

RAMIZ ALIA

**LENINISM — THE BANNER
OF STRUGGLE AND VICTORIES**



90
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(Speech at the solemn meeting commemorating the centenary
of Lenin's birth)

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DEAR COMRADES,

A century has passed by since the birth of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, the greatest thinker and the revolutionary of our era, the man who has left the deepest traces in the development of human thinking and revolutionary practice. With Lenin's name are linked the greatest victories of the world proletariat, with his ideas, the present and coming generations are and will be concerned.

Next to Marx and Engels, Lenin represents that inexhaustible source of political and ideological teachings which are the foundation of the triumphant doctrine of scientific socialism, which constitute the guiding compass of the proletariat in their fight for communism. He brilliantly defended and further developed Marxism, raising it to a new and higher level. The doctrine he founded — Leninism — is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of great class battles of the proletariat, it is the theory and practice of proletarian revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of building socialist and communist society.

Lenin's life is characterized by an unbounded devotion to the great cause of proletarian revolution and the construction of the new socialist society. In

him, lofty creative thought was blended with colossal revolutionary activity. The figure of great Lenin combined in itself the front ranking militant and the outstanding philosopher, the organizer of the broadest masses and the wise politician, the tireless scientist and the fiery propagandist. He embodied the best qualities of the Russian working class and of the whole international proletariat: boundless hatred for the enemy and unshakable confidence in victory. In Lenin, revolutionary passion was fused into a single body with scientific truthfulness; reliance on the creative initiative of the masses was an inseparable part of his organizational genius.

Lenin was the strategist and the great leader of the October Socialist Revolution, which opened a new epoch in the history of mankind, the founder of the glorious Bolshevik Party and of the first State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the great teacher of the world proletariat, the founder and the leader of the Third Communist Internationale.

As an unyielding and principled revolutionary, he fought with unprecedented determination against all class enemies, within the Party and outside its ranks, on a national and international scale. In every situation and under all circumstances, he ardently defended the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

A consistent internationalist and an indomitable fighter against great power chauvinism and any other form of enslavement, Lenin remains forever the greatest tribune of the freedom and the independence of the peoples, the greatest fighter for national equality and the establishment of equal rights between states, great or small.

Leninism has stood all the tests of time. The

profound transformations that have taken place in the world, the victories achieved by socialism, the broad development and strengthening of the world revolutionary movement bear a vivid testimony to the correctness of Lenin's ideas and their force of attraction. Lenin's ideas have struck roots in the hearts of the revolutionaries, of the world proletariat and of all the freedom-loving peoples. They have become their banner in the struggle for social emancipation and national liberation, for the triumph of the great ideals of socialism and of communism.

Leninism spells death to the bourgeoisie, to all the exploiters and oppressors, to the renegades and opportunists. Therefore, today, just as in the past, all the reactionaries, ranging from overt ideologists of anticommunism to the revisionists of all hues, furiously assail Leninism. Some of them try to present it as merely a Russian phenomenon of a national character, allegedly suitable only to the backward countries. Others pretend that it allegedly has become obsolete and no longer responds to present day conditions of the development of society. The most dangerous trend against Leninism is that of the modern revisionists headed by the Soviet revisionists. They fight Leninism with hypocritical pseudo-Leninist phrases, proclaiming themselves as the «heirs» of Lenin and swearing «allegiance to Leninism», in order to camouflage their betrayal, their anti-Marxist political actions and stands.

This is the spirit in which the Soviet revisionists tried to take advantage of the centenary of Lenin's birth. The demagogical campaign they unleashed on this occasion serves to conceal their transition to social-imperialism and social-fascism, to cope with

the difficulties the aggression against Czechoslovakia has created for them, to consolidate their shaky positions in the revisionist front, to deceive the Soviet and other peoples, under the conditions when the struggle of Marxist-Leninist parties to expose the revisionist betrayal is assuming ever greater proportions. Precisely that which Lenin said was happening to the doctrine of Marx and of all the revolutionary thinkers of the oppressed classes is now happening to his doctrine.

«The oppressing classes,» Lenin has written, «have rewarded the great revolutionaries in their lifetime with incessant persecutions, they have received their doctrine with the most furious indignation and rabid hatred, with a shameless campaign of lies and slanders. After their death they attempted to transform them into harmless icons, so to say, to canonize them, to give their *name* a certain glory so as to «console» the oppressed classes and deceive them, while, at the same time, rejecting the *substance* of their revolutionary doctrine, blunting its revolutionary edge, debasing it. Now the opportunists and the bourgeoisie in the bosom of the working class movement have come to agreement on such a treatment of Marxism. (V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. 2, p. 144).

But despite their endeavors, the revisionists are unable to conceal the great truth that Leninism and modern revisionism are two opposite poles mutually exclusive.

Real heirs, upholders, executors and promoters of Leninism are the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labor of Albania, all the sound Marxist-Leninist parties and forces that stand loyal to the revolutionary spirit and essence of the Leninist teachings, who in every step of their activities are guided by Lenin's immortal ideas, all those who consistently and uncompromizingly defend the purity of the victorious doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, who fight resolutely against the bourgeoisie, imperialism and opportunism, who advance the general cause of communism.

On the centenary of Lenin's birth the banner of socialism is fluttering proudly over great People's China. The Communist Party of China, with the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tsetung at the head is leading the Chinese people along Lenin's path. The Chinese revolution, the most significant world event since the October Revolution in Russia, is marching triumphantly towards socialism and communism. The Chinese communists have set a brilliant example of loyalty to the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat and of irreconcilable struggle against its enemies.

The creative thought of Mao Tsetung renders an outstanding contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism, preserving and further promoting its critical revolutionary spirit.

