of the Soviet Union comes about as a result of its development in the period when it was a socialist country. Since it became an imperialist country, its foreign debts have increased, it has taken foreign capital to increase its production, its foreign trade has suffered serious upsets with the need to import colossal quantities of grain. It is incontestable that it has tried to expand and has transformed its allies into «satellites», is carrying on an extensive arms trade, and investing capital out-

side its borders in order to secure maximum profits. But this kind of development is precisely one of the factors leading to the decay of the new system. The USA has a great advantage in the basic branches of the economy and the total volume of gross production, in the financial field and in technology. And it is not lagging behind in the creation of a powerful military arsenal.

The superiority of one imperialist country over the others is a factor for war, because that country seeks to redivide the world to its own advantage, and this can be achieved only by means of force. There is no doubt that the Soviet Union has pretensions to world domination, is following a counter-revolutionary policy of aggression and hegemony. But the USA is still superior to Soviet social-imperialism.

And even if we accept that the Soviets will manage to surpass the Americans and take the initiative to launch an aggression on a world scale, would they be the only aggressors? Isn't the USA trying to establish its hegemony? In defending the positions they have, the imperialist countries (mainly the USA) are preparing to attack and defeat their rival. In inter-imperialist conflicts, there are no aggressors and victims of aggression, there is no just or unjust cause. The two sides incite aggression, the cause they defend is unjust. In war they are pursuing with other means the same expansionist, predatory policy they followed previously.

The Soviet Union, as social imperialist power, must not be underestimated. It is a perfidious and savage enemy, one of the main incitors of war. Under the mask of socialism, which it has betrayed, and of Leninism, which it has denied, it is trying to pave the way to its domination over the peoples. The peoples are faced with the major duty of exposing it and destroying its hegemonic plans. But its opponent in world-wide rivalry, Yankee imperial-

ism, is no less dangerous and no less barbarous. The hatred of the masses of the working people is focussed on it. Likewise, the struggle of the exploited and oppressed throughout the continents is directed against it.

It would be fatal for the proletariat to rank itself on the side of one or the other war-mongering group, to link itself with one of them. In this case, the two sides are the main enemy. In the time of the inter-imperialist war of 1914-1918, Lenin proclaimed the genuine proletarian policy, supporting the decisions taken in Basel against war and its transformation into a war for social liberation. The parties which wanted to find out which was the aggressor and which was the more dangerous in this fight between jackals slipped into chauvinism, betrayed the international cause of the proletariat. If the present-day Marxist-Leninist parties allow themselves to be sucked in by the absurdity that in every war, even in an inter-imperialist war, there is always a main enemy against which the working class must take the side of its rival, they would be making the criminal blunder, which led to the defeat of the Second International.

In conclusion, the so-called inferiority and «decadence» of the USA, preached by the theoreticians of the three worlds, serves to lull to sleep the revolutionary consciousness of those exploited by capital, to hitch them to the strategy of one of the two aggressive blocs. Likewise, the so-called aid which Soviet revisionism is giving for national liberation and its alleged desire for the reduction of tension on a world scale, propagated by the servants of the Kremlin, serve to deceive the peoples, to blunt their vigilance, to facilitate its domination over them. To rely on one of the two superpowers, under whatever pretext, to believe in their demagogy about peace, to accept that one of them can join the oppressed to help their liberation, means to commit the gravest blunder, to deviate from the principle of the class

struggle, to turn one's back on the revolution and plunge into the filth of opportunism.

The Third World

The so-called third world is introduced as a decisive part of the theory of the three worlds. In the present conditions, it is supposed to be the motive force of social development, the fundamental basis for the defeat of the superpowers, and first and foremost, for the defeat of the Soviet Union, defined as the main and most dangerous enemy. It allegedly represents a growing force, which is scoring victory after victory over imperialism. The countries it includes are allegedly advancing in the construction of an independent and progressive society.

It was a time when this third world, the world of the non-aligned or developing countries — three definitions, which express the same content, — appeared to be united and achieving considerable successes. This «world» surged ahead in the years 1972-1973. The demand for 200 miles of territorial waters was presented as a determined anti-imperialist stand (now, the United States, the Soviet Union and France, too, have established the 200 miles limit). The raising of the oil price was hailed as the liberation of countries oppressed by imperialism and the demand for the evaluation of raw materials of the third world was pointed out as a new road for national liberation. The third world became fashionable. Allende in Chile, Peron in Argentine, Velasco in Peru, Fidel Castro in Cuba — all considered themselves as belonging to the third world. Indeed, even Geisel fell in love with this trend. Precisely at this time certain revolutionary, socialist circles began to sing praises to the third world and consider themselves as an integral part of it, obscuring the distinctions in

principle between socialism and capitalism.

Our Party never accepted this astonishing classification, or this tattered rag of the anti-imperialist united world front. As early as 1973 it revealed the incoherence and opportunist character implicit in it. «The prospect of a third position which some trends are giving the anti-imperialist movement is false, both theoretically and politically,» stressed the article in «A Classe Operaria».

Now, whether its apologists like it or not, the concept of the third world is in crisis. The so-called independence of the majority of these countries was nothing but a passing illusion. Changes have taken place in almost all of them, which have put an end to the alleged anti-imperialism of their governments. They have become still more dependent on the international finance capital (including that of the Soviet Union). According to figures published recently by the UN Conference of Trade and Development, on the basis of the figures released by World Bank, the foreign debts of these countries in 1974 were 80 billion dollars, whereas now they have reached 240 billion dollars. This is a heavy burden which has turned these countries into vassals of the big powers. At the same time, they are taking part in the armaments race. Never before have they bought so many modern weapons which bind them to the imperialist suppliers from the technical and military standpoints. The military coups or phoney elections have destroyed what was left of the democratic freedoms and have established ultrareactionary and fascist systems. Their unity has been smashed. Annexationist tendencies emerged in some of them and bloody clashes burst out in many regions. India, Indonesia, Syria, Iran and others subjugated their neighbours by means of force or are organizing campaigns for such aims. Brazil subjugated the neighbouring countries to its own interests and is threatening Guayana. Peru and Chile

are arming themselves and threatening each other. Guatemala seeks to annex Belize. Territorial conflicts in Africa are becoming more acute. Apart from the ominous aims of the ruling classes of these countries there are the manoeuvres of imperialism, which is trying to exploit the conflicts and quarrels to strengthen its own positions. The much trumpeted development of the productive forces in the backward countries is a dependent development, subordinated to foreign capital, totally in opposition to the interests of these nations.

And it could not be otherwise, because those who consider themselves of the third world are the ruling classes in the semi-colonial and dependent countries, and the governments which represent them. In general, these classes are reactionary because they have always been linked, in one way or another, with imperialism which they have never intended to destroy. They are guards protecting old structures. Threatened by the difficulties and under the great pressure of the revolutionary movement, they began to demand certain advantages. But the solutions which they propose, whether of an economic or political character, are interwoven with the «goodwill» and «aid» of the developed countries, that is, of the big monopolies. As they themselves say, they want to strike bargains with imperialism. They do not represent the genuine democratic and anti-imperialist movement which is undoubtedly growing in almost all zones of the world. On the contrary, this movement, which gathers in its ranks the majority of every nation, is resolutely fighting such classes and governments, traitors to the national interests.

Thus, how it can be said that these reactionary forces are motor of social development? How it can be accepted, without making a gross opportunist deviation, that this heterogenous conglomeration linked with the monopolies represents the bastion of the struggle

against the superpowers and for liberation from the yoke of imperialism? The Albanian comrades are completely correct when they stress that, «to speak in general terms about the so-called 'third world' as the main force of the struggle against imperialism and 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 advocate the typically opportunist viewpoints, causing confusion and disorganization among the revolutionary forces».

It is a deception to call on the peoples to close their ranks around the third world, that is around the reactionary forces of the underdeveloped countries. In this way they will never achieve the solution of their fundamental problems, shake off the yoke of oppression and defeat their sworn enemies.

The partisans of the third world are deviating from the revolution, they do not want it and do not fight for it, because the revolution — an objective necessity for national and social liberation — is directed both against the external enemy, and against the reactionary and fascist governments of semi-colonial and dependent countries. The partisans of the third world formulated the thesis that the fundamental task of those countries is to ensure their economic independence, because allegedly they have their political independence. This thesis, with a reformist content, responds to the aspirations of the reactionary bourgeoisie. By mechanically separating economic independence from political independence, they deny the necessity for the revolution, subordinate the struggle of the people to the leadership of the bourgeoisie which is allegedly fighting for economic independence, when in fact it

is opening the doors of the country to foreign capital and making enslaving agreements with imperialism. There is no doubt that the winning of genuine political independence is the fundamental premise for ensuring economic independence. Without the former, the latter cannot be won. Precisely for this reason it is necessary to carry out the revolution, because none, or almost none, of the countries of the so-called third world enjoys real national independence. In one way or the other they have been trapped in the web of imperialist domination, are suffering under the oppressive yoke of the foreign monopolies and still have a backward agricultural structure. In general, their governments are anti-popular. The peoples of the oppressed nations «can put an end to imperialist oppression and exploitation», stressed the article of «A Classe Operaria» in July 1973, «only by following the road of the revolution. This must smash the main obstacles to national progress and independence, must overthrow the power of the reactionary forces, isolate the conciliatory forces, liquidate the bureaucratic apparatus, ensure extensive freedoms for the masses and create the people's armed forces». It also stressed that this task requires the leadership of the proletariat and an appropriate socialist perspective.

It is not correct to speak of an upsurge of the so-called third world. The true democratic and anti-imperialist movement is on the rise. It is developing on almost all the continents, coping with the most brutal reaction of the reactionary ruling classes of those countries. This movement, and not the third world, must be considered as a support basis and ally of the world revolution, as one of the pillars on which the strategy of international proletariat is based. It is a fraud to confuse this movement with the reactionary governments. This means to deny the principle of the class struggle, to plunge into the filth of reformism, of narrow

and anti-progressive nationalism, it means to maintain the capitalist system on a world scale, which is in its final phase and in the throes of its general crisis.

The Second World — an Opportunist Invention

In the strategic scheme of the theory of three worlds there is a so-called second world, which is presented as a victim of the plunder and oppression by US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Allegedly it is threatened by the imminent Russian domination and opposes the growing pressure of the USA. Its members are supposed to be imperialist countries of Europe and Asia, as well as Canada, Australia and the European satellites of the Soviet Union. They allegedly have common demands which bring them into rapport with the dependent countries of the third world, which they can help and unite with in the struggle against the superpowers.

In fact, this second world is an opportunist invention. Although social imperialist threats and US pressures exist, the countries of Western Europe, Japan, Canada and Australia are allies of the USA and not of the dependent countries. The other bloc, that of Eastern Europe, despite the latent discontent, is the ally of the Soviet Union. Although elbowed out from their old domains as a result of the revolutionary movement, the European countries and Japan remain plunderers and exploiters of peoples as always. Their predatory and war-mongering nature has not changed. All of them employ neo-colonialist forms in their relations with the backward countries, keep close to the reactionary ruling classes of the oppressed nations with the aim of establishing the necessary connections for economic penetration and the strengthening of their political influence.

The aid of the second world for the third world is a fraud. For instance, to regard the nuclear agreement between Federal Germany and the Brazilian dictatorship as aid for the efforts of our people to ensure their true independence, would show a total lack of the revolutionary spirit. This agreement, which is thoroughly harmful to the fundamental interests of Brazil, and which is opposed by the broad patriotic forces, is a profitable deal for the German monopolies, a means which will enable them to get their hands on the reserves of uranium in our country, and in particular, will assist in the nuclear arming of Germany. It will also serve the Brazilian military regime to produce atomic weapons intended to threaten the neighbouring peoples and satisfy the megalomaniac great power ambitions of the fascist generals.

Federal Germany is now one of the biggest investors in Brazil, second only to the USA. The aim of its investments is not in the least different from that of US monopolies. It is mercilessly exploiting the Brazilian workers and people, drawing fabulous profits from their sweat and blood and the plunder of natural assets. Can it be said that the German monopolists act differently in other countries? They act in the same way everywhere.

The countries of the so-called second world not only invest capital, plunder the raw materials, provide high interest loans, and technical aid under heavy conditions, but also strive to secure key positions in the home markets of the undeveloped countries. They are acting more and more openly in the political field, too, trying to strengthen their influence there.

It is well-known that Federal Germany, jointly with the United States of America or for its own account, is carrying out intensive activity in this direction, in an effort to curb the political processes which are undesirable for imperialism. In Portugal and Spain it financed and provided political sup-

port for the so-called moderate circles of those countries, with the objective of closing the road to the advance of the Left. In Latin America it is trying to organize the social-democratic (or Christian-democrat) movement as a counterweight against the revolutionary forces after the fall of the dictatorships. France, which still has colonies, is intensifying its activity in Africa, trying to rally around the metropolis the countries which were under its domination in the past. It is selling them modern arms, accompanied with French technicians and advisers. It is also taking part in military actions, as in the case of Chad and Zaire. Britain, which is perpetrating aggression against the people of Ireland and undertakes acts of war against Iceland, is still rallying around itself the old colonies of the British Commonwealth. Although they have lost their so-called colonial majesty, the imperialist countries of Europe and Asia are still monopolist and colonialist. The financial income which is drawn from capital invested abroad, from their unequal trade with the undeveloped countries, the sale of arms, from the interest of usurious loans, etc., still represents a considerable part of their national incomes, that is, a part of the total volume of capitalist profits. They are enemies of the revolution, and the freedom and independence of the oppressed peoples. There are contradictions between them just as there are contradictions between them and US imperialism and Russian social-imperialism, which are inevitable contradictions between the exploiters, between wild beasts from the same pack.

