

The Workers' Advocate

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

This issue of *The Workers' Advocate* is devoted to reprinting important articles from the international communist movement, articles that deal with the burning questions agitating the minds of revolutionaries the world over. These articles analyze the world situation in the light of the brilliant Marxist-Leninist line laid down by the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania. Comrade Enver Hoxha's historic REPORT TO THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA is a Marxist-Leninist classic, a report that sets the goals, the orientation, the strategy and tactics for the international communist movement. This report has proved to be a great unifying factor in the international communist movement, a great rallying point behind which the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists the world over are uniting to fight against all opportunist and anti-Marxist theories.

Today in the international communist movement there is struggle between international opportunism and Marxism-Leninism. In the U.S., the revolutionary movement has suffered a great deal from "our own" domestic opportunists, especially from social-chauvinism masquerading as Marxism-Leninism. The American opportunists are resurrecting all the discredited modern revisionist theories of Browder, Tito and Khrushchev to justify capitulating to the world system of imperialism. Our domestic opportunists are afraid of imperialism and the imperialist police and armies and are refusing to push forward the world proletarian socialist revolution against imperialism and reaction. Instead of fighting imperialism with revolution, the opportunists instead are allying with one imperialist superpower or the other, as the alleged lesser of two evils, on the plea of allegedly fighting the other superpower, allegedly directing the "main blow" against the other superpower. With such anti-revolutionary theories as that of "three worlds" they are downgrading the proletarian revolution and its natural ally, the national liberation movement, even denying the existence of the world of labor and socialism, denying the existence of the forces of world proletarian socialist revolution and holding that the world revolution no longer exists. With these theories they also deny the great role of the socialist countries, particularly the People's Republic of China and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, as bases of world revolution. These opportunists are backed to the hilt by international opportunism. It is Comrade Enver Hoxha's REPORT TO THE SEVENTH CONGRESS that has closed the door to the spread of these opportunist theories in the international communist move-

ment and raised the spirits of revolutionaries everywhere.

In the U.S., the ultra-rightist leaders of the October League (now treacherously calling itself the "Communist" Party ("Marxist-Leninist")) are a concentrated expression of international opportunism. The Browderite OL leaders have come out as open social-chauvinists who cheer on U.S. imperialism in directing the "main blow" against Soviet social-imperialism. They are socialists in words, but U.S. superpower imperialist chauvinists in deeds. It makes one sick to one's stomach, but the OL leaders have gone to the length of condemning Carter for not producing more B-1 bombers (*The Call* editorial, July 11). They are fanatical defenders of the U.S. neo-colonial empire and denounce criticism of neo-colonialism and imperialist lackies as "not supporting the struggles of the Third World". Without fighting social-chauvinism and opportunism, it is impossible to talk of a fight against imperialism.

In fighting our domestic opportunists, we must come under the revolutionary authority of the international communist movement. In the late 60's and early 70's it was Chairman Mao's GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION in China that rejuvenated the international communist movement. The GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION and great MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT gave rise to one new Marxist-Leninist Party after another. It gave rise to a resurgence of revolutionary spirit, of the spirit that "IT IS RIGHT TO REBEL AGAINST REACTIONARIES". Today it is Comrade Enver Hoxha who is continuing the work of Chairman Mao in the difficult period following Chairman Mao's death. It is the historic Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania which has become the rallying point for all genuine proletarian internationalists, for all who wish to follow the true road of fighting imperialism instead of retreating into the swamp of accommodation with imperialism and reaction. Comrade Enver Hoxha is following in the footsteps of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung. It is Comrade Enver Hoxha who is today leading the international communist movement in the struggle to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Today the social-chauvinists in the U.S. are distorting the question of revolutionary authority in order to push their Khrushchevite methods of political blackmail. They have sunk so low that they openly recruit members and try to stifle criticism on the basis of their international connections and their alleged "official" status. They denounce criticism of their social-chauvinism as "anti-China", although it would be hard

to imagine any activity more anti-China than the social-chauvinists' own support for U.S. imperialism and its military alliances. On the one hand, they deny the existence of the international communist movement and of the world revolution, speculating on the fact that the international communist movement does not at the present use the same forms as at the time of the Comintern. On the other hand, they deny that each party in the international Marxist-Leninist movement, whether a leading party or not, whether big or small, young or old, is equal and that there should be no interference in each other's internal affairs. Each party has the right to give its views on the situation in the international communist movement and in the world. Revolutionary authority is not a mechanical thing, nor is it an empty, automatic formality. It does not spring from a meeting, from a group, from an election,



Comrade Enver Hoxha waves to delegates at the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania.

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The glorious Albanian Party of Labor headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha is firmly holding aloft the revolutionary red banner of Marxism-Leninism while encircled ring upon ring by the imperialists and the modern revisionists.

Heroic people's Albania has become a great beacon of socialism in Europe.

-- from the Message from Mao Tsetung, late Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, to the 5th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania, October 25, 1966

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE REVOLUTION

Editorial of the newspaper "Zeri i Popullit"

The following editorial of *Zeri i Popullit*, organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, is reprinted from the *Albanian Telegraphic Agency*, July 7, 1977.

Analyzing the present international situation and the revolutionary processes developing in it, Comrade Enver Hoxha declared at the 7th Congress of the PLA: "The world is at a stage when the cause of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a future prospect, but a problem taken up for solution. (Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 159)

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

In his brilliant works on imperialism, V.I. Lenin arrived at the conclusion that imperialism is capitalism in decline and decay, the final phase of capitalism and the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat. Analyzing the phenomena which characterize imperialism, he wrote: "All these factors transform the present stage of capitalist development into an era of proletarian socialist revolution", that "That era has dawned", that "Objective conditions make it the urgent task of the day to prepare the proletariat in every way for the conquest of political power in order to carry out the economic and political measures which are the sum and substance of the socialist revolution". (*Works*, vol. 24, p. 469)

In defining the present epoch, Lenin proceeded from

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

"The Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels and the call "Workers of all countries, unite!" came out to announce that the fundamental contradiction of human society was now that between labor and capital, and the proletariat was called on to resolve it by revolution. With this analysis of imperialism, Lenin showed that the contradictions of capitalist society had reached their culmination and that the world has entered the period of proletarian revolutions and the triumph of socialism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution confirmed the brilliant conclusions of Marx and Lenin in practice. After the death of Lenin, too, the international communist movement resolutely adhered to his teachings about the present epoch, adhered to his revolutionary strategy. The triumph of the socialist revolution in a number of other countries confirmed that the Leninist thesis on the present epoch, as the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, reflects the fundamental law of the development of present-day human society. The collapse of the colonial system, the winning of political independence by the overwhelming majority of the countries of Asia, Africa, etc., is another confirmation of the Leninist theory of the epoch and the revolution. The fact that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution were betrayed in the Soviet Union and a number of former socialist countries does not alter the Leninist thesis on the character of the present epoch in the least,

because this is nothing but a zigzag in the course of the inevitable victory of socialism over capitalism on a world scale.

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

p. 5)

The Marxist-Leninists have always based their definition of the present epoch and their revolutionary strategy on the analysis of the major social contradictions which characterize this epoch. What are these contradictions which characterize this epoch? Following the triumph of the socialist revolution in Russia, Lenin and Stalin spoke about four such contradictions: the contradiction between two opposing systems -- socialist and capitalist; the contradiction between labor and capital in the capitalist countries, the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and nations and imperialism; the contradiction between imperialist powers. These are the contradictions which constitute the objective basis of the development of the present-day revolutionary movements, which in their entirety, constitute the great process of the

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world revolution in our epoch. All present-day world development confirms that since the time of Lenin these contradictions have not waned and disappeared but have become more acute and are more clearly obvious than ever before. Therefore, the recognition and admission of the existence of those contradictions constitute the basis for defining a correct revolutionary strategy.

On the contrary, to deny the existence of these contradictions, to hide them, to ignore one or the other contradiction, to distort their real content as various revisionists and opportunists are doing, causes confusion and disorientation in the revolutionary movement, serves as a basis for building up and advocating distorted, pseudo-revolutionary strategy and tactics.

II

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

When Marxist-Leninists speak about the world and various countries and classify them, their judgement is according to the principles of dialectical and historical materialism. They judge, first and foremost, from the social-economic order existing in various countries, they judge according to the proletarian class criterion. Precisely from this angle V.I. Lenin, in 1921, that is, when only one socialist country existed in the world, Soviet Russia, wrote: "there are now two worlds: the old world of capitalism, that is in a state of confusion but which will never surrender voluntarily, and the rising new world,

which is still very weak, but which will grow, for it is invincible." (Works, vol. 33, p. 150) On his part, J.V. Stalin, in his well-known article "The Two Camps" published in 1919, also stressed, "The world has definitely and irrevocably split into two camps: the camp of imperialism and the camp of socialism... The struggle between these two camps constitutes the hub of present-day affairs, determines the whole substance of the present home and foreign policies of the leaders of the old and new worlds." (Works, vol. 4, p. 240)

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

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

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

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

Lenin gives us a brilliant example in this direction in his theses and reports at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920. "The revolutionary parties must now 'prove' in practice", stressed Lenin, "that they have sufficient understanding and organization, contact with the exploited masses, and determination and skill to utilize this crisis for a successful, a victorious revolution." And, "It is mainly to prepare this 'proof' that we have gathered at this Congress of the Communist International." (Works, vol. 31, p. 227)

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

It is well-known that in the countries exploited by imperialism, in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the freedom-loving peoples are waging a stern struggle for freedom, independence and national sovereignty, against old and new colonialism. This is a just, revolutionary and liberation struggle, which enjoys the unreserved support of the Marxist-Leninists in the true socialist countries, of the world proletariat, of all progressive forces. This struggle is directed, and cannot fail to be directed against a number of enemies: against the imperialist oppressors, and, first and foremost, against the two superpowers, as the biggest exploiters and international gendarmes, the most dangerous enemies of all peoples of the world: against the local reactionary bourgeoisie, linked by one thousand and one threads with the foreign imperialists, with this or that superpower, with the international monopolies, which is an enemy of the national freedom and independence; against the still pronounced remnants of feudalism which rely on the

foreign imperialists and are united with the reactionary bourgeoisie against the people's revolution; against the reactionary and fascist regimes, representatives and defenders of the domination of these three enemies.

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

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the national question must always be seen as subsidiary to the cause of the revolution. From this standpoint, the Marxist-Leninists support every movement which is effectively directed against imperialism and serves the general cause of the world proletarian revolution. "We, as Communists," stressed Lenin, "should and will support bourgeois-liberation movements in the colonies only when they are genuinely revolutionary, and when their exponents do not hinder our work of educating and organizing in a revolutionary spirit the peasantry and the masses of the exploited. If these conditions do not exist, the Communists in these countries must combat the reformist bourgeoisie, to whom the heroes of the Second International also belong." (Works, vol. 31, p. 242)

Meanwhile the advocates of the thesis of the "third world" call liberation movement, moreover even "main force in the struggle against imperialism", even including in it the bargaining of the king of Saudi Arabia or the Shah of Iran with U.S. oil monopolies, and their arms transactions with the Pentagon, involving billions upon billions of dollars. According to this logic, the oil sheikhs, who deposit their oil money in the banks of Wall Street and the City, are allegedly fighters against imperialism and supporters of the people's struggle which is directed against imperial-

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nor from being leader of a prestigious, established party as the arch-revisionist Khrushchev claimed, nor from a "will", as the arch-renege Trotsky claimed. Revolutionary authority is established in the course of waging struggle against opportunism and against the class enemy. All those who are fighting the same enemy will recognize the need to support the Marxist-Leninist leaders. All those in the U.S. who wish to fight the U.S. monopoly capitalist state machine and the social-chauvinist will sooner or later recognize the merits of Comrade Enver Hoxha and that only under the banner of Marxism-Leninism can the struggle be led to victory. Our struggle against the ultra-right social-chauvinist leaders of the O.L. started prior to the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania, and we have fought neo-revisionism from the first moment of our birth. That is why we enthusiastically welcomed Chairman Mao's GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION and Comrade Enver Hoxha's REPORT TO THE SEVENTH CONGRESS and realized that these historic events gave orientation and direction to our struggle. And internationally too this same law holds good. It is those who wish to fight imperialism and opportunism that will recognize revolutionary authority and unite into one vast international movement for world revolution.

The first article we are reprinting in this issue is THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF REVOLUTION, an editorial in Zeri i Popullit, organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania. This major and timely article concentrates on elaborating the present international situation and the revolutionary processes developing in it according to the political line laid down at the Seventh Congress. The article sternly and resolutely denounces the opportunist and anti-revolutionary theories of "three worlds", "non-aligned countries", "north-south worlds", etc. It stresses that these anti-revolutionary theories are "forgetting the main thing -- the increase of the revolutionary spirit and the development of the revolutionary movement of the working people and the peoples, neglecting the preparation of revolution, are in total opposition to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism". The article exposes a number of forms of the line of capitulation to imperialism. It points out the insoluble connection between fighting the two superpowers and fighting all imperialism and also the internal enemy, the base of foreign imperialist domination in an oppressed country. It denounces the imperialism of the "second world" and exposes the fallacy about the alleged disintegration of the imperialist blocs. It exposes neo-colonialism and states that "... in many countries liberated from colonialism, the ties of the local bourgeoisie with foreign imperialist capital have not only been preserved, but are being strengthened and extended in many neo-colonialist forms, such as the multi-national companies, various economic financial mergers, and so on and so forth. This bourgeoisie... is a pro-imperialist force and enemy of the revolutionary and liberation movement." The article resolutely denounces social-chauvinism, stressing that "it is anti-Marxist to preach unity with the allegedly weaker imperialism to oppose the stronger, to side with the bourgeoisie of the country

and oppose that of another country, under the pretext of exploiting contradictions." It is impossible in a short summary to do justice to this article, so rich in ideas and content. It deserves careful and repeated study by all who desire the overthrow of the world system of imperialism. It is a great contribution to the struggle against opportunism.

We also reprint a number of other articles from the Albanian Telegraphic Agency, most of which appeared under the heading "IN LIGHT OF THE IDEAS OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA".

We reprint the article "THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION -- THE ONLY ROAD TO SOCIAL PROGRESS". This article elaborates the basic teachings of Leninism on imperialism being the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat. It is only the world proletarian socialist revolution that is the alternative to imperialism. It points out that the anti-imperialist national liberation movement is the natural ally and powerful reserve of the proletariat just as the proletarian revolution and the genuinely socialist countries constitute a reliable support for the revolutionary struggles and liberation movements of the peoples. The article points out that the world today is "divided into two diametrically opposite worlds which are confronting one another: the world of the proletariat, the revolution and socialism, to which the eyes of the working class and all the oppressed peoples are turned and the world of the bourgeoisie of the imperialist revisionist counter-revolution to which all the counter-revolutionary forces, headed by the two world gendarmes, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, have turned their ideas." It is precisely this, the world of revolution, that the opportunists wish to hide. Once revolution flies out the window, once one starts the discussion of the world situation without regard to the socialist revolution, then there can be no internationalism.

We are reprinting another important article, "QUESTIONS OF WAR AND PEACE IN THE REPORT OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA TO THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA". This article elaborates the Marxist teachings on war, that war is the continuation of the policy of definite classes. It stresses that one must regard war from the point of view of its class content and not from the point of view of who attacked first or in whose territory the war is fought. It denounces the viewpoint of "the modern revisionists who connect the possibility of preventing war with that of giving up any kind of revolutionary and national liberation struggle, with the strategy of class conciliation, concessions and capitulation in the face of the enemy". It also opposes "the viewpoint which conceives the launching of world aggressive wars as totally inevitable, because in this way the forces of socialism and the world proletariat, the forces of the peoples and their struggle, are not taken into account." The important thing is that the peoples should not lapse into passivity and fatalism, but should intensify their struggle against the bourgeoisie. If world war should break out, it should be converted into a liberation war.

We also reprint two articles on some aspects of the specific ways the two superpowers operate in their struggle for world domination, namely, "U.S. IMPERIALISM AND SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM -- INVESTIGATIONS OF QUARRELS, DIVERGENCES AND

CONFLICTS IN THE WORLD" and "THROUGH SO-CALLED AID, TWO SUPERPOWERS APPLY NEO-COLONIALISM". These articles further puncture the fraud of the social-chauvinists that neo-colonialism no longer exists. The U.S. imperialists have a vast neo-colonial empire. For this reason the social-chauvinists, in their anxiety to prettify U.S. imperialism, have become nothing but a bunch of apologists for neo-colonialism who are seeking to dull the consciousness of the American proletariat concerning the crimes of the U.S. imperialist ruling class.

We also reprint a number of articles on the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, on the hegemony of the proletariat, and on the dictatorship of the proletariat. These basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism remain highly relevant at all times. Open social-chauvinism in the U.S. evolved out of neo-revisionism (revisionism falsely flying the flag of Mao Tse Tung Thought), out of adapting Marxism-Leninism to New Leftism. Neo-revisionism propagates many anti-Marxist fallacies. It demagogically sets building the mass movement against building the party and replaces the hegemony of the proletariat with worker chauvinism. Today it is engaged in an orgy of trade unionism, in "revolutionizing" the capitalist trade unions. These theories still have influence and must be carefully repudiated if the struggle against social-chauvinism is to be carried through to the end.

The ideas of the Seventh Congress are winning widespread support. Many internationalist rallies, joint statements of parties and meetings are taking place in the international communist movement to forward this irresistible revolutionary movement. We reprinted a number of documents on this in our March 10th issue. In this issue we reprint "Internationalist Rally in Rome -- From Gramsci and the Resistance to the Present-Day Struggle for Marxism-Leninism and Proletarian Internationalism", "Grand Rally of Proletarian Internationalism in Lisbon -- On the Occasion of the Closing of the 2nd Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed)" and the "Joint Communiqué Issued by the Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina and the Communist Party of Germany (M-L)".

In the movement to take up the ideas of the Seventh Congress, the new Marxist-Leninist parties are playing a great role. Comrade Enver Hoxha has always given close personal attention to the new Marxist-Leninist parties and the anti-revisionist forces around the world. In his REPORT Comrade Hoxha said that "The growth and strengthening of the new Marxist-Leninist parties is vivid proof that the proletariat has never lost its faith in Marxism-Leninism, that it sees in Marxism-Leninism its most powerful weapon in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and for the triumph of the revolution." With great happiness we hail the historic visit of the delegation of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), led by Comrade Harold Bains, to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the establishment of fraternal relations between these two parties. The Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) was the first party to be reconstituted on the Marxist-Leninist basis in North America. It was the CPC(M-L) that opened the path to the concrete application of the lessons of the GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION to North

America. American Marxist-Leninists have much to learn from this fighting party, which has had over 2,000 arrests of its members and supporters by the reactionary Canadian state, which is fighting against a big frame-up trial of its leader, Comrade Harold Bains, and which has repulsed numerous vile attacks by the opportunists and revisionists. This historic visit to Albania comes on the heels of the closing of the Third Congress of the CPC(M-L), a Congress of the victory of Marxism in Canada, a turning point for the Marxist-Leninist movement in all of North America.

In this issue we reprint from CPC(M-L) the "Report on Albania" and the "Farewell Message to the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania".

To carry out the ideas of the Seventh Congress, an activist must be prepared to sacrifice everything for the revolutionary struggle. THE REPORT TO THE SEVENTH CONGRESS teaches us that "Great sacrifices have been, are, and will continue to be the order of the day for the members of the true Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties, and they are conscious that they make these sacrifices for the sake of the lofty interests of the revolution and socialism. Without these sacrifices, without fighting with lofty revolutionary self-denial, victory cannot be attained." Many martyrs have heroically fallen in struggle. Many more will give their lives in the future. It is with deep respect that we honor the memories of the fallen comrades of the Communist Party of Brazil, which is waging armed struggle against the military dictatorship of Geisel, a neo-colonial puppet of U.S. imperialism. Early this year three leading comrades in the Central Committee of this party were murdered by the armed forces of this puppet regime. As a mark of honor and respect to these comrades, Albania Today published excerpts from Comrade Enver Hoxha's conversation on Aug. 18, 1977, with Comrade Pedro Pomar, one of these three revolutionary martyrs. We are reprinting this interview, which is entitled "IN STRUGGLE AND REVOLUTION THE MARXIST-LENINISTS BECOME STRONG AND INDOMITABLE".

Today, to discuss the great international issues means to discuss Enver Hoxha's REPORT TO THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA. This great light shining from the beacon of socialism in Europe has shown revolutionaries the world over the path forward. In the U.S. this historic report by Comrade Enver Hoxha has given wings to the struggle against social-chauvinism and revisionism and greatly deflated the arrogance of the opportunists, who can think of nothing better to do than try to hide the report with a conspiracy of silence, just as small children try to hide from their mothers evidence of some naughty deed. Unity of the Marxist-Leninists in the U.S. is only possible on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of repudiating revisionism, opportunism and social-chauvinism. It is the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania that is a great unifying force. Let all Marxist-Leninists unite! Defeat social-chauvinism! Closely follow Comrade Enver Hoxha, leader of the international communist movement!

End.

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE REVOLUTION

Continued from previous page

ist domination, while the U.S. imperialists, who sell weapons to the reactionary oppressive regimes of these sheiks, are allegedly supplying them to "the patriotic forces" which are fighting to oust the imperialists from the "golden sands" of Arabia and Persia.

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

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

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

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

But to speak in general terms about the so-called "third world" as the main force of the struggle against imperialism and the revolution, as the supporters of the theory of the "three worlds" are doing, without making any distinction between the genuine anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces and the pro-imperialist, reactionary and fascist forces in power in a number of the developing countries, means a flagrant departure from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and to preach typically opportunist views, causing confusion and disorganization among the revolutionary forces. In essence, according to the theory of the "three worlds", the peoples of those countries must not fight, for instance, against the bloody fascist dictatorships of Geisel in Brazil and Pinochet in Chile, Suharto in Indonesia, the Shah of Iran or the King of Jordan, etc., because they, allegedly, are part of the "revolutionary motive force" which "is driving the wheel of world history forward". On the contrary, according to this theory, the peoples and revolutionaries ought to unite with the reactionary forces and regimes of the "third world" and support them, in other words, give up the revolution.

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

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

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

"Regarding the assessment of the policy pursued by various states and governments", stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha at the

7th Congress of the PLA, "the Marxists proceed again from the class criterion, from the stands these governments and countries maintain towards imperialism and socialism, towards their own people and reaction.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the stage of imperialism, as a result of the unequal development of various capitalist countries, the inter-imperialist contradictions exist and become constantly deeper, inter-imperialist alliances, blocs and groupings are created and broken up according to the circumstances and conjunctures, this is the ABC of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin has provided ample proof that this typical phenomenon of imperialism, which shows that imperialism, as the final stage of capitalism, is heading irretrievably towards decay, is an objective law. But does this mean that as a result of these contradictions, the imperialist world as a social system has ceased to exist and is divided into several worlds, that the social-economic nature of this or that imperialism has changed? Not at all. The present day facts speak not of disintegration of the imperialist world, but of a single world imperialist system, which is characterized today by the existence of two big imperialist blocs: on the one hand, by the western imperialist bloc, headed by U.S. imperialism, the instruments of which are such inter-imperialist organizations such as NATO, the European Common Market, etc., and on the other hand, by the bloc of the east, dominated by Soviet social-imperialism, which has as the instruments of its expansionist, hegemonistic and war-mongering policy the Warsaw Treaty and COMECON.