Commemorating the centenary of Lenin's birth, we, the Albanian communists, are proud of our glorious Party of Labor which has always kept aloft the red banner of Lenin's ideas and has honorably fulfilled its historic mission, by leading the Albanian people to the triumph of people's revolution and to

the successful building of socialism in Albania. Our Party's successes, the correctness of its line have their origin in its Leninist education, in the loyalty with which the Party of Labor, its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, applies Lenin's teachings and ideas, in the firm and principled struggle to safeguard the purity of Leninism from the distortions and the falsifications of the modern revisionists of all hues and trends.

Lenin's ideas are an inexhaustible treasure and invaluable wealth for the working class and the peoples all over the world in their battle for freedom and socialism. There is no field of the revolution or the construction of socialist and communist society about which Lenin has not spoken or written or given his scientific Marxist opinion.

But of extraordinary and universal importance in Lenin's work are the Leninist doctrine on imperialism, on the class struggle and the proletarian revolution, the State and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the doctrine on the hegemony of the proletariat and of the party of the working class. These cardinal problems of Marxism are closely bound and interwoven with one another. The Leninist ideas on these questions are of great importance in the reality of today. V. I. Lenin worked out his doctrine in bitter battle with opportunism of the Second Internationale, upholding and further developing the ideas of Marx and Engels.

At present the Marxist-Leninists are waging a determined blow-for-blow struggle against the modern revisionists. The battle between revolutionaries and opportunists is once again being waged about the same fundamental problems of the theory and

practice of socialism. Today, the genuine revolutionaries defend Leninism from the modern revisionists, just as Lenin in his time defended Marxism from the opportunists.

I

One of Lenin's historical merits in developing the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat is his theory on imperialism. The development of capitalism at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century faced the revolutionaries with the task of recognizing the character of the changes which had taken place, of defining clearly the stand of the working class and its vanguard in the various countries towards imperialism and imperialist war, of working out the strategy and tactics of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and of leading the proletarian revolution to victory.

In opposition to the viewpoints of various opportunists who considered the transition of pre-monopoly capitalism to imperialism as a process which disproved Marx's theory about capital and the revolution and who saw imperialism itself as a transitional stage of the spontaneous growth of capitalism into socialism, Lenin proved that, far from rejecting Marx's theory, this transition proved its correctness. Proceeding from his analysis of imperialism and of its main contradictions, Lenin reached the conclusion that imperialism is the highest and the last stage of capitalism, that it is capitalism breathing its last, that it is the threshold of the socialist revolution. At that time, being aware of the danger represented by

the revisionist theories, Lenin emphasized the great truth that without combating opportunism one cannot fight imperialism.

Life fully confirmed the correctness of Lenin's analysis of imperialism and of the revolutionary conclusions he drew from it.

The present large-scale polemics between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists once again have to do with the assessment of the world development in the present epoch, with the contradictions peculiar to it, with the tasks facing the working class to advance the cause of revolution and socialism.

Following the Second World War, great changes took place in the balance of forces, capitalism had a more or less steady development, state monopoly capitalism spread far and wide, and the technological-scientific revolution developed with renewed impetus, new problems of socialist construction and of the relations between socialist countries arose, the world revolutionary and liberation movement grew to great proportions and acted under totally different conditions.

Their analysis and assessment of these transformations, of these new phenomena and problems, divided the Marxist-Leninists from the revisionists. The question was posed: Were the Marxist-Leninist principles still fully valid in this new situation, or were they obsolete and in need of replacement with new ones? The modern revisionists adopted precisely the second road. Their departure from principle led the revisionists to a completely distorted interpretation of the reality of our time, to negation of the main contradictions characterizing the world today. The revisionists built up the whole of their strategy

and tactics on this basis, negating the laws of class struggle and of revolution, replacing these laws with the class collaboration and peaceful co-existence. The concept that imperialism had changed its nature, that capitalism is no longer that oppressing and exploiting system of the past, which Marx and Lenin had described, that it is in the process of evolving towards socialism, is the foundation of their line. The new forms of the development of monopoly state capitalism, which are especially connected with the increasing role of the bourgeois State in the integration of economy, with its own complete program, with control of the investments and the extension of its participation in technological and scientific research, are represented by the revisionists as elements of socialism. On this issue, the revisionists are at one with the bourgeois ideologists who pretend that the capitalist and the socialist systems are assuming similar features and qualities and that the world is on a course of overall integration.

It is true that a certain integration is taking place. But it should be stressed that it is not capitalism which is integrating into socialism, but that the so-called socialism of the revisionists is integrating with capitalism through the bourgeois economic reforms which are now being applied in all the countries where the revisionists hold sway. This integration is receiving the greatest encouragement from the big U. S., British, West German, Japan and other capital which is pouring wholesale into the revisionist Soviet Union and the other so-called socialist countries.

The new phenomena which have appeared in

the capitalist world have in no way altered either the exploiting essence of the capitalist order, or the class nature of the present bourgeois state. On the contrary, the exploitation and the oppression of the working class and other laboring strata by the capitalist monopolies have been intensified. The present bourgeois state which is becoming more and more amalgamated with the monopolies, has become still more reactionary, the unheard-of bloating of the bureaucratic, military and police apparatuses is one of the fundamental characteristics of social life in the capitalist world today.

Nor have these changes eliminated the contradictions of imperialism either, but have only deepened and aggravated them further. With the emergence of revisionism and, especially, with the transition of Soviet revisionism to imperialism, these contradictions have assumed a new aspect. They have taken the form of contradictions between socialist countries and capitalist and revisionist countries, between the proletariat and the working masses and the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie, between the oppressed nations and peoples and the old imperialism and the new Soviet imperialism, as well as between the imperialist and revisionist countries themselves.

Basing himself on this analysis of imperialism and its contradictions, Lenin elaborated and developed the Marxist theory of the world revolution. The conclusion that the world can be changed only by means of revolution is fundamental to this theory.

With their theses on the alleged change of the nature of imperialism the modern revisionists aim precisely at rejecting this cardinal conclusion of

Lenin. But life is proving to the full what the revisionists are trying to deny. Throughout the world the peoples have stood up, the flames of revolution have spread to all continents and the old capitalist and imperialist world is shaking.