The so-called unity of this «world» with what is called the third world does not serve the policy of national liberation, but serves the alliance of the imperialist countries of Europe and Asia with the reactionary ruling classes of the oppressed nations. It assists them to regain the positions they have lost and to intensify their plunder.

This harmful orientation deceives the peoples with a false perspective, and creates confusion in the democratic and anti-imperialist movement. It is only natural that the contradictions in the imperialist camp can and should be skilfully exploited when the possibilities exist, but never by accepting that the enemy can be transformed into a friend because we have aims identical with his, and creating the illusion that he is ready to liquidate the system which belongs to him and which he is defending tooth and nail.

The Time Has Come to Define One's Stand

The theory of the three worlds is openly opposed to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. The roads which they point to are different. The one leads to revolution (for national and social liberation) while the other, to the maintenance of the capitalist-imperialist system. One road favours the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat, while the other binds the working class and the progressive forces to the bandwagon of the bourgeoisie. One road aids in strengthening the communist parties, in order to awaken and unite the broad masses of the exploited and oppressed, while the other divides the parties of the vanguard forces, merges the revolutionary struggle in a front dominated by reactionary trends. One enhances the political consciousness and fighting spirit of the working people and the masses of the people, while the other reduces the class consciousness of the proletariat.

The revolution is the main objective of the working class, it is the inevitable trend of our epoch. As far back as 1848, with the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, the proletariat raised high its independent banner of the struggle against the bourgeoisie. This was not merely a formal proclamation.

That same year, it attempted to attain its socialist objectives in France and again threw itself into the attack in the heroic and ever relevant Paris Commune in 1871. It triumphed in old Russia in 1917. Likewise it attempted to seize power in Hungary and Germany after the First World War. Later, it triumphed in a number of countries of Europe and Asia. Because of the revisionist betrayal, it suffered a setback, but it stood gloriously in Albania and China. Whatever the zigzags of history, the future belongs to it. And for this reason it publicly proclaims its revolutionary objectives and never, under any pretext, conceals its socialist aims, because they are the beacon that illuminates its consciousness and the road to victory.

On various occasions attempts have been made to divert the proletariat from this correct course. The ideals in connection with the transformation of the world have been deliberately distorted. Thus the time came to take decisions, and these decisions divided the revolutionaries from the opportunists.

Now, too, the communist and workers' movement is living through a decisive moment; either to continue to forge ahead on the road opened by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, despite the very great difficulties which emerged for it, or to enter a deceptive blind alley, by accepting theories which have nothing proletarian about them.

The time has come to define one's stand. These are moments in which the ideological and political structure of every party, every leader, every vanguard militant is revealed. He who does not take a stand, in reality takes inconsistent, vacillating stands, devoid of any spirit of determination. The theory of three worlds is no ordinary theory, towards which one can adopt a neutral stand. It lays down the guidelines, it is an entire concept that claims to be the strategy and tactics

of the revolutionary proletariat and calls for organization of the forces to put it into practice. A resolute struggle must be waged against it. Only struggle will help the honest elements who have been misled to correct their mistakes.

The Communist Party of Brazil will firmly adhere to the attitude it adopted in 1962 when it broke with revisionism, when it upheld the ideals of the revolution and took its place beside those who were defending Marxism-Leninism. It expressed its opposition to the theory of three worlds, to the strategy and tactics which stem from it, to creation of sham Marxist-Leninist parties to give it support. Four years ago, and indeed even earlier, in the article «On the Anti-imperialist Struggle», it opposed the opportunist attempts to abandon the common course laid down after the exposure of Khrushchev and his flunkies. And it will continue to march forward on the same road.

Unity is a great thing. We will defend the unity of the revolutionary movement but on the basis of principle. We hail the courageous and unwavering stand of the Party of Labour of Albania and the other sister parties which have come out openly in defence of Marxism-Leninism, against the new opportunist trend on a world scale. These are consistent stands of historic importance, which clearly show the vitality and invincibility of the doctrine and ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, of the proletarian revolutionaries of the present day. Marxism-Leninism will triumph throughout the world. Although the proletarian revolution has now suffered a number of setbacks, owing to the treachery of revisionists, the factors which condition this revolution continue to develop intensively and in colossal proportions. The day will come when mankind will make a new, powerful leap forward towards socialism and communism.

ENVER HOXHA

KHRUSHCHEV KNEELING

A FEW DAYS AGO KHRUSHCHEV CONCLUDED HIS VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA. BOTH THE PROPAGANDA MACHINE OF THE REVISIONISTS AND THE WESTERN PRESS TRIED TO GIVE THIS VISIT THE MAXIMUM «INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE». IT IS NOW CLEAR TO ALL THAT KHRUSHCHEV DID NOT GO TO YUGOSLAVIA FOR A VACATION, AS STATED AT FIRST. HE WENT THERE TO COMPLETE THE PROCESS OF THE FULL REHABILITATION OF THE TITO CLIQUE, TO UNITE OPENLY WITH THIS BAND OF TRAITORS, LONG CONDEMNED BY ALL THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES, TO HATCH UP NEW PLOTS AGAINST THE SOCIALIST CAMP, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND PEACE, AND TO TAKE ANOTHER STEP IN HIS RAPPROCHEMENT WITH US IMPERIALISM.

These aims of N. Khrushchev's visit became immediately obvious from his endless statements boosting the «successful building of socialism in Yugoslavia», the «correct Marxist-Leninist line and the outstanding merits of the present Yugoslav leaders» headed by «my friend and comrade Tito», about the contribution of the Tito clique to the «development of the principles of peaceful coexistence», to the «strengthening of the world socialist community», to the «consolidation of the unity of the communist and workers' movement», to the «creative development of Marxism-Leninism», about the contribution of the Yugoslav leaders to the «strengthening of the anti-imperialist front», about «the good points of the Yugoslav road to socialism», and particularly about the «workers' self-administration», which, allegedly, is worthy of special attention and study by other socialist countries, in order to copy it, and about the «great role which Yugoslavia should play in the Balkans», and so on.

Tito, on his part, pointed out that certain differences of points of view which still exist are losing their significance in the face of their great common goals. He expressed his satisfaction at Khrushchev's high appraisal of his own activity, of his struggle for «socialism» and the spreading of «communist» ideas and the «communist» spirit in Yugoslavia, at the attacks which Khrushchev has launched against the communist movement, the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania and other Marxist-Leninist parties.

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The first main conclusion to be drawn from Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia is that, by completely rehabilitating the Tito clique and uniting with it, the Moscow revisionist group has committed itself even more thoroughly to the camp of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, of socialism and

Comrade Enver Hoxha's article published for the first time in the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» on September 13, 1963, under the title «Results of N. Khrushchev's Visit to Yugoslavia».

BEFORE TITO

peace, and plunged even deeper into the mire of betrayal.

In his August 24th speech at Split, Khrushchev publicly declared, «We note with satisfaction that, on the absolute majority of international problems, the views of the USSR and Yugoslavia are similar... The unity of views and actions of the USSR and Yugoslavia in the international plane is a very important factor in world politics. This unity contributes to the development of the principle of peaceful coexistence in relations among all states.» This, and many other statements of this kind, not only show a complete unity of views between N. Khrushchev and Tito on matters of foreign policy, but they also demonstrate that N. Khrushchev has made Tito his equal partner in the leadership of world's policy. But what role has N. Khrushchev assigned to his other partners? Apparently, they are to follow the «Yugoslav star» of the revisionist caravan blindly, like puppets.

In the field of ideology Khrushchev himself several times admitted that complete unity has been achieved on the fundamental issues. «For us Soviet communists», he stressed, «there can be no basic contradictions with the Yugoslav communists», while at Brioni, on August 28, he told foreign journalists: «We have the same ideas and are guided by the same theory».

There is no need for a guide to a village already in sight. It has now become quite clear to the whole world, even without these public confirmations, that both Tito and Khrushchev are inspired by the same out-and-out revisionist ideas which have inspired

all the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, and that in their disruptive anti-Marxist practical activity they are guided by the same objectives, which are to extinguish the revolutionary spirit of the international communist movement, to bury Marxism-Leninism, to liquidate socialism and re-establish the domination of imperialism.

Apart from their unity of views and activities in the fields of politics and ideology, Khrushchev also laid the basis for closer collaboration with the Tito clique in the economic field. The purpose here is clear. He wants to make a contribution, along with the imperialists, to keep this clique on its feet, not only through his allround political and ideological support, but also through economic aid, in order to make Yugoslavia a showpiece or model of revisionist «socialism». At Rakovica Khrushchev stated, «Good economic relations, too, are being established between our countries. Compared with 1955, the volume of trade turnover between our countries has risen nearly six fold. In 1963 the mutual exchanges of goods are 50 per cent upon last year.»

In Velenja on August 30, Tito, for his part, confirmed that, «It is in the interests of both sides that we should extend and develop our relations still further. And we shall do this. We have, for instance, already reached an agreement about the cooperation of certain branches of the economy, which through our further collaboration will be expanded even more». Yugoslavia has agreed to participate in the «socialist division of labour». Finally it

was accorded observer status in the Council of Mutual Economic Aid (CO-MECON). Tito, of course, has every reason to be satisfied with all this; he is like a horse with two or more managers to feed from.

During his sojourn in Yugoslavia, Khrushchev also revealed his determination to support the revisionist course of the Belgrade clique and, naturally enough, this was one of those matters that received the greatest publicity and most enthusiastic welcome from the Western press. Khrushchev revealed himself as a supporter of the Yugoslav road of socialism. In order to do this, he did not even hesitate to come out against the Soviet Union's road for the construction of socialism and communism, to openly criticize Soviet methods of management of the economy while eulogizing the Yugoslav system of self-administration. Are there no limits to his treachery! This is how the Tanjug news agency describes Khrushchev's meeting with the managers of the Rakovica combine in the neighbourhood of Belgrade: «While stressing that in the Soviet Union they stick to the principle of a 'single manager' comrade Khrushchev said that he liked the form of workers' councils and that such a thing was progressive. «We, in our country», Khrushchev continued, «are now seeking new forms of management, in which the public can find its full expression, and, therefore, your experience interests us...» He emphasized once again that the experience of Yugoslavia in regard to the workers' self-administration could also

prove valuable. A study should be made of things which time has already confirmed. In connection with this, Khrushchev added that he would certainly send a group of functionaries of the party, the trade unions and the economic organs to make a detailed study of these matters in the Yugoslav practice».

It strikes the eye that through its detailed stories and reports, the Yugoslav press highlights Khrushchev's opinions and remarks at his meeting with the managers of the Rakovica combine, especially emphasizing his high appraisal of «self-administration» and «workers' councils» as «progressive forms», when, as is known, they are the links to the restoration of capitalism in the Yugoslav economy. However, precisely at the time the Yugoslav and Western press was making a great fuss about these utterances of Khrushchev's, the Soviet press, which specializes in extolling the «genius» of N. Khrushchev and which allows no chance to go by without singing praises to his «wit» and «sagacity», for once became surprisingly mute on that day, and published not one word about this discussion. Apparently, the Moscow revisionists do not feel secure, and dare not come out openly before their own people in praise of those revisionist forms of the economic management which have nothing in common with socialism and which they themselves, not very long ago, criticized and rejected as anti-Marxist and anti-socialist, and as a variant of the theories of anarcho-syndicalism ...

Tito once again proclaimed the superiority of the Yugoslav road to socialism and stressed that it was no longer specific to Yugoslavia alone but should become the foundation of the work of every party in the socialist countries. And the first successes, according to Tito, have become apparent in the Soviet Union during these last ten years. His exact words are, «When we speak of workers' self-administration, we are not referring just to the problems and needs of one country in particular. Social self-administration is founded on the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. That is why comrade Nikita Sergeyevitch Khrushchev, quite correctly, always attaches very great

importance to it. When we were in the Soviet Union we had the opportunity to convince ourselves that extraordinary development in all fields has been achieved there during these last ten years».

Western observers have found it difficult to conceal their enthusiasm over Khrushchev's approval of the Yugoslav type of «socialism». In Yugoslavia they saw «a Khrushchev prepared to make many concessions, to take many steps forward». They have long regarded Yugoslavia as «a transmission-belt» to carry counter-revolutionary ideas from the West to the East. This is how Radio London expressed it on August 30: «Many observers consider Khrushchev's interest in the 'workers' councils' in Yugoslavia as the most important result of his visit to the Adriatic coast. These councils are nothing else but a symbol of Titoite communism, and constitute one of the main parts of the revisionism which the Soviet Union and the entire communist world officially condemned less than three years ago. The system of 'workers' councils' in Yugoslavia is half communist and half Western. The only danger is that it may fall between two stools. This system, based on two models, is still holding its own. That's why N. Khrushchev is eager to do something similar in Russia. And if he does this he will be acclaiming not only Tito but also the Western economic system.» The mouthpiece of the big US monopolists, the «New York Times», wrote: «The most interesting aspect... is the very friendly attitude of the Soviet Premier, N. Khrushchev, towards the Yugoslav system of implementing orthodox communism. This could give rise to big changes in Moscow's economic organization. Yugoslavia has adopted so many ideas from the West that it can play the role of a transmission-belt carrying Western economic ideas to the East.»

Under these circumstances, is there any reason for the imperialist West to have the slightest worry about the results of Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia? None whatsoever.

Khrushchev's demagoguery cannot continue for long to deceive the Soviet people, the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union and the other communist and workers' parties with his tales that allegedly changes have been made in Yugoslavia towards socialism, that the Yugoslav leaders are correcting their former mistakes, and consequently, that Yugoslavia is a country which «is building socialism».