In the scheme of "three worlds", the so-called "second world" includes capitalist and revisionist im-

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

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

It can never happen that the so-called countries of the "Second World", in other words the big monopoly bourgeoisie ruling there, become allies of the oppressed peoples and nations in the struggle against the two superpowers and world imperialism. History since the Second World War shows clearly that these countries have supported and still support the aggressive policy and acts of U.S. imperialism such as in Korea and Vietnam, the Middle East, Africa, etc.

They are ardent defenders of neo-colonialism and of the old order of inequality in international economic relations. The allies of Soviet social-imperialism in the "second world" took part, jointly with it, in the occupation of Czechoslovakia and are zealous supporters of its predatory expansionist policy in various zones of the world. The countries of the so-called "second world" are the main economic and military support of the aggressive and expansionist alliances of the two superpowers.

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

The absolutization of inter-imperialist contradictions and the underestimation of the basic contradiction, that between the revolution and the counter-revolution, the placing of the exploitation of the contradictions in the enemy camp alone in the center of the strategy and forgetting the main thing -- the increase of the revolutionary spirit and the development of the revolutionary movement of the working people and the peoples, neglecting the preparation of the revolution, are in total opposition to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. It is anti-Marxist to preach unity with the allegedly weaker imperialisms to oppose the stronger, to side with the bourgeoisie of the country to oppose that of another country, under the pretext of exploiting contradictions. Lenin stressed that the tactic of the exploitation of contradictions in the ranks of the enemies should be used "in order to raise -- not lower -- the general level of proletarian class-consciousness, revolutionary spirit, and ability to fight and win." (*Lenin, Works*, vol. 31, p. 74)

The Party of Labor of Albania has always consis-

tently upheld and upholds these immortal Leninist teachings. "In these moments of major crisis for imperialism and modern revisionism", says Comrade Enver Hoxha, "we should intensify our struggle against them, should exploit the great contradictions among the enemies properly and correctly in our favour in favour of the socialist states and peoples who rise in the revolution, must expose them incessantly, and not be satisfied with these so-called concessions which the imperialists and revisionists, reluctantly make in order to escape the danger, and take revenge later. Therefore, we must always keep the iron hot and attack them without respite." (*Enver Hoxha, Speeches*, 1971-1973, p.66)

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

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

This is also a pseudo-anti-imperialist theory because it justifies and supports the neo-colonialist and exploiting policy of the imperialist powers of the "second world" and calls on the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America not to oppose this policy, allegedly for the sake of the struggle against the superpowers. In fact, in this way the anti-imperialist and anti-social imperialist struggle of the peoples of the so-called "third world" and those of the so-called "second world" is weakened and sabotaged.

III

Revolutionary strategy is that which puts the revolution in the center. "The strategy and tactics of Leninism" wrote Stalin, "constitute the science of leadership in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat." (*Works*, vol. 6, p. 157)

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

This revolutionary process is going on unceasingly in the countries which are advancing on the road of true socialism as a fierce and irreconcilable struggle between the two roads -- socialist and capitalist -- to ensure the complete and final triumph of the former over the latter, to bar all the paths to the danger of turning back through counter-revolutionary violence and imperialist aggression or through peaceful bourgeois-revisionist degeneration. The revolutionaries and peoples of the whole world are watching this struggle with the most active interest, considering it as a vital question for the cause of the revolution and socialism all over the world. They give the socialist countries their full and unreserved support and backing against any attempt of imperialism against these countries, because in the socialist countries they see a powerful base and center of the revolution, they see the realization in practice of the ideals for which they themselves are fighting. Lenin's ideas on the neces-

Continued on next page

Comrade Mao Tsetung's Message of Greetings to the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labor

The Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labor Dear Comrades:

The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people send their warmest congratulations to the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labor.

We wish your Congress every success!

The glorious Albanian Party of Labor headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha is firmly holding aloft the revolutionary red banner of Marxism-Leninism while encircled ring upon ring by the imperialists and the modern revisionists.

Heroic people's Albania has become a great beacon of socialism in Europe.

The revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union, the Tito clique of Yugoslavia and all the other cliques of renegades and scabs of various shades are mere dust heaps in comparison, while you, a lofty mountain, tower to the skies. They are funkies and accomplices of imperialism before which they prostrate themselves, while you are dauntless proletarian revolutionaries who dare to fight imperialism and its lackeys, fight the world's tyrannical enemies.

The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and every other country where the modern revisionist clique is in power have either changed color or are in the process of doing so. Capitalism has been or is being restored there, and the dictatorship of the proletariat has been or is being changed into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Against this adverse current of counter-revolutionary revisionism, heroic socialist Albania has stood firm. Persevering in the Marxist-Leninist, the revolutionary line, you have adopted a series of measures of revolutionization and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. Taking the path of socialism, you are building your country independently and have won brilliant victories. You have contributed valuable experience to the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"A basket friend afar brings a distant land near." China and Albania are separated by thousands of mountains and rivers but our hearts are closely linked. We are your true friends and comrades. And you are

ours. You are not like those false friends and double-dealers who have "honey on their lips and murder in their hearts", and neither are we. Our militant revolutionary friendship has stood the test of violent storms.

The truth of Marxism-Leninism is on our side. So is the international proletariat. So are the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples. And so are the masses of people who constitute over 90 per cent of the world's population. We have friends all over the world. We are not afraid of being isolated and we shall never be isolated. We are invincible. The handful of pathetic creatures who oppose China and Albania are doomed to failure.

We are now in a great new era of world revolution. The revolutionary upheaval in Asia, Africa and Latin America is sure to deal the whole of the old world a decisive and crushing blow. The great victories of the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation are convincing proof of this. The proletariat and working people of Europe, North America and Oceania are experiencing a new awakening. The U.S. imperialists and all other such vermin have already created their own grave-diggers; the day of their burial is not far off.

Naturally, the road of our advance is by no means straight and smooth. Comrades, please rest assured that come what may, our two Parties and our two peoples will always be united, will always fight together and be victorious together.

Let the Parties and peoples of China and Albania unite. Let the Marxist-Leninists of all countries unite and overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of every country! A new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without any system of exploitation is certain to be built.

MAO TSE-TUNG,
Chairman of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of China
October 25, 1966
End.

sity and first-rate importance of the aid and support by the international proletariat for the country where the socialist revolution has triumphed, are immortal. But this always implies that we are speaking about a genuinely socialist country, which implements the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism with the utmost vigour and consistently adheres to proletarian internationalism. Otherwise, if it is transformed into a capitalist country, maintaining only a fraudulent "socialist" disguise, it must not be supported.

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

Lenin and Stalin always considered the revolutionary task of the proletariat of a socialist country, not only as making every effort to develop socialism in its own country, but also as supporting the revolutionary and liberation movements in the other countries in an all-round way. "Lenin never regarded the Republic of Soviets as an end in itself", wrote Stalin. "He always looked on it as an essential link for strengthening the revolutionary movement in the countries of the West and the East, an essential link for facilitating the victory of the working people of the whole world over capitalism. Lenin knew that this was the only right conception, both from the international standpoint and from the standpoint of preserving the Republic of Soviets itself." (Works, vol. 6, p. 52) Precisely for this reason, a truly socialist country cannot include itself in such groupings as the so-called "third world" or "non-aligned countries", in which any kind of class boundaries have been erased and which serve only to divert the peoples from the road of the struggle against imperialism and for the revolution.

Only the revolutionary, freedom-loving and progressive forces, the revolutionary movement of the working class and the anti-imperialist movement of the oppressed peoples and nations, can be true and reliable allies of the socialist countries. Therefore, to preach the division into "three worlds", to ignore the fundamental contradictions of our times, to call for alliance of the proletariat with the monopoly bourgeoisie and of the oppressed peoples with the imperialist powers of the so-called "second world", is not to the advantage of the international proletariat, the peoples, or the socialist countries. It is anti-Leninist. J. Stalin stressed: "I cannot imagine a situation ever arising in which the interests of our Soviet Republic would require deviations to the right on the part of our brother parties... I cannot imagine that the interests of our Republic, which is the base of the world-wide revolutionary proletarian movement, could require not the maximum revolutionary spirit and political activity of the workers of the West, but a diminution of their activity, a blunting of their revolutionary spirit." (Works, vol. 8, p. 115)

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

or with demagogy." (Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 159)

The objective conditions are becoming ever more favorable for the revolution in the developed capitalist countries. There the proletarian revolution is now a problem taken up for solution. Quite correctly, the Marxist-Leninist parties, which have taken up the banner of the revolution betrayed and discarded by the revisionists, have undertaken the tasks and set to work seriously to prepare the proletariat and its allies for the coming revolutionary battles for the overthrow of the bourgeois order. This revolutionary struggle, which is hitting the world capitalist and imperialist system in its main strongholds, enjoys and ought to enjoy the full support of the true socialist countries and of all the revolutionary and freedom-loving peoples throughout the world. But today, the modern revisionists, the supporters of the theory of the "three worlds" and the theoreticians of "non-alignment", while saying nothing about the revolution and preparation for it, in fact are trying to sabotage it and to keep the status quo of the capitalist order in existence.

In trying to divert the attention of the proletariat from the revolution, the authors of the theory of the "three worlds" preach that at the present time, the question of the preservation of national independence from the danger of aggression by the superpowers, especially by Soviet social-imperialism, which they consider to be the main enemy, is the primary issue. The question of defining which is the main enemy on an international scale at a given time is of great importance for the revolutionary movement. Bearing in mind the course of events, the class analysis of the present situation, our Party stresses that American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, these two superpowers, are "the main and greatest enemies of the peoples" today, and as such "they pose the same danger". (Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 156)

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

In rivalry with U.S. imperialism, this new imperialism is struggling to seize strategic positions and to get its grip on all the regions and continents. It stands out as a fire extinguisher of the revolution and suppressor of the liberation struggle of the peoples. But this in no way means that the other enemy of the peoples and of the whole world, U.S. imperialism, is less dangerous, as the advocates of the "three worlds" theory claim. Distorting the truth and deceiving the peoples, they claim that U.S. imperialism is allegedly no longer war-mongering, that allegedly it has been weakened, is in decline, that it has become a "timid mouse", in a word, U.S. imperialism is turning peaceful. Matters have reached the point that even the U.S. military presence in various countries such as Germany, Belgium or Italy, in Japan and other countries is being justified and described as a factor for defence. Such views are extremely dangerous to the freedom of the peoples and the fate of the revolution. Such theses foster illusions about the aggressive, hegemonic and expansionist nature of both U.S. imperialism and Soviet imperialism.

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

Of course, it happens and may happen that this or that country is oppressed or directly threatened by one of the superpowers, but this, in no way and in no case, means that the other superpower does not constitute a danger to that same country, and even less that the other superpower has become a friend of that country. The principle "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" cannot be applied when it is a matter of the two imperialist superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America. These two superpowers are fighting the revolution with every means, are making ev-

ery effort to sabotage the revolution and socialism and drown them in blood. The two superpowers are striving to extend their domination and exploitation of various peoples and countries. Experience shows that they launch fierce attacks sometimes on one region and sometimes on another, to extend their bloodthirsty grip on the peoples, that each is striving furiously to replace the other. As soon as the people of some country manage to get rid of the domination of one superpower, the other steps in. The Middle East and Africa provide ample proof of this.

The other major trend of the world revolution in our time is the national liberation movement of the peoples, which is spearheaded against imperialism, neo-colonialism and colonial vestiges. The Marxist-Leninists, the world proletariat, are in full solidarity with and render their full support to the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, regarding it as an extremely important, irreplaceable factor in the development of the world revolutionary process. The Party of Labor of Albania has always supported the peoples who are fighting for their national freedom and independence. "We stand for the unity of the world proletariat and all the true anti-imperialist and progress-loving forces who, through their struggle, will smash the aggressive plans of the imperialist and social-imperialist warmongers."

"Consistent in their Marxist-Leninist line, the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people... in the future, too... will spare no effort and will fight, together with all the other anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist peoples, with all the Marxist-Leninist parties, all the revolutionaries and the world proletariat, all progressive people, to foil the plans and manoeuvres of the enemies and ensure the triumph of the cause of the freedom and security of the peoples."

"At every moment our country will be found standing beside all those peoples whose freedom, independence are threatened and whose rights are violated." (Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 193) Comrade Enver Hoxha, on behalf of the Albanian Party and state, proclaimed this firm stand also in the speech he made in the People's Assembly in connection with the approval of our new Constitution. "Today", he said, "the overwhelming bulk of the peoples of the world are making great efforts and strongly opposing the colonial laws and neo-colonialist domination, those rules, practices, customs, the unequal agreements, old and new, established by the bourgeoisie to maintain the exploitation of the peoples, the hateful distinctions and discrimination in international relations... The progressive peoples and the democratic states that refuse to reconcile themselves to this situation and are fighting to establish their national sovereignty over their own assets and striving to strengthen their political and economic independence, and for equality and justice in international relations, enjoy the full solidarity and support of the Albanian people and state." (Speech at the People's Assembly, December 27, 1976)

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

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

But does this mean that such countries must remain at the national democratic stage and the revolutionaries should not speak about and prepare for the socialist revolution, for fear that stages may be skipped or cut out and someone may call them Blanquists? Lenin was talking about the need of the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into socialist revolution in the colonial countries from the time

when the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in these countries were still only in the embryo. In criticizing Blanquism, Marx and Engels did not describe either the 1848 Revolution or the Paris Commune as premature. Marxism-Leninism never confuses petty-bourgeois impatience which leads to the cutting out of stages, with the essential need for the uninterrupted development of the revolution.

Lenin pointed out that the revolution in the colonial and dependent countries must be pushed ahead. Since Lenin's time, great changes have taken place in those countries. In his genius Lenin predicted these changes and his response to them is found in the Leninist theses on the world revolutionary process. The carrying out of the proletarian revolution is a universal law and the main trend of our epoch. All countries without exception, even including Indonesia and Chile, Brazil and Zaire, and so on must and will go through it regardless of what stages will have to be traversed to get there. If you lose sight of this objective, if you preach the preservation of the status quo and theorize about "avoiding missing out stages", if you forget to fight against Suharto and Pinochet, Geisel and Mobutu, this means that you are for neither the national liberation struggle nor the national democratic revolution.

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

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

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

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

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

(All page references for quotations are to English language sources -- ed.)

In the Light of the Ideas of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania

The Socialist Revolution, The Only Road to Social Progress

The following article is reprinted from the Albanian Telegraphic Agency, March 14, 1977.

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 taking place, writes Zeri i Popullit in an article. One of these conclusions is the thesis that "The world is at a stage when the cause of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a future prospect, but a problem taken up for solution."

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

transition to imperialism brought about a further deepening of all the inner irreconcilable contradictions of capitalism, transformed capitalism into a decaying and dying order which is the eve of the revolution. "Imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat", said Lenin. "This has been confirmed since 1917 on a worldwide scale."

The Leninist analysis of imperialism remains entirely valid and true. Lenin's prediction that the social revolution of the proletariat is the only alternative remains unshaken to this day. The capitalist system remains as it has always been, a system of the exploitation of man by man, a system of mass poverty and suffering, a system which wipes out millions and millions of lives. With its whole existence imperialism turns the proletariat into an opposition force, impels it inevitably towards the revolution, leaves it no way out except to rise against the system and establish its dictatorship, the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of violence.

The other typical contradiction of imperialism too, stresses Zeri i Popullit, the contradiction between the imperialist powers for the division and reduction of

the world, has become more acute than ever before. Confronting one another today with unprecedented ferocity are such superpowers as American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which, with their policy of expansion and hegemony with their bloody contest to arm and equip themselves with the most powerful weapons, have become a daily threat and a continuous danger to the freedom and security of many peoples, big and small, distant or near at hand, on all continents. As long as it exists no imperialism can put aside its aggressive tendencies. This is its nature. With the pressure which they exert upon the peoples, with the plots that they organize day by day against their freedom and independence, with the new world war for which they are actively preparing, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have become the main enemies of the peoples. In these circumstances, the peoples have no alternative but to hurl themselves into the liberation struggle, the proletariat has no alternative but to rise in violent revolution and establish its state power. Through over the bourgeoisie of its own country is the main condition for the proletariat to be able to cope with the danger of the two superpowers. The bourgeoisie

of various countries are linked in one way or another with this or that superpower. This makes it essential that the proletariat, which is moving towards the revolution, while fighting its own bourgeoisie, must not forget the danger which threatens it from the superpowers, and while fighting against the danger of the superpowers it must not forget its own bourgeoisie which oppresses and exploits it.

The struggle against the bourgeoisie and the struggle against the danger posed by the superpowers are not two different problems but two sides of the same problem which the revolution of the proletariat and its power can solve once and for all.

Zeri i Popullit continues: "In the past, world imperialism, especially the two most insatiable and savage imperialisms of our epoch such as American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, cannot do without the aggression and exploitation not only of its own people but also of other peoples of wide continents such as Asia, Africa and Latin America which were formerly colonies and semi-colonies. It is true that today the colonial system of imperialism has suffered heavy blows and is disintegrating. It is also true that in a number of zones of the world such as in

Viet Nam and Cambodia, American imperialism has suffered irreparable defeats. This does not lessen the imperialist danger hanging over the heads of these peoples and in no way removes their national liberation struggle from the agenda. In their feverish contest for exploitation, domination and hegemony, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are following a typically colonialist and neo-colonialist policy. They spare no intrigue and blackmail to introduce these countries in their spheres of influence, to build up military bases there and transform them into place d'armes of aggression and threat. Apart from this, the grave economic crisis which has the imperialist world in its grip makes the efforts of the imperialist powers more desperate and fierce to get their clutches on the economic and human assets of these countries and to saddle these countries with the burden of the crisis. The situation becomes more tragic when, in many countries like Brazil, Thailand, Indonesia, Chile etc., dictatorial fascist regimes have been placed in power that have turned themselves into tools of imperialism pursuing an open door policy, a policy of betraying the supreme interests of their own peoples. It is all these circumstances that raise the people to their feet and throw them into the anti-imperialist national liberation movement. As long as it is directed against world imperialism and in the first place against the most savage and aggressive imperialisms which are American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the national liberation movement of many peoples of the world comprises the natural ally and powerful reserve of the proletariat and the revolution just as the proletarian revolution and the genuinely socialist countries constitute a reliable support for the revolutionary struggles and liberation movements of the peoples.

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

Significant evidence that there is no way out apart from the revolution of the proletariat is the contin-

ous and systematic failure of the plans of imperialist and revisionist governments to escape from the crisis. In every imperialist-revisionist country without exception, from the U.S.A. to Japan, from the Soviet Union to the European revisionist countries, inflation has grown from year to year, the cost of living has become heavier, unemployment greater, degeneration more wide-spread, reaction fiercer. The main cause of the successive failures in every capitalist-revisionist country is that the governments are trying to solve their contradictions and come out of the crisis in the conditions of the existing capitalist-revisionist order, by preserving it. This is an insoluble task. Crises, degeneration, corruption are inevitable co-travellers of capitalism and have their roots deep in this system of oppression and exploitation. The only way out is that which Marxism-Leninism has discovered and proved, continues the newspaper, that which the PLA has always defended and which it defended again at its 7th Congress. This is the road of the socialist revolution, the violent overthrow of the imperialist and revisionist bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In their efforts to find a palliative for the crises of the capitalist system, the capitalist governments have secured the assistance and collaboration of the revisionist parties and reformist trade unions. It is a long time since the revisionist parties in Italy and France, of Spain and Portugal have even mentioned the words revolution and proletariat. Instead of the violent revolution of the proletariat, the Italian revisionists talk about and try to achieve the "historic compromise", alliance with the main bourgeois parties of Italy. The French revisionists, on their part, pretend that in the conditions of capitalism today there is no longer a proletariat, that it has become a working class and that consequently the transition to socialism will come about allegedly through the development of bourgeois democracy and bourgeois democratic freedoms. There is nothing original in the theses of the French revisionists and their leader, Marchais. They are simply a revival of the illusions spread by the father of modern revisionism, the renegade Kautsky, which were criticized and exposed by Lenin. As Lenin explained, there is no such thing as pure democracy. Any kind of democracy is a dictatorship of one class to oppress another class. In this sense, bourgeois democracy is nothing but a dictatorship in the hands of the bourgeoisie to oppress the working class and the masses of the working people. Lenin also exposed who created and who needed illusions about pure democracy. "It is advantageous to the bourgeoisie and it is obliged to

hide from the people the bourgeois character of present-day democracy, to present it as democracy in general, as pure democracy, and by repeating such a thing the Scheidemanns and Kautskys are really abandoning the viewpoint of the proletariat and taking the side of the bourgeoisie," Lenin explained. Against the bourgeois stand of Kautsky, Lenin put forward the proletarian revolutionary perspective, the perspective of the replacement of the bourgeois dictatorship, regardless of whether this was disguised as the most democratic republic, with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Since the time when Lenin wrote these lines, many years have passed by and many events have taken place which have all proved that "pure democracy", "democracy for all" is complete deception. In fact it is only a form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie maintains for as long as it benefits it and abandons it immediately when it is in its interest to pass onto more savage forms of violence and terror. The bloody events in Indonesia and later in Chile, once more showed the working class and the broad working masses of these countries and the world proletariat that the bourgeois legality and the bourgeois democracy are not at all an obstacle for the bourgeoisie to establish the fascist dictatorship and to quench in blood the liberation struggles of the proletariat and the broad working masses, whenever its interests seek it.

In the light of the teachings of Lenin, in the light of the materialist dialectical analysis of the situation in the capitalist-revisionist countries, pregnant with the revolution, it is clearly seen that the road of the "transition to socialism", preached by the Soviet revisionists through the "economic competition", that of the Italian revisionists through the "historic compromise", of the French revisionists through "the extension of bourgeois freedoms and democracy", are roads of the renegades to the proletarian revolution, the traitors to Marxism-Leninism, the roads of the complete subjugation to the 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 revolutionary theory and practice, continues Zeri i Popullit, in struggle against the open or disguised defenders of capitalism. Lenin emphasized that, "The only Marxist line in the workers' movement of the world is to explain to the masses the essential and inevitable need to break with opportunism, to educate them for revolution with a merciless

struggle against opportunism". The PLA has put this Leninist tradition of the exposure and irreconcilable struggle against the revisionist enemies of Marxism-Leninism at the foundation of its activity. This tradition was carried on at its 7th Congress. In his report to the congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha tore off the mask from all the faces which revisionism has assumed today, from the open anti-communism of Marcuse and Garaudy to that of Berlinguer, Marchais and Carillo, from the pseudo-socialism of the Soviet revisionists to that of the Yugoslav revisionists. He pointed out the great danger which modern revisionism constitutes to the life of the peoples, the cause of socialism and freedom in the world. The struggle against revisionism has been and still is an essential condition for the triumph of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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

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

In the Light of the Ideas of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania

Questions of War and Peace in the Report of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the PLA

The following article from the newspaper Zeri i Popullit is reprinted from the Albanian Telegraphic Agency, March 31, 1977.

