
**A NEW STEP
IN THE STRUGGLE
AGAINST OPPORTUNISM**



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The newspaper «A Classe Operaria», central organ of the Communist Party of Brazil, in its Nr 119 issue (September-October, 1977) publishes the following article:

«The Theory and Practice of the Revolution» is an article of enormous significance for the world workers' and communist movement. Following the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which has historic importance, this article, published in July this year in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit», is a new step forward in the struggle against opportunism, for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the Revolution. Once again the Party of Labour of Albania and its principal leader, comrade Enver Hoxha, an outstanding figure of the revolutionary movement, are making their invaluable contribution to the struggle for the triumph of the

cause of the peoples and the international proletariat.

It is an unquestionable fact that theses and conclusions alien to Marxism-Leninism are longsince circulating in the communist ranks. They are presented as new truths and the fruit of a long study, but in reality they have absolutely no foundation and nothing in common with a class analysis of the present-day society. One of them is the socalled «theory of three worlds» which was brought up in 1974 at the General Assembly of the United Nations. It was a rash manifestation which ignored the opinions existing in the revolutionary movement on international questions.

Since then, it is cunningly trying to make headway among the vanguard organizations of the proletariat. But it has come up against resistance. Following the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which opposed this theory, as well as the Joint Statement of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America which rejected the false thesis of «relying on one superpower to fight the other», this malign tumour in the revolutionary organism came out in the open. The authors and

supporters of the «theory of three worlds» were forced to declare that they considered it neither more nor less than the strategy of the revolutionary movement, a strategy which was discussed neither at a party congress nor looked into in detail by the communists. From all the vociferating against those who did not accept the thesis of relying on one of the two superpowers, it became clear that this strategy included precisely this thesis. By using the erroneous method of imposing a definite line on all the parties, without conducting any consultations, they took offence at the stands of those who disagreed with them and considered these stands as attacks on their party.

Since the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania the true essence of this groundless theory became ever more clear. The article of the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» was another step forward in elucidating this contentious problem. Relying on sound and undisputable Marxist-Leninist theoretical arguments, this article demonstrated the harmful and anti-revolutionary character of this so-called «creative» strategy which departs completely from the objectives set by Marx,

Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We Brazilian communists who are fighting with determination against revisionism and trying to apply the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat in the concrete conditions of our country, must attentively study the content of this article which not only reveals the profoundly opportunist character of the «theory of three worlds», but also provides valuable information to all those who want to carry out the vanguard tasks they are charged with.

«The Theory and the Practice of the Revolution» does not indulge in rhetorics. It enters right into the essence of the problems under discussion. From the very outset it underlines the premise of the entire revolutionary strategy of the present epoch: the existence of two worlds, the socialist world and the capitalist world. These two systems are opposed to one another, and regardless of all temporary setbacks, the trend is towards the complete triumph of the revolution on a world scale. Immediately following the great October Socialist Revolution, capitalism has ceased to exist as a single system. From then began its general crisis which, with the 1939-1945 War, entered its second sta-

ge. Without bearing these basic data in mind, one cannot correctly lead the proletariat, the consistently revolutionary force of contemporary society, in the struggle for its liberation. What does it mean to reject, as the theoreticians of the «theory of three worlds» do, the true division existing in the world? It means to negate the most important victories of the proletariat, to totally ignore the character of the epoch we live in as the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. This is a silent defence of capitalism because it blots out the revolutionary perspective under the pretext of the struggle against one of the two superpowers, and in the fierce encounters that lie ahead of it, estranges the working class from its historic mission.

The «theory of three worlds» ignores the analysis of the fundamental contradictions of contemporary society. It brushes aside these contradictions which constitute a dialectical process of social development, and bases itself on contingent political elements — even those distorted, that serve to cover up the exploiting and aggressive nature of imperialism and reaction, their intentions to stamp out the

revolutionary struggle, their thirst for world hegemony.

The article of the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» shows that, in that theory, there is no place for the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, because the socialist countries are allegedly included in the so-called «third world» where reactionary forces prevail; nor is there any place for the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, because the proletariat is supposed to join the imperialist and reactionary forces in order to combat only social-imperialism; nor is there any place at all for the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and countries and imperialism and its lackeys, because, according to it, the peoples must allegedly unite with the reaction of each country and accept the «alliance» with the imperialists in the struggle against the Soviets. In a word, the working class and the people's masses are not guided towards the revolution but towards a system of alliances that directly favour the designs of reaction and imperialism. The Leninist scheme of the revolution based on the fundamental contra-

dictions is put aside. Precisely this shows that the strategy of «three worlds» is not a strategy of the proletariat, but the strategy of the bourgeoisie in its fierce competition for raw materials, markets, spheres of influence and domination and, at the same time, in its fierce struggle against its principal adversary, the proletariat and its socialist system.