Everybody knows how matters really stand, what «changes» have been made there. Daily life brings out many facts which prove that nothing has changed in Tito's Yugoslavia. Only the grave can straighten out a hunchback. Tito himself has stated repeatedly that he has discarded nothing from his program, that «there is no question of any concession» and that he has not made and has no intention of making any change whatsoever.

He repeated this once again to Khrushchev's very face. Once again publicly reassuring his friends in the West, Tito said, «In connection with the visit of N. Khrushchev rumours are already circulating in the West, conjecturing as to who will make concessions. Will Tito and the Yugoslav communists enter the camp, or will N. S. Khrushchev make concessions to the Yugoslav communists on behalf of the communists of the Soviet Union? This is altogether out of the question», Tito emphasized, «There is no question of any concessions. This matter will not be taken up in the talks.»*

Tito's words are really meant for other ears. For his part, his assurances are the truth. And the facts show this. Tito has made no concessions to Khrushchev, but Khrushchev has made many concessions to Tito. The newspaper «Washington Post», which is very close to the US government and especially to the State Department, expressed the idea on August 24 that in the present state of international affairs, especially «in the Sino-Soviet conflict, Khrushchev stands in greater need of Tito than Tito of Khrushchev. Premier Khrushchev is trying to get on good terms with the Yugoslav leader again».

Khrushchev's demagogic tales about the Tito's clique having changed and corrected its mistakes are intended to prove that Yugoslavia is a real socialist country and that socialism is being built there successfully, in order to justify his full collaboration with the

Tito clique, its final rehabilitation and the inclusion of Yugoslavia in the family of socialist countries and that of the League of Yugoslav communists in the ranks of the international communist movement. But this is one of the crudest and most blatant violations of the 1960 Moscow Declaration, unanimously approved by all the fraternal parties, in which the Yugoslav revisionists were branded as traitors to Marxism-Leninism and as agents of imperialism, as splitters and underminers of the socialist camp, the international communist movement and the peace-loving forces and states.

But the achievement of full unity with the Tito clique shows clearly once again down which road the Khrushchev group is rushing. As the popular saying goes, «a man is judged by the company he keeps». To unite with the Yugoslav revisionists means to unite with the enemies of socialism, the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, with the splitters of unity and the agents of imperialism, who are conspiring against the socialist countries and the entire world revolutionary movement. Not only has the Khrushchev group united with the treacherous Tito clique but it has launched frenzied attacks on all those communist parties which, standing loyal to the Moscow Declaration of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, carry out their international duty and expose the Yugoslav leaders with their revisionist ideas and anti-socialist activities. This means that the Khrushchev group has obliterated any distinction between friend and foe, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, between defenders and disrupters of unity, and between anti-imperialist fighters and agents of imperialism, and has gone completely over to the camp of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, socialism, the peoples and peace in the world.

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The second main conclusion to be drawn from Khrushchev's visit to the Tito clique, from their talks and public statements, is that they have coordinated their dangerous undermining activities against the socialist camp

and the international communist movement, first and foremost, against the Marxist-Leninist parties which are struggling, in a resolute and principled way, against modern revisionism and in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism. This is clearly borne out by a series of incontestable facts.

It is now no secret to anyone that for some time back, Khrushchev and his propaganda agents have ceased to use the term «socialist camp». This was especially noticeable during his tour of Yugoslavia. In no address, in absolutely no published speech or conversation, can one find such an expression except at the August 21 banquet, when Tito made a scornful reference to it. The question here is not just that Khrushchev tried to avoid saying anything that might prejudice his «cordial relations» with the renegade Tito, through the use of such «unfashionable» and «unnecessary» terms as «the socialist camp», towards which, as everybody knows, the Yugoslav revisionists maintain a completely negative and hostile attitude. The fact is that Khrushchev supports and fully agrees with Tito's hostile attitude towards the socialist camp. When a journalist asked him at Brioni whether «the fact that Yugoslavia does not belong to blocs hinders the Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation», Khrushchev answered, «No!» and added, «Historically all the socialist countries take the same Marxist-Leninist position, for we are linked by common ideas and are guided by a single theory, while other manifestations like 'blocs' and so on are temporary».

What does this mean? To what blocs is he referring? It is publicly known that the Yugoslav revisionists consider the socialist camp as a «bloc» that when they speak about the so-called «neutrality» or «non-alignment» of Yugoslavia, they pretend that they stand not only outside military blocs and organizations but also outside camps and above the camps. Under these circumstances Khrushchev's statement against the so-called «blocs» inevitably gives rise to two conclusions:

On the one hand, it is clear that Khrushchev fully accepts Tito's reactionary position, regarding the socialist camp as «a military bloc», as a

negative phenomenon that has led to the aggravation of the international situation and as something «temporary».

On the other hand, in this way N. Khrushchev supports and justifies the demagogic manoeuvres of the Tito clique about the so-called «neutrality» and «non-alignment» of Yugoslavia. But how can there be a country which is socialist and at the same time «neutral» in the great historic struggle between the two camps, the socialist and imperialist camps? There was a time when Khrushchev himself condemned and rejected this absurd pretension of the Tito clique: «The Yugoslav leaders», he declared at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, «claim that they stand outside blocs, above the camps, although in fact they take part in the Balkan bloc, which consists of Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Greece... The leaders of the Yugoslav League of Communists consider themselves highly insulted when we tell them that they are sitting on two stools. They assure us that they are sitting on their own Yugoslav stool. However, this Yugoslav stool seems to be largely supported by the US monopolies. And precisely for this reason this position 'outside blocs', the neutrality to which the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia are so attached, has a strong smell of the US monopolies, which are fostering «Yugoslav socialism». The history of the class struggle still knows of no example in which the bourgeoisie has supported its class enemy materially or morally, and assisted it to build socialism.»

Thus Khrushchev has now decided to cancel out the existence of the socialist camp and does not hesitate to come out openly against it. Here we have to do not only with a major concession of principle to Tito's revisionist and anti-socialist positions, but also with a real betrayal of the vital interests of socialism, with an attempt to undermine the socialist camp itself and to liquidate it.

In the context of his activities to undermine and split the socialist camp, the international communist movement and their unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and pro-

letarian internationalism, Khrushchev deemed it necessary to revive the idea of pan-Slavism during his visit to Yugoslavia. From the very first day he spoke of «our traditional friendship», «our common historical destiny» and «our common final goal»; in this way implying and stressing the special links between peoples of the same ethnic group. This is not the first time that the Khrushchev group, departing from the Marxist-Leninist class position, has tried to build its political platform regarding the relations between states and parties on such ethnic, racial, and even religious grounds, even going so far as to make one effort after another for rapprochement with the Pope of Rome in order to win the support of Catholics. But to replace the class principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism with pan-Slavism or with other similar non-Marxist ideas means to undermine the very foundations on which the workers' international solidarity and unity, and the relations among the peoples of the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties are based. It means to degrade and seriously damage the cause of socialism. This is one of the many proofs of the complete and hopeless ideological degeneration of the Khrushchev group.

Moreover Khrushchev did no fail to assign a special, if not a decisive, role to Yugoslavia in the Balkans and even in the world (!).

It was for this purpose that in his speech at Velenja, he extolled in an one-sided way the fight of the Yugoslav peoples against the fascist invaders, while deliberately denigrating the great contribution of the other Balkan peoples in the antifascist war. Of course, the peoples of Yugoslavia waged a really heroic war for the liberation of their country, but the other Balkan peoples, also, were in the thick of it and shed a lot of blood in that war. The setting of one people against another, the tendentious praising of the fight of one people and the deliberate ignoring of the contribution and the struggle of other peoples, which Khrushchev resorted to, reveals once again his aims of disruption and provocation by inciting the nationalist

and chauvinist passions of the friends he supports. Khrushchev also took the opportunity to encourage Titos' old dream of a special role in the Balkans, of his hegemony in some sort of «Balkan Federation». Thus during this visit Khrushchev revealed himself nakedly to be the complete Machiavelli, politically and morally.

Khrushchev and Tito puffed themselves up by posing as masters of the fate of the Balkans. When a foreign journalist asked them about this in Brioni, observers could not fail to notice Khrushchev's angry reaction, when he said, «Why do you stick your nose into our affairs?» Just what lies hidden behind the phrase «our affairs» was revealed by the British news agency Reuters, which wrote on August 18, «The possibility of new Balkan projects, in which Yugoslavia would play a primary role, cannot be ruled out». The peoples of the Balkans are justified in asking: Since when have the affairs of the Balkans become the private business of Khrushchev and Tito? Who gave them the monopoly of the right to speak and act in the name of the Balkan peoples, to make deals and divide the roles behind their backs and to their detriment?

But what is this Tito clique to which Khrushchev wants «to entrust the fate of the Balkans»? And what is the «special role» which Khrushchev has assigned to it? Our people, as well as the other peoples of the Balkans, are very well acquainted with the features of this gang of renegades and agents of imperialism, we are well aware of their intentions and role. Are we perhaps to forget the active role of the Tito clique in the Hungarian counter-revolution? Can it be, that the subversive and conspiratorial activity of the Yugoslav revisionist agents, which have been detected and exposed time after time, in Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and Rumania, have been forgotten so soon? The Albanian people will never forget the betrayal and plot by Koçi Xoxe and others, the plot hatched up by the Yugoslav revisionists in collaboration with the Greek monarchofascists, the US 6th Fleet, and some traitors against the sovereignty of our country, nor will they forget the numerous acts of provocation and hosti-

lity against the People's Republic of Albania and our people.

Tito accompanied his «dear friend» to the vicinity of the northern borders of our Homeland in a demonstrative way. Khrushchev did not go to Titograd to pay a «passing» visit to the ethnographic museum of Cetigne and see the relics of Nyegosh. He inspected the Albanian-Yugoslav border, in order to express in this way his support and approval of the profoundly hostile stand and intentions towards our people of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders who are notorious for the attempts they have made on the freedom and the independence of our socialist Homeland.

It is clear that «the special role» of Titoite Yugoslavia in the Balkans, indeed in the world(!), is directed against the vital interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement; that its aim is to undermine and split them; and that this is a component part of the campaign of the Khrushchev-Tito revisionist united front against those fraternal parties which firmly uphold the principles of Marxism-Leninism, first and foremost, the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania. The clearest evidence of this is the fact that Khrushchev's entire visit to Yugoslavia was accompanied by a frenzied campaign of monstrous, coordinated attacks launched by Khrushchev and Tito and others against the Marxist-Leninist parties.

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The third main conclusion to be drawn from Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia is that he has moved closer to the imperialists, particularly to the US imperialists.

It is a publicly known fact — and Tito has more than once confirmed it by his own words — that «socialist» Yugoslavia has become a «bridge between the East and the West». Khrushchev is now openly using this «bridge» not just to make approaches to, but actually to cross over to the West.

The establishment of a direct line of telephone communication between the Kremlin and the White House was recently inaugurated. This line is cal-

led «the hot line», through which Khrushchev may talk directly to Kennedy and carry on further negotiations at the expense of the peoples. But Khrushchev and Kennedy also have a living telephone «line», Tito, who provides good service in a «creative way» to their common purpose.

Expressing his great satisfaction over the conclusion of the tripartite Moscow agreement, which is another capitulation of the Khrushchev group to the imperialists, a fraud and a betrayal of the cause of socialism, Tito said in his speech at the banquet given by Khrushchev on August 21, «Of course this is still insufficient. Much still remains to be done...». Tito, the inveterate agent of imperialism, is not satisfied with the results achieved, he wants further steps to be taken along the road which he long ago made clear to his revisionist colleagues. This is the road of the «economic and political integration of the world», in other words, the road towards the gradual and peaceful integration of socialism into capitalism about which Kennedy has spoken.

In analyzing Khrushchev's public utterances in Yugoslavia, everybody notices that he not only refrained from attacking US imperialism openly, but did not refer to it even once by name. He confined himself to the usual terms of the revisionists regarding «the most aggressive circles of imperialism» and very rarely at that. The AFP news agency pointed out, «This moderation of language can be explained, of course, by Khrushchev's desire to maintain the tone of 'peaceful coexistence', and also to avoid placing the Yugoslavs in an embarrassing position with regard to Washington». But this is not all. Khrushchev did not make any open attack against the imperialists, because his views regarding imperialism in general, and US imperialism in particular, are the same as those of Tito, and because he has now set out on the road to full reconciliation and rapprochement with the imperialists. Western observers pointed out on this occasion, not without justification, that while awaiting the decision of the US Congress on the re-establishment of the «most favoured nation» clause in the trade relations with

Yugoslavia, Tito will have something to report and bring as compensation to President Kennedy at the White House on the occasion of the trip he is to make to Latin America soon, that is, the new and more moderate attitude of Khrushchev.

The attitude of the Tito clique towards US imperialism and the attitude of US imperialism towards the Tito clique is no secret to anyone. Their relations are like those of master and servant. It is clear that the approach to and unity with the servant and agent of imperialism, who is nurtured and kept on his feet by US dollars, is a big step towards approach to and unity with his master — US imperialism. Everybody sees this. They see and condemn this open betrayal by Khrushchev who, by uniting with Tito, is rolling out the carpet in anticipation of the not so far distant day when the imperialists and the revisionists will celebrate Khrushchev's complete rapprochement with John Kennedy. The facts are now so clear that it is difficult even for those who, for some time, have made it their habit to follow Khrushchev in his great betrayal, to refuse to see it. A truly great responsibility towards their parties, their peoples and the international communist movement falls on those leaders who have had and still have reservations about Tito particularly, and about what Khrushchev and Tito are doing, and yet who keep silent, who are afraid to say what they think and dare not express their opinion. Embracing Tito leads to embracing Kennedy as well. Are all those leaders who call themselves communists, but who remain silent, in favour of this, too? The Khrushchev group is trying to persuade the communists and the people that unity with Titoite Yugoslavia means unity with socialist and anti-imperialist forces and is in the interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

In order to judge whether this union really has such a character or not, let us look at how the West reacted to Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia and whether the capitalist world was perturbed by the «new rapprochement» of Belgrade with Moscow.