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

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

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

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

The present deep crisis which has the international capitalist and revisionist system in its grip has greatly aggravated the contradictions of the present epoch. In its background, the struggle of the work-

ing class and the other working strata against exploitation and the attempts of the bourgeoisie to shift the burden of the crisis on the working masses and against the reactionary dictatorships and the growing tendency towards fascism, has been raised to a new degree. The struggle of the oppressed peoples and the developing countries for national liberation and to get rid of the neo-colonialist yoke in defense of their sovereign rights to their national assets from the expansion and plunder by the imperialist powers, and first and foremost by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, has assumed new dimensions. While the bourgeoisie and imperialism, especially the two superpowers seek a way out in expansion, aggression and the imperialist war, in fascism, the proletariat and the freedom-loving peoples ever more clearly tend to the revolution and the liberation struggle.

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

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

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

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

"... We must base ourselves on the mobilization and strength of the peoples, on the unity of all those who want to throw off the imperialist-revisionist yoke. We stand for the unity of the world proletariat and all the true anti-imperialist and progress-loving forces who, through their struggles, will smash the aggressive plans of the imperialist and social-imperialist war-mongers... the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people... will spare no effort and will fight, together with all the other anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist peoples, with all the Marxist-Leninist parties, all the revolutionaries and the world proletariat, all progressive people, to foil the plans and manoeuvres of the enemies and ensure the triumph of the cause of the freedom and security of the peoples."

"In every moment our country will be found standing beside all those peoples whose freedom, independence are threatened and whose rights are violated. We have repeatedly declared this stand, and not just in good times, but in dangerous times as well; the peoples of the world can be sure that socialist Albania is with them and fears no sacri-

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

The Party of Labor of Albania, bearing in mind the Leninist teachings on struggles, adopts a clear cut stand. It openly declares that the two superpowers are preparing for war, that both the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union remain aggressive powers, enemies of the peoples; therefore no one of them can be supporter of their freedom and independence. The rivalry between the two superpowers, their aims to ensure each for itself spheres of influence, their hegemonistic and expansionist policy, lead both superpowers toward war. And no matter which of the two superpowers will launch the war against the group of the states of the bloc of the other superpower, this war will certainly be a war between the two imperialist groups. For this reason our Party is fighting against the war being prepared by the U.S.A., as well as the war being prepared by the Soviet Union, it is fighting both against the NATO and against the Warsaw Treaty, because the two are instruments of aggressive war.

Facing in mind the feverish war preparations of the two superpowers, the question rightfully arises: What should the peoples, the proletarians and the revolutionaries do, leave the imperialists and social imperialists in tranquility to set the world on fire, or fight against their war-mongering plans, against their aggressive actions, against the local ruling bourgeoisie, which has united with themselves the war-mongering plans of Soviet social-imperialism or U.S. imperialism?

The 7th Congress of the Party considering these questions on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, gave a clear, principled answer. It pointed out that in the imperialist and social imperialist are leading towards the aggressive, reactionary, imperialist war and it is not excluded that it may burst out in Europe, in Asia against the People's Republic of China, or in the Middle East, but the superpowers are not really interested as they like. Today, the true socialist countries, the world proletariat, the peoples who are against war, against hegemonism and imperialist and social-imperialist oppression, constitute a

Continued on next page

Viet Nam and Cambodia, American imperialism has suffered irreparable defeats. This does not lessen the imperialist danger hanging over the heads of these peoples and in no way removes their national liberation struggle from the agenda. In their feverish contest for exploitation, domination and hegemony, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are following a typically colonialist and neo-colonialist policy. They spare no intrigue and blackmail to introduce these countries in their spheres of influence, to build up military bases there and transform them into place d'armes of aggression and threat. Apart from this, the grave economic crisis which has the imperialist world in its grip makes the efforts of the imperialist powers more desperate and fierce to get their clutches on the economic and human assets of these countries and to saddle these countries with the burden of the crisis. The situation becomes more tragic when, in many countries like Brazil, Thailand, Indonesia, Chile etc., dictatorial fascist regimes have been placed in power that have turned themselves into tools of imperialism pursuing an open door policy, a policy of betraying the supreme interests of their own peoples. It is all these circumstances that raise the people to their feet and throw them into the anti-imperialist national liberation movement. As long as it is directed against world imperialism and in the first place against the most savage and aggressive imperialisms which are American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the national liberation movement of many peoples of the world comprises the natural ally and powerful reserve of the proletariat and the revolution just as the proletarian revolution and the genuinely socialist countries constitute a reliable support for the revolutionary struggles and liberation movements of the peoples.

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

Significant evidence that there is no way out apart from the revolution of the proletariat is the continu-

ous and systematic failure of the plans of imperialist and revisionist governments to escape from the crisis. In every imperialist-revisionist country without exception, from the U.S.A. to Japan, from the Soviet Union to the European revisionist countries, inflation has grown from year to year, the cost of living has become heavier, unemployment greater, degeneration more wide-spread, reaction fiercer. The main cause of the successive failures in every capitalist-revisionist country is that the governments are trying to solve their contradictions and come out of the crisis in the conditions of the existing capitalist-revisionist order, by preserving it. This is an insoluble task. Crises, degeneration, corruption are inevitable co-travellers of capitalism and have their roots deep in this system of oppression and exploitation. The only way out is that which Marxism-Leninism has discovered and proved, continues the newspaper, that which the PLA has always defended and which it defended again at its 7th Congress. This is the road of the socialist revolution, the violent overthrow of the imperialist and revisionist bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In their efforts to find a palliative for the crises of the capitalist system, the capitalist governments have secured the assistance and collaboration of the revisionist parties and reformist trade unions. It is a long time since the revisionist parties in Italy and France, of Spain and Portugal have even mentioned the words revolution and proletariat. Instead of the violent revolution of the proletariat, the Italian revisionists talk about and try to achieve the "historic compromise", alliance with the main bourgeois parties of Italy. The French revisionists, on their part, pretend that in the conditions of capitalism today there is no longer a proletariat, that it has become a working class and that consequently the transition to socialism will come about allegedly through the development of bourgeois democracy and bourgeois democratic freedoms. There is nothing original in the theses of the French revisionists and their leader, Marchais. They are simply a revival of the illusions spread by the father of modern revisionism, the renegade Kautsky, which were criticized and exposed by Lenin. As Lenin explained, there is no such thing as pure democracy. Any kind of democracy is a dictatorship of one class to oppress another class. In this sense, bourgeois democracy is nothing but a dictatorship in the hands of the bourgeoisie to oppress the working class and the masses of the working people. Lenin also exposed who created and who needed illusions about pure democracy. "It is a duty of the bourgeoisie to the bourgeoisie and it is obliged to

hide from the people the bourgeois character of present-day democracy, to present it as democracy in general, as pure democracy, and by repeating such a thing the Scheidemanns and Kautskys are really abandoning the viewpoint of the proletariat and taking the side of the bourgeoisie," Lenin explained. Against the bourgeois stand of Kautsky, Lenin put forward the proletarian revolutionary perspective, the perspective of the replacement of the bourgeois dictatorship, regardless of whether this was disguised as the most democratic republic, with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Since the time when Lenin wrote these lines, many years have passed by and many events have taken place which have all proved that "pure democracy", "democracy for all" is complete deception. In fact it is only a form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie maintained for as long as it benefits it and abandons it immediately when it is in its interest to pass onto more savage forms of violence and terror. The bloody events in Indonesia and later in Chile, once more showed the working class and the broad working masses of these countries and the world proletariat that the bourgeois legality and the bourgeois democracy are not at all an obstacle for the bourgeoisie to establish the fascist dictatorship and to quench in blood the liberation struggles of the proletariat and the broad working masses, whenever its interests seek it.

In the light of the teachings of Lenin, in the light of the materialist dialectical analysis of the situation in the capitalist-revisionist countries, pregnant with the revolution, it is clearly seen that the road of the "transition to socialism", preached by the Soviet revisionists through the "economic competition", that of the Italian revisionists through the "historic compromise", of the French revisionists through "the extension of bourgeois freedoms and democracy", are roads of the renegades to the proletarian revolution, the traitors to Marxism-Leninism, the roads of the complete subjugation to the 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 revolutionary theory and practice, continues Zeri i Popullit, in struggle against the open or disguised defenders of capitalism. Lenin emphasized that, "The only Marxist line in the workers' movement of the world is to explain to the masses the essential and inevitable need to break with opportunism, to educate them for revolution with a merciless

struggle against opportunism". The PLA has put this Leninist tradition of the exposure and irreconcilable struggle against the revisionist enemies of Marxism-Leninism at the foundation of its activity. This tradition was carried on at its 7th Congress. In his report to the congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha tore off the mask from all the faces which revisionism has assumed today, from the open anti-communism of Marcuse and Garaudy to that of Berlinguer, Marchais and Carillo, from the pseudo-socialism of the Soviet revisionists to that of the Yugoslav revisionists. He pointed out the great danger which modern revisionism constitutes to the life of the peoples, the cause of socialism and freedom in the world. The struggle against revisionism has been and still is an essential condition for the triumph of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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

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

In the Light of the Ideas of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania

Questions of War and Peace in the Report of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the PLA

The following article from the newspaper Zeri i Popullit is reprinted from the Albanian Telegraphic Agency, March 31, 1977.

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

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

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

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

The present deep crisis which has the international capitalist and revisionist system in its grip has greatly aggravated the contradictions of the present epoch. In its background, the struggle of the work-

ing class and the other working strata against exploitation and the attempts of the bourgeoisie to shift the burden of the crisis on the working masses and against the reactionary dictatorships and the growing tendency towards fascism, has been raised to a new degree. The struggle of the oppressed peoples and the developing countries for national liberation and to get rid of the neo-colonialist yoke in defense of their sovereign rights to their national assets from the expansion and plunder by the imperialist powers, and first and foremost by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, has assumed new dimensions. While the bourgeoisie and imperialism, especially the two superpowers seek a way out in expansion, aggression and the imperialist war, in fascism, the proletariat and the freedom-loving peoples ever more clearly tend to the revolution and the liberation struggle.

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

The classics of Marxism-Leninism have substantiated that as a result of the deepening and aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions the reactionary wars burst out which aim to preserve or re-establish the old social order and to prevent the social progress, without local or world oppressive and reactionary wars which aim to enslave the other peoples. All these kinds of wars are unjust, they are predatory, imperialist wars, therefore the Marxist-Leninists and the peoples have always resolutely pronounced themselves against them. But there are also just wars, the wars of the progressive forces against the reactionary forces, the revolutionary, liberation and defense wars of the workers and peoples against class and national exploitation and oppression, which are inevitable as long as capitalism, imperialism and social-imperialism exist. These are wars which serve the social progress, wars which promote history. In our time such just wars are: the struggle of the people of Vietnam, those of Cambodia and Laos against the aggression and intervention of U.S. imperialism and against the reactionary forces in its service, which were crowned with victory, the struggle of the Arab people and particularly of the Palestinian people, against the Israeli Zionists aggressors and the interference of the superpowers, the struggle of the peoples of Azania, Namibia, and Zimbabwe against the racist regimes, as well as the struggle of the other African peoples for true national independence, etc. Likewise, the struggles of the revolutionary, progressive and patriotic forces against the dictatorial and

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

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

"... We must base ourselves on the mobilization and strength of the peoples, on the unity of all those who want to throw off the imperialist-revisionist yoke. We stand for the unity of the world proletariat and all the true anti-imperialist and progress-loving forces who, through their struggle, will smash the aggressive plans of the imperialist and social-imperialist war-mongers... the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people... will spare no effort and will fight, together with all the other anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist peoples, with all the Marxist-Leninist parties, all the revolutionaries and the world proletariat, all progressive people, to foil the plans and manoeuvres of the enemies and ensure the triumph of the cause of the freedom and security of the peoples."

"At every moment our country will be found standing beside all those peoples whose freedom, independence are threatened and whose rights are violated. We have repeatedly declared this stand, and not just in good times, but in dangerous times as well; the peoples of the world can be sure that socialist Albania is with them and fears no sacri-

fice."

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

The Party of Labor of Albania, bearing in mind the Leninist teachings on struggles, adopts a clear cut stand. It openly declares that the two superpowers are preparing for war, that both the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union remain aggressive powers, enemies of the peoples; therefore no one of them can be supporter of their freedom and independence. The rivalry between the two superpowers, their aims to ensure each for itself spheres of influence, their hegemonistic and expansionist policy, lead both superpowers toward war. And no matter which of the two superpowers will launch the war against the group of the states of the bloc of the other superpower, this war will certainly be a war between the two imperialist groups. For this reason our Party is fighting against the war being prepared by the U.S.A., as well as the war being prepared by the Soviet Union, it is fighting both against the NATO and against the Warsaw Treaty, because the two are instruments of aggressive war.

Bearing in mind the feverish war preparations of the two superpowers, the question rightfully arises: "What should the people, the proletarians and the revolutionaries do, towards imperialists and social imperialists' intransigence to act the world on fire, or fight against their war-mongering plans, against their aggressive actions, against the local ruling bourgeoisies, which has united with and serves the war-mongering plans of Soviet social-imperialism or U.S. imperialism?"

The 7th Congress of the Party considering these questions on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, gave a clear, principled answer. It pointed out that in fact the imperialists and social imperialists are leading towards the aggressive, reactionary, imperialist war and it is not excluded that it may burst out in Europe, in Asia against the People's Republic of China, or in the Middle East, but the superpowers are not likely to act as they like. Today, the true socialist countries, the world proletariat, the peoples who are against war, against hegemonism and imperialism and social imperialist oppression, constitute a

(Continued on next page)

WAR AND PEACE

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colossal force able to restrain the war-mongers. But for this, as it was stressed at the 7th Congress, of special importance is the fact that the peoples should not wait, should not stand with folded arms, should not fall into fatalism, become passive observers and be caught unawares; they must be prepared for the worst and fight to prevent it from occurring.

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

Thus, in front of the growing danger of the imperialist war, it is the duty of the peoples, the workers of all the countries and revolutionaries to rise and fight against the war, to fight against the superpowers which prepare the war, to fight against the local monopoly bourgeoisie which backs up the war. Lenin's teachings on this question too, are a compass. Lenin has stressed: "If the war is a reactionary,

imperialist war, that is, if it is being waged by two world groups of the imperialist, rapacious, predatory, reactionary bourgeoisie, then every bourgeoisie (even of the smallest country) becomes a participant in the plunder, and my duty as a representative of the revolutionary proletariat is to prepare for the world proletarian revolution as the only escape from the horrors of a world slaughter. I must argue, not from the point of view of 'my' country... but from the point of view of my share in the preparation, in the propaganda, and in the acceleration of the world proletarian revolution. That is what internationalism means, and that is the duty of the internationalist, the revolutionary worker, the genuine socialist." This means that the peoples, including the American and Russian people, the German and the Polish people, the revolutionaries in Spain, Germany or Czechoslovakia, etc., should rise against the war-mongering policy and activity of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism both in East and West, as well as against the pro-war stand adopted by the local monopoly bourgeoisie and the revisionist cliques. In its revolutionary struggle against the war, the proletariat, whose leading role is indisputable, powerfully relies on the broad masses of the people and the strata who are against the war as it relies on the anti-imperialist struggle of the other peoples, especially of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. This is a Leninist, revolutionary stand.

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

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

If the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists begin the war, despite the opposition and resistance of the peoples, in this case too, the proletariat and the revolutionaries do not submit to the plans of the enemies. On the contrary, the peoples and the revolutionaries oppose both the imperialists and social-imperialists and the war-mongering monopoly

bourgeoisie of the country and they act with determination to turn the imperialist war into a liberation, revolutionary struggle. "If an aggressive imperialist war cannot be prevented", says Comrade Enver Hoxha, "then it is the task of the revolutionaries and the proletariat to turn it into a liberation war."

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

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

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

In the Light of the Ideas of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania

U.S. Imperialists and Soviet Social-Imperialists - Instigators of Quarrels, Divisions and Conflicts in the World

A. T. A., February 20, 1977.

To pave the way to their economic, political and military expansion as well as their frenzied hegemonism, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists instigate conflicts between the peoples and states, revitalize centuries-old disagreements between neighboring nations, instigate local wars, implement the colonialist principle "divide and rule" everywhere. Exposing this war-mongering policy and these odious colonialist methods, in his Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "In fact, whether U.S. imperialism, in its open and savage way, or Soviet social-imperialism, likewise in its way, which is just as savage but masked with a pseudo-socialist propaganda, they are working to aggravate relations, to stir up and inflame the contradictions among the peoples to further their own interests, to establish naval bases in various countries, to build military alliances, to conclude enslaving trade agreements, etc."

The increase of the military tension and the complicated situation in Europe, the explosive situation in the Middle East, the tragedy of Lebanon, the situation in Cyprus, and the increase of tension in the Mediterranean, the conflicts and quarrels in Africa and other regions of the world, all these have been and are direct result of the intensification of the aggressive and hegemonistic policy of the two superpowers, their interference, intrigues and efforts to preserve and extend their spheres of influence, to place the sovereign states under their control and tutelage. Unlike what the imperialists and revisionists propa-

gate, there is no detente in the world, on the contrary dangerous hotbeds are being created constantly. The article stresses further that by stirring up various conflicts, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union make use of them in the first place as a pretext to interfere in the home affairs of the other countries. With their imperialist logic, Washington and Moscow instigate conflicts among sides and then appear as arbiters to establish "tranquility". By granting themselves the so-called "special responsibilities" for the destinies of peace and nations, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists persist in having the right to decide on everything.

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

On the African continent too, the U.S.A. and the

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

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

The two superpowers, continues the newspaper, make use of the dangerous conflicts and hotbeds, as a means to spread a general psychosis of war and fear

and to exert blackmail and pressure on the peoples and states. This psychosis serves them to advertise as their salvation the U.S. or Soviet umbrellas, thus to introduce the states under their military protection, demanding for this in exchange political and economic concessions and concessions in the field of national sovereignty. Through constant conflicts, the two superpowers are trying to create permanent markets to sell their arms stocks thus to ensure colossal profits. Suffice it to mention that only during the period from the October 1973 Israeli aggression, till the end of 1974, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union exported arms in the Middle East to the tune of 7 billion and 400 million dollars and 6 billion and 700 million dollars respectively. The two superpowers make use of this frenzied arms trade to plunder the riches of the others and penetrate further, especially in Africa, the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, in Latin America and Asia.

In conclusion Bashkimi writes: the course of events ever more clearly is revealing the intensification of the rivalry and efforts of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism for expansion and zones of influence and exposes them as instigators and real responsible of the conflicts and quarrels between the peoples and nations. This requires the peoples of the world to enhance the vigilance and to intensify the struggle to expose and oppose the oppressive and predatory plans and plots of the two superpowers, their numerous interferences and intrigues against the freedom and independence of the peoples. End.

Through So-Called Aids, the Two Superpowers Apply Neo-Colonialism

The following article from the newspaper *Zeri i Popullit* is reprinted from A. T. A., December 15, 1976.

Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 7th Congress of the PLA:

"World capitalism, which is proceeding remorselessly towards crises and decline... has now reached the stage of imperialism in decay. In order to survive, it has devised new forms for the exploitation of the masses, not just on a national scale, but also on a world scale, has contrived its last and most sophisticated means of plunder, neo-colonialism..."

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are today the representatives and biggest defenders of the neo-colonialist policy. In the framework of this policy, an important place is occupied by the so-called aids the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union claim that they give to the other states, especially to the countries with a lower level of development.

The propaganda and the ideologists of the two superpowers try to present these "aids" as "a great contribution" to the other countries "to develop and strengthen their economic independence" and to "elevate the standard of living of the people's masses". They never fail to stress the "great profits and advantages" of those countries which receive credits or loans from the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union or that develop economic relations with those countries.

But what are in fact the so-called aids the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists advertise so clamorously? How do these modern thieves ensure these capitals, with which they "generously" want to help the backward peoples and what are their consequences?

Facts show that the "aids" the two superpowers give are but forms of the profitable export of capitals, which they have ensured by exploiting barbarously the working class inside the country and by plundering and enslaving the peoples of other countries. The immediate aim of granting these "aids" has been and remains to ensure maximum profits, while their final aim is the complete colonization of these countries by the two superpowers.

Testimony to the great profits the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists ensure from the granting of the so-called aids is the fact that the general sum of profits they ensure from the suppression and exploitation of the peoples of the other countries is some times larger than the sum of "aids" they claim that they give to these countries. Thus, the U.S. imperialists, who claim to be the main aides of the developing countries do not spend for this aim even 0.4 percent of their national incomes, at a time when they get from these countries such sums which surpass 3-4 times the sum granted as aid. Ten out of every 100 dollars income of the U.S. national budget are ensured from the enslavement and plunder of the peoples of the other countries. The same happens also with the so-called aids given by the Soviet social-imperialists. The general sum of the incomes and profits they realize from the exploitation and plunder of the peoples of other countries, is at present some times larger than the aids they claim to give to these countries. Thus, for every 100 rupees India receives as an "aid" from the Soviet Union, it has to pay to it 160 rupees within the year. This has made the countries which receive aids from the two superpowers be always in debt to the two superpowers. To pay off the great sums of "aids" they have taken, many countries have to spend a considerable part of their national incomes or receive other credits and "aids" from the U.S.A. or the Soviet Union, thus being plunged more and more into the swamp of foreign loans and economic dependence on U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

To this testifies the fact that within the last 7-8 years, the foreign public loans of 86 countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Southern Europe increased over twice, at an average annual rate higher than the rates of the increase of gross national product of these countries. This has brought about the deepening of the gap between the contracted loans and possibilities and means to pay them off. The granting of so-called aid not only that means the ensurance of fat profits by the two superpowers, but usually it is accompanied with such economic, political and military agreements which seriously affect the sovereignty and the fast rate and independent development of the countries which receive the "aid".

Dealing with the exploitative character of the agreements which accompany "aids" in the epoch of imperialism, V.I. Lenin stressed that in those international agreements the one who gives loans wins almost always: concessions in a trade agreement, a coal basin, the construction of a sea port, a fat concession, orders for guns, the most usual thing to be put as a condition for the loan granted is to use part of it to buy products in the country which grants it, especially to buy arms, ships, etc.

Precisely these aspects characterize today the credits and loans the two superpowers grant under the guise of "aids". They try to impose on the countries which take the loans the policy they like, their participation in pacts which are controlled by them and the approval for setting up on their territories U.S. or Soviet military bases.

Aside from this, through loans and credits they grant to other countries, the two superpowers in fact finance their foreign trade, especially the arms trade because every agreement which accompanies the accord of "aids" almost always includes the clause which compels the receptive countries to spend a good part of the loans to buy U.S. or Soviet machines, equipment or arms. The facts show that purchase at high prices of industrial goods, and especially of U.S. or Soviet arms stock piles, swallows a big part of the "aids" the two superpowers pretend they give the developing countries.

A considerable part of the "aids" the various countries of the world receive from the two superpowers, is destined to the construction of military objects such as motor roads, air fields, sea ports and other projects of infrastructure, which Washington and Moscow are interested in. This means that the overwhelming majority of these "aids" is used for non-productive aims. Therefore, instead of helping with the increase of the rates of the gross national product and the rapid independent economic and cultural development of the receptive countries, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, through the so-called aids, hinder the economic development of these countries and plunge them deeper into economic, political and military dependence.