The authors of the «theory of three worlds» try to justify their opportunist stand by trumpeting that they are simply trying to exploit the contradictions in the enemy ranks. Then how do they exploit them? It is known that both the proletariat and the bourgeoisie can use these contradictions. The bourgeoisie uses the contradictions it has with its rivals to deceive the working class. Purposely it mixes its petty interests with the general interests of the nation, covers up its bellicose and predatory policy with the defence of the homeland, confounds chauvinism with patriotism. Acting in this way, it seeks to win the proletariat over, to divert it from its independent class road, which from the social and political viewpoint, runs contrary to that of the bourgeoisie.

The working class uses them in another way. As «Zëri i popullit» stresses: «It is a matter of principle that the inter-imperialist contradictions must always be exploited in favour of the revolution, in favour of the peoples and their freedom, in favour of the cause of socialism. It is a matter of principle that the exploitation of the contradictions in the enemy ranks must lead to the increase and strengthening of revolutionary and liberation movements and not to their weakening and dying out, must lead to an ever more active mobilization of the revolutionary forces in the struggle against enemies, especially against the main enemy, without allowing the creation of any sort of illusions about them amongst the peoples». The so-called exploitation of contradictions in the enemy ranks advocated by the defenders of the theory of «three worlds» is in fact the same old class collaboration, the subjugation of the proletariat to the interests of the bourgeoisie and the abandonment of the struggle for socialism. Perhaps, does the alliance of the proletariat with US imperialism and the other monopoly groups, the unity of the oppressed peoples with the reactionaries of the dependent

and semi-colonial countries serve the revolution, as the authors of this theory propagandize? Or on the contrary, do they help the imperialists and reaction to stamp out the revolutionary movement and to mobilize the masses in favour of their war-mongering, oppressive and exploiting policy? It is clear that such an orientation lowers the level of the consciousness of the proletariat, inhibits the revolutionary drive of the masses. Absolutely correctly, comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that, «at these moments of the great crisis of imperialism and modern revisionism, we should intensify the struggle against them, we should exploit the great contradictions among the enemies accurately and correctly, in our favour, in favour of the socialist states and peoples who rise in the revolution, we must expose them unceasingly and not be satisfied with those so-called concessions which the imperialists and revisionists reluctantly make in order to escape the danger and take revenge later».

The authors of the ill-famed «theory of three worlds» claim that all the enemies should not be fought against at the same time, but one by one. According

to them, the present enemy is only Soviet social-imperialism. This view is erroneous. From the point of view of its strategy, the international proletariat fights against all its bourgeois enemies. «Proletarians of all countries, unite» is the call of the working class for struggle against the bourgeoisie, regardless of its nationality and its greater or lesser specific force. The bourgeoisie, too, fights against all the world proletariat, against the revolution everywhere it takes place. The proletariat can win over or neutralize the national bourgeoisie in the first stage of the revolution in the countries which are under imperialist domination and where feudal remnants are preserved. But this bourgeoisie contends fiercely with the proletariat for the leadership of the revolutionary movement (which is a form of the class struggle) to avoid cutting out this stage and forging ahead towards socialism. The international proletariat, too, in order to carry out its strategic tasks, can, at a given moment, concentrate the fire of its attack on given bourgeois countries. At present, it is concentrating its fire on the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, the main enemies of the peo-

ples. But it does not mean that the class struggle in the imperialist countries should cease, and even less, that the working class of these countries should collaborate with the bourgeoisie by supporting its exploiting and neo-colonialist policy. Under no circumstances the proletariat gives up the revolution. This would be betrayal of its cause. It can neither put it off to the Greek calends, nor leave it to spontaneity. It fights in various manners and by various means every day and every hour to make revolution a reality. Revolution can be developed in the process of the struggle against the main enemies in various countries, as the Second World War experience proved. The proletariat did not seize power either in Germany, or in Italy and Japan, or still less in the USA, England and France. If we followed the view of liquidating the opponents one by one, we would fail to understand the true meaning of the class struggle in the international arena, would give up the fundamental tasks for the preparation of the triumph of the cause of the revolution.