The facts show that, far from being disconcerted, the West and the imperialist powers received this visit with lively interest and welcomed it. In one of its reports from Belgrade, the «Washington Post» said, «Western diplomats are pleased with the tone and results of the talks between Tito and Khrushchev». Therefore, Washington did not cut off its credits to Tito over his «rapprochement with Moscow», but, on the contrary, is taking steps to increase them.

This fact alone is sufficient to prove how false is Khrushchev's demagogic prattle that unity with Tito allegedly means unity with the socialist and anti-imperialist forces. If it were so, if this unity were spearheaded against imperialism, then we would not be hearing praises and congratulations from the imperialists for the Yugoslav road and the rapprochement of the Tito clique with Khrushchev, but would be hearing those same anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary attacks which the imperialists usually aim against their class enemy — the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party and the socialist and anti-imperialist forces of the world.

From this it is not difficult to understand who will benefit from such rapprochement and unity. The imperialists have good reason to welcome and support it, because they see in this unity the establishment of a united revisionist front against socialism and all the forces of the world revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement.

The fact that Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia ended with no big rally in Belgrade or final statement or communiqué must attract attention. This is by no means accidental, because, although it was officially announced that Khrushchev went to Yugoslavia for a holiday, Khrushchev and Tito themselves stressed, more than once, that this visit had been turned into a working visit. In reality, this was the only possible conclusion to talks between Tito and Khrushchev in this situation.

Both Tito and Khrushchev are very fond of publicity. They would have liked to consecrate their complete unity publicly, but at the same time the matter required them to restrain them-

selves to avoid openly disclosing their card and damaging their position.

Tito, of course, was the more interested in holding a rally and having official documents published because he would have liked to see the Moscow Declaration torn up officially, to see the final seal put on his complete rehabilitation, Yugoslav «specific socialism» given the «right of citizenship» and the League of Yugoslav Communists finally included in the ranks of the international communist movement as a «Marxist-Leninist party» and to have their joint views on present world development and the problems of the international communist movement sanctioned. In other words, Tito would have liked everything Khrushchev said in secret talks and publicly in support of the Yugoslav leaders and about their common concepts to be proclaimed in a joint official document.

But Khrushchev still feels obliged to keep up his disguise, because however carefully a joint official document was drawn up, it would still be in flagrant opposition to the Moscow Declaration. Khrushchev is obliged to resort to manoeuvre and deceit while still trying to hide behind the Moscow Declaration. He calculates that the work must be done, that is, Tito must be rehabilitated, the Moscow Declaration violated, his activities coordinated with the Yugoslav revisionists and plots hatched up together with them, but all this cannot yet be sanctioned by any official document, which would be another powerful weapon in the hands of the Marxist-Leninists.

Tito's dissatisfaction on this issue could be clearly understood from his farewell speech at the airport. While Khrushchev confined his speech to generalities, Tito concretely defined the results of the visit and the talks with his guest. He enumerated the points on which they agreed, and did this in such a way as to leave no doubt that he intended to remind his friend of the pledges he had made during his visit and to advise him not to forget them.

These are the main results of Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia and his talks with the Tito clique.

The whole world is becoming more and more convinced that with his po-

licy of unity with the Belgrade renegades and his rapprochement with the imperialists, Khrushchev is betraying the Soviet people and the other peoples of the socialist countries, the international communist movement and the national liberation and anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the world. Khrushchev had the audacity to say at Brioni, «I have something to boast about!» True enough! He could «boast» that he is carrying out the aims of the rabid class enemies of socialism and the Soviet Union, he could boast that he is seriously endangering the achievements of the Great October Socialist Revolution, that he is wrecking the socialist camp and splitting the international communist movement for the benefit of international reaction and US imperialism.

But the peoples and history will not forget and will not forgive him. The Soviet peoples who have emerged triumphant from many severe trials in their history, their Communist Party, the other peoples, the communists and revolutionaries of the world will not forget and will never forgive Khrushchev for his high treason to Marxism-Leninism, the international working class, the peoples, socialism and peace.

Keeping their revolutionary vigilance, their spirit of proletarian internationalism and unbounded loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the proletariat and the people at a high level, true Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries will fight selflessly and with determination against modern revisionism, for the preservation of the purity of the Leninist teachings, and against imperialism and reaction for the triumph of socialism, communism and peace in the world.

* 'Pravda', August 23, 1963.

ENVER HOXHA

CONVERSATION WITH CHOU EN-LAI

DEAR COMRADE CHOU EN-LAI,
DEAR COMRADES OF THE CHINESE DELEGATION,

YOUR COMING HERE HAS CAUSED GREAT JOY. OUR PEOPLE AND PARTY ARE CELEBRATING, BECAUSE, FOR THE SECOND TIME¹, THEY HAVE IN THEIR MIDST COMRADE CHOU EN-LAI, THE CLOSE COMRADE OF MAO TSETUNG, FOR WHOM OUR PEOPLE AND PARTY HAVE A SPECIAL LOVE AND RESPECT. ALBANIA AND CHINA ARE CLOSELY LINKED ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM, AND THEY FIGHT, LIVE, TRIUMPH, AND ADVANCE TOGETHER.

DAY BY DAY WE FOLLOW THE VIGOROUS AND SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT OF YOUR GREAT COUNTRY, THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICY OF YOUR PARTY AND GOVERNMENT, YOUR STRUGGLE AGAINST WORLD IMPERIALISM AND MODERN REVISIONISM.

All our delegations which return from China, speak enthusiastically about everything, above all, especially about the warm and sincere friendship the Chinese people nurture for the Albanian people. All this rejoices and strengthens us, and gives us the possibility to follow the vigorous life and struggle of your people and Party closely.

In the international arena and in the international communist movement, in the national-liberation struggle which the peoples of the world are waging, the weight of People's China, its correct policy, the line which the Communist Party of China, led by comrade Mao Tsetung, has followed and is following, have become an important factor for progress, peace, the struggle for liberation and the struggle for socialism.

Important events are taking place in the world today, complicated problems are facing the peoples, struggles of various characters and intensities are being waged, alliances are being form-

ed and dissolved, leaders are overthrown and others take their place, intrigues are being hatched up by the imperialist enemies and their allies, the revisionists and the other reactionaries of the whole world. But above all this, we see that the just cause of the peoples, enlightened by the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, is advancing, and like a gigantic weight, is mercilessly squeezing the life out of the old world which is dying and giving up the ghost, bringing about the birth and strengthening of the new world. Seeing that this struggle is being waged on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, our Party and people consider it an honour to fight shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Chinese Party and people, consider it an honour and their duty to make their modest contribution to this colossal struggle. The People's Republic of Albania and our Party will remain loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism and to all those parties that, in their activity, proceed

from the unshakable principles of our triumphant doctrine. Marching consistently on this road, we shall always be united and will strengthen our common struggle.

Your coming here and the exchange of views we shall have with you will help us to strengthen our many-sided struggle.

Allow me to speak about some of our ideas.

After acquainting the Chinese delegation with the problems of the perspective development of the economy of the People's Republic of Albania, in general, and the draft of the 4th Five-year Plan (1965-1970), comrade Enver Hoxha dwelt especially on the principal problems of the international situation:

HOW WE SEE THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, THE LESSONS WE SHOULD DRAW AND THE MEASURES WE SHOULD TAKE WITH REGARD TO THE DEVELOPING SITUATIONS.

We think that the Communist Party of China and the Government of the PR of China, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government have not been taken by surprise by the development of international events, but in general, have foreseen them correctly, and acting in a revolutionary manner, have been able to influence them, to leave a marked revolutionary imprint on these situations, making many gains in strengthening the cause

This conversation was held in Tirana with Chou En-lai who visited Albania in March 1965, at the head of a Chinese Party and Government delegation.

of socialism and communism, strengthening a sound peace, and strengthening the peoples' liberation struggles. At the same time, the ceaseless, unyielding, consistent, Marxist-Leninist struggle of our Parties has badly exposed the aggressive nature and warmongering activity of world imperialism, with US imperialism at the head, as well as the great betrayal by the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, in the eyes of the peoples and the communists of the world.

We think that the predominant feature of this stage is the ever more open collaboration and rivalry between US imperialism and the modern revisionists, led by the Soviet revisionists. In the Khrushchevite revisionists, US imperialism has found its allies and partners for the successful implementation of its world policy and strategy, for the struggle against, and the destruction of, the socialist camp and communism in general, for the division of the world into spheres of influence, for the creation of a new colonialism dominated by the two great powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

While having the struggle against socialism as their common objective, each of these two world powers is striving, at the same time, to gain, to maintain, and strengthen its supremacy over the other, to strengthen the grouping of its satellites round itself, to combat the other's grouping of satellites with a view to the possible detachment of its allies, to strengthen its own grouping and, in alliance with the other, to jointly attack the socialist countries, China and Albania in the first place.

The Soviet-US alliance, which is developing and taking more concrete shape every day in the international arena, of course, not without difficulties and contradictions, is a political event which represents a great threat to the fate of the world, and for us comprises a major objective against which we must fight hard. This alliance is developing in all directions, in the political, ideologic, economic and cultural spheres. In many directions, it has been formulated and approved in official documents, in treaties, agree-

ments and contracts, and has been coordinated ideologically from both sides against the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. In all these aspects we shall soon be witness to the increase of agreements, the collaboration, and the coordination of plans between these two great powers, which will even go to such lengths as to conclude military treaties for the «stabilization» of their political-military «alliances».

Of course, there are differences in the trends of activity of these two powers which want to dominate the world by suppressing socialism, and the freedom and the independence of the peoples. The United States of America is going about it with fire and steel, resorting to atomic blackmail and all other kind of pressure, ranging from war to corruption. Whereas the Soviet revisionists while submitting to the American pressure and blackmail, and opposing the aggressive actions of the USA in words, merely for the sake of appearances, are using all means and methods to create their sphere of influence, to establish their domination over the peoples. For the time being they have not resorted to the methods of open wars of repression, but the course they are following will undoubtedly lead them to that, too. At the same time, they think they will achieve their fiendish ends by fighting socialism and our countries concretely, in collaboration and in open rivalry with the United States of America.

The Soviet revisionists cannot think that they will avoid war with their general line of peaceful coexistence, but their intention is to gain time in order to combat socialism and our countries, and meanwhile, to strengthen their positions in the world in the directions we mentioned above. It is clear that the Soviet revisionists are playing with fire, because, in order to achieve their sinister aims, their intention is to weaken the Americans economically, militarily and politically, by leaving them to act with fire and steel against the peoples who are fighting to liberate and defend themselves. On the other hand, the Soviet revisionists are resorting to all their methods in order to undermine, corrupt, degenerate, dominate and enslave the

peoples. But, naturally, these aims and actions of theirs are not developing and cannot develop just as they would like. Other colossal forces are active in the world, and they are the forces of socialism, of the peoples, which are ruining the plans of the imperialists and revisionists and inflicting great defeats on them, one after another.

The building of this new Soviet-US alliance cannot avoid the rivalry and the deep contradictions between them, cannot eliminate «the law of the jungle». On the contrary, it is making the effects of that law harsher every day, and not only between these two imperialist-revisionist powers, the one, the United States, formed long ago, the other, the Soviet Union, which is rapidly assuming this form, but also among other capitalist states and countries where the modern revisionists are in power, such as the former socialist countries of Europe, which are also degenerating into capitalist countries. The degeneration of the Soviet Union and of the other former socialist countries of Europe brought the «law of the jungle» into their relations, too, and all of them, jointly or separately, are prowling like wolves in the international forest, together with the other imperialist wolves.

Now we are witnessing such phenomena as those of the decay of the old alliances existing among the imperialists, and the weakening of the Soviet influence in the socialist countries, as well as the splitting and the weakening of alliances between them. In short, the two groupings, imperialist and revisionist, are entangled in insurmountable contradictions, in strife with one another within the group, and in many insoluble external conflicts and contradictions of one grouping against the other.

These insurmountable contradictions are reflected in every step they take, they are reflected in NATO, the United Nations Organization, the Common Market, the European Community, in their participation in the war in Vietnam, in Laos and the Congo, in the German problem, the Warsaw Treaty, in the March 1st Moscow meeting, in the Council of Mutual Economic Aid, in the relations of the countries of «people's democracy» of Europe,

both among themselves and with the still dominant Soviet power.

That is a maze of problems, but we must find our bearings in this wood, must carefully follow the thread, reach correct conclusions and build the strategy and tactics of the struggle against imperialism and revisionism on the basis of our unerring Marxist-Leninist science.

We must say that at present, the international situation in general is in favour of the forces of socialism and the peoples. Imperialism as a whole, and US imperialism in particular, is decaying, in decline, it is losing ground and becoming utterly exposed in all its activities. Modern revisionism, and especially Khrushchevite revisionism, which caused the crisis in the socialist camp and international communism, greatly harmed our great cause, but while admitting this fact, the exposure, the unmasking, and the fierce struggle we have waged and will continue to wage against this plague amongst us, has made it lose ground and lose strength from day to day.