"The so-called aid of the imperialists and social-imperialists to the develop-

ing countries", Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 7th Congress of the PLA, "constitutes a great fraud and is aimed at exploiting the economies of these countries and dictating their imperialist policy to them."

The neo-colonialism of the Soviet social-imperialists is developing at ever greater rates also over the "allied" countries of East Europe. Through the so-called "integration" and programs which are carried out in its frame, the Kremlin social-imperialists compel the vassal countries to regulate their economic structure in compliance with the structure of the Soviet capitalist economy and its needs. Moreover, they have compelled those countries to ensure them labor power, capitals and equipment for building plants, mines, gas pipelines, and other projects in the Soviet metropolis.

The Albanian stand and reality are today a great inspiring example for all those people who feel on their backs the heavy neo-colonialist burden of imperialist and social-imperialist "aids". They are better and better realizing that real national independence cannot be defended and strengthened without consistently fighting to the end against any manifestation of neo-colonialism, including the accord of "aids" by the imperialist powers. Therefore, today we are eye witnesses of the growing resistance and opposition of the peoples against the enslaving and predatory plans of the two superpowers, which is expressed in giving up the "aids", the nationalization of foreign monopoly companies, the refusal of enslaving credits or loans which are offered to them, the driving out of "specialists", etc. This is a component part of the growing struggle of the peoples and developing countries against the savage neo-colonialist policy of the imperialist powers. End.

Proletarian Internationalism is the Ideology and Weapon of the World Proletariat for the Triumph of Socialism and Communism

The following article from the review "Rruga e Partise", theoretical and political organ of the Central Committee of the PLA, is reprinted from A. T. A., May 29, 1977.

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

Internationalism can be only proletarian for the Marxist-Leninists. There is not and cannot be internationalism in general. At the time when the world bourgeoisie in its struggle against the proletariat, the peoples and socialism tries to unite its forces, to create internationalist unions, moreover this must be done by the proletariat in its struggle against internal and external bourgeoisie, against imperialism, social-imperialism and world reaction. In this case, proletarian internationalism serves not only as a condition to defend from bourgeoisie, but also as a weapon to triumph over it. If you take the word "proletarian" away from internationalism, this is accepted with satisfaction also by the bourgeoisie and that is also the aim of the efforts being made by the modern revisionists to sell out their new commodity in forms such as "international solidarity" or the so-called "new internationalism", because this kind of unity does not touch in the slightest the bourgeois order. The palavers, too, of some present-day modern revisionists that the expression proletarian internationalism divorces the "broad working masses of the people" from the struggle for the solution of the present-day international problems is completely a lie, because those who are afraid of proletarian internationalism are only the bourgeoisie and its servants. The proletariat and the working masses draw their strength only in their unity and cohesion, strength which will wipe out the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

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

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

In his Report submitted at the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that the present situation in the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement resembles the heroic periods in which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin struggled and worked. Today, too, just as at that time, the victory over imperialism, social-imperialism, bourgeoisie and reaction requires first and foremost unity, solidarity and cohesion in the very Marxist-Leninist movement, which is the vanguard of the revolutionary



"The Moscow Meeting", painting by Guri Madhi. (shows Comrade Enver Hoxha denouncing the Khrushchevite revisionists at the 1960 Moscow Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties.)

movement of the world proletariat. But its unity and solidarity is achieved only by faithfully implementing the Marxist-Leninist theory. "Our Party", Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the PLA, "has marched and will continue to march on this road. It has and always will put Marxism-Leninism in command".

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

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

In its 7th Congress, our Party devoted special attention to the problem of the unity of the Marxist-

Leninist movement. This Congress too, was characterized by the high spirit of proletarian internationalism, unity and militant solidarity. "As internationalist communists", Comrade Enver Hoxha said at this Congress, "we need to exchange our experiences and, each of us, in the conditions of his own country, must act on the basis of Marxism-Leninism." In this way, our Party once more reiterated that cooperation between the communist parties indispensably presumes the independence of each party to act with initiative in its own country on the basis of concrete conditions.

As the 7th Congress of our Party pointed out, without returning to the old organizational forms, as those of Comintern, which for the time being are inappropriate, because the conditions and the situations have changed, the problems have become more complicated and, consequently, all the activity of the Marxist-Leninist parties is impossible to be directed by a sole center, our Party stands for a many-sided cooperation between the Marxist-Leninist parties which should be done in a true revolutionary way. According to its opinion the exchange of experience may be done on a bilateral and multilateral basis. But it is understandable that only the bilateral meetings are insufficient for the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the International Marxist-Leninist Movement. Therefore, our Party is of the opinion that the multilateral and broad meetings of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties have superiority over bilateral meetings, they serve better to the aims of the Marxist-Leninist Movement. They have superiority because they can deeply analyze the situations created at any time, broadly discuss the main problems raised by every new situation before the Marxist-Leninist Movement in general or before the Marxist-Leninist parties of

this or that group of countries in the world. Besides this, the representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties at these broad meetings have the possibility to freely discuss, broadly and sincerely exchange their opinions and viewpoints, to discuss and exchange the experiences of each other, to do a principled and comradely criticism and self-criticism. And, in the final account, the broad meetings play an important role as to the adoption of common stands towards various situations and the coordination of actions in the revolutionary struggle against the common enemies.

Our Party has always pointed out that the unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Movement is not given once and forever. It, too, is subjected to dialectics, it is developed, it gets strengthened more and more with regard to the new main problems the Marxist-Leninist communist parties are faced with. For this reason, the frequent multilateral meetings further develop and strengthen the revolutionary solidarity, the unity and cohesion between the revolutionary parties of the proletariat.

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

End.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Albania has always Stood Strong as a Granite-Like Rock

A. T. A., May 31, 1977

The establishment on November 29, 1944 of the state power, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a powerful and decisive weapon to carry the socialist revolution ahead through to final victory, constitutes the greatest victory in the century-long history of the Albanian people.

Our younger generation, writes in an article the newspaper *Zeri i Rinise*, organ of the C. C. of the Albanian Working Youth Union (AWYU), found in the dictatorship of the proletariat the embodiment of its aspirations. The dictatorship of the proletariat created for our youth, the younger generation of socialism, a favorable economic and political situation to live and work happily to enrich its spiritual world outlook and consciousness, to become mentally and physically tempered.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, the newspaper underlines, is a powerful weapon, through which, as the 7th Congress of the Party stressed, are realized the vital tasks of the revolution, the all-round development of socialist economy and culture, the organization and direction of the construction of socialism and communist society. Besides this, it plays a perceptible role to liquidate all the traces of old society from the socialist social life. The experience of the revolution and the construction of socialism in our country has fully proved the Marxist-Leninist teach-

ing that the working class is in need of the dictatorship of the proletariat to suppress the resistance of the class enemies, old and new, to make their attempts for restoration always suffer a shameful defeat, to cope with the external danger which comes in two ways: first, from the aggressive intentions of imperialism and social-imperialism to strangle and destroy the socialist order with fire and steel, with blockade and starvation and, second, from the ideological aggression of the capitalist-revisionist world.

Concerning the question of the stand towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, two diametrically opposite lines exist in the world and a fierce struggle is being waged between the genuine Marxist-Leninists and proletarian revolutionaries, on one hand, and the opportunists and renegades of every hue from the working class, on the other hand. All the revisionist renegades and the lackeys of the bourgeoisie have always directed their main blows against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Through their frenzied demagoguery on "bureaucratic etatism", "liquidation of the consequences of the personality cult", "liberalization and democratization", "direct democracy" and the "state of the entire people", as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the PLA, the present-day revisionists have as their purpose "to attack the very essence of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution and to destroy the

fundamental instrument of the proletariat for the building of the new socialist life". They have fabricated a series of anti-scientific pseudo-theories which run contrary to the fundamental principles formulated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism in the field of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. There are some of them who trumpet that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not historically necessary, because socialism can be established also without waging the class struggle and without carrying out the proletarian revolution by violence, but in the framework of the so-called bourgeois democracy. Some others say that the dictatorship of the proletariat is only a form of the political organization of the society in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, it is suitable only in the economically backward countries and where the advanced forms of political democracy do not exist. Still others predict that the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary only in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, whereas after the liquidation of the exploiting classes, they consider the dictatorship of the proletariat as liquidated, replacing it with the so-called "state of the entire people". All these pseudo-Marxist theories preached either by the Soviet and Yugoslav revisionists or the Italian and French ones have only one target: attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Rejecting the anti-Marxist theorizations of the revisionists on the dictatorship of the proletariat and summing up the all-round historic experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, as a precious treasure for all the Marxist-Leninists and the peoples, for all the countries which embark on the road of socialism, the newspaper stresses, the Party of Labor of Albania has the great merit that it has constantly and consistently defended and has creatively applied the Marxist-Leninist teaching that the road to socialism and communism passes only through the political domination of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a universal law, which Marx has formulated in the following way in his work *Critique of the Gotha Programme*: "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." Whereas Lenin has formulated this law, without the implementation of which socialist and communist society can be built in no country whatsoever, in the following way:

"The essence of Marx's theory on the state has been mastered only by those

Continued on next page

DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT IN ALBANIA
Continued from previous page

who realize that the dictatorship of a single class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire historical period which separates capitalism from 'classless society', from communism."

Historical events have proved the correctness of the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Experience has shown that the dictatorship of the proletariat may be established through the triumphant socialist revolution, but it can be liquidated later on, either through the armed counter-revolution, or through the "peaceful" revisionist counter-revolution. It may also happen that after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it may be gravely endangered, the state power may be partially usurped by counter-revolutionary elements, but later on, the usurpers and their poisonous ideology should be overthrown and smashed in a revolutionary way, the dictatorship of the proletariat should be fully re-established and successfully defended. It is also fully possible that after its establishment, the dictatorship of the proletariat is preserved

always pure and inviolable and firm in all its links and directions, developing and improving itself constantly. To the latter testifies the experience of our country, where the dictatorship of the proletariat has always stood strong and unbreakable, as granite-like rock.

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

Among the most important theoretical conclusions the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have drawn on the dictatorship of the proletariat, we may mention that "ensuring the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party constitutes the

decisive condition for carrying out the revolution, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism", that "ensuring broad socialist democracy constitutes a fundamental condition for the protection and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself, just as the dictatorship of the proletariat constitutes an indispensable and decisive condition for the existence of genuine democracy for the working people", that "whatever the field in which the class struggle between the two roads -- socialist and capitalist -- is waged, whether political or economic, ideological, cultural or military, it is, in the final account, a struggle around the question of whether the dictatorship of the proletariat will be preserved and strengthened, or will degenerate and be overthrown", etc. All these conclusions as well as the measures implemented in our country on their basis, are fully reflected in a series of articles of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

As the general road for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and our entire socialist order, the Party has defined the development of the

democracy of the masses so that they have their say in solving the social and state problems, exercise control on anyone and on everything, take part in an active way and on a broad scale, in an organized way and in various forms, in the running of the country. Only in this way may the socialist construction be carried forward and our state and society may be preserved from the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration.

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

In the Light of the Ideas of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania

A. T. A., March 30, 1977.

The newspaper *Zeri i Popullit* continues to publish articles which analyze the ideas of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania. In an article dealing with the contradictions in the socialist society, *Zeri i Popullit* writes: To orient itself correctly in the complicated processes and situations of the social life, where many diversified factors are interlaced and cooperate, to correctly understand the present-day situation and the future prospects, to correctly evaluate the relationship between the class forces and their nature, the Party relies on an irreplaceable weapon, on Marxist-Leninist dialectics, especially on the theory of contradictions, which has been considered by Lenin as the essence of the dialectical method. The dialectical theory on contradictions is run through by the revolutionary spirit, because it substantiates the objective necessity of the overthrow of the bourgeois order through the proletarian revolution and the inevitable victory of communism. Therefore, in their struggle against Marxism-Leninism the bourgeois ideologists and the opportunists of every hue never forget to direct their spearheads against the dialectical theory on contradictions.

The history of the international communist and workers' movement proves that the problem of the contradictions, of their nature and role in the process of the development of social life, has always been in the center of the principled divergences between Marxism-Leninism and the ideological opponents of the working class. In order to justify their departure from Marxism, Bernstein and the other opportunist chiefs of the Second International launched the ill-famed slogan: "turn back to Kant", which was an appeal to give up and abandon the materialist dialectics with contradictions and leaps and replace it with vulgar evolution. The revision of the dialectical theory on contradictions prepared the ground for the social-democratic parties of the Second International to be transformed completely from the parties of social revolution into parties of class reconciliation and social reforms. Summing up the new historic experience of the epoch of imperialism, Lenin discovered the fundamental contradictions of that epoch and the objective laws of their inevitable aggravation. He substantiated the new prospects of the revolutionary movement of the working class, which was crowned with the triumph of the October Revolution.

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

After Stalin's death, the Soviet Union diverted from this road with the treachery of the Khrushchovite revisionists, who revived the old anti-dialectic theories and placed them in the service of their counter-revolutionary policy. The modern revisionists displayed a special zeal to deny the objective class basis and the laws of the aggravation of the antagonistic contradictions between socialism and capitalism, between proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between revolution and counter-revolution, between the oppressed peoples and imperialism, and the other contradictions of our epoch. The opportunist stand towards the contradictions gave a free hand to the modern revisionists to prepare and implement the counter-revolutionary turning point of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries.

The experience of the international communist and workers' movement has taught our Party to attach great importance to the defense of the Marxist-Leninist theory on contradictions from the distortions the modern revisionists make and its implementation in analyzing every problem even of little importance of the development of the socialist society. Our Party considers the objective contradictions as the source and driving force of the development of the world in general, and of the social life in particular. The so-

cialist society, too, develops through various kinds of contradictions.

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

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

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

The Marxist-Leninist stand is distinguished from the revisionist one not only from the acceptance of the two kinds of contradictions, but also the estimation of the role of the antagonistic contradictions in the period of transition from capitalism to communism. The main content of the class struggle in this period has to do with the struggle between two roads, the capitalist road and the socialist road of development. Therefore, alongside the non-antagonistic contradictions, the antagonistic contradictions are presented as fundamental, first-hand contradictions, in the transitory period and not as temporary and sporadic contradictions. This assessment of the role of antagonistic contradictions of this period complies with the teachings of V.I. Lenin, who in his work *Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* has written: "Theoretically, there can be no doubt that between capitalism and communism there lies a definite transition period which must combine the features and properties of both these forms of social economy. This transition period has to be a period of struggle between dying capitalism and nascent communism -- or, in other words, between capitalism which has been defeated but not destroyed and communism which has been born but is still very feeble."

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

Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that it is not enough to accept the antagonistic contradictions in the period of transition from capitalism to communism, but one should also deal with them correctly, solve them through ways and methods which comply with their very nature. The sole road of the solution of antagonistic contradictions is the fierce class struggle. In the socialist order, the working class, led by its Marxist-

Leninist Party and in alliance with laboring peasantry, is able to solve the internal antagonistic contradictions. On this depends first and foremost the possibility of the complete construction of socialism in the conditions of capitalist encirclement. "So long as the class struggle continues, and this is not instigated artificially, but exists objectively as a struggle between the two roads of development -- the socialist and the capitalist roads, there is no room for any spirit of placidity, self-satisfaction, or liberalism, because we have allegedly done away with all evils and have escaped any danger. On the contrary, the edge of the class struggle should always be kept keen, because it is our powerful weapon, which defends

peasantry, between special sides of the relations in production and productive forces, between the old forces of the organization and management of the work and social production and the new demands of the development of the productive forces, between the new ideological, cultural and technical-professional level of the working people and the level of production, between administrative forms and methods of managing the economy and the participation of the masses in this management, etc.

In the process of the struggle to solve the non-antagonistic contradictions the method which complies with their specific method is the method of conviction, education, criticism and self-criticism. These contradictions are solved by extending constantly the basis of the common interests and gradually narrowing the differences existing between social forces which



Comrade Enver Hoxha meeting with the people.

us from the enemies, cleanses us of evils, and tempers us as proletarian revolutionaries. We must wage this struggle consistently, while always making clear the character of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions and relying firmly on the masses." The strengthening of the socialist order in the process of this struggle is a premise and also its aim. In this struggle to solve the antagonistic contradictions, the dictatorship of the proletariat resorts to the method of violence, restriction against the enemies who try through counter-revolution to seize the power from the working class.

The opportunists of various hues distort the nature and antagonistic contradictions, darken their features to deny the indispensability of the use of violence against the enemies. They claim that the dictatorship of the proletariat must be generous towards the enemies of socialism, to realize with them a kind of "peaceful coexistence" and then have a kind of "constructive dialogue". This is an opportunist liberal treatment of the antagonistic contradictions, which denies the class essence and the very indispensability of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which, as it is the broadest and most real democracy for the working masses, cannot fail to be revolutionary violence for the enemies of socialism. Having always clear the character of antagonistic contradictions, fighting against their liberal opportunist treatment, our Party does not mix them with the non-antagonistic contradictions. To mix them means to keep the snake in the bosom, to cease the struggle against the enemy.

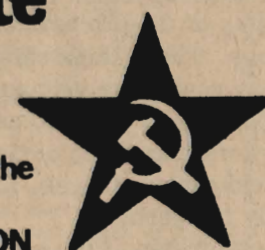
In the period of the transition from capitalism to communism, the non-antagonistic contradictions, which are also called contradictions in the *fold* of the people play a great role. They are contradictions between social forces which have objectively a broad common base of fundamental interests, but which have, at the same time, different interests for secondary or partial problems. Such are, for instance, the contradiction between the working class and laboring

are bearers of this kind of contradictions. Our Party has gained a very rich experience in solving the non-antagonistic contradictions of our society. It is expressed, among the other things, in the strengthening of the unity of the people round the Party, in the strengthening of the working class cooperativist peasantry alliance, which constitutes the loftiest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Making the distinction between the antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions, our Party, *Zeri i Popullit* writes in conclusion, has waged correctly the class struggle, has ensured the non-stop march of the proletarian revolution in our country and is leading our people in the struggle for the complete construction of socialism. End.

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In the Light of the Ideas of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania

The Hegemony of the Working Class and the Undivided Leading Role of its Party A Decisive Condition for the Triumph of the Revolution and the Construction of Socialism

A. T. A., April 12, 1977.

Under the above title, the newspaper *Zeri i Popullit* publishes an article by Fiqret Shehu, which reads:

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

And this can be easily explained. First of all it can be explained by the fact that, regardless of the new phenomena which have occurred in the world, today, as at that time, we are in the same historical epoch, the fundamental content of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism; the classes confronting each other are the same -- the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; the historic task that demands solution is the same -- the overthrow of the hated capitalist order and the construction of a new order, the socialist order; and the way in which this task must be carried out is the same -- through the socialist revolution, and the main leading force which will carry it out can be only the proletariat, as the most revolutionary and progressive class of society, under the leadership of its political party, the Marxist-Leninist communist party.

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

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

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

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

The experience of history has completely confirmed the correctness of these Marxist-Leninist teachings. It has confirmed that the direction and outcome of the revolutionary struggle depends on whether it is led by the Marxist-Leninist party or some other political force, that the fate of the new society -- whether or not it advances to communism or turns back to capitalism, depends on whether the party of the working class remains in the leadership of the socialist society, whether it maintains or loses its leading role in the entire life of the country.

Thus, socialist Albania, where the Party has always been in the vanguard role, and which, during the anti-fascist national liberation war, and the people's revolution, or after and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of the foundations of socialism, has never dreamt of, and never allowed its leading role to be shared with anyone at all, nor permitted itself to be displaced from this leading role in the slightest, but, on the contrary has crushed all the enemies who have tried to undermine this role, is a great and positive example of what the working class is able to do, regardless of how small and unconsolidated as a class it may be at the start, when it is led by its revolutionary party which is enlightened in all its activity by the proletarian ideology. In fact, all the colossal victories which have been achieved in our country -- the triumph of the people's revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the non-stop advance of socialism -- are the result of the fact that during all its 35 year long life our Party, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress "with the greatest loyalty and unwavering consistency has upheld the great principle that ensuring the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party constitutes the decisive condition for carrying out the revolution, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism" and has considered that the leadership of the party, which is the concentrated and the highest expression of the leading role of the working class, represents "the number

one subjective factor for putting its revolutionary program into practice".

The example of the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries, where capitalism has been completely restored and the working class is savagely oppressed and exploited by the new, bureaucratic bourgeois dictatorship shows, on the other hand, what catastrophic consequences the working class suffers from the usurping of the leadership of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat by any clique of revisionist traitors which, camouflaged under the cloak of Marxism, works persistently for the degeneration of the whole party, and thus leaves the working class without its revolutionary leading staff.

The events of the last few decades also show how the revolutionary movements of the working class and other working people have ended up when they have not been developed and carried out under the hegemony of the proletariat and the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party. In these instances, regardless of the deceptive and illusory "theories" which the revisionists spread about the "non-capitalist road of development", and "the road of socialist orientation" which certain countries allegedly follow, in fact, the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution has not been carried to the end; in none of these countries, whether in Europe, Africa, or anywhere else, have we to do with a socialist order or a "socialist orientation".

"If they lack a political party with a clear-cut program and scientifically based strategy and tactics, the struggle will either stop halfway or fail altogether. And the experience of the present day revolutionary movement and numerous struggles of the peoples of various continents teaches us this", stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 6th Congress of the PLA speaking about the hegemony of the working class and the role of its party, which can and must lead, "not only the struggle for socialism, but also the struggle for national independence".

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

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

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

In our epoch, which is the epoch of the collapse of imperialism and the triumph of socialism, in the present conditions when the fundamental contradiction of capitalist society, that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and all the other contradictions of present day society are coming to a head, all views and attitudes that do not treat the proletariat as the main, social revolutionary motive force of society amount, in fact, to ignoring and denial of the hegemonic role of the world proletariat, denial of the right of the proletariat to carry out the proletarian revolution, hence to falling into the positions of opportunism.

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

tarian revolution, the main revolutionary force in which is the proletariat.

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

Some of them, the revisionists of capitalist countries, such as the Italian, French, and Spanish revisionists, are spreading the idea of a single big democratic party open to all, a party that will take the road of class collaboration, they worship bourgeois democracy and in the name of bourgeois democracy

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



The entry into Tirana of the democratic government on November 28, 1944.

they reject the great doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they talk about "historic compromise" and "political pluralism"; hence they offer the working class as its road to "salvation", not the road of struggle against the bourgeoisie, but the road of reforms, in this way becoming open propagandists of the idea of class conciliation and collaboration, the most zealous defenders of bourgeois reformism, precisely at an historic moment when bourgeois reformism has proved itself bankrupt throughout the world, and turning the latter communist parties of the countries from parties "of the clenched fist" into parties "of the outstretched hand", that is, from parties of the revolution into parties of compromise, tools of capitalism.

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

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

However, in whatever form it is done and under whatever disguise, denial of the role of the party of the working class and its revolutionary ideology is the most serious blow that can be dealt to the working

world.

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

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

In such conditions, when, in order to put down any revolutionary movement, the enemies of the proletariat and all the peoples are sharpening up all their ideological, organizational, and military weapons, the words of V.I. Lenin, a good many decades ago, that "As a man of practice and a man of politics, the Marxist must be clear that now only traitors to socialism can stand

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IN STRUGGLE AND REVOLUTION THE MARXIST-LENINISTS BECOME STRONG AND INDOMITABLE

From the Talk of Comrade Enver Hoxha with Comrade Pedro Pomar

«Many outstanding fighters of the Marxist-Leninist movement have been barbarously murdered by the fascist criminals who are ruling in many countries, have died under police torture, or are still languishing in the dark dungeons of reaction. Through their determination, their courage, their lofty spirit of self-denial and their devotion to the great cause of the proletariat, they have become radiant beacons of the struggle of the masses of the working people for national and social liberation...