We are living in a grand revolutionary epoch, in the epoch of victorious socialism marching ahead triumphantly and proletarian and national-liberation revolutions, in the epoch of imperialism heading towards its general collapse, while socialism is forging ahead towards its triumph throughout the world.

Faced with this situation, the imperialists and all the reactionaries strive by all manner of means, from demagoguery to violence, to smother the revolution and enslave the peoples. They have the assistance of the modern revisionists who are rushing hither and yon to quell the flames of revolution. They try to dissuade the people from revolution, or, when revolution flares up, they sabotage and undermine it. In these circumstances, the world revolutionary process cannot be promoted without waging a resolute struggle against both U.S.-led imperialism and against revisionism led by the Soviet clique.

U.S. imperialism and the new Soviet imperialism, which today have entered into a close alliance to establish their domination in the world, are the two biggest and fiercest enemies of all the peoples. This reactionary alliance is counterposed and must be counterposed by the united front of the revolutionary peoples throughout the world, by the socialist countries which maintain their revolutionary stand and the world proletariat, the oppressed nations and peoples.

Lenin conceived the downfall of imperialism,

first of all, as a result of proletarian revolution in the metropolies and of the national-liberation revolutions in the colonial and dependent countries.

«... the socialist revolution,» he said, «will not be only or mainly the struggle of the revolutionary proletarians of every country against their own bourgeoisie, no, it will be the struggle of all the colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism, of all the dependent countries against international imperialism.» (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 30, p. 166)

In our time, the stand towards the anti-imperialist and national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is the touchstone for all true revolutionaries. The unreserved and all-round support of the revolutionary movement of these peoples is a historic necessity for the victory of the revolution, an internationalist task of first importance. Lenin's call «Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!» today has great congruency than ever.

Since the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, defend capitalism and oppose revolution they maintain an attitude of disdain and sabotage towards the national-liberation movements of the oppressed nations and peoples. Their gestures of «solidarity» and «aid» aim at subjecting these movements to their selfish and imperialist interests making them part of their policy of bargainings with imperialism for the division of spheres of influence and the domination of the world.

The essence of the Marxist-Leninist theory on

the proletarian revolution is the violent seizure of political power, the smashing of the old bourgeois state apparatus, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Today, just as during Lenin's life-time, this theory has first rate importance. The modern revisionists, following in the footsteps of their predecessors of Bernstein, and Kautsky, have replaced revolution with reforms, the revolutionary violence with the so-called «peaceful way», the smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus with its use allegedly for the benefit of socialism, the proletarian dictatorship with the so-called «state of the entire people». Without completely rejecting these revisionist illusions, without the education and training of the masses with the idea of violent revolution, which Lenin considered as the basis of the entire doctrine of Marx and Engels, not a single step ahead can be taken in the present fight against imperialism and for the triumph of socialism.

The present day development, world reality, is entirely in opposition to the pacifist and reformist preachings of the modern revisionists. Today the imperialist bourgeoisie is manifesting more and more strongly the trend which Lenin discovered long ago towards reaction in all spheres of life; it is violating democratic rights and everywhere strengthening its own dictatorship; it is strengthening and increasing its organs of violence as a weapon to ruthlessly suppress the masses of the people. The tragic events of Indonesia, where hundreds of thousands of revolutionaries were butchered, the savage oppression and terror which exist in many countries of Latin America, the repressive measures taken against the strike movement of workers and students of various countries of

Europe, the persecution of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, and so on, clearly express this tendency. U.S.-led imperialism has set up many military alliances and bases in the four corners of the earth, ready to intervene by force of arms and to strangle revolution everywhere. And this is what the new Soviet imperialists have become today. They too are sabre rattling, threatening to unleash war and aggression, and endeavoring to export counterrevolution by force.

In these circumstances one cannot speak of the «peaceful road». On the contrary, the absolute necessity for violent revolution and the destruction of the bourgeois state machine to its very foundations becomes more emphatic and imperative than ever. There is only one alternative before the workers and revolutionaries; counter the violence of the exploiting classes, which never have and never will voluntarily give up the state power, with revolutionary violence, as the sole way to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

And the other argument of the revisionists that allegedly, with the change of the balance of forces on a world-wide scale in favour of socialism the «peaceful way» to revolution becomes more realistic, is entirely without foundation. Naturally, the growth of the forces of revolution and socialism creates more favorable conditions, brings nearer and facilitates the victory of socialism in other countries, but revolution cannot be exported, it cannot come about as a result of the influence of the external factor alone. It is the deed of the people of each country and the road of its development is determined by the balance

of class forces in each country, by the degree of resistance of the ruling and exploiting classes, which is inevitable.

«The stronger the pressure of the oppressed classes,» Lenin taught, «the closer they approach the overthrow of all oppression and exploitation, the more resolutely the oppressed peasants and the oppressed workers develop their own initiative, the more frenzied becomes the resistance of the exploiters» (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 27, p. 538-539).

Violent revolution, which may be arrived at in various ways, by means of an armed uprising, which comes to a quick conclusion, or which draws out into a protracted people's war, is the highest expression of the class struggle. Therefore, all other forms of revolutionary class struggle should serve the armed struggle. They should be precisely such as to educate and prepare the masses for the revolution by means of violence.

The revisionists, out of sheer demagoguery, speak about the need to master all forms of struggle, peaceful or non peaceful, legal or illegal, about the work in the town and in the countryside, about the combination of the struggle for democracy with that for socialism. But, while in theory they do not make any distinctions between them, putting all of them on equal footing, in practice they stand only for the peaceful road, for the legal struggle, for the petty struggle, for the demands of the day. As with all other opportunists, their entire strategy and tactics has been reduced to the struggle for reforms within

the capitalist order, and this occupies the main place in the present programs of the revisionist parties of the West.