The ever greater deepening of the contradictions among the imperialist powers is causing the continuous weakening of US imperialism, this great and chief enemy. The contradictions among the imperialists have always existed and always will exist, and this is eroding and weakening them, but at the moment they have become very acute.

When they emerged from the crisis of the Second World War, the imperialist countries required a relatively long time to recover and, willynilly, had to accept US «aid» accompanied with the domination of US imperialism. Nevertheless, over a long period, US imperialism, assisted by British imperialism, managed to incorporate its partners, weakened by the war, in military-political alliances, in which it dictated its own law. By means of these alliances, under the pretext of economic «aid» to restore the war-devastated economies of these countries, US imperialism set up its own bases in many capitalist countries of the world. At the same time the USA imposed its will on these countries in the field of their economy, investments, trade, etc. over a long period. There

is no doubt that, in these conditions, the United States of America dictated the way of life, and political and ideological opinion in those countries. On the other hand, US imperialism financed the economic recovery of Bonn Germany and ensured that it was armed to the teeth, and that militarism, fascism and revanchism were revived. The idea of creating a powerful fascist Germany, which would be its ally to the end and the main striking force against socialism, and at the same time the force to intimidate and blackmail its wavering allies, has been and still is part of the plans and activity of US imperialism.

Thus, this capitalist re-grouping, under the absolute direction of the Americans, naturally constituted a dangerous potential threat of war. Even now it is still a threat of a world war of aggression but it is no longer the monolithic force it used to be.

Capitalist France now remains in NATO only formally; it has set out on the course of open opposition to US imperialism. Back on its feet again, big French capital cannot endure the American grip and dictate, and declines to be strangled. France feels strong enough to resist the USA, therefore the Americans are encountering France's opposition. Of course, this has greatly shaken and weakened the military and political strength of NATO. In fact, this positive existing situation is not just a result of the development of French capital, but a direct consequence of the struggle which our socialist countries are waging and of all the peoples' national-liberation struggles against US imperialism. Our struggle weakened it, and French capital seized the opportunity to oppose the domination of US imperialism. We Marxists should make use of this situation and this moment of grave crisis in the ranks of world capitalism. We have not the slightest illusion about French capitalism, which, although it has great contradictions with US imperialism, in essence, is the self-same capitalism it used to be, with the same aims of domination and with new tactics to fight socialism and communism, to oppress and exploit the peoples. The new phenomena in the contradictions that are

showing up among the capitalist countries were foreseen by Stalin and now they are being realized just as he envisaged².

We think that US imperialism is being weakened everywhere, and its aggressive actions, coupled with atomic blackmail, testify to its weakness and not to its strength. It has great troubles in Europe, and its dominating positions are not stable. It is trying to re-build new positions, relying heavily on and striving to hold on to Bonn Germany as its most powerful and aggressive support.

Bonn Germany, we think, is the corporal in capitalist Europe. The Americans are doing their utmost to keep the revanchist Erhardt³) government in pro-American positions, and in order to achieve this, they are doing everything possible to meet all its demands, and especially to equip it with atomic weapons. On the other hand, the Americans are doing their utmost to bring the Soviets to their knees in order to achieve the unification of the two German states according to the conditions of the Americans and of the Bonn revanchists. If the USA can achieve this, consequently it will have strengthened its positions in Europe, compensated for the weakening which France has caused it, and to some degree, isolated France. In this manoeuvre, the USA is aiming to isolate France, to prevent it from concluding any effective alliance with Bonn, and having made it impossible for France to achieve this, to destroy any attempt on the part of France to revive the old alliances with the Soviets, a thing that would isolate Bonn Germany, hence limit the American domination.

To sum it up, we can say that the USA is trying to defeat the aims of France, which is seeking to revive its old alliances with the countries of the East and Central and South-East Europe, and at the same time, to link itself with Bonn Germany, too, and, in this way, to be better placed to fight communism and the US domination. Thus, France is trying to extend its domination. This is the aim of the Gaullist approaches towards the countries of «people's democracy» in Eastern Europe, the granting of credits

and the development of cultural relations with them.

In these situations the will and views of the other NATO members, with the exception of Bonn and London, are not taken into account. Whichever it is, whatever its colour, the British government will pursue its traditional policy of maintaining the balance, but the balance will always lean to the side of the Americans. Notwithstanding that the Americans have crushed Britain, impelled by the traditions, interests and the play of old alliances, and especially those of the last two great world wars, Britain will incline to the alliance with the Americans. Nevertheless, there are and will always be contradictions between them.

As for the ambitions of the revanchist government in Bonn, they are known. It is trying to secure atomic weapons, to dominate Europe and NATO together with the USA, to gobble up Democratic Germany, to re-establish the old borders of the Third Reich, to reorganize new alliances in its favour, and to threaten and kindle a new war at the time Bonn and its partners find favourable. In a word, while pursuing two immediate main aims, that of being equipped with the atomic weapons and of gobbling up the German Democratic Republic, Bonn Germany supports the US policy, while trying not to tread on Britain's toes, and doing nothing to worsen or break its relations with De Gaulle, and is making secret and open attempts to begin talks and conclude agreements with the Soviet revisionists. On the other hand, Bonn is trading with, and granting credits to, the so-called countries of people's democracy, and even has trade exchanges with the German Democratic Republic.

As we can judge from such a development of the situation, the imperialist coalition in Europe is not ready for war. The French question upset the balance, and it will take some time before it is stabilized again. On the other hand, the capitulation of the Soviet revisionists, first of all, and their European satellites has created a new field of work, hopes, efforts, possibilities, and coalitions for the imperialists, which, for the time being,

do not permit them to miss the favourable opportunities created by the Khrushchevites, and to start armed adventures and conflicts in Europe.

We may draw the conclusion that, at present, a dark cloud prevails over Europe, that it has become a field of imperialist-revisionist intrigues, and, despite the deep contradictions simmering among all these imperialist-revisionist states, the forces still have not developed in Europe which can take advantage of these contradictions to create a revolutionary situation there. The only completely revolutionary forces here are the Party of Labour of Albania, the People's Republic of Albania, and on a small scale, the Marxist-Leninist groups in some countries of Western Europe⁴. Therefore, it is in the interests of the revolution and socialism that the great weight of the People's Republic of China should be felt powerfully in Europe, that these contradictions should be utilized.

The situation in the revisionist camp is also full of contradictions. We can say that their political-economic unity has been weakened, although it exists formally. The Warsaw Treaty exists, and we believe that it will continue to exist, as a «shield» for the expansionist policy of the Khrushchevite revisionists. They, the Soviet revisionists in the first place, will use this treaty in order to preserve their military hegemony, to have the forces and armaments of their partners under their control and supervision so that, for definite aims, they can dominate the weak partners, intimidated and «disarmed» by them, through their fear of «some attack», and intervene, possibly jointly, in case any of their partners gets out of line⁵. The Soviet revisionists have great hopes that through the Warsaw Treaty they will have the satellites' armies as cannon fodder, as an empty market for the sale of their outdated weapons, and above all, as a force to keep them under control.

In these situations of political instability, in these times of many-sided deals with the American and the other imperialists, in these situations of internal economic, political and ideological difficulties, the other revisionist

partners need the Warsaw Treaty as a shield against any eventual external and internal threat. But we think that there is no harmony, no unity, in this camp, that there is dissatisfaction and distrust.

In their common aims to reach agreements with the imperialists, and in the first place, with the US imperialists, there are tendencies, especially on the part of the Soviet revisionists, to treat everything, every result they achieve, every deal they make, in such a way as to persuade the others that they must accept it. Of course, these attempts of the Soviet revisionists cannot be easily achieved, because there are centrifugal forces in action. Thus, there is the other tendency (of almost all the other revisionist states, which does not fully accept the Soviet dictate, and this is being fostered vigorously by the Americans, the French, the British, and Bonn). Sometimes these states negotiate and reach separate agreements, make individual efforts to influence the national state platforms and the national interests they deal with, in a word they impede, disrupt, sabotage, amend, and raise obstacles to the Soviet hegemonic line.

This tendency has sharpened the contradictions between the revisionist countries, and this is reflected in their internal and external weaknesses. The German problem is raised by them as the main political-military problem. They pretend to maintain the same, allegedly resolute stand. But this is not and cannot be the reality. It is true that all of them are concerned about this problem, but each of them wants to settle it according to his own views. They are all manoeuvring at the expense of the German Democratic Republic. The meetings of the Warsaw Treaty disregard Ulbricht's appeals and memoranda, and the communiques from the meetings are demagoguery and bluff which do not reflect the truth. None of them is genuinely for the proper defence of the German Democratic Republic. They are all afraid of a fight, of war. Gomulka is ready to impose heavy conditions of capitulation to Bonn on the German Democratic Republic so long as the imperialist states officially recognise the Oder-Neisse bor-

der. Czechoslovakia, likewise, is moving towards the normalization of its old alliances, provided only that the Bonn revanchists give up their claims to the Sudeten. Hungary has no desire to be embroiled in war over the German problem. Its ambitions lie in other directions, on the territory of its neighbours and the strengthening of the capitalist regime it is restoring at home.

Therefore, it is very advantageous, both to the Soviets and to the others, for the German problem to be liquidated with little pain and much demagoguery, and in return for this they ask for nothing but some sort of assurance, be it even temporary, that Bonn will keep a relatively low profile. In our opinion, during this period the German Democratic Republic is being used by the Soviet Union and its allies as a token to be bartered in the negotiations, blackmail and deals between the imperialists and the modern revisionists. Of course, this is another major cause which is deepening the contradictions between the revisionists and weakening their internal and external positions. They are ceaselessly exposing themselves.

As regards the political relations of the socialist countries with the other bourgeois states of the world, they are not following a common general line, but each of them is working on its own national account. Very often, one state, proceeding from the law «everyone for himself», will do its revisionist partner in the eye in order to ensure economic or political gains, preserve its «prestige and secure support for itself», continually violating principles, and trampling the interests of its partner, which, in most cases, is revisionist, too. Thus, «the law of the jungle» has been introduced in their relations. This, of course, deepens their contradictions, and weakens and exposes them.

The economic relations between the revisionists exist, and Soviet revisionism, as the biggest economic power, is still dominant and making the law, but not as in the past. It is dominating the weak economies of its partners with its economic power and with the establishment of some important keys, which, for the time being, its partners cannot break or esca-

pe from. This gives rise to the great Soviet pressure on them, and this pressure is not only economic. All these relations between the Soviets and their revisionist partners are enslaving capitalist relations. None is satisfied with the other, and there are quarrels, disagreements, blackmail and threats everywhere. Here there are many deep, insurmountable, undermining contradictions, and these exert an influence towards their further degeneration.

None of the revisionist states is guided by the internationalist principle of comradely aid in the economy; on the contrary, each is out to make the maximum profits from the other, in the capitalist manner. Thus, everything, all the economic relations between them are regarded and developed only in the capitalist spirit. But the economic crisis in the Soviet Union no longer permits it «to help», and to cope with the ever growing needs of its revisionist allies, which are also caught in the crisis. In these conditions then, the way out for these new capitalists is to appeal for American, French, British and German foreign capital. American and other credits have begun to flow in, to increase, and to spread like leeches throughout the economy of the Soviet Union and the so-called countries of people's democracy in Europe. This inevitably brings with it political and ideological influence and leads to the degeneration of the regime, the political, economic and military swallowing of these countries, which gradually, sooner or later, become countries dependent on the various imperialists and are transformed into their spheres of influence.

Of course, this is adding to the contradictions between the revisionist countries of Europe and the Soviet revisionists, who are losing their absolute political and economic domination. This is adding to, and deepening, the contradictions between the people and the true Marxist-Leninists, on the one hand, and the revisionist chiefs of each country, on the other; it is impoverishing these countries, polarizing the forces of reaction and the forces of the people, and creating a wide field of conditions favourable to revolution in those countries.

How should we define the present ideological «unity» of the revisionists and the struggle they are waging against Marxism-Leninism and especially against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania?

The hostility of the modern revisionists to Marxism-Leninism and our two parties is relentless, and on this they have unity of thought and action. The revisionist chiefs, not only those who are at the head of the parties and states of the «people's democracy» of Europe, but also all the chiefs who are at the head of the communist parties in the capitalist countries, have set out on the anti-Marxist road and have become thoroughly and hopelessly compromised. They have crystallized their line of reformism and the degeneration of Marxism-Leninism, and their leadership is the Moscow revisionist clique; the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union provide their orientation and basis. They implement this general line on the basis of the concrete situations in their parties and countries. Of course, around this general revisionist orientation, there are and will be various tendencies, which have been manifested and will be manifested, depending on the inclinations of these chiefs, which are dictated by the pressure of the bourgeoisie, by the resistance put up by the party, by the political-economic situation of the country, by the revolutionary movement and the level to which it has risen, as well as by many other factors.