Their unblemished image and revolutionary life will live on in the hearts of all true patriots and communists as a lofty example of inspiration, a call to arms in the struggle against the blood-thirsty bourgeoisie and reaction»

ENVER HOXHA

Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA.



A cordial and unforgettable meeting, Comrade ENVER HOXHA with comrade PEDRO POMAR, invited to our country in August 1966.

From *Albania Today*, No. 2, 1977.

Some weeks ago, Comrade Pedro Pomar, Member of the Executive Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil, together with his brave comrades, Angelo Arrojo and Juan Battista Drummond, fell heroically fighting the fascist dictatorship of Brazil.

Comrade Pedro Pomar was an outstanding leader of the Communist Party of Brazil, an indomitable fighter against imperialism, modern revisionism and fascist reaction, a dear friend of socialist Albania.

Comrade Pedro Pomar was three times in our country and cherished a great love and respect for the Party of Labor of Albania, the Albanian people, and their struggle against imperialism and revisionism, for the defense of Marxism-Leninism and the construction of socialism.

As a mark of honor and respect for the memory of Comrade Pedro Pomar we publish below excerpts from a conversation Comrade Enver Hoxha had with him when he visited Albania on August 16, 1967.

Comrade ENVER HOXHA: How are you, comrade Pomar? How is comrade Amazonas?

Comrade PEDRO POMAR: Thank you, we are well, all of us are well.

Comrade ENVER HOXHA: It is a great pleasure to meet you, comrades of the heroic Communist Party of Brazil, again.

We have the best recollections from the meeting we had with comrade Amazonas when he was in Albania. Comrade Amazonas is a very resolute fighter for Marxism-Leninism, a capable man, strong in his spirit and thoughts, as well as in his correct interpretation of Marxist-Leninist knowledge. All our comrades were extremely pleased and surprised if a great honor that comrade Amazonas came to attend the 5th Congress of our Party. On that occasion he and the other comrades gave us a clear picture of the situation in Brazil and Latin America. This was of very great help to us.

We know that the two of you, both you and we, need to exchange opinions with each other, therefore your coming to Albania is of help to us.

Comrade PEDRO POMAR: Your words, comrade Enver, express very deep emotions in us. They are very warm and cordial.

Whenever we have any here we have been very happy and ready to exchange opinions with the Albanian comrades.

Comrade Amazonas left your country very satisfied and with the best impressions about the comrades of the Party of Labor of Albania, and even more convinced of the correctness of the line of your Party.

Standing in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and revisionism, the Party of Labor of Albania has given us the great example that, basing oneself on Marxism-Leninism, one can successfully face up to any enemy, no matter how powerful. Being united and closely linked with each other, no one can defeat us. Therefore, in the name of all our comrades, we greet you warmly and assure you that we will always be your true brothers.

Comrade ENVER HOXHA: You made a very high assessment of our Party, Comrade Pomar. Your words strengthen our confidence in our common struggle; they enhance the sense of the responsibility our Party has towards the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

Of course, our experience is not very great, nor is it the only one. We do not say this out of modesty, but proceeding from the truth that the struggle and the revolution are the great common cause of all the peoples, about which immense experience has been accumulated and is still being accumulated, which shows that only

those parties that implement Marxism-Leninism consistently can carry out the revolution and make it triumph. But where does the strength of the Marxist-Leninist parties lie? It lies in the fact that they always look at life as it is, with its contradictions and zigzags, its tendency to perpetual advance, its inevitable progress through the revolution. This confidence in the future enables the Marxist-Leninist parties to orientate themselves correctly in their struggle, makes them unafraid of difficulties and means that they do not despair because of temporary setbacks, because Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the road of the revolution is not strewn with roses. Therefore, the Marxist-Leninists should lead with indomitable courage and determination, overcome all difficulties through struggle and efforts and, in the process of this struggle, gather the experience that will enable them to forge further ahead. Over its course of 25 years, our Party has learnt a great deal, but we see that we still have more to learn.

Now we are implementing the decisions of the 5th Congress of the Party, and I can tell you briefly that we have achieved successes in implementing the line of the Party. This does not mean that we are not encountering difficulties, but the question is that these difficulties, no matter how great, are being rapidly overcome in the situation created by the Party, because our Party, like your party, is closely linked with the people, and its line represents the wishes and aspirations of the working people. On the other hand, it is working tirelessly so that the people understand, feel, and carry out the line of the Party, Marxism-Leninism, and interpret all the phenomena and the directives of the Party in the Marxist-Leninist spirit.

We see that the implementation of the directives of the Congress of the Party has brought results. The principal result is the high level of political consciousness of the communists and people, which is expressed in the fulfillment of our economic plan; never before, whether in industry, agriculture, education, culture, or in the question of the defense of the Homeland.

After acquiring comrade Pomar with a series of successes achieved in our country in the struggle for the further, all-round revolutionization of the Party and the whole life of the country, comrade Enver Hoxha went on:

In regard to the great common fight against imperialism as well as modern revisionism, also, we consider that we should never be satisfied with the successes we have achieved, for the reason that there is still a great struggle ahead of us. Even if some results have been achieved in Albania, and the main result is the establishment and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must never forget that our comrades and the other peoples are fighting and shedding their blood, are making colossal sacrifices and going through immense and extremely difficult internal and external circumstances. Therefore, we must not only assist them, but must also understand them, and have great trust in our comrades, in their heroic, struggle and Marxist-Leninist maturity, and never jump to erroneous conclusions and claim that some one is in a position to show off and issue ready-made prescriptions for others to act in this way or that. This is not at all Marxist-Leninist. The comrades know the situation in their own countries very well. They know the situation and the mentality of their own people best. On the basis of this

knowledge and being guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, they are in a position to educate and mobilize the party, to throw it into struggle and march ahead. This question is connected with the understanding and implementation of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the basis of the concrete situation of the country.

Some one may say that you may make mistakes. But where is that party, big or small, old or new, which has not had shortcomings and made mistakes in its work? The important thing here is not to conceal them, but to recognize them, to analyze and correct them on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This is Marxist dialectics. Hence, we learn from our struggle and our mistakes. If a people or a party do not struggle, that party and people have no history. History is not made without struggle! As you know, we face many enemies, imperialism led by U.S. imperialism and the modern revisionists headed by the Soviet revisionists, who are very cunning and have great experience. But no matter how great our enemies' cunning and traps, they haven't our strength, for our strength lies in the Marxist-Leninist ideology, in our confidence in victory, in our faith in the people. The people are with us, because the future, the truth is with us, but we must know how to educate the people for this future, how to organize and educate them, and then we shall certainly triumph over the enemies.

Now the China is carrying out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we must support it, for this revolution has great importance not only for China, but for the entire world revolution. This revolution is one of the forces that the Communist Party of China and comrade Mao Tse-tung have found to smash the revisionist group of Liu Shao-chi, which had managed to infiltrate its line into the Party and the socialist state.

As you know, the Soviet revisionists have launched a furious attack on Marxism-Leninism and the revolution in general, because their positions are growing weaker and weaker while ours are becoming stronger. And we do not say this for nothing, but judging from the concrete situation. The Soviet revisionists have become the most shameless allies of U.S. imperialism. But why has this come about? Because they are in the position of traitors and cannot do otherwise. Why are we the stronger? Because the Marxist-Leninists of the entire world did not allow the Soviet revisionists to disguise themselves, but forced them into a corner and denounced them openly as agents of the bourgeoisie, which the communists and the masses of the working people all over the world are seeing more and more clearly with each passing day. Their exposure led to the exposure of the revisionists of all the former countries of people's democracy as well. The contradictions between the Soviet revisionists and the revisionists of the former countries of people's democracy of Europe were made more prominent.

Such is the situation in general. But despite the successes the Marxist-Leninists have achieved, we still have a great deal to do.

Our help, about which you spoke, comrade Pomar, is modest, but, as Marxist-Leninists, we shall help each other with all our strength. We have great admiration for the Communist Party of Brazil, the Central Committee of your Party and comrade Amazonas. The fact that your Party is in a correct revolutionary position is of great importance, also, for the entire Marxist-Leninist movement and the revolution in Latin America.

We have contacts with the other Marxist-Leninist

parties of Latin America and are sure that, despite the difficulties they encounter, the Marxist-Leninists will overcome them through their struggle. The important thing is that the Marxist-Leninist parties of Chile, Colombia, Bolivia and so on should succeed in taking control of the situation in their own countries.

Comrade PEDRO POMAR: Thank you very much for all that you have said, comrade Enver. I am deeply moved by your very warm and cordial words and the opportunity you have given me to listen to you personally once more.

Today you have given us a general outline of the situation in Albania. I have been in your country four years ago. During this period you have passed through difficult circumstances. With this I do not imply that there are no difficulties now, but, since then you have made evident progress. The successes you have achieved are exceptionally great. The results you have achieved from the political and ideological viewpoint are such that the capitalist countries of the world could not achieve in centuries. Many capitalist countries may be more advanced economically, but this is not the main thing, for the peoples of these countries are oppressed and exploited, and this economic development itself is not in the hands of the people, but in those of the bourgeoisie. Whereas in your country the political situation and the morale of the people is extremely enthusiastic. And there is no doubt that all these victories are due to the correct leadership of your Party, to Marxism-Leninism, to your Party's loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to the great unity of the people with the Party. Indisputably, all this is a great encouragement for us to advance still further ahead in our struggle. Therefore, we shall struggle even harder against our enemies who are, at the same time, the enemies of the Albanian Party and people.

The further revolutionization of the country, which the Albanian people are carrying out under the leadership of the PLA, has great international significance. Indeed, I can tell you that it is reflected in our country as well. A few years ago our people had never heard of Albania and knew nothing about it, while now they know about it and are showing continuous interest in Albania, learning about and rejoicing at the successes of the Albanian people. The people know that, in Albania, the revolution is going on uninterruptedly and with sure steps. So much so that this year even some bourgeois newspapers have been obliged to write about Albania, to publish news and informative articles on the courageous and independent stand of the Albanian comrades. It is the facts that make Albania known all over the world. We think that Albania is forging ahead successfully.

We are in complete agreement over the problems you put forward at the 5th Congress of your Party. It is not in the least accidental that all the Marxist-Leninists respect and visit Albania. The revolutionary peoples consider Albania as a bastion, a citadel of their liberation struggle, as the vanguard of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's message addressed to the 5th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania should be applauded by all when it says that «Albania is a great glowing beacon of socialism in Europe».

On this occasion we want to stress that your assistance to us has been exceptionally great. We are extremely grateful for it and will do everything possible to make our contribution, too.

At present the bourgeois propaganda is having a great deal to say about Latin America being one country, whereas in reality our states are very much divided among themselves, not only by their interests as separate capitalist states, but also by national interests. But the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America have a common task, especially in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and revisionism. Now a situation has been created that calls for the coordination of all our forces. We must get a thorough grasp of this situation, because the difficulties which the Marxist-Leninist movement is experiencing in Latin America are great, far apart from U.S. imperialism, the bourgeoisie and all reaction, the revisionists, who are fighting against us.

The anti-imperialist and democratic movement in Latin America has suffered heavy blows in recent years. In these conditions we have to cope with the attacks of U.S. imperialism and the revisionists, the Soviet-U.S. collaboration and local reaction. All this creates a difficult situation for us.

Following the coup of 1964, the U.S. imperialists have taken over all the key positions in Brazil. A government openly subservient to U.S. imperialism seized power there, because, through the government in power up till then was one of the big bourgeois and the hindrances, it defended some national interests. Whereas now the problem is quite different. The people understand that a new, grave situation has been created in Brazil, but the bourgeois and revisionist parties have worked and are working to create illusions among the people, telling them that the Marxist-Leninists exaggerate the problem when they accuse imperialism of neo-colonialism, for there is no danger of the bourgeoisie, etc. etc. We must cope with these problems, because they are fostering illusions among the masses; the people are being misled, so that they are unable to understand the grave situation created as a result of the coming to power of the reactionary neo-American government, quickly and correctly. Before we attack the great task of making things clear to our people, of opening their eyes to the truth and arousing them in the armed struggle to smash imperialist reaction.

Even the representatives of the bourgeoisie did not understand the new situation that was being created in Brazil. Thus Brazil's, the brother-in-law of Brazil's ex-president Goulart, although a man of great prestige, did not make a stand at the time of the coup, but fled abroad, allegedly to stage a counter-coup. In fact, he had not understood the situation that had been created in Brazil.

The Americans saw that these politicians of the national bourgeoisie were no longer useful to them, so they threw them out and brought to power instead those whom they had trained as officers for many years in the U.S. This shows that they want to maintain the fascist dictatorship in Brazil by force of arms in order to have it as a reliable support and to utilize it in carrying out their

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In the Light of the Ideas of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania

Steel-Like Ideological and Organizational Unity - The Main Factor for Exercising the Leading Role of the Party

A. T. A., January 13, 1977.

The last thirty-five years which have passed since the founding of the PLA have been, for the Albanian people, years full of great historic events and victories. The Party, founded and led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, rose the people in struggle and revolution, liberated them from the national bondage and social oppression. Under its leadership the country emerged from the centuries-old backwardness and embarked on the brilliant road of socialism. "One of the main factors", said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the PLA, "which has enabled our Party to ensure its leading role throughout its whole existence, to ensure so completely, monolithically and effectively the hegemony of the working class, is its steel-like ideological and organizational unity."

The newspaper Zeri i Popullit publishes an article, pointing out the importance of the steel-like, ideological and organizational unity of the ranks of the Party, as the main factor to exercise its leading role. The article, which appears under the signature of Simon Stefani, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, says in part: this sound unity, is a vital condition for the proletarian party to carry out its historic mission, it constitutes the basis of the unity of the working class and the masses of the people in the struggle for the seizure of the state power and the construction of socialism and communism. This unity, stresses the author, which has always characterized the PLA has also been the foundation of the revolutionary unity of the working people around the Party. It has served as a powerful weapon in the hands of the Party to face up to the attacks of the enemies from abroad and also inside the country, to overcome all the difficulties and to honorably perform its duty in the revolution and socialist construction. Precisely because it has had such a unity, the PLA has never deviated from the right road, it has been able to resist all the disruptive efforts of the revisionists, particularly by the Khrushchevite revisionists and has played its leading role properly.

The unity of the Party is first and foremost, an ideological unity which is based on loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, the defense of its purity and creative development. Marxism-Leninism teaches that the proletarian party needs not just any kind of unity, but it needs a Marxist-Leninist unity. Any other kind of unity would be opportunist, a conciliatory stand towards the anti-Marxist trends which are lethal to the cause of the revolution and socialism. This is a profoundly principled question, on which not the slightest concession can be made.

Ever since its founding and up to the present day, the PLA has consistently operated and operates as a party of the working class which expresses and realizes the hegemony of this class in the revolution and the construction of socialism. It has successfully carried out this mission because it has always been guided by Marxism-Leninism and, on this basis, in



"The founding of the Party" (oil painting)

the struggle to solve new and very difficult problems in every phase of the revolution it has strengthened its unity.

Marxism-Leninism has served our Party as a theoretical basis to elaborate a correct revolutionary line, strategy and tactic in conformity with the internal and external conditions, with the stages of revolution and socialist construction. The documents of the Party and the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha are a concrete embodiment of the purity and creative implementation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in revolution and socialist construction, are Marxism-Leninism in action in our conditions.

The Party of Labor has never allowed the co-existence within the Party of two or more lines, trends or factions. Just what catastrophic consequences the deviation of the Party from the positions of Marxism-Leninism has for the revolutionary movement of the working class and its Party can now be seen clearly in the negative experience of the degeneration of the CP of the Soviet Union and the other former Communist Parties, which sank into the morass of revisionism

and have degenerated into instruments and the standard bearers of the counter-revolution. The Party of Labor has an unbreakable ideological Marxist-Leninist unity, because it has never allowed the slightest concession to opportunist or revisionist viewpoints, it has resolutely fought to keep its ranks pure, implementing the Leninist teaching that without revolutionary ideology there can be no revolutionary movement, that any weakening or underestimation of the socialist ideology means the strengthening of the ideology of the enemy. This resolute and principled stand of the Party brought it to the forefront of the struggle against modern revisionism. In the ideological clashes with Yugoslav revisionism and Soviet revisionism, our Party has rendered and is rendering its contribution of historic and international importance to the defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to expose the counter-revolutionary essence of modern revisionism. Highly assessing the vital importance of the ideological unity, our Party has worked so that Marxism-Leninism does not remain a property of a limited number of people, but all the communists,

working people of town and country master it, so that this ideology be not used as an ornament and for fruitless intellectualistic debates, but be closely linked with the tasks of the practice of revolution and socialist construction.

The Marxist-Leninist unity of the Party of Labor stresses the article, is at the same time an organizational unity, a unity of militant actions, otherwise the ideological unity would be worthless. The Marxist-Leninist Party is necessary to the working class not only to formulate its tasks ideologically and to implant the socialist consciousness in its ranks, but also as a general staff which must organize and lead all the revolutionary activity of the working masses in the revolution and the construction of socialism.

Unity of action implies as an essential condition, the struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the leading forums and the organizations of the Party. This is a fundamental feature of the Party of Labor as a Party of a new type, as a Marxist-Leninist Party. Throughout the whole of its glorious history, the Party of Labor has never divorced its words from its deeds. It has educated its members as vanguard fighters, ready to throw themselves, with initiative into all the battles of the practical revolutionary struggle, to devote all their force and energy, both physical and spiritual to carrying out the directives and decisions of the Party. With their example of self-sacrifice and heroism, the members of the Party have led the working masses and have mobilized them in the struggle for the cause of the revolution and the construction of socialism.

Therefore the Party has always devoted very great attention to the quality of its members, their ability to act as revolutionaries.

The unity of thought and action, the organizational unity of the Party, is based on the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms sanctioned by the statute. The Party, all its organs and organizations are built and function as a single whole on the basis of these Marxist-Leninist principles and norms. The negative experience of the CPSU and the other former Communist Parties proves that not only the deviation from the ideological Marxist-Leninist principles, but the deviation from the organizational ones as well, lead to the weakening and degeneration of the Party. On the contrary, the strict respect of the organizational principles and norms secure not only the conscious unity of all the forces of the Party round its line, but also enable their active activity in a single direction to achieve the aims of the Party, its magnificent program, ensures a steel-like discipline according to democratic centralism and vast field for the creative initiative.

In conclusion the author writes: With this steel-like ideological and organizational unity, our Party, led and inspired by the life-giving teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, set to work and fight to carry into life the historic decisions of the 7th Congress, which open new prospects to the socialist construction of the country. End.

IN STRUGGLE AND REVOLUTION

Continued from page 10

neo-colonialist plans in the other countries. In fact, Brazil sent armed forces to participate in the occupation of San Domingo. This is the first time that our country's army has been sent to fight in another country.

We have denounced these events and are working to convince the masses that they must struggle against U.S. imperialism; we are exposing the treacherous role of the Soviet revisionists, because not only have they recognised the reactionary government in power, but they have also concluded several trade agreements with it.

As regards the Brazilian revisionists, their situation is worse than before. They have suffered a great defeat. Prior to the 1964 coup they were in a favourable situation, because the Goulart bourgeois government supported the revisionists' policy, but experience showed that this policy, acceptable to the bourgeoisie, was a sham through-and-through. After the coup d'état, we strengthened our positions considerably, because we showed the people that only Marxism-Leninism defends their interests. Our Party emerged with great influence. The revisionists, however, are merely pinning their hopes on illusions, pretending that democracy can be re-established without armed struggle, and as a result their political activity is very weak. Now they have split into several groups. One of them is on a course bringing it closer to us, because it is for the armed struggle, but at the same time it maintains a centrist and opportunist stand. Another group is a group of adventurers and party liquidators. Then comes the Prestes group which is greatly weakened and with all the characteristics of a group completely in the service of the bourgeoisie.

At present the position of the reactionary clique in Brazil is shaky and unstable. The country's sovereignty is in the hands of the Americans. The principal forces of the country, the working class, the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie, want progress and the economic development of the country, because the standard of living of the people is miserably low, all the assets, the mines and the land are in the hands of the Americans. The peasants not only have no land but they have become even more impoverished. The dictatorial regime has completely liquidated those few victories that the working class had previously managed to win; it is becoming more impoverished, day by day. The desires of the people for education and culture have been upset, a cultural terror has been established, the programs in the universities are adapted to the interests of the Americans, etc.

All these things have sharpened the contradictions, and in practice if good work is done, there are excellent prospects for the development of the armed struggle. As Stalin said, in today's conditions the duty devolves on the communist party to raise the banner of national independence and democratic freedoms and, utilizing all the profound contradictions which have been created, to prepare for armed struggle.

Comrade ENVER HOXHA: Your exposition, comrade Pomar, has added more to our knowledge of the situa-

tion in Latin America and in Brazil in particular. We consider that your Party has made a very correct analysis of the situation in Latin America in general and in Brazil. We are convinced that such a serious analysis is a great assurance of the correct development of the revolution.

Revolution is a very serious matter, and once you have embarked on it you must carry it through to the end. The Marxist-Leninist cannot go about it as the bourgeoisie, the anarchists, the putschists do, for the revolution has to do with the life and the future of the people. On the basis of your party's Marxist-Leninist analysis you will know how to determine the measures you must take for the development of the revolution, taking into account all the minuses and pluses. A good understanding of the situation also gives you the possibility to take the appropriate political and organizational measures, to create alliances and to interpret these alliances in the light of Marxism-Leninism, harbouring neither petty-bourgeois illusions nor sectarian concepts.

The fact that you are struggling to consolidate the Party is of primary importance. This is vital to the Marxist-Leninists. In our opinion, without a Marxist-Leninist party there can be no revolution and true liberation for the people. We Albanians say that the party must be a party of the Leninist type. The situation demands this, because the enemy has big forces and they are very cunning with reactionary experience, and only a party built on sound Marxist-Leninist political, ideological and organizational principles can cope with them. The objective, not only of capitalism but also of the modern revisionists, is precisely the disintegration and degeneration of the Marxist-Leninist parties so that they will be unable to cope with their many enemies, and eventually, their destruction. For these and many other reasons the revisionists rose against and threw mud at Stalin, concocted all sorts of slanders which we Albanian communists entirely reject.

Therefore for your Party, for our Party, especially for the new parties and any party that is determined to carry the revolution through to the end, the steeling of the party is of prime importance.

We fully agree with your Party's view and analysis of the development of events. Perhaps some one who has not made a proper assessment of the development of events and alliances may say, "Why do the comrades of this or that party advance so slowly?"

I say this because such a thing has happened to us. But when the situation is looked at objectively and the necessary measures are taken to attain the objective decided, everything will come about in its own time. Of course, once begun, the revolution must be carried through to the end without fail. But those who want to accelerate the development of events artificially are lacking in correct Marxist-Leninist judgment, because the revolution is not organized and carried out in one day. It is not a wedding party, but a great people's war and, in war, the enemies attack with all their savagery. However, the Marxist-Leninists are not afraid to fight, although they

may suffer temporary defeats; on the contrary, in war and revolution they become stronger and more indomitable. Therefore, the line of your Party is correct.