To uphold the line of the armed struggle does not at all mean to negate or to neglect the other forms of struggle, to concentrate one's efforts within the countryside and to abandon struggle in the town, to think only about the final objective and to under-rate the struggle for daily economic, social and cultural demands which concern the working people. This is another question of major importance to the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement which results from the teachings of Lenin. On this issue, the Marxist-Leninist parties — the leading force of the world revolutionary process — fight against both the opportunist viewpoints of the modern revisionists and the narrow, sectarian viewpoints.

The armed struggle is spoken of today from all angles. But the concepts on this struggle are diametrically opposed. The revisionists of some countries, compelled by the pressure of the masses and in order to win their sympathy, speak about the armed struggle only to serve their demagogical ends, but in fact, they attempt to discredit this idea, to sabotage and liquidate the armed struggle, with the anarchist and Trotskyite elements treat the armed struggle as a struggle of a few «heroes» entirely divorced from the masses and deny the need for the training and leadership of the masses by the Marxist-Leninist political party of the working class. An armed struggle which is not guided by the proletarian policy, represented by the Marxist-Leninist party and which does not rely on the masses of the people can never be a con-

sistent revolutionary struggle. Sooner or later it will degenerate, or be defeated. This is what the history of our time teaches us.

The road towards revolution has never been a boulevard. It has innumerable obstacles of an objective and subjective character. But the proletariat has never been frightened of obstacles and hardships and has never given up its struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to establish its own dictatorship. Its determination to carry the revolutionary cause through to the end has its source in the conviction that the revolution is the only road and the sole means to do away once and for all with all oppression and exploitation, to establish true equality and justice, to built the new socialist society. In the present epoch this conviction is accompanied by real optimism that the victory of the revolution and Leninism are indisputable. The development of events in the world point clearly to the fact that imperialism and modern revisionism are in crisis of insuperable difficulty, whereas the forces of revolution and socialism everywhere are marching unceasingly forward. Neither the aggressiveness of the imperialists nor the treachery of the revisionists are able to extinguish the fire of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggle. As Lenin teaches us:

«Whatever the difficulties of the revolution or the possible temporary setbacks, whatever the waves of counter-revolution, the final victory of the proletariat is inevitable» (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 24, p. 506).

II

In battle with the reformists and the revisionists of his time, Lenin created a complete doctrine on the hegemony of the proletariat. He developed the thesis that in the epoch of imperialism, the proletariat can and should lead any true people's revolution, not only socialist but also democratic and liberation revolutions. He defined the necessary conditions to ensure the hegemony of the proletariat by developing the idea of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and the other proletarian strata. Lenin pointed out the concrete way, the forms and methods of the struggle to achieve and implement this hegemony.

The problem of hegemony is a cardinal problem of the revolution. As such, it is also one of the most acute problems of the present ideological struggle. In this question, too, the teachings of Lenin are of decisive importance. He taught that the stand towards the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution is the touchstone for every party which claims to defend the interests of the working class, it is the fundamental expression of its real revolutionary character.

«Renunciation of the idea of hegemony,» Lenin stressed, «however, is the grossest variety of reformism». (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 17, p. 252).

The negation of the world historical mission of the proletariat, of its role of leadership in the struggle for socialism, constitutes the basis of all the reformist

theories of the modern revisionists. According to them, the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat has become obsolete in the present day and the struggle for socialism can be led by the most diverse classes, strata and political forces.

Under the conditions of the vigorous development of the technological and scientific revolution in our century of the atom, they pretend in unison with the bourgeois ideologists, that the intelligentsia is emerging as the most important, and that its weight and role are being enhanced to such an extent as to depose all other classes and to take into its hands the direction of the entire life of the country. The aim of these technocratic and intellectualist «theories» of the bourgeois and revisionist countries is to turn the working class away from revolution, to treat it as a mere productive force, which should obey the intellectual «elite», to cover up the deep class contradictions in these countries and, thus, perpetuate the bourgeois, capitalist and revisionist rule.

Undoubtedly, under the present conditions, with the growth of the intelligentsia, with the increase of its ranks with elements from the middle strata and from the working masses, with the extension of the capitalist exploitation also to a part of the intelligentsia, the stand towards the intelligentsia assumes a special importance, the possibility of an alliance between the working class and these strata of the intelligentsia becomes greater.

But, in spite of this, it should not be forgotten that the imperialist bourgeoisie makes great efforts to corrupt the intelligentsia, to put it completely in the service of bourgeois interests and against the working class. To this end, it resorts to all means,

ranging from the many material privileges to the all-round ideological processing. The instructions of Lenin should always be borne in mind that the intelligentsia is recruited from various classes, that it occupies an intermediary position between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and that different groups within the intelligentsia express the interests of different classes. As a result, he stresses,

«especially widespread within it are those half-baked eclectic viewpoints, that mish-mash of contradictory principles, that tendency to climb to lofty spheres in words and to cover up with phrases the conflicts of the historic groupings of population, which were mercilessly unmasked by Marx with his sarcasm half a century ago» (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 4, p. 229).

Since the intelligentsia is not an economically independent class, it cannot be an independent political force either. Therefore, only by entering the struggle together with the working people and under the leadership of the proletariat can the progressive part of the intelligentsia play its own progressive role and render its great contribution to the revolutionary movement. The historic world mission of the proletariat is not an invention of someone's mind but an objective law which springs from the social and economic conditions of this class, from its fundamental interests and aims, from the fact that it is the bearer of the new communist social order, that it is armed with the scientific theory of socialism and has its own leading political staff — the Marxist-Leninist party.

If in the advanced capitalist countries the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists grant the role of leadership to the intelligentsia, in the backward countries they give the role of leadership to the national bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeoisie, who are allegedly starting these countries on the road to socialism by means of the so-called «non-capitalist development». What is the «noncapitalist road» according to the interpretation of the revisionists? It is such a road which, without the leadership of the working class or its party, without the Marxist-Leninist theory, without the socialist revolution and without establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat can allegedly lead to socialism. This transition might be anything else, but never a transition to socialism. The preaching of such a «road» is the most complete departure from Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism.