While preserving their aims intact and fighting to achieve their anti-Marxist objectives, the modern revisionists are now displaying a number of markedly different trends. The Titoite revisionists are following a well-defined, avowed and undisguised road. They are acting in full and open unity with the capitalist bourgeoisie, with social democracy, and in open alliance with and in the service of US imperialism. Things have gone so far with them that, although in fact the other revisionists are in full solidarity with the Yugoslav revisionists, although they take them as an example for action and adapt their Titoite forms to the

degeneration of their own parties and states, they do not dare to rehabilitate them openly. Although they always collaborate with the Titoites closely, declaring that they agree with their policy, while applying the Titoite capitalist reforms in practice, still, they add that they «have some disagreements with them». This is demagoguery and deception. The fact is that the Titoite revisionist wing has gone over completely to the positions of the bourgeoisie, whereas the place of the extreme Right-wing, we can say, is being held currently by the Italian revisionists, the Togliattists. They have taken up the role of applying revisionism to the end in the capitalist countries, that of the liquidation of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, of avoiding the revolutionary struggle, of eliminating the contradictions with social-democracy, of unity with it, of merging with it, and of complete, ideological and political collaboration with the bourgeoisie. In a word, they are for the liquidation of the class struggle and for submission to the absolute power of the bourgeoisie. Since they are not in power, they want to go even further than the Titoites, who have state power in their hands and do not allow anyone else to share it. However, besides this total liquidation, the Italian revisionists are coordinating the actions of the revisionist states, from which they demand acceleration of their degeneration, the complete and consistent carrying out of the revisionist general line of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The Italian revisionists think that they can achieve these results more quickly by developing their «polycentrist» theory, which, in fact, means to spurn the authority of the Soviet revisionists, to cause splits among the revisionists, in order to defeat the Soviet revisionists more thoroughly and more rapidly, in the general framework of the ideological offensive of monopoly capital for the complete degeneration of the revisionist parties and states. Of course, the Italian revisionists are adventurers in the full sense of the word. They want to speed up the process of degeneration. Certainly, the Soviet revisionists cannot

support this tactic, which immediately deprives them of any demagogic weapon. Here, then, is the source of the contradictions and the differences in their tactics.

The ludicrous tactics of the Polish revisionists is demagoguery intended to convince us, if possible, to tone down our polemic, and especially, to show their alleged «independence» from the Soviet revisionists in questions of tactics. But they must be ranked among the savagest enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania, and our socialist states. They are the greatest chauvinists among the revisionists. The Soviets are counting heavily on them, despite the contradictions between them. The Soviets need them very much, because an open breaking away of Poland towards the imperialists would accelerate the final catastrophe of the revisionist camp.

Despite their nuances, which are more pronounced in Ulbricht and Kadar, the other European revisionists, generally, pursue more or less the Soviet course and tactics in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, and especially against our two parties. However, in general, we can say that the former blind faith in the Soviet revisionists no longer exists. This can be said, also, of the other parties of the world dominated by the revisionists. Their trust in the Soviet leadership has been weakened; their trust and the force that attracts them depends on the rubles which finance them in their anti-Marxist and anti-socialist activities.

Of course, all the signs of opposition existing among the revisionists are nothing but attempts to ensure independence of activity, or new regional regroupings.

The Soviet revisionists have suffered great defeats. We can say that the struggle of our parties against them has been the decisive factor in these defeats. Our principled militant stands exposed the Soviet revisionists, are a serious obstacle to their undermining activity, and are dispersing the choking fog of their poisonous demagoguery. Our Parties and countries resisted and came out triumphant over their blackmail and pressures of every kind.

Our unyielding struggle hindered the acceleration of the treacherous activities of the revisionists, made, or is making, things clear to the communists of the world, told the peoples the truth and exposed the agreements reached between the Soviet revisionists and the American imperialists.

From the 20th Congress, the Soviet revisionists took the bit between their teeth, confident in their belief that they would not meet any serious resistance on their road of betrayal. And even if they did, with their views of great state chauvinism, they thought that, with their great economic and military potential, and by disguising and hiding themselves behind the great political and ideological prestige of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they would quickly eliminate this resistance without much pain, or ado. On the other hand the Soviet revisionists were convinced that they would find a ready understanding on the part of the US imperialists who would immediately fall into line with their proposals and major concessions. Thus, the Soviet revisionists thought that their ideological and political revisionist line «would triumph and shine». And thus before there was time to wink your eye, «the miracle» would be achieved, just like the conjurer's tricks at a fair, and to give the devil his due, Nikita Khrushchev, the head of the Soviet revisionists, played the game just like a real fair-ground clown.

Revisionism is the bearer of its own defeat. It spells defeat for those who have been infected by it, because revisionism means betrayal, defeatism, capitulation, rout. Modern revisionism, with Soviet revisionism at the head, brought all its evils in its wake. It weakened the Soviet Union, lowered its prestige and that of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, set about the ideological-political degeneration of the Soviet Union, weakened the revolutionary forces, threw the socialist economy of the Soviet Union into continuous chaos and decline, made major concessions to US imperialism, and is continuing to destroy the Soviet power and to put it at the mercy of a new bourgeois capitalist class, which, day by day, is growing ever more

dependent on the interests of international capitalism.

Their whole ideological line suffered fiasco in its ideological-organizational development, in the development of their external and internal policy, as well as in regard to the socialist camp and international communism.

It is a fact that before the emergence of the Khrushchevite revisionists, the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement was strong and stood monolithic against the bourgeois ideology, for the sole reason that it was guided by Marxism-Leninism. Before the advent of the revisionists to power, the Soviet Union was on the right road, was guided and inspired by the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit and in turn inspired its comrades, friends, and allies in this spirit.

With the revisionists' advent to power the Marxist unity could exist no longer. Our correct thesis, that unity exists where Marxism-Leninism is in power, triumphed. The revisionist bluff and demagogy, their calumnies and slanders that allegedly Stalin, the «cult of Stalin», «the terror», «threats» were «the factors» of this unity that existed then, suffered ignominious defeat. The Marxist-Leninists have risen against the revisionists everywhere and are forging real unity under the guidance and inspiration of Marxism-Leninism, and we see that the Soviet revisionists have not only destroyed the unity of the socialist camp and international communism, but have also brought about the split, and it could not be otherwise. The revisionists are divided among themselves and will be divided even further. Revisionism is the kiss of death.

And when, as a result of our consistent Marxist-Leninist struggle, the Soviet revisionists found themselves facing the great defeat, facing the great evil, they preferred the lesser evil: they liquidated their leader and ideologist, Nikita Khrushchev. Indirectly, they loaded all the blame on to him, and, without changing any part of his old line, Khrushchev's comrades, collaborators and co-plotters, came on stage to carry on Khrushchevism without Khrushchev.

The time since the liquidation of

Khrushchev has proved that the Soviet revisionists are just as much traitors as Khrushchev, and are following the treacherous anti-Marxist theses of Khrushchev with the greatest loyalty. Indeed they have outdone Khrushchev in treachery, because, while they are aware of Khrushchev's terrible mistakes, they have not mended their ways, even after his overthrow.

It is true that they are trying to create and carry out a «new» line, but it is just as revisionist and scandalous as that of Khrushchev.

First of all, their tactics differ only in formal and superficial things:

They have given up Khrushchev's boasting and beating the big drum. For the time being, the Soviet revisionists who replaced Khrushchev are not making speeches, are keeping quiet, to give the impression that they «are reflecting», that they are «prudent and wise», that «they are not a punctured drum», but in practice the same step is being taken and the same drum is being beaten.

They are maintaining and strengthening their ties with the Americans, capitulating to them more and more each day. They did not strengthen themselves with the removal of Khrushchev, on the contrary, they discredited themselves. Now, Khrushchev's successors are trying to piece together what Khrushchev broke. They have no hopes that we will be deceived, but are worrying about their partners who are getting out of hand. They want to create a sort of «unity» between them, on a new basis, in order to face the catastrophe awaiting them. This is one of their main objectives at present. The factional March 1st meeting held in Moscow was intended, above all, to achieve precisely this objective. A common ideo-political platform among the revisionists, suitable to the new present circumstances, has to be found, rather than hope to deceive us. Naturally, in form, the communiqué issued after the March 1st meeting reflects the demagogy of their whole line, but I am of the opinion that their problem is more the creation of a «sort of revisionist unity». This «unity», the Soviets hoped, could be achieved after they had secretly assured their partners that they would

change nothing in the line, and during this time they proved publicly with their stands that nothing had changed after Khrushchev's removal.

But was this unity, so greatly desired by the Soviet leadership, achieved? No, not in the least. As the revisionists they are, with unity the Soviet leaders mean domination, absolute dictate over the others. Unfortunately for the Soviet leaders, the others have become more independent than ever; they were not for Khrushchev, they were happy to be rid of him, because he was arrogant and threatened them. But after the downfall of Khrushchev the other revisionists wanted to be assured that some new Soviet leadership did not turn the clock back, «from our point of view». They were terrified of this. When they were re-assured about this, their positions of independence from «the conductor» were strengthened, and according to information, there was no unity at their last meeting, although all of them are inveterate revisionists.

In the communiqué the modern revisionists issued, the confusion and panic that has seized them from the defeats we have inflicted on them and the fact that they have found nothing new to dish up to their adherents came out openly. It was shown that they do not have the initiative. They are broken, weak, and are on the defensive. The communiqué is a confirmation that the Soviet revisionists cannot openly dictate the law to their revisionist partners, cannot impose themselves as before: the split, «independence», the slipping from their hands is great, the gap is deep. The Soviet revisionists will resort to indirect means to try to rescue their prestige and their authority over their partners, and will activate, encourage, organize and lead the struggle against our parties and states.

Thus, we can say that this period following the fall of Khrushchev has weakened the Soviet revisionists further. First of all, it is our militant stand, the continuation of the polemic by our parties which has brought about their defeat. This is one aspect of the fire that is playing havoc with the revisionists in disarray and

the Soviet revisionists, together with all the problems which have them by the throat. During this period the Americans, also, made sure that, far from changing their positions, the Soviet revisionists become weaker, so they stepped up the dose of their blackmail in order to tie them to themselves more firmly, and to compromise them more thoroughly. The United States of America sees the Soviet «Da» (yes) to the alleged «anti-imperialist struggle» and the «anti-imperialist front» is mere demagogy, therefore US imperialism is making its aggressiveness more pronounced in order to back Soviet revisionists into a corner, so that they become more exposed and discredited and capitulate more quickly.

The Khrushchevite ideas of «peaceful co-existence», of «a world without wars, without weapons» have been shown up in their true colours, and nobody believes them. The fact is that with the war in the Congo, Laos, South Vietnam, and now, with the piratical American bombing of North Vietnam, the Americans are not only bringing the Soviets face to face with capitulation and exposure, but from their terror of war, have also forced the Soviet leaders to undertake diplomatic actions in favour of imperialist theses about Vietnam and putting down the liberation war. Kosygin's trip to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam had fiendish demagogic aims of diversion, capitulation and deception. But he failed. The alleged aid to supply arms to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is nothing but demagogy and a trap. On the contrary, in fact, the Soviet revisionist are striving to organize international conferences with the capitalist states about the Vietnam problem, without Vietnam. There must be serious thought and military preparations, because it is highly possible that the Soviet revisionists since the time of Khrushchev, or even now, might have reached an agreement with the Americans that the Soviets would leave the Americans a free hand to «escalate» the war to North Vietnam and go even further, that is to say, to extend the conflict. Perhaps, on the quiet the Soviet leaders are going to satisfy themselves with bombastic

demagogic statements, may make noisy «protests», and on the other hand, gather «facts and documents» alleging that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and China did not allow the Soviet Union to give Vietnam concrete assistance in arms and men. Of course, the Soviet revisionists are playing with fire, but they think that in this way they may «gain», by weakening the two sides, by getting China embroiled in war, encircling it with a ring of fire and a cordon of «friends» of the Soviet revisionists, such as the Indians. We should nip these plans in the bud.

We are of the opinion that «the problem of general disarmament», «the problem of Germany and Berlin» are being raised and deliberately inflated by the revisionists in order to divert attention. In fact, for them these problems are a propaganda smokescreen to disguise themselves and to divert attention from Indochina and China, where the struggle against imperialism and revisionism is really on the boil. That is where our two main enemies have concentrated their efforts.

The Soviet revisionists, together with the Americans, the French and Bonn, are trying to keep the peoples of the developing countries occupied with regional problems and prevent them from concerning themselves with more acute problems, or from going on the attack everywhere, in a coordinated way. For example, we see how both the Americans and the Soviets are striving to confine the concern of the African countries to Africa problems only, and this is being concretized over the Congo issue, which is an important issue in itself; to get the Arabs to concern themselves only about the danger that Israel presents to them; to make Europe think only about whether to link up with Bonn or Ulbricht, and neglect or take little interest in Indochina and the problems of another continent. In Latin America, the Soviets keep their halter firmly round the neck of any self-styled «communist» leader, whose equivocal views, far from serving the unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionary forces, weaken them, and assist the revisionist chiefs of other communist and workers' parties of the

Latin American countries and all the modern revisionists.

It seems to us that there is a general tendency on the part of the modern revisionists, in collaboration with imperialism, to disperse the revolutionary forces, and tie them up in separate problems, or to separate them deliberately in order to disorganize them.

The fact is that, in various meetings of an international character, this tendency is manifested in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which do not show coherence, are either defeated and isolated, or are «convinced» by the Soviets to raise a number of obstacles, so that the important international or regional meetings, the dates for which have been set, are postponed, or never held, etc. We think that this question should be reconsidered and new tactics should be worked out to revolutionize the situation.

How should we carry on our struggle in this general situation which we have tried to describe as we see it and on the basis of the current circumstances?

We think that we should step up our polemic against modern revisionism, and make it sharper, and first of all, against the Soviet revisionists. They are weakening and need a respite from the polemics. Our duty is to allow them no time to catch their breath but to attack and expose them unceasingly, ideologically and politically. We must expose every action of theirs in the international field and in the field of relations among them, in order to sharpen the divergencies eroding them, to prevent them from grouping together and undertaking joint or separate actions against the peoples, against the revolutionaries and against our parties and states. Any «concession» on their part, any «tactics» of alleged rapprochement with us, should be utilized in a Marxist-Leninist way in all directions, to expose them, disarm them, and make them capitulate.