The correct struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America, like yours, we think, is of great importance for the creation of a correct concept about the revolution there. If I am not mistaken, Latin America has putschist traditions, but there must be a break with these traditions because all the anarchist adventurers that pose as Marxist revolutionaries base themselves on them. If the Marxist-Leninist parties do not make this question clear, we think that the anarchists, who come out with «ultra-Marxist» slogans, will do great harm to the cause of the revolution, because there are people who equate a putsch with the revolution and engage in adventures, calling on the people to take to arms at a time when the conditions for this have not been created. Your Party, which has a correct Marxist-Leninist line, is educating people to understand what revolution is, who should take part in it, and who should lead it.

A new Marxist-Leninist party should not be disturbed by the fact that, initially, it does not have the necessary strength and authority, but on the contrary it should be thinking about how to strengthen its work and, on the other hand, how to secure its allies. Perhaps it may be weak, not well-organized, and still have little influence among the masses, but this should not make it sectarian and avoid contact with those to whom it can explain things, win them to its cause and throw them into struggle. At the same time, this party must not efface its individuality, enter every sort of front and destroy itself. On

the contrary it should always preserve its independence, principles and norms. It must, without fail, ensure its hegemonic role in the revolution through struggle and its correct policy. For the revolution to be crowned with success it must be led by its Marxist-Leninist party, but no one will give you hegemony: it must be won.

Our opinion is that the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America, such as your Party, those of Chile, Bolivia and Colombia, etc., are very important factors for the revolution.

After speaking about the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties against imperialism and modern revisionism, comrade Enver Hoxha concluded:

In general, that is what I wanted to say, comrade Pomar. Our opinion is that the revolutionary struggle is making progress and that successes are being achieved. All of us have scored successes. The struggle, pressures, intrigues and blockades, which the imperialists and revisionists have perpetrated and are perpetrating, do not frighten the revolutionaries. Right is on our side, the peoples are with us, our cause will certainly triumph.

As regards contacts and relations between our parties, I assure you once more, that the Party of Labour of Albania will always stand by the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces, will always assist and help them in their just struggle, it will always fight shoulder to shoulder with them, consistently and unflinchingly, for the great cause of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism. Please convey our most ardent greetings to the comrades of the Communist Party of Brazil! May you always score successes in your struggle. —

SUMMARY OF THE HISTORIC

REPORT OF

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

TO SEVENTH CONGRESS OF

PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

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ENVER

HOXHA

REPORT ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

Submitted to the 7th Congress of the Party
of Labour of Albania

November 1, 1976

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From the Closing Speech of Comrade E. Pires

During the 15 months of struggle, said the member of the CC of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed) E. Pires, our Party may be proud of the fact that it knew to lead the numerous battles of the working class, the agricultural workers, the poor people of Portugal, in defense of their vital interests. We are trying to link ever more closely the Party with the people's and working masses with every passing day. In enterprises and trade unions, in the fold of the working class, the political influence of our Party is increasing. It is very perceptible the strengthening of the revolutionary trade union spirit, which is actively backed up by our Party.

Our Communist Party is increasing ever more on the national political stage and it is being recognized by the broad sectors of the vanguard, people's and anti-fascist sectors, as the sole political force, which in words and deeds defends consistently the cause of freedom and progress.

The reactionary bourgeoisie and imperialism know well that they cannot stamp out people's movement with a single blow. They are trying more and more to hinder it with compromises, to chain it and exhaust its energies. They want us to stop strikes, even accept to obey their orders. They want that the workers work still more and win less; and all this to nourish these social parasites, these people without moral and homeland, the big capitalists sold out for dollars, marks, rubles.

Far and wide the country, stressed Comrade Pires, from the north to the south in islands, let us rise united as a single body, as the fingers of a closed fist, against the shameful selling out of the country to the foreigners, the coming out of Portugal from the NATO, the ousting of the imperialists. Let's defend the national independence.

All together with this great steel-like bloc, such as the working people in struggle, we can defeat our main enemies and establish a genuine anti-fascist government, which will make the rich pay the expenditures of crisis, which will stamp out the fascists, will defend the freedoms and will oust the imperialists. A government of true April 25, April 25 of the people.

In order that all understand well, that all know what we defend, we want to say that there is a brilliant example in Europe which indicates the road of the revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism,

the road of a country where prices keep reducing, where there is not even one unemployed and taxes do not exist, the country which marches surely towards the classless society. This country is the PSR of Albania, led by the PLA with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. End.

ROME RALLY Continued from page 13

U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, which are the worst enemies to the freedom and independence of the peoples, the revolution and socialism. It is our duty, he said, to denounce their aggressive, hegemonic and war-mongering policy with all our strength.

Portuguese CP (Reconstructed)

After speaking about the 2nd Congress of the Party, which was held recently, as well as about the big internationalist rally in Lisbon, the head of the delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), said that following the 7th Congress of the PLA, and the internationalist rallies in Rome, Ludvigshafen and Athens, the ties of cooperation and aid among the Marxist-Leninist parties had become stronger.

The main external enemy of our people, he continued, is U.S. imperialism, which is supported by the reactionary Portuguese bourgeoisie. He stressed that the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed) does not underestimate the expansionist, aggressive aims of Russian social-imperialism, too, supported by the Cunhal revisionist clique. In the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism, in the struggle against revisionism and any kind of opportunism our Marxist-Leninist parties are more and more strengthening their fraternal unity, based on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

CP of Spain (M-L)

After congratulating those present on the organization of this rally, the head of the delegation of the CP of Spain (M-L) said that a diabolical force is going on in Spain now, to present as democrats, those who for 40 years on end have killed thousands of anti-fascists and have barbarously suppressed and exploited our people.

With regard to the legalization of the Carillo group, which the bourgeoisie is presenting as part of the process of democratization of the country, he said that this is not a question of the legalization of a communist party nor even of an anti-fascist party.

Today, Carillo supports the fascist monarchy and the Suarez government. Today, he stressed, we must carry forward the battle against opportunist trends which are trying to revise the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Further on the speaker pointed out that the CP of Spain (M-L) considers U.S. imperialism and Russian social-imperialism as the main enemies of the peoples of the world and that you cannot rely on one superpower to fight the other. Thus, we denounce the opportunist stand which supports the strengthening of the reactionary bourgeois armies and presents them as allies of the working class in the struggle against one or the other superpower. End.

HEGEMONY OF WORKING CLASS Continued from page 9

aside from the task of explaining the necessity for the proletarian revolution... of explaining the need to prepare for this revolution", assume special importance, and the struggle to throw the proletariat into class battles is a primary duty for every true communist party.

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

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

The important political manifestations that have

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

The great cause of communism requires that the unity of the Marxist-Leninists should be constantly strengthened on a national and an international level. The fragmentation of the Marxist-Leninists, their organization in different groups and detachments, does not serve this aim. The Party of Labour of Albania upholds the view that in each country there can be only one genuine revolutionary party of the working class, because the interests of the working class in

each country are the same and it has a single ideology, Marxism-Leninism. The only true party of the working class is that which consistently applies the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat, which resolutely confronts all bourgeois and revisionist parties, which follows a proletarian class policy which courageously mobilizes the proletariat and leads it into class battles, which prepares it for the decisive battle, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which tries to draw all the strata of the exploited working population that associate themselves with the views of the proletariat into this struggle for salvation. Only such a party can be the revolutionary staff of the working class and lead it towards the achievement of its revolutionary ideals and aspirations.

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

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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Report on Albania by the Delegation of the

Below is the text of the speech delivered by Comrade Bains to the rally held in Montreal to welcome the return of the CPC(M-L) delegation from their successful visit to Socialist Albania and the letter sent by Comrade Bains to the Central Committee of the PLA on the day the CPC(M-L) delegation departed from Albania.

Comrades and Friends:
At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, a delegation of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), led by Comrade Hardial Bains, visited the People's Socialist Republic of Albania from March 24 to May 2, 1977. During this period of thirty-nine days our delegation established its concrete fraternal ties with the glorious Party of Labor of Albania. Our delegation also visited large areas of Socialist Albania. We visited many places from factories and educational and technical institutions to agricultural cooperatives, museums, martyrs' graves and the palaces of culture. We went to learn about Socialist Albania. When we say learn, we mean learn everything: from the role of the Party of Labor of Albania as the sole leading political force of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the role of the Democratic Front and other mass organizations of workers, women and youth, to the role of the army and the manner in which socialist revolution and construction are being carried out. Prior to visiting Socialist Albania our knowledge, though correct, was but sketchy and extremely theoretical. After visiting Socialist Albania, our knowledge about Socialist Albania has deepened manifold and our belief that Albania is a socialist country and that the Party of Labor of Albania is the correct Marxist-Leninist vanguard Party of the Albanian proletariat and that Comrade Enver Hoxha is a great Marxist-Leninist has been consolidated manifold.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania received our delegation with great Marxist-Leninist and proletarian internationalist spirit -- that is, in the spirit of genuine equality. We sincerely hail this great Marxist-Leninist and proletarian internationalist spirit of the Party of Labor of Albania led by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha. The principle of non-interference and equality which all socialist countries support and cherish, is not only a principle guiding the state-to-state relations, it is also a Marxist-Leninist principle guiding the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties. Non-interference in each other's internal affairs and deep respect for each other's point of view and treating one another on an equal basis is a norm governing the relations between fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties. This norm is deeply cherished and defended by the Marxist-Leninist parties, while the modern revisionists trample it underfoot. The courageous struggle waged by the PLA, formerly the Communist Party of Albania, against the brutal and barbarous interference in its internal affairs by first the Titoite revisionist cliques in the forties and then the Khrushchovite revisionist renegade clique in the fifties after Comrade Stalin's death and in the sixties, is not a struggle of relevance to the PLA alone. It is a struggle which also has great significance to the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement and each and every Marxist-Leninist party must assess it. When we Marxist-Leninists advance the slogan for the equality of all nations we also have in mind that first and foremost the Marxist-Leninist parties of all nations must be equal. The defense of this norm governing the fraternal relations between Marxist-Leninist parties is the defense of the fundamental principle and the basic Marxist-Leninist foundation of the Party, not merely the defense of a norm as such. Not to defend this norm is to betray Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and to become prey to opportunism. In this respect, not only is every Marxist-Leninist party equal to every other Marxist-Leninist party in every country of the world but it also has the right to hold its own views and opinions on the basis of non-interference in the internal affairs of others. Not only does it oppose interference in its own internal affairs and any kind of pressure imposed on it to abandon its own line and point of view, it also consciously and openly refrains from interfering in the internal affairs of other Marxist-Leninist parties. Neither was our delegation under any kind of pressure from the glorious PLA, nor did the glorious PLA fail to present its own views about the internal affairs of Socialist Albania and on various international questions. These views are well known to all and are embodied in the Political Report submitted by Comrade Enver Hoxha to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania and other documents of the Party of Labor of Albania.

Our delegation was the first Marxist-Leninist delegation from Canada ever to visit Socialist Albania. Our Party considers this to be a great honor. The glorious PLA never established any relations with the Revisionist Party of Canada nor with any so-called "anti-revisionist" clique of the Jack Scott type, such as the now-defunct Progressive Workers' Movement. By receiving us and providing us with such a warm and sincerely fraternal welcome, the glorious PLA acknowledged the leading role of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) in the Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement of our country and made a great contribution in building the unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement on the world scale. The PLA defends with vigor the unity of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement internationally and greatly contributes to the unity of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement in each country. The PLA upholds the Marxist-Leninist principle that in each country, because there is only one proletariat, there can only be one Marxist-Leninist party as the organized general staff of the class. As it is, the bourgeoisie has done everything in its power to split the proletariat by floating its agents in the ranks of the proletariat -- the social-democrats, revisionists, trotskysts and opportunists of all hues. While the social-

democrats, revisionists, trotskysts and opportunists of all hues, as representatives of the reactionary bourgeoisie in the proletariat, are splitters, the genuine Marxist-Leninists are the unifiers. The profound and revolutionary unity of the proletariat is reflected by the unity of the Marxist-Leninists embodied in the revolutionary party of the proletariat based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. There can only be one such party in each country. The Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) is such a party. In our country, after CPC(M-L) was established, the social-democrats, revisionists, trotskysts and opportunists of all hues suffered a big blow and they had to change their tactics towards the Marxist-Leninists as well. While, prior to the founding of the Party, gloating over the fact that there was no party but only small Marxist-Leninist groups "fighting with one another", they openly opposed Marxism-Leninism, in the later period, recognizing that Marxism-Leninism had won victory and that this victory is em-



Comrade Hardial Bains, head of the CPC(M-L) delegation to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania at the grave of the National Martyr of Albania, and Hero of the People, Comrade Qemal Stafa, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania (now the Party of Labor of Albania) and Political Secretary of the Albanian Communist Youth, who fell heroically while fighting against the fascist beasts on May 5, 1942, thirty-five

years ago. May 5 in Albania is Martyrs' Day; when every year "the Albanian people recall with pain, but also with pride, 25,000 martyrs who found the force and inspiration in the Party for their immortal deed." The CPC(M-L) delegation visited the Martyrs' Graveyard and presented a wreath on behalf of the Party in honour of Albania's martyrs.

that of another Marxist-Leninist party, especially of a leading party, are bound to be the same. When we highly estimate a fraternal party or a Marxist-Leninist leader, we seriously and conscientiously study the analysis and works of these parties and leaders in order to concretely deal with the various national and international questions. Our Party is openly committed to base its theoretical thinking on the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tsetung and Comrade Enver Hoxha, and we consider the glorious Party of Labor of Albania as the leading party of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. On its part, the PLA does not consider itself a party which has the responsibility to provide Marxist-Leninist political line to other parties. It correctly follows Marxist-Leninist principle in building fraternal relations with other parties and builds relations on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. When our Party considers the PLA as a leading party,

depicts the anti-scientific, anti-people and traitorous role of religion in the hands of imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction. We also visited a sports arena converted from a big church expropriated at the demand of the young people in the latter part of the sixties. This sports arena also contains a gymnasium for young boys and girls who saw carrying out gymnastic exercises. Religion has become a museum-piece in Albania. The Albanian people have won a great victory on this front as well.

The dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of the PLA provides the broadest possible democracy to the proletariat, cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia. The dictatorship of the proletariat can only be exercised by the broadest sections of the people. The Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania guarantees the people the most extensive and broadest possible democracy. Socialist Albania is a class society where the rule of the reactionary ruling classes has been overthrown and all exploiting classes have been expropriated. As a class society, the democracy in Socialist Albania is a class democracy. The proletariat, on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, exercises dictatorship over all alien tendencies and trends, suppresses the reactionaries and provides the broadest possible democracy to the people. In essence, without providing the broadest possible democracy for the people, there can be no real and thorough suppression of the reactionaries. To withhold democracy to any extent from the people is to weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. For this reason, the Party leads the proletariat to provide the broadest possible democracy to the people. The Party is the leader. The Party of Labor of Albania is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It is the political party of the proletariat and its only party. Without the Party playing the leading role, there can be no dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania. The political party of the proletariat, the PLA, is the leading, most advanced, organized vanguard and the general staff of the proletariat. In order to lead, besides providing the correct political, ideological and organizational lines on all questions, and besides training its members in the spirit of communism and tempering them through struggle, the Party also uses various mass organizations as its transmission belts. The biggest mass organization of the Albanian people is the Democratic Front. Everyone in Albania, over 18 years of age, save for a handful of reactionaries and alien class elements and traitors to the class and the nation, belongs to the Democratic Front. Our delegation witnessed the April 3 elections to the local organs of state power. One hundred percent of the electorate came out to vote and 99.99 percent voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front. Only 63 people voted against the Democratic Front. The enthusiasm of the masses for this democratic process is so profound that they started assembling around the polling stations long before 6:00 AM when they opened. We visited polling stations only a minute or two after they opened and everywhere people had enthusiastically come to vote. The voting is secret and there is no coercion or penalty against those who do not vote for the Democratic Front. At some polling stations, everyone had already voted merely 10 to 15 minutes after the voting started. We visited one polling station 13 minutes after it had opened and the voting had already finished, but the comrades in charge of the polling station remained at their post until the end of the day carrying out their duty of providing democratic rights to the people. The Democratic Front is organized on the basis of localities and regions. The number of communists elected as Democratic Front candidates varies but it is far less than 50% of the total. This shows that the broadest sections of the people are mobilized in the state organs and they participate as the legislative as well as the executive body of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus they follow the path of the immortal Paris Commune where for the first time the legislative and the executive duties were embodied in the same body. The proletariat and the cooperativist peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat are the rulers of Socialist Albania. Through the Democratic Front they elect their representatives who enact various laws and they themselves implement those laws in real life. This is real democracy for the people. In this respect as well, the leading role of the Party is not forgotten. Neither does the Party replace the Democratic Front, nor is the Democratic Front independent of the leading role of the Party. On the contrary, the Party leads the Democratic Front. For example, the discussion of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was led by the Party. The process went from the Party, via the transmission belts and levers of the Party, including the Democratic Front which is one such lever, to the People's Assembly which represents the people and back to the masses in the form of the juridical and other laws of the nation.

What are the other transmission belts and levers of the Party? The trade unions, other workers' organizations, youth associations, and the women's organizations and other cultural and social mass organizations. All these are levers of the Party. The role of these mass organizations is to educate and mobilize the masses around the Party. Thus, there is steel-like unity between the masses and the Party. Socialism is the work of the masses and the Party makes them conscious. What the people want, the Party does and what the Party says, the people do.

Our delegation asked comrades at various levels about the number of people armed in Albania and the role of the Army. Of course, we understood on the level of theory that the armed dictatorship of the proletariat is the armed proletariat -- literally armed in all aspects including militarily and that it is not just a matter of a standing army. But we got the answer to our question when we heard that everyone in Socialist Albania is given military training and the proletariat is armed. All the workers in the factories

bodied in the founding and consolidation of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), they changed their tactics. This is why today they present themselves as the "genuine" Marxist-Leninists in order to split the Party and liquidate it. Every splittist from the Party now resurfaces in the form of a "genuine" "Marxist-Leninist" in order to smash the Party. The opportunist content is the same, but now a new mask has been donned in order to hide the content. Our Party has always upheld the view that all genuine Marxist-Leninists strive to unite in one party. Our Party led a historic campaign to unite all Marxist-Leninists into one party in 1972-73 and continues to do so. As the first principle we advocate the unity of all genuine Marxist-Leninists. The splittists of course hoisted their tattered flag to split with Marxism-Leninism as the first principle. Those who do not defend the Marxist-Leninist principle of one Marxist-Leninist party for each country and who do not advocate the unity of all Marxist-Leninists embodied in a concrete manner in such a party are a bunch of renegades from Marxism-Leninism. They have chosen the road of treachery and betrayal of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. The glorious PLA establishes fraternal relations with only one Marxist-Leninist party in each country and in establishing fraternal relations with such a party it does not establish relations with a faction of such a party but with the party. We were received in Socialist Albania as the delegation of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), the fraternal party of the glorious Party of Labor of Albania.

The unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement is deepening and broadening on the world scale. The Seventh Congress of the PLA contributed immensely to the development of such a unity. We highly estimate the contribution of the glorious PLA and of Comrade Enver Hoxha in building this unity. It is our Party's view that the PLA and the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha are the leaders of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. This is our view, the view of our Party adopted at the Third Congress. Neither do we impose it on others, nor do we desist from putting it forward, nor do we conceal it. As Marxist-Leninists we have every right to make an analysis of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement and arrive at the conclusions that the situation warrants and that are derived from the concrete facts of life. Certain opportunists in our country, being splittists themselves and because they came into being on the basis of a split, consider this point of view of ours to be an attack on various fraternal parties. On the contrary, we consider this assessment of ours as a contributing factor to the unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement and a blow to international opportunism. The question of attacking this or that fraternal party does not arise. Each fraternal party is not only free to give its views on the important international issues but it is duty bound to do so. It is a Marxist-Leninist principle that each party must have faith in the correctness of its own political line and belief in the solidity of its own organization. By basing ourselves firmly on this Marxist-Leninist principle our Party has always assessed the national and international situation ourselves. While we highly estimate the role of a fraternal party or of a great leader there is no question of becoming the agent of any party or of copying its analysis. As Marxist-Leninists, the analysis of our Party and

does that mean that we think the PLA should provide political line to other parties? No. We hold that the historical experience of the PLA should be studied. Correct conclusions should be drawn from it. Its experience is a leading experience in many respects especially its experience in its titanic struggle first against Titoite revisionism and then against Khrushchovite revisionism and it is of great importance to the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. In the same manner, our Party holds that the historical experience of other fraternal parties should be studied as well. The bilateral and multilateral exchanges between fraternal parties is an excellent development which we sincerely hail as it is contributing to the strengthening of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. But the opportunists are traitors to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. With ulterior motives and by pretending to be "independent", etc. they oppose studying and learning from the historical experience of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement and its leading parties. The Party of Labor of Albania is such a leading party and it is playing a leading role in uniting the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. The PLA consistently upholds the correct view of exchange of opinions and experience between various fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties on the bilateral and multilateral basis. This correct view has lately gained greater significance and a movement of bilateral and multilateral discussions, exchanges and rallies is vigorously developing in various parts of the world. Our Party fully supports this movement and holds it as a great unifying factor in the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement and a big blow to modern revisionism and opportunism of all hues.