With these «theories» the modern revisionists headed by the Soviet revisionists try to strangle revolution in these countries, to turn the masses away from the real struggle for socialism, to leave them exploited and oppressed.

In order to cover up in some way this great treason, the revisionists of Moscow say that this road does not run counter to the role of hegemony of the working class, because «where the weak development of the proletariat does not allow it to play the leading role in the revolutionary movement, this vanguard role can be fulfilled in one way or another by the victorious proletariat of the socialist countries». They try to present this as one of Lenin's ideas, whereas, in fact, it is a clumsy distortion, a complete revision of the ideas of Lenin.

External influence, aid and support are one thing,

but leadership of the revolution is quite another. This can be done only by the revolutionary forces of each individual country. In this connection, the revisionists are pursuing diabolical aims. They aim to impose their policy on the oppressed nations and peoples, to dictate their own will and hitch them to their charriot, to oppress, subject and exploit them for the expansionist interests as a great imperialist power.

The weak development of the proletariat of some countries is not and should not be any sort of argument to deny its hegemony.

«The force of the proletariat in any capitalist country», Lenin stressed, «is much greater than the percentage of the proletariat in the total number of the population. This is because economically the proletariat dominates the center and the connecting branches of the whole economic system of capitalism and because in capitalism the proletariat expresses the true economic and political interests of the overwhelming majority of the workers» (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 30, p. 307).

These teachings of Lenin have been proved by the experience of our country too: the triumph of the people's revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country was not impeded by the fact that our working class was small in number, scattered, as yet unformed as an industrial proletariat and had not acquired organizational and political maturity of a high level.

Lenin linked the idea of the hegemony of the

proletariat with the creation of the revolutionary party of the working class. Without the leading role of the party the hegemony and the historic mission of the proletariat are empty phrases. The efforts of the modern revisionists to prove that allegedly the historic mission of the working class and the leading role of the communist party are two different matters, that thanks only to the place it occupies in the system of social production, the working class can play its role of leadership even without its own Marxist-Leninist party, or through the other so-called «workers'» parties, or even through those which are openly Trade-Unionists, in the service of the bourgeoisie, have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism.

The theoretical basis of these viewpoints is submission to spontaneity, slipping into the position of the «theory of the forces of production», from which allegedly there stems an objective impulse towards socialism. Underneath these views lies the revisionist idea that, consciously or unconsciously, «socialist tendencies, elements and forces» are everywhere opening the path. The aims of these sermons is to disarm the working class, to justify their so-called «specific roads of transition to socialism», their various «models» of socialism and to sanction their revisionist policy of uniting and integrating with the bourgeois parties of the social-democrat type in the capitalist countries and with the broad national fronts led by the national bourgeoisie of the countries recently liberated from the colonial rule of imperialism.

Rejecting all these «theories» of the modern

revisionists, Comrade Enver Hoxha has strongly emphasized the great truth tested by the experience of our country, that:

«both in the national-liberation democratic revolution and in the proletarian revolution and the struggle for the construction of socialist and communist society, only the Marxist-Leninist party, as the conscious, organized vanguard of the working class, consistently revolutionary, loyal to the end to the ideological principles of our doctrine, can lead the country and the people to victory» (Enver Hoxha, Report at the Fourth Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania).

Lenin not only consistently defended and developed the leadership role of the revolutionary party of the working class, but he was the first to work out a whole and complete doctrine on the building of the party of the new type. In our time, this doctrine assumes a special importance. Today, we live in a period similar to that created in the communist movement following the betrayal of the Second Internationale. Just as at that time, today too, the treachery of the modern revisionists has led to the degeneration of the revolutionary parties of the working class in many countries, to their transformation into «bourgeois parties of the working class». Just as at that time, today too, the proletarian revolutionaries have risen boldly against treachery, opportunism and revisionism and have been and are being united into new revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties.

The old communist parties which have degenerated into revisionist parties today are nothing else but servants of the national bourgeoisie and instruments of Soviet foreign policy. They no longer represent the communist movement, but the modern opportunist trend in the bosom of the international workers' movement, identical in essence with social-democracy. The true international communist movement is composed of those parties of the working class which have remained faithful to the doctrine of Marx and Lenin —the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labor of Albania, and the other revolutionary parties, as well as the new Marxist-Leninist parties which have been set up in the heat of battle against modern revisionism. These are the lawful heirs of the best traditions of the revolutionary movement of the working class, of the communist Internationale founded by great Lenin.

Now, it can be said that the general confusion created in the communist movement by the birth and spread of modern revisionism has been overcome. The illusions about the old communist parties and about their leaders with some sort of revolutionary baggage, now belong to the past. Today, there is no question of whether or not new Marxist-Leninist parties should be set up. The question is how to build them, how to consolidate and to strengthen them on such a basis that they will always remain revolutionary proletarian parties and lead the working class towards final victory.

Lenin worked out the norms of the inner life of the party, which cement the party, temper it and make it possible for it to play its role of leadership, of guidance and organization. The profound, not for-

mal, but ideological understanding of these norms and their rigorous obedience is a factor of great importance in making the proletarian party a consistently revolutionary one. Any spirit of bureaucracy, leniency, or opportunism in this direction is fatal to the party. We are taught this from the revisionist degeneration of many communist parties, where bastardized Leninist norms have become a dangerous weapon in the hands of the revisionist cliques to defend and consolidate their domination.

The main strength of the party, Lenin pointed out, lies in its close links with the working class and the laboring masses.

«We stand in need of such parties», he used to say, «which are in constant touch with the masses and which know how to lead these masses» (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 31, p. 260).