We think that we must organize and coordinate our struggle against them better. Even without organizationally coordinated work, our two parties have performed and continue to

perform their full duty in the struggle, are clear about everything, and stand unflinchingly in the front line. But we cannot say the same of other Marxist-Leninist parties, which hold more or less sound positions. There are other parties, which have weak contacts, at least with our Party. There are some of them, which possibly consider the Party of Labour of Albania «hard», while they consider themselves on the «correct» road, because they are «cautious».

This «correct», «cautious» line, we think, has nothing at all to do with Marxist maturity and real understanding of how events are developing and whom we have before us as opponents. It has nothing at all to do with a true appreciation of the dangerous nature of the opponent, of his cunning, his stubborn hostility towards our parties and countries and towards Marxism-Leninism, such as the Party of Labour of Albania makes of these problems.

In order to achieve unity of thought and action, or in order to explain and make clear to one another the reasons for the tactical actions of each party, we think that talks should be held among the parties. According to HSIHUA, you hold such talks with the parties of Asia, and this is a very good thing. We also practice this with you, and this is very good, too, but we do not do this with the parties of Asia, not because we do not want to, but because we have not had the opportunity. We have made use of every meeting we have had with the comrades of these parties which have participated in our celebrations, we have expressed our views, but these occasions have not been what bilateral talks, especially for discussion of problems and exchanges of views from the two sides, should be. It seems to us that this is a shortcoming.

We think that the communists always need explanations, always need a correct interpretation of events. The fact is that the genuine communists in bourgeois and revisionist countries are oppressed and under surveillance. Many of them know nothing about the truth, many are confused by lies and demagogy, many others can only guess, while some are clear, listen to

our radio stations, draw conclusions, perhaps even organize themselves, organize the resistance in illegality, and so on. However, we must do our internationalist duty, because this is of exceptional importance to international communism.

The resistance and the organization of the Marxist-Leninists is the decisive factor in the countries where the revisionists rule. We shall help them from outside, through our propaganda by the radio, the press, etc. The work within the revisionist citadel must be carried out by the Marxists and the people of these countries, themselves.

In regard to our contacts with the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups in the capitalist countries, they have been established to some extent. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninists in these countries are organizing themselves and are fighting, here with success, there with difficulty, with some natural vacillations and twists and turns. It is our duty to help them, because the comrades stand in great need of it. Of course, we have not interfered and must not interfere in their internal affairs, but must always display patience, tact, and vigilance, and whenever they seek it, we should give them our experience with the aim that they should avoid mistakes as much as possible. The revisionists are hindering us, the imperialists are hindering us, and both we and our revolutionary comrades in the capitalist and revisionist countries must bear this in mind, because pseudo-Marxists, agents of the revisionists and the capitalists, disguised as revolutionaries, will try to penetrate the ranks of the new parties to sabotage them. Therefore, our revolutionary comrades and we must sharpen our vigilance, must guard against the «ill-founded enthusiasm», and «over-confidence» that somebody might manifest without giving proofs in struggle. We and they must guard against «the beautiful revolutionary words» of some people and put them to the test of practice.

The unity of the thought and action of our two parties has been and is complete, since it is based on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We think that at a time when the

US imperialists are extending the war in Vietnam, when they are aiming to attack great China, at a time when the revisionists, with the Soviet leaders at the head, are intensifying their treacherous activity against communism, the struggle of all the Marxist-Leninist parties against Soviet revisionism should be strengthened. Our opinion is that at those moments, when the enemies are attacking us and when we are on the verge of war, such as the American threat in Vietnam, the vague, or not very active, not to say passive, stands of some sister party and the Marxist-Leninists of some country do not help our common cause.

Our view is that every opportunity must be seized in every country to set the ground ablaze under the feet of the American imperialists and their allies, the revisionists, in the fire of the struggle of the peoples and the Marxist-Leninists.

It is clear that the overall concrete goal of US imperialism, the Soviet revisionists and the reactionaries of the world is to kindle the war in Asia, against China and other socialist countries of Asia, passing from local wars to a general conflagration. The Soviet revisionists and the American imperialists are arming the Indian reactionaries very quickly and with all their might, in order to have them as assault detachments in opening up new hotbeds of aggression. There is no doubt that, under the pretext of defending their country, the Soviet revisionists will build up their strength along the border with China, in order to bring continuous pressure and blackmail to bear upon it, and will try with every means to neutralize the states around it, if they cannot separate them entirely from their traditional friendship with China. On its part, US imperialism will strive to strengthen its ties and domination, its preponderance in Japan, in order to have it under its command, and if possible, to incite it to aggression. The Americans have great hopes of collaborating more closely with Britain for aggression, since its colonies in Asia are in jeopardy. In such situations, we are following the efforts and the correct policy pursued by the People's

Republic of China of approaches to, and the consolidation of its friendship and relations with the other countries of Asia and Africa, in particular, where US imperialism is committing open aggression, and we have great confidence in their success. We think that we must make approaches to, and work with, the countries of South-East Asia, not only to make them conscious of the great danger of a war, which is assuming ever more acute forms, but also to bring them to actively oppose US aggression and its aims for the extension of the war.

For our own part, we are of the opinion that we should further intensify the struggle, the propaganda and the exposure of warmongering US imperialism, of the Soviet modern revisionists, the Titoites and their treacherous supporters. We must launch intensive attacks on their alliances and agreements, must call on the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the other countries to take measures and to paralyse and reject all these agreements with US imperialism, must call on them to completely isolate the aggressive imperialists, call on the peoples, the working class, the peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia of the world to throw their full weight into the struggle to isolate US aggression, this new Hitlerism that is threatening the world with fire and steel.

As for the heroic struggle of South Vietnam, as for the unwavering stand of North Vietnam, as for your resolute and correct stands towards the fraternal Vietnamese people, the aid and support you are giving them, we know these things. Your struggle is our struggle, it is the struggle of all the anti-imperialists, anti-revisionists, it is the struggle of socialism against imperialism and its servants, the modern revisionists and world reaction.

The fraternal Vietnamese people, who are waging an heroic struggle, deserve every support. US imperialism is even using poison gas against the South Vietnamese fighters, and is systematically dropping death-dealing bombs on North Vietnam. It is the sacred duty of all peoples and revolutionaries to defend the just cause of the fraternal Vietnamese people, and to help them with every means, to emerge triumphant.

In conclusion, we want to emphasize

once again, what you express so correctly and openly in your recent attitudes towards the meeting of splitters in Moscow, that we should strengthen our unity of thought and action, should arm and temper ourselves more and more each day for the struggles awaiting us. We understand and give all-out support to your struggle which is based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. We are fighting and will fight, together with you and with all the other Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, for the triumph of our great cause. This is our final word, the word of the Albanian Party and people, we say this to you, to the fraternal Chinese people, to the Communist Party of China and to our comrade Mao Tsetung.

1 He visited the PR of Albania for the first time in January 1964.

2 «Outwardly everything seems to be «going well»: the United States of America has put Western Europe, Japan and the other capitalist countries on rations; Germany (West), Britain, France, Italy and Japan have fallen into the clutches of the USA and are meekly obeying its commands. But it would be a mistake to think that things can continue to «go well» for «all eternity», that these countries will tolerate the domination and oppression of the United States endlessly, that they will not endeavour to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development.» (J.V. Stalin «Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR», Alb. ed., Tirana, 1968, p. 39).

3 At that time Erhardt was chancellor of the Federal German Republic.

4 This refers to the first groups of the years 1960-1965.

5 Life has fully confirmed this prediction. In August 1968, the Soviet Union used the forces of the Warsaw Treaty to occupy Czechoslovakia, «which was getting out of hand».

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CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT IS DRIVING THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS FORWARD

«ZËRI I POPULLIT», organ of CC of the PLA —

During the whole period since World War II, and especially during the last decade, the class struggle of the proletariat has been distinguished for the mass participation in it and its fierceness. In the period from 1919 to 1939, 74 million people participated in strike movements and other actions, while in the period from 1945 to 1960 about 150 million people participated. But in the last ten years, mass participation has been much more pronounced. Whereas in the period from 1966 to 1970, 273 million people participated in strikes, demonstrations and rallies, from 1971 to 1975 this figure reached 315 million. Everywhere there is a tendency to increase, not only in the number of actions of the class struggle, but also in the number of the participants in them, both in the developed imperialist countries and in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Now, the working class in those countries comprises, on the average, 12-15 per cent of the total able-bodied population, and within the last two decades the number of participants in strikes in those countries has increased three-fold.

Another characteristic of

the class struggle is the extension of the social composition of the forces participating in it. The alliance of the working class with the poor peasantry, which, according to the conditions, suffers from the exploitation of the monopolies, as in the USA, the GFR, etc., or from the remnants of the feudal order, as in Italy, Spain, India, and various countries of Latin America, etc., is of decisive importance for the triumph of the revolutionary movement. The bourgeois ideologists, the modern revisionists, the Trotskyites, and opportunists of every hue, in their efforts to deny the historic role of the working class in the present revolutionary movement, and the importance of its militant alliance with the peasantry, present the student youth and the intelligentsia as the decisive force of social progress. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninists have always stressed the active role of the youth in the revolutionary movements, its difficult situation, gloomy prospects, and the insecurity it is faced with in the capitalist world. But, at the same time, they have always stressed the historic necessity that the struggle of the youth

and the oppressed masses of town and country must be closely linked with, and led by, the proletariat and its revolutionary party.

The class struggle in the capitalist countries is not merely a struggle for limited economic demands. Such a concept of it suits only the reformists and confuses the forces which take part in this struggle. This is precisely the direction the revisionist and social democrat parties, the reactionary trade unions, and all the other organizations manipulated by them, want to give it. The class struggle is waged on the political and ideological front, too, and in this direction the true aspirations of the proletariat are expressed by the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, which are waging an incessant heroic struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie and all its lackeys, against the aggressive and hegemonic policy of the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, and the political-military and economic-financial organisms they manipulate.

At the present time, while a powerful upsurge of the revolutionary movement is

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evident, while the movement of the masses oppressed by capital has made great headway, there is a backwardness in the subjective factor, and often the workers are not clear of the roads they must follow to achieve their aims. This comes about as a result not only of the efforts of the bourgeoisie to deceive the working masses by every means, but also of the treacherous sabotage activity of the modern revisionists, the social-democrats, and anarchist and Trotskyite trends, and the disruptive and disorganizing role of the counter-revolutionary trade unions. It is precisely these forces, which, speculating with socialism and the «specific requirements of the time», on a common front with the parties of monopoly capital, are carrying out ideological diversion on a scale unprecedented in the history of the international workers' move-

ment, in order to befuddle the proletariat and to divert it from the class struggle. Undermining the revolution is also the aim of the views of those who preach the theory of the «three worlds», which deprive our epoch of its class content, and deny the great revolutionary role of the proletariat, replacing it with the role of the so-called «third world», in which they include, indiscriminately, a number of ultra-reactionary forces and regimes. All these forms of presentation are contrary to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

The proletariat is the most revolutionary class in history. To perform its historic mission, today, just as at the time of V.I. Lenin, it needs clarity more than everything else. At present, various bourgeois and anti-Marxist trends are in action with unprecedented intensity to confuse and disrupt the pro-

letariat, and as comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, they have only one objective: «to split the proletariat, to prevent it from rallying and organizing itself as a great force and the grave-digger of capitalism which it is». Under these circumstances, the struggle on the ideological and political front, which all the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties are waging against the bourgeois ideology and all the forms in which it is expressed in the workers' movement, is of decisive importance. This struggle is an important factor which prepares the proletariat for revolutionary battles. It is part of that struggle to ensure not only that this class is a class in itself, but also that it becomes a class for itself, overthrows the rotten capitalist order in a revolutionary way, and builds the new communist society.

■

GROWING DISCRIMINATION OF WOMEN IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

«PUNA», organ of the ATU Central Council —

The capitalist system of exploitation of man by man, of the economic and spiritual enslavement of man, has weighed on everybody, but in the most barbarous way on women, especially. In bourgeois society women have

been and are the most enslaved, most oppressed and exploited, humiliated from every point of view. They suffer discrimination at work, at home and in society.

Unemployment, this acute problem of the capitalist or-

der, is especially hard on women. They are the last to be employed and the first to be sacked. Even when they find a job they have to do the most unpleasant, unqualified work and at much lower wages than men re-

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ceive for the same work. In the USA unemployment affects a great number of women. It is especially pronounced among coloured women. Last year twice as many coloured women lost their jobs as white women. In Western Europe there are 7 million unemployed women. They are the first to be hit by the economic crisis which has the capitalist countries in its grip. In Italy 8 out of 10 women are in search of jobs. From 1960 to this day, the official number of working women has declined from 6 and a half million to five and a half million, at a time when the number of women

and girls in the population has increased three fold. In Sicily, the number of women with jobs is the lowest among all the regions of Italy. In Italy, women have to do the most unqualified jobs. Sixty per cent of them have not completed any level of school, while in Spain 73 per cent of the illiterates are women.

In France, the situation of working women is grave: 75 per cent of the lowest paid workers are women, and 70 per cent of them have had no occupational training. Discrimination against women is seen also in the education they get. Only 5 per cent of the girls can attend vocational

schools. But even those few women who graduate from higher schools have no guarantee of earning a livelihood in the occupation for which they have trained. In Spain 40 per cent of the unemployed are women.