As all our comrades and friends are aware, right after the historic Seventh Congress of the PLA, the People's Republic of Albania adopted a new Constitution on the basis of which the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was founded. This new Constitution came into force upon its being adopted and proclaimed on December 28, 1976. Marxism-Leninism became the dominant ideology of Albania and the dictatorship of the proletariat was highly consolidated. The PLA is the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat but it is not the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is an instrument for the consolidation and expansion of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Before the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the PLA (formerly known as the Communist Party of Albania) was the instrument of the overthrow of the rule of the reactionary ruling classes and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the instrument of the proletarian revolution and is based on the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry under the leadership of the working class. There are only two classes in Albania -- the proletariat and the cooperativist peasantry. There is a strata of people's intelligentsia. Whenever we speak we see these two classes and the strata of the people's intelligentsia and no other class. The capitalist class has been eliminated and the remodeling of the people from old ideas has begun. Religion has been officially banned as a result of the mass opposition which turned into a tremendous mass movement irresistibly demanding the expropriation of the churches and mosques -- institutions used by the foreign invaders and internal reactionaries to exploit and suppress the masses of the people and to enslave the nation. We visited a museum on atheism which

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and other productive enterprises and in mining and transportation and communications as well as the co-operativist peasantry are armed. The people's intelligentsia are also given military training and are armed. The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be defended by a standing army alone. All countries have standing armies. These armies fulfil the mission of the class which establishes them. Socialist Albania went through one of the most fierce struggles against the enemies of socialism and of the nation when some alien class elements in 1974 tried to take over the standing army and use it against the nation and socialism. Under the hoax that there is no standing army in the world which has a political party in it, these enemies of socialism and the nation tried to wipe out the Party organization from within the army and under the hoax of modernizing the army, etc., they tried to convert it into an army of national subjugation and betrayal. The PLA vigorously fought against the traitors. It consolidated the Party organization within the army and foiled the modern revisionist plot to seize the fortress from within. Whenever we went, one of the stories commonly told as an anecdote in Albania is that when Khrushchov visited Albania in 1959, he saw a peasant working in the field carrying something. He inquired from Comrade Enver what the peasant was carrying. Comrade Enver replied: "A gun." Khrushchov was shocked. "A gun!", he said. "In our country we do not give guns to the people. What if the people, one day, turn these guns against you?" To this Comrade Enver replied: "Yes, the people have every right to turn their guns against us if we do not do our job well." This is the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania in the concrete. An armed proletariat led by the Marxist-Leninist political party of the proletariat, the Party of Labor of Albania, based on the worker-peasant alliance and educated and mobilized via the levers and transmission belts, the mass organizations of the people, workers, youth, students, women, intelligentsia, etc. This dictatorship of the proletariat is the instrument of proletarian revolution. Proletarian rev-

olution, after the first stage has been completed, that is the seizure of political power by revolutionary violence and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a thorough-going and uninterrupted revolution and it is carried out under the leadership of the party systematically and with a conscious policy and plan. It is not a spontaneous revolution, left to chance with no conscious motive force. On the contrary, it is the most conscious, planned and systematic revolution there is. This is why it touches the very soul of the people and affects all aspects of their lives. This is why it creates the basis for the birth of the new man, first socialist man and then, when the transition from capitalism to socialism has been completed and the transition period is ended, to communist man. Thus the proletariat and its political party bear a very heavy responsibility to mankind. They cannot take lightly the task of proletarian revolution and of socialist revolution and construction. This is why the political party of the proletariat must first and foremost be a Marxist-Leninist party. It must have revolutionary style and seek revolutionary alternatives. Thus when the dictatorship of the proletariat is established, the proletariat wages class struggle against the bourgeoisie not in the old way, not like it did when the task was to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie, but in a new way, in a manner suitable to the period when the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated and expanded as the instrument of proletarian revolution and the very roots of the old society are dug out and destroyed and the new foundations are laid for the new society. The PLA led the proletariat to first expropriate the reactionary exploiting classes by using the newly acquired state power to socialize the means of production. It took up the task of improving the livelihood and material well-being of the masses on the basis of mechanization and collectivization. It created the material basis for the defeat of old customs and the remnants of old ideas. It used the state power against modern revisionism and rebuffed every diabolical imperialist and revisionist attempt to seize control of Albania. Today Socialist Albania is self-

reliant in many items. It produces enough bread grain for its consumption and is building self-reliance in the spare-parts industry. Socialist Albania is advancing from an agricultural-based industrial society to an industrial-agricultural society in which industry will completely mechanize the agriculture. To accomplish this, Socialist Albania is building its own steel factory at Elbasan, the pride and joy of Socialist Albania, the building of which Comrade Enver Hoxha described as Albania's second national liberation war. Socialist Albania is taking other such measures to bring about this historic transformation. The dictatorship of the proletariat is not merely a slogan in Socialist Albania. It is a concrete power in the hands of the Albanian people to vanquish the bourgeoisie and to create material conditions for ushering in communist society. The foreign policy of Socialist Albania is guided by the great ideals of socialism and communism and fights for their triumph the world over. Socialist Albania is always an active factor in the struggle for national and social liberation, for peace, freedom and the rights of all the people against imperialism, reaction and revisionism. This is not to say that Socialist Albania "exports" revolution. On the contrary, by consolidating and expanding the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania and by creating the material basis for the rise of the new man, Socialist Albania looks at the people from other countries not from the point of view of seizing control of them but from the point of view of being fighters against the common enemy. Socialist Albania follows the principle of good neighborliness towards nations with different social systems and does not permit Albania to be used by imperialism or social-imperialism as a base of aggression against other countries. Socialist Albania has an active foreign policy. It energetically presents its views on all international questions and does not submit to any kind of pressure. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Party of Labor of Albania have close fraternal relations with the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China. These fraternal

relations are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Socialist Albania also takes an unwavering and firm stand against the two super-powers. It guards its independence and sovereignty like the apple of its eye and, under its new Constitution, it forbids any foreign capitalist intervention. Under the new Constitution, it is a treasonous offense to import foreign imperialist capital or open Albania to imperialist plunder in any way. Socialist Albania and the Albanian people deeply cherish the proletariat and people of all countries. But in cherishing deep feelings for the proletariat and people of all lands, Socialist Albania and the Albanian people make a distinction between the reactionaries, the imperialists and fascists, etc., and the people. Whereas Socialist Albania stands for independence and national liberation in those countries where the imperialists and the social-imperialists have a stranglehold, a distinction is made between the fighting people of those countries and the reactionaries of those countries. The reactionaries who comprise the social base for imperialist and social-imperialist domination and plunder cannot also be considered as the fighters against that same domination and plunder. Socialist Albania and the Albanian people firmly believe in self-reliance. They consider external aid from a fraternal socialist country as merely an auxiliary factor. The Albanian people waged their war of national liberation against the fascist occupiers and the Nazis on the basis of self-reliance. Albania had a population of a mere 800,000 inhabitants when the Italian fascist invader pounced on Albania on April 7, 1939. The fascist invader deployed a force of 700,000 soldiers in order to subjugate Albania, decimate her people and annex her territory to the Italian fascist empire. But the Albanian people defeated such a formidable force without any external assistance. By adhering to the glorious slogan advanced during the national liberation war: NO SURRENDER TO THE ENEMY -- DEATH TO FASCISM -- FREEDOM TO THE PEOPLE, the Albanian people led by their

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Farewell Message to the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania

By the Head of the Delegation of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), Tirana, May 2, 1977

To: The Central Committee
The Party of Labor of Albania

Dearest and Respected Comrades,
We are saying farewell to you and through you to the Albanian working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia and all Albanian communists. Before leaving after a relatively long and extensive visit of thirty-nine days, we are taking the opportunity to convey to you our feelings and impressions about the glorious People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the great work of the Party of Labor of Albania under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha in vigorously leading the Albanian people in national liberation and in socialist construction.

For a long period of time we had cherished a deep desire to visit People's Albania, liberated base area of world revolution. Alongside with this deep desire, our Party and all comrades had cherished a deep desire to establish close fraternal relations with the Party of Labor of Albania headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha. Furthermore, the broad masses of the Canadian people also cherished deep feelings to develop friendly people-to-people relations. With your invitation to our Party to send a delegation to visit Socialist Albania, and with our delegation carrying out this task assigned by our Party, an excellent first step has been taken in establishing close fraternal ties between the two Marxist-Leninist parties and an initiative has been taken towards developing friendly people-to-people relations. We have also fulfilled our deep desire to visit Socialist Albania. We sincerely thank the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania for extending the invitation to our Party to send a delegation to visit Socialist Albania and we most sincerely and with deep feelings of fraternal proletarian friendship and comradeship thank the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania for making our visit extremely valuable and for providing us with such a warm and comradely welcome. From the level of the comrades of the Central Committee responsible for international liaison to the level of the leadership of the District Committees and to the level of the ordinary workers, cooperativist peasants and people's intelligentsia, all have received us in a very warm comradely and friendly manner and have done everything to make our visit not only as useful as possible, but also extremely comfortable and pleasant. We consider this attitude of all levels towards us a concrete reflection of the line of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism that the PLA follows in its relations with other Marxist-Leninist parties. We thank Comrade Enver Hoxha, under whose glorious leadership the PLA pursues this very correct and very comradely attitude towards other Marxist-Leninist parties. We also thank Comrade Enver Hoxha for this visit because it is on account of his correct line of Marxist-Leninism and proletarian internationalism that the unity and exchanges between Marxist-Leninist parties are taking place.

When we were preparing to depart for Albania, we had only a concept of Socialist Albania and the PLA based on what we had read or what we had heard from our fraternal comrades. Now when we are preparing to depart from Socialist Albania, we must openly say that our view about Socialist Albania and our deep conviction in the correctness of the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha and our great faith in the glorious work of the PLA has been intensified a thousand times. We saw with our own eyes the work carried out under the most difficult conditions by the PLA from the time it was founded on November 8, 1941 to date. Whether we were on a visit to a factory or on a visit

to a high-type cooperative or simply on a sight-seeing trip or listening to the people's intelligentsia and comrades of the High Party school or simply watching a performance in the Palace of Culture or talking with comrades assigned to be with us, we found everywhere a revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm for socialism based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It is a matter of great joy to us, Dearest Comrades, that not only has Marxism-Leninism been consciously declared the ideology guiding the thinking of all Albanian people but it has also permeated into the deepest and broadest sections of the working class, cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia. We are moved by the deep love the laboring masses cherish for the PLA, Marxism-Leninism and for Comrade Enver Hoxha. Of course, everywhere we went the comrades never let us forget that all this has been accomplished by resolutely carrying out all-sided class struggle under the leadership of the Party and that in spite of much progress and immense sacrifices, a lot of work remains to be done. There are still many problems, the struggle is complicated and must be carried through to the end when socialism wins final victory and communism is ushered in. Comrades repeatedly pointed out the necessity of not taking a relaxed attitude, the necessity of fighting against capitalism, liberalism, complacency and bureaucratism. We are indebted to these comrades for educating us about socialist revolution and socialist construction and about class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat by citing concrete examples from their real-life experience. Now we also grasp in a much more profound and concrete way the problems facing the Albanian working class and people in building socialism and defending the motherland. Socialist Albania is encircled by enemies from all sides. It is under these conditions that the laboring masses of Albania are building socialism and are carrying out socialist revolution. We are extremely moved at the tenacity, vigor and resoluteness with which the Albanian people led by the PLA are opposing imperialism, revisionism and all reaction. We hail the heroic people of Albania for their determined and uninterrupted struggle against foreign invaders and internal reaction.

Dearest and Respected Comrades,
Our delegation is completely satisfied with our visit to Albania. We thank the comrades again for their warm welcome and the most pleasant visit which they organized for us. We are fully satisfied with the discussions carried out with the comrades from the Central Committee of the PLA. We are also satisfied with the contacts made with the mass and other organizations. On the eve of May Day, two days before our departure, Comrade Ramiz Alia, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania invited us to a very warm and comradely dinner. An engagement in comradely exchange of opinions and made very important points in the course of the discussion regarding socialist revolution and the tasks of the period Marxist-Leninists. We sincerely thank Comrade Ramiz Alia for taking time out of his work and inviting us for this very pleasant, comradely and valuable exchange of views. We also thank Comrade H. H. Hita, Director of the International Division of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, for many valuable exchanges on important national and international questions and for providing us with a very warm and comradely welcome and for making our visit very fruitful and pleasant. We also take the opportunity to thank

all the comrades who assisted us during our stay in Albania under the direction of the Central Committee of the PLA. All our sincere thanks go to the Central Committee of the PLA and through it to all who assisted us. For the first time in the life of our Party, our delegation witnessed the revolutionary celebrations, rally and demonstration on May First in a socialist country. We thank the Central Committee of the PLA for extending us the invitation. This gave us an opportunity not only to witness the broadest enthusiasm the masses of the people have for socialism and how deeply and immensely they love and cherish Comrade Enver Hoxha and the PLA, but it also gave us the opportunity to see Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great Marxist-Leninist, reviewing the parade. We are departing from Albania with very deep and sincere feelings of comradeship and friendship towards the People's Socialist Republic of Albania led by the glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist Party of Labor of Albania and towards the Albanian people. Our estimation of the work of the PLA has further increased during our visit and we have great esteem for the glorious leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Dearest and Respected Comrades,
We are departing from the socialist motherland to our country which is under the domination of U.S. imperialism and is threatened by Soviet social-imperialism. A reactionary bourgeoisie which is traitorous and seditious is at the helm of the affairs of our country. An economic crisis has set in and the reactionary bourgeoisie is feverishly preparing for war and fascism the state. This reactionary bourgeoisie is the enemy of independence and social progress. We are departing from Socialist Albania with added determination to carry through to the end our struggle against external enemy U.S. imperialism (and also Soviet social-imperialism) and the internal enemy, the reactionary bourgeoisie, its state and its social system. We are departing from Socialist Albania and the working class, cooperativist peasantry and people's intelligentsia are carrying out a great struggle to implement the decisions of the historic Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania. All the cities and the countryside, industrial and agricultural enterprises and educational and cultural institutions we visited and people we met and talked to are filled with inspiration to implement the decisions of the Seventh Congress in their concrete situations. This glorious work of the laboring masses to build up Socialist Albania and its defense and make it an impregnable socialist fortress that no enemy can breach on the basis of self-reliance is urgent assistance to our struggle and to the proletarians and oppressed people of all lands. We wish you success in this great work of socialist revolution and socialist construction. While imperialism is suffering from acute economic crisis and unemployment is one of its main features, Socialist Albania not only has no unemployment and is the first country in the world without any taxes, but there is a shortage of manpower in Albania. This disproves Marxism's nonsense of "over-population", etc. We are very happy at the victories of the Albanian people led by the Party of Labor of Albania.

Class struggle is the driving force on the world scale and we are living in the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism. National liberation struggles are the prelude of the socialist forces. The imperialists are dividing and contending with one another and preparing for a world war. Albania has a socialist system and the tasks of the Albanian people led by the PLA is to deepen and broaden the socialist rev-

olution and socialist construction by strengthening and consolidating the instrument of socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only essential for the deepening and broadening of socialist revolution and construction but also for defending the socialist motherland from imperialism and revisionism and from internal enemies. Our task in Canada is to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat by overthrowing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie through revolutionary violence, while your task is to preserve, consolidate and extend the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are fighters on the same front against the common enemies. Our unity is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. On our arrival in Albania we told you that we had come to learn from you. Dearest and Respected Comrades, we sincerely thank you for assisting us in this respect as well. We have learnt many things but the most precious of all is this: Never forget class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The issue is not that we were unaware of this before but that this visit has deepened our consciousness of it manifold and this is of great assistance to us. In conclusion, Dearest and Respected Comrades, our friendship and comradeship towards Socialist Albania, the Albanian people and the Party of Labor of Albania and our high esteem for Comrade Enver Hoxha is not a tactic but a strategic principle. We consider the unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, with respect for each other's views and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, as a vital and decisive factor for the victory of the proletariat of all countries. Our Party works for the unity of all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties on the world scale. Thus, our fraternal friendship with the Party of Labor of Albania is based on a strategic principle and we deeply cherish it. We would also like to take the opportunity to reiterate our view that the Political Report submitted to the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania by Comrade Enver Hoxha is a great inspiration and an heir of the international Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement and we consider the PLA as the leading Party of the international Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. As we leave Socialist Albania, we are departing from a beautiful country with mountains and rivers and plains and sea-coasts, with highly industrious and brave people who gave birth to their most courageous and brave Party, the Party of Labor of Albania, with the blessing of all brave comrades, Comrade Enver Hoxha, as its leader, and who liberated their land on the basis of their own efforts and are building socialism there.

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA!
LONG LIVE THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE!
DEATH TO ALL ENEMIES OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA!
LONG LIVE THE GLORIOUS PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA!
LONG LIVE COMRADE ENVER HOXHA!
GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

With sincere comradely greetings,
Fraternally,
H. Hita
Head of the Delegation of
the Communist Party of Canada
(Marxist-Leninist), leaving
Albania May 2, 1977. End.

From the Political Resolution of the 3rd Congress

The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) was held between February 6 and March 13, 1977. This historic Congress represents a great victory of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism in North America. Below is reprinted extracts from the Political Resolution of the Third Congress of CPC(M-L) on important questions of the revolution.

3. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) hails the Political Report submitted by Comrade Enver Hoxha to the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania in Tirana on November 1 and 2, 1976. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) hails the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania and considers it to be a great victory of Marxism over revisionism and opportunism of all hues and a great unifying factor in the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) hails the glorious leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha and considers his Political Report submitted to the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania to be the theory and practice of communism. The Third Congress of CPC(M-L) considers Comrade Enver Hoxha to be a great leader of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement, a leader of the calibre of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung. Comrade Enver Hoxha is a great Marxist-Leninist who has provided timely leadership to the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement with his Political Report in order to steer the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement away from the swamp of opportunism. Comrade Enver Hoxha is a great fighter against modern revisionism. Comrade Enver Hoxha led the titanic struggle against Titoite revisionism, smashed the intrigues and conspiracies of Titoite revisionism against the Party, state and people of Albania and made a great contribution to the International Communist Movement, to world revolution and to the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism. He also led the Party of Labor in waging a titanic struggle against Khrushchovite revisionism, a struggle waged by a small Party with absolute faith in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and with a firm adherence to the line of proletarian internationalism. The historic speeches of the leader coming from the land of eagles to the 1957 Moscow Conference of 12 ruling parties and to the 1960 Moscow Conference of the 81 parties are not only of great revolutionary value to the Marxist-Leninists in terms of the scientific and correct opposition to Khrushchovite revisionism but are also a great clarion call to all the genuine Marxist-Leninists and the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties not to remain silent in the face of the modern revisionists' attacks and to resolutely speak their minds and carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end. Today, Comrade Enver Hoxha stands as the successor to Chairman Mao Tse-tung in terms of revolutionary authority and prestige. The eyes of the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries of the world are turned towards Albania. The science and authority of revolution is embodied in the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha. There are various opportunists who are raising the hue and cry that to recognize the revolutionary authority of Comrade Enver Hoxha is to subordinate our Party to that of the Party of Labor of Albania. On the contrary, not to recognize the revolutionary authority of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the leading role of the Party of Labor of Albania in the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement is to become a prey to an opportunist clique and betray revolution. During the late forties and early fifties, those parties which did not stand against Titoite revisionism and did not recognize the revolutionary authority of Comrade Stalin and resolutely follow his leadership, fell prey to opportunism of all hues. The same holds true today. Any hesitation or vacillation on this decisive question will lead a party astray. Revolutionary authority is not established by some decision of an individual or a party. Revolutionary authority is established in the course of struggle and is recognized by the fighting proletariat and people. We recognize the revolutionary authority of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Over the past few years, certain circles who parade themselves as Marxist-Leninists have tried to infiltrate the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement with all sorts of non-Marxist and anti-Marxist theories. These circles equivocate and vacillate about world socialist revolution. They have, by sleight of hand, simply eliminated the world of labor and socialism. They hint that socialism is hidden behind the veils of the bourgeoisie of various countries. They negate the class nature of all states and the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat in all countries. They suggest that the people can rely on one superpower in order to fight another; they also suggest that the people can rely on the reactionary bourgeoisie of various "second world" and "third world" countries to fight the two superpowers. Comrade Enver Hoxha, with his Political Report submitted to the Seventh Congress, eliminated the possibilities of these non-Marxist and anti-Marxist theories having influence in the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. The Joint Statement of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America of November 1976, the Internationalist rallies held in Italy on January 24, 1977 and in Germany on February 5, 1977, the homage paid by Comrade Enver Hoxha to the revolutionary martyrs of the international proletariat -- all this reflects the tremendous revolutionary impact of the Political Report submitted to the Seventh Congress. This is the world of labor! Right here in the declaration of the Latin American parties, in the internationalist rallies held in Italy and Germany! Here is the world of socialism! The trend already coming out of the Seventh Congress is irresistible. The genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the world cannot be fooled with these non-Marxist and anti-Marxist theories. The Third Con-

gress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) considers this contribution of Comrade Enver Hoxha as immortal. As with the rest of the life and work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Political Report submitted to the Seventh Congress of the PLA is a source of great revolutionary inspiration and consciousness.

LET US STAND WITH CLENCHED FISTS RAISED HIGH AND APPLAUD THE REVOLUTIONARY AUTHORITY OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA! LONG LIVE COMRADE ENVER HOXHA! LONG LIVE THE GREAT LEADER OF THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND TEACHER OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT! THE THIRD CONGRESS OF CPC(M-L) SALUTES COMRADE ENVER HOXHA! LONG LIVE THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA!

6. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) is a Congress of the victory of Marxism. The Third Congress considers firm adherence to the revolutionary theory of Marxism as the watershed between Marxism and revisionism. A party which vacillates on this basic question of principle will soon degenerate into revisionism, no matter what its history and what great accomplishments it may have achieved in the past. Over the period since the Second Congress of CPC(M-L), opportunists of all hues in Canada have vulgarized and distorted the theory of Marxism. Our Party stood firmly against this vulgarization and fought against it. The opportunists of all hues thought that with the distortion of Marxist theory on various questions, the Party would be badly damaged, leading to its final disintegration. On the contrary, today the opportunists of various hues are in total disarray, having failed in their mission. Our Party, far from disintegrating, has launched one fierce attack after another against the vulgarizers and distorters of the theory of Marxism and has won victory. The Third Congress is the victory of Marxism in Canada.

8. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) affirms the political thesis advanced by the First and Second Congresses that in Canada there are three major contradictions:

a) A contradiction between U.S. imperialism and the Canadian monopoly capitalist class, and the Canadian people;

b) There is a contradiction in the camp of U.S. imperialism and the Canadian monopoly capitalist class, amongst various monopoly groups; and

c) There is a contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

... The Third Congress of CPC(M-L) considers the Canadian state to be part and parcel of the world imperialist system of states -- it is an oppressor state. At the same time, the Third Congress advocates that Canada is like a colony, its capitalism is a dependent capitalism and its state is dominated by U.S. imperialism...

13. The four major contradictions on the world scale, the contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries; the contradiction between imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries; and the contradiction between socialist countries on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other, are rearing on the world scale. The world is divided into two irreconcilable camps: the camp of the socialist countries, of the oppressed nations fighting against imperialism, social-imperialism and world reaction, of the proletariat fighting against capitalist exploitation and wage-slavery, and the camp of imperialism and social-imperialism and of the reactionary bourgeoisie of each country. The contradictions between the imperialists and social-imperialists and amongst the imperialists themselves are sharpening furiously. This is creating a favorable situation for the proletariat of all countries to lead the revolutionary struggles of each country based on its own conditions. The proletariat must use these contradictions in the camp of imperialism, social-imperialism and world reaction in order to advance the struggle for socialism, independence and national liberation. There are opportunists who are looking at the contradictions between the imperialists and social-imperialists and amongst the imperialists separately, to advocate that there is no necessity for proletarian leadership and no necessity for the Marxist-Leninist parties to lead these struggles independently. These opportunists have concocted the thesis which in the words of Jack Scott is: "Countries freed from the imperialist yoke will invariably, given time, develop in a progressive direction internally." Jack Scott sees no necessity for revolution for these countries as the only reliable road to genuine liberation and independence. According to these opportunists, on the world scale, there is no longer the struggle between the worlds of labor and capital. On the contrary, the struggle is against the two superpowers with the proletariat playing either no role or playing the secondary role of supporting the reactionary bourgeoisie. This is an out-and-out betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. ... between the socialist countries and the imperialist and social-imperialist countries, are many countries where the question of independence and national liberation exists. Who is going to lead the struggle for independence there? The proletariat or the reactionary bourgeoisie? The Titoite answer is: the reactionary bourgeoisie. And will their revolution be part of the world anti-imperialist socialist revolution? No, it will be separate. That is the path of "non-capitalist" or "independent capitalist" development, the path of capitulating to the two superpowers and betraying the na-

tion. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) considers the thesis of "three worlds" as non-Marxist and as an instrument to disarm the proletariat of various countries and sow the illusion that liberation and emancipation will one day come to them without revolution.

14. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) firmly believes that there is a revisionist and opportunist plot to confuse the question of the antagonistic camps in the struggle and the path forward for the oppressed nations which exist in between the imperialist and social-imperialist countries and the socialist countries. In this nefarious activity, those who call "Soviet social-imperialism" the "most ferocious enemy and the source of the Third World War" and the Khrushchovite revisionists collude and cooperate with one another. The two, with ulterior motives, deliberately confuse the question of the socialist camp. The Khrushchovite revisionists, knowing the correct Marxist-Leninist line that the world was split between the camp of socialism and national liberation and the camp of imperialism and reaction with the victory of the Great October Revolution, and the historical fact that a socialist camp of several socialist countries existed right after the Second World War for a time, deliberately keep calling the Soviet social-imperialist camp of today the "socialist camp". On the other hand, other opportunists in the service of imperialism and revisionism, recognizing the fact that the socialist camp of the kind that existed right after the Second World War for a period extending into the fifties, no longer exists, push their balderdash that the socialist camp no longer exists altogether. Then the Khrushchovite revisionists, in order to sow maximum confusion, turn around and malign the Marxist-Leninists that they do not believe that the world was split into two irreconcilable camps with the victory of the Great October Revolution. The other opportunists then advance their slander that anyone who believes that the socialist camp exists is a "Khrushchovite revisionist". The Third Congress of CPC(M-L) is resolutely opposed to this confusion-mongering of these revisionists and opportunists.

15. ... The opportunists have reshaped the Titoite revisionist thesis of "non-alignment movement" and are putting forward the line of the super "non-alignment movement", the "theory" that the "third world" has arisen as a "force" against the hegemony of the two superpowers. The opportunists, like the Khrushchovite revisionists before them, are presenting these non-Marxist theories to undermine the struggle of the oppressed people of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and lead them to the path of capitulating to imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie. The opportunists mystify the fact that many of these so-called "non-aligned" countries are tied to one superpower or the other, and that many of these countries are signatories to bilateral and regional military pacts sponsored by the aggressive superpowers. They put on the same footing the so-called "non-alignment" of Castro's Cuba whose puppet troops are hunching the Angolan people, at the behest of Soviet social-imperialism, with those newly-independent countries which have achieved their independence through protracted armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie and by remaining vigilant and firmly opposing the plots and conspiracies of the other superpower, Soviet social-imperialism. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) is firmly opposed to the Khrushchovite revisionists' and the opportunists' confusion-making on the question of the "non-alignment movement", and will never permit them to cause confusion on these questions in the Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement of Canada.

16. ... There are those today who are advancing the erroneous thesis that countries can gain independence by fighting the two superpowers in the international arena through the United Nations and other international, regional, and multi-lateral bodies and by making some changes in their own laws. Though this contributes to the development of the struggle against the two superpowers and reactionaries on the world scale, the decisive road to emancipation is the road of social revolution where the proletariat leads the struggle not only against the two superpowers but also against the reactionary bourgeoisie and other reactionary classes, the base of the two superpowers in the first place. For example, the people of Iran will never win liberation by sitting idly by waiting for the time when the two superpowers will be defeated internationally by a so-called "united front" against the two superpowers. The people of Iran have to do their own fighting. They have to win their battle first and foremost against the fascist Shah of Iran and the reactionary bourgeoisie installed by foreign imperialism there. In exactly the same manner, the people of India have first to eliminate the base of imperialism and social-imperialism in India which is constituted by the bureaucratic-capitalist class and the class of big landlords. There are those who are advancing the slogan of "democracy" for India and opposition to the two superpowers while the Indian masses face the most barbaric and medieval feudal, semi-feudal, capitalist and semi-colonial oppression, exploitation and plunder. They are siding with the reactionary bourgeoisie and creating leaders in the ranks of the revolutionaries that the revolutionary transformation can take place without a battle, without defeating feudalism and bureaucratic-capitalist capitalism first. They demand the armed agrarian revolution of the Indian peasantry led by the revolutionary proletariat, and they oppose the growth and development of the Marxist-Leninist party in the course of leading this peasant revolutionary war. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) opposes this line of capitulation to imperialism, social-imperialism and to the reactionary bourgeoisie. The

Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) hails the armed revolutionary struggles of the people of the Philippines, Malaya, Thailand and other countries and considers the road followed by these revolutionaries under the leadership of their respective parties to be the correct road of national liberation and the road of achieving final emancipation from all imperialist aggression and plunder and capitalist exploitation, wage-slavery and feudal oppression.

19. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) considers this era to be the era of revolutionary transformation from capitalism to socialism. It is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, and an era of great disorder on the world scale. Comrades Marx and Engels put it well when they pointed out that "Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat." This division has now taken world proportions and the world is now split into two irreconcilable camps -- the camp of socialism, independence and national liberation and the camp of imperialism and social-imperialism and all reaction, in other words, the camp of labor and the camp of capital. This division of the world into two camps since the time of the Great October Revolution has put the world of capital into perpetual crisis. ... These revisionists, old and new, the opportunists of all hues, concoct one excuse after another, hatch one plot after another and put on different garbs to extinguish the liberation wars and revolution. Internationally, they have concocted the thesis of one main enemy. They have also concocted the thesis that factors both for revolution and war are increasing, putting the question of revolution and war on an equal footing, distorting the entire historical trend and blurring the general course of history. Within Canada, they have concocted the thesis that the political system in Canada is "bourgeois democracy" and that the conditions for revolution neither existed in the 1930's nor do they exist today. For a country like India, the opportunists advanced the counter-revolutionary thesis of "restoration of democracy" as a prelude to the people's democratic revolution. What do all these theses of the revisionists and the opportunists amount to? According to the theory of one main enemy, the world is not divided between socialism and imperialism. On the contrary, the world is divided between imperialism and imperialism -- in other words, these revisionists and opportunists of all hues have divided the world according to the contradictions in the imperialist camp. First they divide the camp of imperialism -- which includes social-imperialism -- from social-imperialism. Furthermore, they advocate that there are countries of the "second world" which are not part of the world imperialist system of states, and that the reactionary bourgeoisie of the different countries are not part of the camp of imperialism. They are putting forward the contradictions in the camp of imperialism and social-imperialism not for the purposes of utilizing them in order to advance the struggle for socialism, independence and national liberation but on the contrary, they are advocating that the proletariat should plan its struggle along the lines of divisions that exist in the imperialist camp. With their theory of one main enemy, these opportunists advocate that one superpower or the other is more ferocious or more dangerous, and that the peoples of the world should support one superpower in its inter-imperialist rivalry with the other. This is why they are advancing their nefarious thesis that factors both for revolution and war are increasing. If these opportunists of all hues had recognized the basic character of our epoch, that it is the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, then they would also have recognized that because the factors for revolution are developing on the world scale, the imperialists and social-imperialists are fascizing the states in various countries and they are preparing for world war, and that this war is the response of the imperialists and social-imperialists to the revolutionary crisis. And that this inter-imperialist war is not just a war to redivide the world, but it is also a "way out" of the revolutionary crisis. When the imperialists and social-imperialists cannot avert the revolutionary crisis by any other means, that is by means of social-democracy, revisionism and opportunism of all hues and by other forms of deception, then they resort to war. It is erroneous then to suggest that factors both for revolution and war are growing. Revolution is the main trend while war is merely transitory. Also there are several kinds of wars -- there are wars of aggression, there are inter-imperialist wars, there are anti-fascist wars, there are wars of national liberation and there are revolutionary civil wars to overthrow the reactionary bourgeoisie. All these wars are basically divided into just and unjust wars. The anti-fascist, national liberation and revolutionary civil wars are just wars while wars of aggression and inter-imperialist wars are unjust wars. The proletarian responds to these entirely opposite kinds of wars differently. It supports the just and opposes the unjust wars. It converts the unjust wars of aggression and of inter-imperialist rivalry into just wars to end imperialist aggression and into revolutionary civil wars to overthrow imperialism and social-imperialism altogether. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) is opposed to the thesis of one main enemy and the thesis that factors both for revolution and war are growing. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) holds that revolution is the main trend on the world scale and that revolution is developing vigorously while the two superpowers and imperialists and reactionaries of all countries are suffering

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from innumerable antagonistic, irreconcilable and unsolvable contradictions amongst themselves and that their fascization of their states and their preparation for war is their last-ditch effort to avert the revolutionary crisis. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) holds that it is revolution which is inevitable. While the inter-imperialist war is inevitable as long as imperialism exists, its inevitability depends very much on the revolutionary struggle on the world scale. Any capitulation to imperialism and social-imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie of all countries is bound to give rise to wars of aggression, intervention and inter-imperialist wars. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) holds that "either war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent war", and for this reason the proletariat and people must get prepared. They must strive to organize revolution against their own reactionary bourgeoisie in their own countries and if war breaks out they must convert the reactionary inter-imperialist war or wars of aggression and intervention into revolutionary civil wars for genuine liberation and independence. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) is opposed to all the opportunist theories which belittle the revolutionary struggle and put it on a par with imperialist and social-imperialist preparation for war.

20. Titoite and Khrushchovite revisionists as well as revisionists of the Jack Scott type, are advancing the counter-revolutionary thesis that war will not break out on the world scale in the coming period. While the Khrushchovite revisionists sing their tunes through the "detente" fraud and through reactionary propaganda about disarmament, etc., the other revisionists carry out propaganda under the slogan that "war is inevitable". The "detente" fraud and the fraudulent propaganda of the "war is inevitable" theoreticians, that "war is inevitable but not in the coming twenty or thirty years" or that the "international united front against the two superpowers, especially against Soviet social-imperialism" will avert war for several years, is the same revisionist fraud propagated to sow illusions about peaceful development, to do propaganda for capitalist restoration in socialist countries and to create conditions and a favorable climate for cooperation with imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie. These theses are neither based on facts nor arrived at through class analysis. On the contrary, these theses are revisionist theses designed to reconcile antagonisms within countries and on the world scale where these antagonisms have an objective basis and exist independent of anyone's will, and to create antagonisms where there is no objective basis and they do not exist at all. This is the line of conciliation with the enemy and attacking the people, especially the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries and their analysis. It is a sinister move on the part of the revisionists on a world scale. Comrade Marx pointed out in 1846: "No antagonism, no progress. This is the law that civilization has followed up to our days. Till now the productive forces have been developed by virtue of this system of class antagonisms. To say now that, because all the needs of all the workers were satisfied, men could devote themselves to the creation of products of a higher order -- to more complicated industries -- would be to leave class antagonism out of account and turn all historical development upside down." This watchword of Marx, "No antagonism, no progress", is now being put into the dust by various people and they are embarking on the road of wishful thinking that war can be averted by the wishes of a few individuals, or that "Countries freed from the imperialist yoke will invariably, given time, develop in a progressive direction internally". Also, the erroneous thesis is being echoed in certain quarters (raised by Teng Hsiao-ping in China) that modernization and production is the order of the day. So for countries which are under the jackboots of imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie of their own country, the advice is that they should have faith in the "international united front against the two superpowers" and once this "international united front" frees these countries from "imperialism", then they should wait for the "given time" when these countries will "develop in a progressive direction". For the socialist countries, the advice is modernize and increase production. This is eclecticism. This is the line of confusing the results with motive forces. Production cannot be increased and countries cannot be modernized and the yoke of imperialism cannot be overthrown by simply wishing that production should increase, countries should modernize and the yoke of imperialism should be overthrown. On the contrary, the answers have to be found in the Marxist thesis, "No antagonism, no progress", and that "till now the productive forces have been developed by virtue of this system of class antagonisms". Thus, class struggle has to be the key link and social revolutions have to be organized everywhere either the reactionary bourgeoisie is the ruling class or where, even though the dictatorship of the proletariat is established, the question of which wins out, socialism or capitalism, has yet to be decided and where the threat of subversion by imperialism and social-imperialism still exists. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the only guarantee in socialist countries for the development of the productive forces. Anyone who weakens the revolutionary movement against the reactionary bourgeoisie, no matter under what excuse, and anyone who weakens the dictatorship of the proletariat, no matter under what excuse, is bound to play into the hands of imperialism and so-

cial-imperialism and harm the interests of the proletariat and people of the world. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) is opposed to the revisionist "detente" fraud as well as the propaganda that "war is inevitable" or war is "inevitable, but can be postponed for several years", etc.

The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) firmly holds that both class and national struggles led by the proletariat and its vanguard parties are inevitable on the world scale. As long as there is imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction, there will remain revolutionary class and national wars of liberation. The proletariat of all countries must wage a vigorous class and national struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction, and most particularly, the struggle against one's own reactionary bourgeoisie. Only then will the revolutionary transformation from capitalism to socialism take place. Only then will the dictatorship of the proletariat in socialist countries be without any danger from internal or external subversion. Only then will the imperialists, social-imperialists and all reactionaries be defeated. Only then will the new stage in the history of mankind be ushered in. That is the stage of communism. Everything else is a pipe dream, a sinister revisionist plot to lull the people to sleep.

21. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) affirms the thesis that the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, are the biggest exploiters and enemies of the proletariat, people and nations of the world. The two superpowers are the greatest oppressors and together with their reactionary blocs and alliances of states, are a source of war... Though the two superpowers are the biggest exploiters and oppressors of the proletariat, people and nations of the world, it is erroneous to create any illusions about the imperialists of the United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, France and for that matter of other states of the Common Market, Eastern Europe and Canada. The inter-imperialist rivalries and contradictions do not place the countries of the so-called "second world" into the camp of the people. The formulation that these countries are in contradiction with the "first world" and at the same time, that they are a target of control and bullying by the two superpowers, must be analyzed from a class point of view. There is a world imperialist system of states. Even within the world imperialist system of states, there are a handful of user states and other debtor states.

... In developing the correct strategy and tactics for the Canadian revolution, the Third Congress of CPC(M-L) takes the view that:

- 1) The two superpowers are the biggest exploiters and oppressors of the proletariat, people and nations of the world.
- 2) The United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, France and other so-called "second world" countries are also the exploiters and oppressors of the proletariat, people and nations of the world.
- 3) Canada is also an oppressor state, and that,
- 4) There exists no commonness of interests between the imperialist bourgeoisie and their states in countries like the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Japan, Italy and Canada, and the proletariat, people and nations who are waging a resolute struggle against the two superpowers and against their own reactionary bourgeoisie.

Canada's position internationally must be recognized by taking all the different facts into consideration. The fact is that Canada has a state monopoly capitalist system, and the Canadian state is one of the chief instruments by which foreign monopolies were imposed on the capitalist system in Canada. The fact is that Canada is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the North American Air Defense, and Canada has been the spokesman and agent of U.S. imperialism in the international arena. These facts prove that the position of Canada is similar to that of the reactionary bourgeoisie of any country and that the struggle against U.S. imperialism must be organized on the basis of the struggle against the reactionary bourgeoisie. These facts are ignored and distorted by the opportunists in drawing their unwarranted conclusions. In placing Canada in the so-called "second world", they mask the U.S. imperialist domination of Canada, and conciliate with the big bourgeoisie in Canada in the inter-imperialist rivalry and competition. In building correct strategy and tactics for anti-imperialist socialist revolution in Canada, the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) stands firmly opposed to the theories of "utilizing" this contradiction in the imperialist camp by "forging alliances" with the reactionary bourgeoisie in Canada under the hoax that this bourgeoisie safeguards Canadian independence in any way, or opposes the two superpowers.

24. ... All the four major contradictions in the world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America which has over two-thirds of the world population and includes a large number of people and nations fighting for national liberation and independence as well as certain other countries which have already won their independence on the battlefield. These countries, together with certain other countries, make up the intermediate zone in between the imperialist and the socialist countries. Their struggles are part of the world anti-imperialist, socialist revolution and the countries are the target of imperialist and social-imperialist aggression and plunder. The proletariat of these countries is the leading force and the peasantry the main force and there are also other sections and strata, as well as sections of the national bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie that takes the side of the nation, which together make up an overwhelming majority of people who have everything to

gain from the social revolution, a revolution against the reactionary bourgeoisie of their own countries and against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and other imperialists. Along with the struggles of the proletariat and people of this vast area, the proletariat of the United States, Soviet Union and the proletariat of the imperialist and revisionist world in Europe and the proletariat of various countries of Oceania, are being brought into the revolutionary struggle against the shifting of the burden of the economic crisis onto their backs, against the war preparations and fascization of the states in these countries and against the two superpowers and reaction. Thus, not only is the proletariat leading the struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the proletariat of the imperialist and social-imperialist countries is also awakening and the proletariat of various other countries is waging a sharp revolutionary struggle against its own reactionary bourgeoisie and the two superpowers. The storm centers of the world revolution are concentrated in the vast zone of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Third Congress of CPC(M-L) holds that while it is correct that the storm centers of world revolution are presently concentrated in Asia, Africa and Latin America, it is incorrect to suggest that revolution has exhausted itself in other parts of the world or there is no necessity of revolution in other countries or that the storm centers of the world revolution won't shift or that the storm centers of world revolution won't expand and spread. The Third Congress of CPC(M-L) is firmly opposed to drawing any conclusions which belittle the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat in the imperialist and social-imperialist countries...

... Socialist Albania and Socialist China are the bastions of world revolution and the reliable rear base for the proletariat and the peoples of the world in their struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction. For this reason, the two superpowers try desperately to wipe them out. They support capitalist restoration internally and have been carrying out a campaign of encirclement in order to prepare conditions to attack them militarily. By continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist countries strengthen this dictatorship which is the key to preventing internal subversion and imperialist aggression. There exists a real danger that the two superpowers in collusion or individually will invade socialist China or socialist Albania, or both. But for the two superpowers to launch this adventure, they must first establish their camps and alliances, establish hegemonism over the people and nations fighting for liberation and independence in Asia, Africa and Latin America, weaken and secure one another's influence in each other's zone of influence in the imperialist and revisionist countries, quell and extinguish revolutionary flames there and seize their own states with the subsequent crushing of any opposition. This is possible only if the Marxist-Leninist parties and the proletariat of these countries do not fight, entrust their future to their reactionary bourgeoisie and abandon the historical task of winning liberation and independence on the battlefield. But this cannot happen. The Joint Statement of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America has repudiated this traitorous road. At the rallies in Italy and Germany, several European Marxist-Leninist parties affirmed the road of the Great October Revolution for their countries and hailed the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania and the Political Report submitted by Comrade Enver Hoxha to the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania and affirmed the general road of revolutionary transformation to socialism and independence for their countries. Amongst these parties, the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist) is waging an armed struggle against the monarch-fascist dictatorship and against U.S. imperialism. In Asia, communist parties in the Philippines, Thailand and Malaya are persisting in armed struggle. The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), despite serious setbacks and fascist repression from Mrs. Gandhi with the brutal slaughter and imprisonment of thousands of its leaders and cadres, is persisting in the revolutionary road of armed struggle started out by Comrade Chandra Mazumdar. Various Marxist-Leninist parties are coming into being in Africa. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party is waging a heroic armed struggle to end the ancient rule of feudalism and bureaucrat-comprador capitalism and the domination by the two superpowers. The enthusiasm and dedication of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries in

various parts of the world to revolution, to the role of armed struggle, is not just a matter of words and declarations, but a practical problem they have taken up for solution. Encouraged by the great Marxist-Leninist party, the Party of Labor of Albania, learning from the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha, summing up the historical experience of the Great October Revolution, learning from their own struggles, strengthened by the sympathy and support of the socialist countries of Albania and China and persisting in self-reliance to find their own bearings, providing solutions to their own problems on the basis of their own efforts and keeping the general orientation clear and firmly opposing revisionism, these parties are organizing to win historic victory. The two superpowers will not have peace to regroup and organize themselves internationally against the proletariat and people of the world. People in some quarters are seeking peace for "twenty or thirty years" but the Third Congress of CPC(M-L) is convinced that the revolutionary proletariat will not permit the two superpowers and world reaction to live in peace, not even for one day, one minute or one second. The Third Congress of CPC(M-L) holds that the revolutionary struggle in Canada is part of the world anti-imperialist socialist revolution and that Canada is an important country for imperialism and social-imperialism in which they seek hegemony and absolute "peace and tranquility" in order to carry out their war preparations and aggression against the world of socialism, of national liberation and independence. The Third Congress of CPC(M-L) firmly believes that the proletariat and people of Canada will not become part of the imperialist or social-imperialist war machine and that because of the objective conditions of Canada, a revolt of the proletariat and people will certainly take place which will be a great contribution to world revolution and a great weapon against war. The Third Congress of CPC(M-L) firmly believes that the only road for Canada is the road of the overthrow of capitalism through revolutionary violence and that the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) is duty-bound to provide militant Marxist-Leninist consciousness, organization and leadership to this great historic struggle. The Third Congress of CPC(M-L) firmly states that our Party will, according to the concrete conditions prevailing in Canada, perform its revolutionary responsibilities to the world proletariat and oppressed mankind and will solve the problems of anti-imperialist socialist revolution by adhering to Marxist-Leninist political line and maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in its own hands.

35. The strategic aims of the Party are:

- 1) Overthrow of the rule of the reactionary bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie composed of the monopoly bourgeoisie of Canada and that of the big bourgeoisie which is a mere extension of U.S. imperialism in Canada;
 - 2) Overthrow of the U.S. imperialist domination of Canada;
 - 3) Establishment of a genuinely democratic state, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a state which is genuinely independent and socialist;
 - 4) Genuine liberation and self-determination for Quebec including secession;
 - 5) Restoration of the hereditary rights of the Native people. The new state will provide democracy for the people, will appropriate all national and international big monopoly capitalists, appropriate the traitorous bourgeoisie, suppress the reactionary elements and embark on the socialist road.
- The main force to accomplish the strategic aims is the proletariat. Its basic allies are the small and poor farmers, its other allies are the fishermen and the intermediate strata of both town and country. The main assault of the proletariat is against the revisionists and opportunists of all hues, the labor aristocracy and the sellout trade union leaders, the social-democrats and other elements who are reconciling the antagonistic contradiction between the proletariat and the reactionary bourgeoisie, who are agents of either one superpower or the other, who are creating ideological and political confusion to disintegrate the revolutionary movement against the reactionary bourgeoisie, who are causing confusion in the ranks of the proletariat by establishing phony "Marxist-Leninist" sects and parties, etc., and who are hindering and obstructing the general preparation for the overthrow of the rule of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

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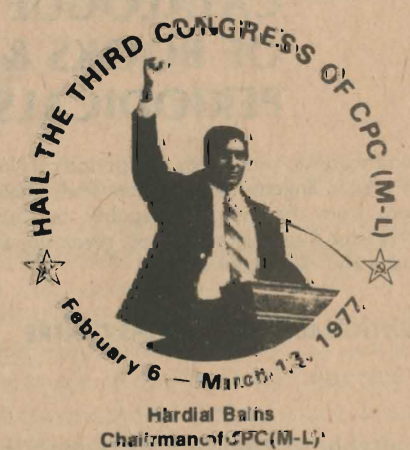
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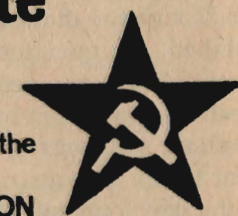
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