These links by no means depend on the number of Party members but, above all, on its correct political line, on the work it does with the masses and on the quality of its members. The party can neither be a closed-door party, a narrow one made up only of a few revolutionary cadres, nor a wide open party, where any one can enter and leave at will, as the revisionist parties have actually become today. «Mass» parties of this kind are suitable for securing votes in bourgeois elections, but are completely incapable of revolutionary action. Opening the doors of the party to all sorts of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois, opportunist and careerseeking elements is one of the main sources of the degeneration of many communist parties into revisionist parties.

The bourgeoisie is interested in keeping the party of the proletariat as a completely legal and open party, so that it can check up on its entire activity and, when the proper moment comes, to hit and destroy it. Therefore, the revolutionary party of the proletariat must not fail to attach first importance to organizing, underground bases and illegal activity without neglecting the exploitation of all those legal possibilities which the circumstances permit. Lenin vehemently stressed that the only party of the working class worthy of its name is that party which is capable of correctly combining legal work with illegal revolutionary activity, which is for violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The revolutionary party of the working class, being a national party, deeply rooted in its own national soil, closely linked with the people of its own country and with their interests and aspirations, is at the same time a party of a profoundly internationalist character. This requires that each party be fully responsible for the fate of the revolutionary movement in its own country as well as for the fate of the world revolutionary movement, fighting against anyone who deviates from principles and engages in splitting activity, strengthening collaboration and coordinating its activities with other detachments of the revolutionary communist movement.

«The proletariat,» Lenin stressed, «cannot fight for socialism and defend its own daily economic interests without the closest and most complete alliance of the workers of all nations and of all workers' organizations with-

out exception». (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 19, p. 269).

But today the unity of the workers and of their revolutionary movement has been undermined by the modern revisionists who are the worst splitters the history of international communism has ever recorded. This history shows that everywhere and at all times on a national or international scale, the ideological and political source of splittism is opportunism and revisionism. From this point of view, the only road towards strengthening the unity in the international communist movement is the road of resolute struggle, of struggle to the bitter end against opportunism and revisionism. This is an objective law the correctness of which is verified by the entire history of the world communist movement.

III.

Relying upon the fundamental teachings of Marx and Engels and summing up the new experience of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, Lenin brilliantly mapped out his plan of establishing socialist society, defined the general road of development towards communism and led the practice of socialist construction during the first years of the Soviet power. The overthrowing of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin pointed out, is only the beginning of the socialist revolution which continues uninterruptedly through the entire historic period of the transition from capitalism to the classless communist society.

J. V. Stalin, the faithful pupil and successor of Lenin, defended his teachings in bitter battle with all the enemies of Leninism — the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists, and others. Under Stalin's wise leadership, the Soviet people with great sacrifices and efforts dictated by the complicated internal and external circumstances carried out the Leninist plan for the construction of socialism and, for the first time in history, transformed socialism from a scientific theory into a living reality. The attacks of the modern revisionists against Stalin are in fact attacks against Leninism. It was Stalin who upheld and further developed Leninism. Stalin can never be counterposed against Lenin, as the revisionists do. To negate Stalin is to negate Lenin and Leninism.

In Lenin's teachings and in the historic experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by Lenin and Stalin are embodied the general laws of the building of socialist society which the Marxist-Leninists in no way confuse with peculiarities of the development of Russia, as the modern revisionists want to present the problem by preaching their «various forms» of socialism.

Basing themselves on the teachings of Lenin, the Marxist-Leninists uphold the opinion that there cannot be various kinds of socialism, as the modern revisionists pretend, just as there cannot be various kinds of Marxism-Leninism. They do not confuse this in any way with the creative application of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine in the specific conditions of each country, and, as a consequence, with the inevitable peculiarities of revolution and socialism in each country. These peculiarities, as Lenin emphasi-

zed, do not affect in the least the essence and the fundamental features which are common to all the countries.

In recent times, especially after the fascist aggression against Czechoslovakia, even the Soviet revisionist renegades are speaking a great deal against the various «styles» of socialism. Heard from their lips, these words are sheer demagoguery which testify to the pragmatist attitude of the Soviet leaders who have completely betrayed the ideas of socialism and are restoring capitalism in their own country. While, in general, they accept that there are various ways of transition to socialism, different «styles» of socialism, they do not permit their satellites to deviate from the «Khrushchevite pattern of socialism», but, on the contrary, they try to impose on them, even by force of arms, the Soviet style of the restoration of capitalism, keeping them tightly bound and even denying them their national sovereignty.

Lenin teaches us that, after seizing political power, the proletariat does not relax the class struggle but continues it in other conditions and new forms down to the complete elimination of the classes. This struggle has an objective basis, because through the entire period of transition from capitalism to communism the struggle between the two roads — the socialist and the capitalists road — continues, because the overthrown exploiting classes and, later, the remnants of them, never give up their efforts to restore capitalism; the pressure and the threat of imperialist aggression from outside, the evil habits, influences and traditions of the old society are preserved a long time. The triumph of the socialist over the capitalist road can be considered as absolutely guaranteed

only when it is achieved in all fields, not only on a national scale but on an international scale as well.

An unbridgeable gulf divides the Marxist-Leninists from the revisionists in their attitudes towards the class struggle both in capitalist and socialist countries. In theory, the revisionists preach the dying out of the class struggle in socialism, claiming that with the liquidation of the exploiting classes, the class struggle ceases and is directed only against the external enemy. In this way, they intend by «theoretical arguments» to conceal their treacherous activity to restore capitalism. In the countries where they have usurped the state power, the revisionists do wage the class struggle, but they wage it as representatives of the bourgeoisie against the workers and revolutionaries.

The negation of the class struggle in socialism led the Khrushchevite revisionists to the negation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the party of the working class, in flagrant contradiction to the fundamental Leninist thesis that the proletarian party and the dictatorship of the proletariat are indispensable

«through the entire *historic period* which divides capitalism from the classless society, from communism» (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 25, p. 488).