In the USA, during the last 20 years, the difference between the annual wage of a man and that of a woman has increased three fold. The average pay for an American woman worker is 74 per cent lower than that of a man on the same job. In Belgium this difference is 33-34 per cent, in Switzerland women are paid 62-65 per cent less than men.

■

«PRESERVATION OF THE BALANCE» — A THEORY TO MASK AND LEGALIZE AGGRESSIONS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The apologists for imperialism, for its oppression and aggression, have always invented various theories and concepts to cover up and justify its interventions and plots, the establishment of imperialist domination over the freedom-loving peoples and the independent countries.

At present such theories as that of «détente», «the interdependent world», «limited sovereignty», «general security», «disarmament», «peaceful coexistence», etc., are wide-spread. But apart from

these theories, the two superpowers, the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists, have long been propagating the so-called «theory» about «the need to preserve the balance» between them, considering that as a «condition to avoid war» and as the «basis for the defence of peace».

Making a powerful exposure of the so-called «theory» about «the need to preserve the balance» at the 7th Congress of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, «The

history of Europe has proved that the «balance of forces» among the big powers has always been a weapon in the hands of exploiting classes to suppress the national liberation and revolutionary movements. Intervention has been always the weapon of the system of balance, to restore it when it is upset or to guard against its being upset». The development of events provides complete confirmation of the correctness of this thesis. The two superpowers have always tried to

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justify their interference in the internal affairs of other countries, to preserve the status quo or to restore it where it is upset, under the pretext of the balance of power theory.

For years on end, the bourgeoisie and revisionists have been propagating what they call «détente». This situation, which, according to them, is the result of the «balance of power» between the Soviet Union and the USA, has allegedly created suitable conditions to surmount the animosity between different systems, for the «peaceful» settlement of international problems under the supervision of the two superpowers. In other words, the essential aim of this propaganda is to paralyse and extinguish the national liberation and revolutionary struggles of the peoples fighting for freedom and national independence, who oppose hegemonism, dictate and tutelage of the «mighty». These just struggles of the peoples are allegedly unnecessary, because the politicians in Washington and Moscow are «concerned» about the problems with which the peoples are preoccupied and are working intensively to solve them. Thus, it is recommended to the peoples that they must be cautious and patient to avoid endangering the balance of US-Soviet relations, because as the bosses of Soviet social imperialism say, «the settlement of inter-

national conflicts and situations becomes possible when a reasonable balance of the interests of the two countries (the USA and the Soviet Union) is found».

Under the pretext that the preservation or upset of the balance depends on the development of various situations, the bosses of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism want to instil among the public the fatalist opinion that no country or people can live outside the «defence umbrella» of one or the other superpower, want to impose the Soviet-US arbitration in settling the problems about which the peoples are preoccupied.

By means of the «balance of power» theory, the two superpowers want to achieve another diabolic aim: to sidetrack the indignation of the peoples against the presence of the US and Soviet military bases in other countries. The feverish preparations for war by the two superpowers are a burden on the backs of the broad working masses both of their own countries and of the other countries of the capitalist-revisionist world, which has been hard hit by the crisis with all its evils, such as continually increasing prices, the high cost of living, inflation, unemployment, poverty, etc. These circumstances, as well as the presence of the US and Soviet military forces, have aroused the indignation of

the proletariat, of all the revolutionary forces and freedom-loving peoples everywhere, who have risen in powerful protest demonstrations and rallies, demanding, among other things, the ousting of the foreign military bases from the territories of their countries.

The supporters of the so-called theory of the «three worlds» also slip into the positions of the «balance of power» theory. Under the pretext that US imperialism is allegedly in decline, while Soviet social-imperialism is on the ascent and is outstripping US imperialism in the military field, they see the evil in the upset of the balance between the two superpowers. On this basis they «overlook» the need to struggle against US imperialism and preach reliance on one superpower to oppose and fight the other.

The «balance of power» is presented by the two imperialist superpowers and their followers as «an important factor for peace and stability» in Europe and the world. But the development of events is demonstrating to the peoples more and more clearly that the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, are the biggest aggressors known to history, that they are equally savage and dangerous to the freedom of the peoples, the revolution and socialism, that both the «balance» and collaboration

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and the rivalry between them are a burden on the backs of the peoples and bring them nothing but misfortune. At the 7th Congress of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha said: «The People's Republic of Albania does not accept and publicly exposes the so-

called theory about the need to preserve the 'balance between the two superpowers' as a condition or a basis to avoid war and defend peace. Peace and international security in Europe and the world are not achieved through the establishment of

'harmony' or 'balance' between the superpowers, but through struggle against imperialist pressures and intervention, through efforts for the liberation of the peoples, through the strengthening of national independence and sovereignty.»

MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES — LEVERS OF IMPERIALISM FOR THE ENSLAVEMENT OF THE PEOPLES

An A.T.A. commentary

The continuous concentration of capital in the hands of a handful of billionaires has led to the strengthening of the multinational companies and the extension of their activity to all the capitalist countries. They are becoming larger through gobbling up smaller companies and firms unable to survive the fierce capitalist competition. Thus the British multinational company «British Petroleum Company Ltd.», which is the biggest industrial concern in Britain, has taken over many firms and companies in more than 20 countries of the world. The US oil company «Esso», through its «geological work», has penetrated into more than 34 countries, has refineries in 39 countries, as well as its firms selling its products in over 100 countries of the world. The Dutch multinational company «Phillips» has extended its activities to

49 countries, the British-Dutch multinational company «Royal Dutch Shell» to 118 countries, etc.

In order to extend their predatory tentacles everywhere in the world, besides various financial machinations to ruin their rivals economically, the magnates of the multinational companies, more than one third of which are American, employ fat bribes to lure the senior officials of the business circles and governments of various countries. All the capitalist companies are engaged in this scandalous bribery racket, but among the most notorious is the US company «Lockheed», the world-wide scandal about which brought to light that topranking officials in Italy, Japan, Saudi Arabia, Britain, Holland, and elsewhere were implicated and compromised in its commercial machinations. «British Leyland», the

British car company with multinational operation, paid out over 20 million dollars in bribes during the financial year 1975-1976. Equally notorious for using bribes in order to secure markets to sell their products in foreign countries are the US multinational companies «Ashland Oil» and «Phillips oil», American Airlines in air transport, «Dupont» in the chemical industry, etc.

Such extensive activities of the multinational companies have led to very large increases in their profits. Statistics show that in 1973 alone the multinational companies averaged from the Latin American countries, where they operate, profits 3.5 times greater than the investments they made, from the Asian countries over 4.5 times, while from the African countries about 9 times more. These profits, drawn from the un-

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paid labour of the workers, are a significant indication of the high level of the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist bosses. The continuous increase in the level of exploitation of the workers in the process of capitalist production, the increase of prices of mass consumer goods, the fall in the price of labour power, etc., are leading to the allround maximum impoverishment of the workers and the other working masses in all the capitalist countries.

At the international level, the multinational companies, like the monopolies at the

national level, make the policy in the countries where they have extended their economic-financial tentacles. This feverish activity of the multinational companies to extend and enrich themselves at the expense of the proletariat and the broad working masses, for economic and political domination over the peoples of the world, constitutes a clear illustration of the fact that world imperialism today is not a «timorous mouse», but on the contrary, even though in its death throes, it has become more aggressive, more bloodthirsty, and more dangerous to the freedom and in-

dependence of the peoples. And this is especially true of US imperialism. That is why the world proletariat and the other working masses have taken to the barricades of the class struggle, opposing oppression and exploitation by capital, not only through strikes, demonstrations and protest rallies, but also through struggle and concrete actions, such as the occupation of plants and factories, sabotage of the process of capitalist production, etc. The struggle of the proletariat against the capitalist class is growing in scope and strength day by day.

■

FRUIT OF «DEMOCRATIZATION»

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Much has been said and even more written about Spain «after Franco». Especially following the June 15 elections, Washington and Moscow, the bourgeoisie of all countries, the social-democrats and revisionists of every hue, in a single chorus, trumpeted that Spain is «changing» its countenance, and indeed, is becoming «democratic». Now, not long after the elections, life is proving that in reality nothing has changed in the home and foreign policies of that country. Those same classes, which while oppressing and exploit-

ing the proletariat and the other working masses, keep Spain tagging along behind the policy of the USA and other imperialist countries, are still in power. There are many examples to show this, but suffice it to mention three facts.

First, the foreign minister of the new Spanish government, N. Oreja, has declared that Spain «relies on the shield which its treaty with the USA ensures it». Similar statements were heard from the government officials of Franco's time, too, so there is nothing surprising in this.

Just as before, the monarchofascist regime finds its support, first of all, in US imperialism. However, the statement of the Spanish foreign minister once again makes it clear that the military agreements with the USA, signed in the time of the bloody dictator Franco, will continue, that Spain remains a major base for US aircraft and warships, a semi-colony of the US monopolies, a den where the spies of the CIA have free rein to hatch up plans and plots to strangle the revolutionary movements, to rob the peoples of their

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freedom, and bring reactionary and anti-popular regimes to power. Therefore, Carter has enthusiastically expressed «his solidarity with the new Spanish regime» and has offered the «unsparing aid of the USA», which in concrete terms, means more than one billion dollars in military aid and Spain's entry into NATO as soon as possible.

Second, the present government of the «Centre Union» has announced Spain's official request to join the European Common Market. This is the inevitable course of the present «democratic» Spain. Everything links it with, and nothing divides it, from the imperialists of Western Europe. The consequences for the Spanish people are known: another chain of West European monopoly capital is added to the chains of local and US capital.

Third, the response of the new government to the grave crisis that has gripped Spain, to the millions of unemployed, the high and unstabilized pri-

ces, to the inflation, which is running above 40 per cent, or the colossal debts, and in general to the economic stagnation of that country, is given in Prime Minister Suarez' ready-made formulas prepared by his colleagues in various bourgeois and revisionist countries. He announced these measures in an «economic plan», the essence of which is the preservation of the interests of the capitalist bosses and the usual appeals to the masses to «tighten their belts» and make «sacrifices» for the sake of the interests of the bourgeoisie.

It was these home and foreign policies which the Spanish revisionists applauded fervently in the new Parliament, where the king Juan Carlos made his speech from the throne, in which he spoke about «democracy», about the «monarchy of all Spaniards», etc. The Carrillo-Ibaruri clique joined all the other Spanish bourgeois deputies in describing the royal declarations as «good» for «Spanish democracy».

It is clear that for the big landed proprietors, the capitalists, the fascists, the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, from the Gonzales socialists down to the Carillo revisionists, «democracy» exists in Spain. But the present day reality in that country shows clearly that, by going over from an open fascist regime to a constitutional monarchy, the bourgeoisie only changed horses and kept its political, economic and military domination intact. For the Spanish people nothing has changed — neither the owning class nor their exploitation. Only unity with the struggle of the genuine revolutionaries, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Spain (M.-L.), against US imperialism to oust it from Spain, against the greedy aims of Soviet social-imperialism, and at the same time, against the local bourgeoisie and its lackeys of every hue, and the proletarian revolution, will bring freedom and true prosperity for the Spanish people.

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THE BOURGEOIS EDUCATION SYSTEM — A BARRICADE TO THE CHILDREN OF COMMON WORKING PEOPLE

«ZËRI I RINISË», organ of the CC of the LYUA

The grave economic, financial, political, ideological and moral crisis that has beset

the capitalist and revisionist world today is reflected in all its force also in the

education system of these countries. The bourgeois education system is suffering all

press review

consequences of the crisis that has enveloped the base of the obsolete capitalist order, and it is also suffering the consequences of the all-round decay and degeneration of the superstructure.

Education, and in general, the right to go to school, are not the right of all, but on the contrary they are only for the classes in power, with the doors to education for the broad masses of the working people being closed in all sorts of ways.

The gross inadequacies of this decaying system of education are obvious, first of all, from the unsolved problem of illiteracy. According to figures published in the British press, there are about two million adult illiterates in Great Britain; according to published official statistics, there are over 2,500,000 illiterates in Italy. The situation is even worse in such countries as Indonesia, where one third of the population, about 30 million inhabitants, is illiterate, or India, where 7 out of every 10 people cannot read and write. Today, there are more than 800 million illite-

rates all told in the capitalist world.

The crisis of the bourgeois education system is clearly expressed in the obvious deficiencies caused by the continuous curtailment of the funds allocated for education by the various bourgeois governments. As a result of such a reactionary education policy, thousands of schools have been closed or are about to close, leaving hundreds of thousands of children with no school to go to, or cramming them into overloaded classes where they receive only perfunctory teaching. In Italy, for example, as a result of this situation, there is a shortage of 4 million places in primary and secondary schools; in the United States, 5.4 per cent of the children and youth of six to sixteen years cannot attend public schools. Obviously, these are the sons and daughters of working people who, among other things, in the conditions of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, with rising prices, taxes, unemployment, etc., cannot cope with the high costs of keeping their children at

school. In the United States higher school fees have risen more than 12 per cent. This means that the student has to pay on the average 7,000 dollars a year, to go to college or university. Likewise, school fees in Italy have recently been raised as much as threefold. Within a year they have risen 15 per cent in Britain, 10 per cent in France, 13 per cent in West Germany. Along with tuition fees, prices for textbooks and other school supplies go up each new school year.

It is obvious that in such conditions the only ones relatively unaffected are the children of the capitalists, who are able to pay thanks to the fat profits they draw from the exploitation and plunder of the broad masses of the working people. By this means, along with the deepening of the crisis of the education system, a further polarization in the bourgeois society is taking place, the gap dividing the capitalists from the working people is getting deeper, cutting off any real prospect of education for the children of the workers.

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