Social development is a dialectical process in which quantitative accumulation

leads to qualitative, revolutionary, leaps. This development is not made simply through quantitative increase or decrease (the one-by-one tactics, for example). The proletariat raises its consciousness, increases its revolutionary strength, and in the weakest links of the imperialist chain, through violent revolution, smashes the oppressive and exploiting system under the domination of which it is languishing. It is mere fraud to pretend that a qualitative change may come about in the situation of the conflicting countries as a result for a Soviet-US war in which the proletariat would tag along behind its bourgeoisie and be the ally of one of the two superpowers. This would lead to the preservation of the capitalist system and a horrible slaughter of the working people. Besides, both warring blocs would strive to settle accounts with the workers' and revolutionary movement. The struggle of the proletariat against its enemies leads to social transformations only if these enemies are wiped out in the revolutionary way, if their annihilation leads to the triumph of the working class, the establishment of the socialist regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In their article the Albanian comrades point out quite correctly that the «theory of three worlds», which is passed off as an anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist theory, is in reality a theory which «weakens and disrupts the anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist struggle of both the peoples of the so-called 'third world' and those of the so-called 'second world'». We who are fighting in the dependent and semicolonial countries are aware of the utterly counter-revolutionary essence of this theory. This theory constitutes a grave danger. Whereas the revisionist lackeys of the bourgeoisie want to place the revolutionary movement in the service of this bourgeoisie, and link it with the Soviet social-imperialists, the advocates of the «theory of three worlds» want to subject the supreme interests of the oppressed peoples to the most regressive elements of their own countries. They are the defenders of the order in power in the «third world», even when this order is represented by savage fascist military dictatorships. They play the role of the fire extinguisher of the revolutionary aspirations of the masses of the people, they want to incorporate these aspirations in a reactio-

nary strategy, under the pretext of fighting against social imperialism. In this way they render a great service to imperialism and reactionary forces. Although sometimes they refer to revolution as a non-stop process, they make this in disconnected phrases, not linked with an analysis of the reality and the tasks it dictates. In fact, they do not want any revolution today, even when it is a bourgeois democratic one, because in the dependent and semi-colonial countries it cannot be carried out without destroying the present ruling classes, which are closely linked with imperialism, and without being led by the proletariat.

The article of the Albanian comrades stresses: «Up to date, there has never been a liberation war, there has never been a national, democratic and anti-imperialist revolution which has not had internal reactionary and treacherous enemies, sold out anti-national elements». Hence today the struggle against this theory is a task which cannot be separated from the efforts of the oppressed and exploited peoples under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist party to unite the progressive

forces, the majority of the nation against reaction and imperialism for national liberation and people's democracy on the road to socialism.

Whether its authors want it or not, the «theory of three worlds», is a new type of revisionism. It is a revisionism which mixes socialist ideas, goals of capitalist development and feudal concepts from ancient civilizations, which are long since behind the times. It is revisionism because it replaces the Marxist-Leninist principles with eclectic concepts, scorns the revolution and renounces the proletarian strategy of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin; it has completely abandoned the Leninist idea that the proletariat is the social force which stands in the centre of our epoch. In its essence, it does not differ from the other kinds of revisionism. It pursues the same aims: the preservation of capitalism in its various forms, the creation of a so-called new international (capitalist) economic system, the search for formulae of social co-existence, to prolong the life of dying and decaying imperialism.

The article of «Zëri i popullit» puts forth major theoretical and practical tasks

to the genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries on all the continents. Without coping with them, the workers' and communist movement in each country and on an international scale cannot forge ahead. No matter how difficult and complicated these tasks may be, their realization has become an imperative duty of the time. Their realization opens brilliant prospects to victory. As comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, «the world is at a stage when the cause of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a future prospect, but a problem taken up for solution». The more the vanguards of the proletariat will master the science of Marxism-Leninism, apply it in the concrete conditions of their own countries, unceasingly fighting opportunism and carrying out their consistent revolutionary activity, the nearer they will come to their lofty aims.

The Communist Party of Brazil will contribute to the best of its ability to unmasking revisionism in all its forms, because, as Lenin teaches us, if the struggle against imperialism is not indissolubly linked with the struggle against opportu-

ism, it becomes an empty and fraudulent phrase. Expressing the greatest aspirations of our people and enjoying the support of the Marxist-Leninists of the entire world, our Party will engage in its bold activity to lead the Brazilian revolution to victory.

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