The revisionists' preaching about the transformation of the socialist state and of the communist party into a «state and party of the whole people» are a complete negation of the leading role of the working class. And in fact the working class is no

longer in the leadership in the Soviet Union. Nor does there exist any state or party of the whole people there, for such a thing cannot exist in any country of the world. There is a party and a state of a pronounced class character, but they are no longer proletarian but bourgeois.

The revisionists who wield power in the Kremlin today have demolished the glorious work of the Soviet people, they have wrecked the historic victories of the October Revolution, betrayed Lenin's and Stalin's teachings about the construction of socialism and are marching along the road towards the restoration of capitalism. The preservation of state or kholkhozian forms of ownership over the means of production proves nothing, for the Marxist-Leninist concept of the economic order cannot be reduced to mere forms of ownership. Here the decisive thing is the content of the ownership, in whose hands are the means of production in fact, what is the character of the state and the policy it follows, for what purpose is production carried out, and which class does it benefit. After the leadership of the party and state has been usurped by the revisionist Khrushchevite clique, which represents the interests of the new bourgeoisie, the Soviet state ceased to be a state of the working class and, together with this, socialist property was turned into a special form of state capital which the revisionist bourgeoisie uses to draw profits, from the exploitation of the working people.

The present Soviet Union has been transformed into a capitalist imperialist state which, regardless of its peculiarities, is not less dangerous than any other capitalist or imperialist state. At present, when the hegemonist and aggressive tendencies, not only of

the U.S. imperialism but also of the new Soviet imperialism, are being manifested in all their arrogance, when the Brezhnev-Kossygin clique has formulated its reactionary «theory» of «limited sovereignty», the determined defense and application of the Leninist principles of independence, equality, sovereignty and the right of all the peoples to self-determination become of first-rate importance. These principles, which constitute the basis of the Leninist foreign policy and which were proclaimed and consistently carried out by Lenin and Stalin as true revolutionaries and internationalists, have been abandoned and brutally trampled underfoot by the Khrushchevite revisionists.

The revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union try to present their capitalist degeneration and their hegemonist and imperialist policy as a continuation of the Leninist road. In order to cover up their betrayal they are trying to take advantage of the respect and authority the Soviet Union enjoyed in the world as Fatherland of Lenin and the first country to effect the proletarian revolution and open the road to socialism, the country which for a long time was the main pillar of the world revolution and which, during the Second World War, played the main role in defeating Nazism and liberating many nations.

But the present Soviet Union does not march along the Leninist road, it is no longer what it used to be. If until yesterday the attitude to the Soviet Union was considered as a touchstone of internationalism, today this same internationalism is expressed precisely in the struggle against the revisionist clique which is ruling the Soviet Union.

The Khrushchevites try in vain to represent every criticism of the present-day Soviet Union as

anti-communism. When the Marxist-Leninists attack the Moscow renegades, their policy and activity, they are in no way attacking the Soviet people and, still less, their glorious traditions. They have never identified the Soviet people with the ruling Kremlin clique. The struggle of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists against Khrushchevite revisionism is of great help to the Soviet people themselves to shake off the revisionist yoke, to return to the Leninist road. Any sentimental attitude towards this question, any concession for the sake of the past would be a genuinely anti-Soviet stand, would cause great harm, first of all, to the Soviet people themselves.

On this great day of the centenary of Lenin's birth the Albanian people and comunists send their fraternal greetings to the peoples and the bolshevik revolutionaries of the Soviet Union, assure them of their feelings of friendship and revolutionary solidarity and express their conviction that the Soviet people will eventually overthrow the revisionist clique, will again raise high the name of the country of the October Revolution, the banner of Lenin.

IV

With the triumph of the October Revolution, Lenin's ideas reached also the oppressed and enslaved Albania. They inspired and gave a fresh impulse to the democratic workers' movement of our country. Workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals found in Lenin's work an inexhaustible source of strength and hope in their struggle for the freedom and the

independence of their country, for the rights and the interests of the Albanian people. The Leninist policy of denouncing the predatory and hegemonist plans of the imperialist great powers and of defending the small nations was an invaluable encouragement to and help for them. Lenin's name became a symbol of justice, of national and social liberation, for the Albanian democrats, patriots and revolutionaries.

The communist movement was born and developed in Albania under the direct influence of Lenin's ideas and the great October Revolution.

Leninism became the beacon illuminating the revolutionary path of our people. The Communist Party of Albania, set up on the basis of the ideological, political and organizational principles of Marxism-Leninism, made Leninism the banner of the liberation of the country and of the people's revolution in Albania. The magnificent work of our Party and people bears the stamp of Leninism. Our entire revolutionary path is a brilliant demonstration of the correctness and of the great transforming force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The Albanian example, too, proved the great incontrovertible truth that Lenin's teaching on revolution and socialist construction is a universal doctrine, correct and applicable to all the countries, whether big or small, whether developed or backward.

The experience of our country once more verifies the Leninist thesis that, in the period of imperialism, a low level of economic and social development of a given country, or the small number of the proletariat are not an insurmountable barrier to the carrying out of revolution and the transition to socialism. Likewise, it demonstrated that violent revolution is the

general path to this transition, that the leadership of a communist party of the Leninist type, the creation of a political army united in a broad front of the popular revolutionary forces, the building up of the armed forces, the complete destruction of the old state apparatus and the establishment of the new people's state power, relying first and foremost upon the efforts of one's own people, are indispensable for the victory of revolution.

It is the great merit of our Party and its beloved leader Comrade Enver Hoxha that they knew how to apply these Leninist teachings in a creative and determined manner, in the concrete conditions of our country, thus leading the Albanian people to the triumph of their people's revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin's teachings have always been the basis of the activity of the Party after the liberation of the country also, in the struggle for the building of a new socialist Albania. Lenin's ideas have inspired and guided us in our struggle to strengthen and consolidate our people's state power, to bring about great social and economic transformations, to develop our national industry and collectivize our agriculture, for the development of education and culture and the creation of the new man. It was precisely because they faithfully applied and defended Leninism that our Party and people succeeded in dealing with and triumphing not only over the innumerable difficulties of a backward country, but also over all internal and external enemies, the imperialists and their stooges, the Yugoslav and Soviet modern revisionists.

In this struggle, our Party and people have made an outstanding contribution to the defense of the

purity of Marxism-Leninism, to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and the peoples of the world over.

In the process of this fierce struggle, our people's fighting spirit and revolutionary determination have been further steeled and strengthened. The teachings of Lenin and of our Party have become part and parcel of the life of our citizens, reliable norms of their behaviour and activity.

Marching along the path of Leninism, Albania has been transformed into a progressive, free and independent socialist country with a sound economy, with a culture developing with giant strides, into an unconquerable bastion of socialism.

The Party of Labor of Albania, loyal to the teachings of Lenin, has successfully and uninterruptedly developed the revolution in Albania. It has not permitted the turning back of the revolutionary process, nor the slightest encroachment on the People's State power. The Albanian communists have worked out and solved in a creative way a series of problems of principle with which socialist society is confronted in the phase of the completion of its construction and the transition to communism. The teachings of the Party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the further revolutionization the whole life of the country are a new and valuable contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism and, especially, to the historical experience of proletarian dictatorship.

Of decisive importance to the victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road, is the establishment of a correct relationship between the objective and the subjective factors, between basis and superstructure, economy and politics, the material condi-

tions of life and the consciousness of man, between proletarian dictatorship and proletarian democracy, centralism and initiative from below, between the class, the masses and the cadres, between national and international factors, etc.

In complete oppositions to the viewpoints and practice of the revisionists who absolutize the role and importance of the objective factor, of the material conditions of life, of economy, thus slipping into a variant of vulgar materialism and economism, our Party, strictly conforming to Lenin's teachings, has emphasized that, especially in socialism, the role of the subjective factor, the continuous revolutionization of the superstructure, particularly of the party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, placing politics in command and devoting special attention to the education and tempering of the new man, are of prime importance.

Unlike the modern revisionists who used and still use «democratization» as a means to weaken and to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, we Marxist-Leninists consider the development of democracy for the masses as an effective means of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the danger of its bureaucratization, against bureaucratic centralism, but for the development of democratic centralism and the creative initiative of the masses.

In the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries precisely what Lenin had warned against occurred: a tragic separation of the cadres from the working class and the masses. From servants of the masses the cadres were changed into their rulers. To close the road to this threat, the Party of Labor of Albania took a series of timely and far-sighted mea-

asures of a deep ideological and practical character. The consistent application of the line of the masses, the determined struggle against all manifestations of bureaucratic distortion, the establishment of the direct control of the working class over everyone and everything, linking the cadres closely with the work, struggle and life of the working people, as well as a host of other measures, have great importance of principle for the present and future of the socialist revolution.

«Socialism,» Lenin pointed out, «is not established through orders from above. Bureaucratic red tape and officialdom are alien to its spirit; living and creative socialism is the work of the popular masses themselves... Only those who believe in the people, only those who will delve deep into the source of the living creative activity of the people will win and hold state power firmly in their hands» (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 26, pp. 317-321).

In essence, the revisionists portray socialist construction as merely a development of the forces of production, only as the construction of the material-technical base. Herein lies the source of all their technocratic theories which over-rate the role of technology and of specialists, of the technical and scientific intelligentsia in general. According to the revisionists, it is the intelligentsia who should make the law, dominate, command, while the working class, the working masses, must work, produce, to sustain this privileged caste by their sweat and toil.

Unlike the revisionists, our party strives to carry out to the letter the teachings of Lenin that in socialism it is the working class that wield power, that it commands and directs the whole life of the country while all the others, cadres, civil servants and specialists, are but servants of the working class, servants of the people.

But for the working class and masses to play their role effectively it is indispensable that they be continuously steeled and educated to make them conscious of their historic role. Therefore, the problem of education assumes a particular importance today. Without ensuring the complete victory of the revolution in the ideological field, too, no victory in any other field can be guaranteed, the cause of socialism cannot be promoted, the danger of capitalist restoration cannot be averted. Here lies the great importance of the struggle our party is waging to deepen the cultural and ideological revolution, against all the survivals, manifestations and influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, to practise in real life the slogan that everyone should think, work, and live as a revolutionary.

The struggle of our party in the spirit of Leninism, for the revolutionization of the entire life of the country has created a lofty revolutionary atmosphere among all our people, a new creative drive in construction work, an unprecedented mobilization to carry out the big tasks laid down by the party, an unshakable confidence in the bright future of socialist Albania.

The centenary of Lenin's birth finds Albania a powerful and unconquerable citadel of socialism, marching forward victorious, holding high the glorious

banner of Marxism-Leninism, of revolution and the struggle against imperialism and revisionism, the banner of proletarian internationalism.

The celebration of this great jubilee is for us, for all our people, a new and powerful inspiration in our struggle for the complete construction of socialist society, to defend our freedom and independence and the victories of our people's revolution, to always forge ahead along the Leninist path, under the wise and far-sighted guidance of our Party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrades,

Lenin and his work are immortal, they are alive everywhere: on the barricades of the workers and in the demonstrations of students, in the marches of the American negroes and on the front of the Vietnamese freedom-fighters, in the jungles of Africa and in the mountains of Latin America, wherever the people are fighting for freedom and independence, for democracy and socialism. They live on in the minds and hearts of all progressive mankind.

For all the Marxist-Leninists, for all the revolutionaries, the centenary of Lenin's birth is a great clarion call for the unity of all the revolutionaries and freedom-loving peoples in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, against modern revisionism, for the triumph of revolution the world over, for the promotion of the work of Lenin, to raise ever higher his all-conquering banner.

Glory to great Lenin, glory to Leninism!

2



10