

**ONLY UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF A
GENUINE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY
CAN THE OBJECTIVES BE ACHIEVED**

From a talk with Ernst Aust

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First Comrade Enver Hoxha welcomed the guest who had come to our country to take part in the celebration of the 35th anniversary of the Liberation of Albania.

They held a long conversation in the course of which Comrade Enver Hoxha expressed the opinion of the Party of Labour of Albania about a number of the more important political problems. Among other things he said:

First of all, I want to thank you most sincerely for coming to our country and your participation in this important celebration for our people and our Party, the 35th anniversary of the Liberation of socialist Albania. You have been here at other times, too, and know our country and our Party, and know the feelings which we nurture for you.

At this meeting I would like to discuss a number of problems which we think are of interest both for you and for us.

The stronger the Marxist–Leninists are, the more they are monolithic, with extensive activity and always with a firm and clear line, the more the day–to–day struggle of the proletariat here in Europe will assume a revolutionary political colour and essence. The strikes, demonstrations and demands of

the European proletarians, which are taking place at the moments of the great crisis through which imperialism and world capitalism are passing, will more and more assume a political character.

As you know, the economic strikes and demonstrations which are taking place at present in the countries of the European Common Market frequently end peacefully, in agreements between trade-union bosses or the worker aristocracy and the employers. We think that work must be done to change this sterile struggle, this *modus vivendi*. We consider this struggle harmful to the proletariat and favourable, undisturbing, and to some degree surmountable for capitalism, because the results of it are temporary and do not harm capitalism much financially, because the concessions it makes as a result of the demands and the struggle of the proletariat are just crumbs from the

enormous surplus value which it extracts from the exploitation of the working class and the mechanization of production.

The contradictions between proletarians and capitalists, between the rank-and-file unionists and the worker aristocracy, the union bosses, are becoming more profound and we must strive to make them more and more so. We think that capital and the worker aristocracy are bound together in a knot which must be severed like the Gordian knot. This knot consists of the laws which are nothing but the chains with which the proletariat has been bound to prevent it deviating from the course advantageous to capital. Therefore, the question which presents itself is to study the enslaving character of these laws which constitute the wall with which the present struggle of the proletariat is colliding, and in this direction you have many possibilities to study the

situation to find and attack the weak points, to breach this wall and then to launch a frontal attack on the breach in order, eventually, to bring down the whole wall.

Of course, this is not easy. If systematic actions are not undertaken in this direction, and especially, when a great deal of explanatory work is not done with the army of proletarians, then successes cannot be achieved. Hence, the conditions demand that we should work inside the existing unions, but should also work to establish our own unions, which we must defend and use as a political weapon against capital and the union bosses to defend those economic rights which the working class has won through struggle, but we must also struggle for the true rights of the workers, that is, for their political rights.

However, these can be achieved only when the proletariat and its party, in the first

place, clearly understand the theory of Marx and Lenin about the character of capital and the role of the proletariat and the proletarian revolution.

West Germany is the most powerful capitalist state of «United Europe», the wealthiest country of this monopoly capitalist union. West-German imperialism is a ferocious imperialism, an ally of the United States of America, an ally in NATO and a member of the European Common Market. Next to the United States of America it is the «ally» which plays the main role in NATO and it dominates the Common Market from every stand-point. The other members are afraid of it, and therefore, there are contradictions between them.

This domination, which is also exerted over the German people themselves, at the same time enables West-German capital to show itself somewhat more «generous» towards

the proletariat. And in fact, the standard of living in West Germany is higher than in the other countries of «United Europe», its currency is stronger, the demagoguery about its pseudo–democracy is greater and the level of German technology is among the highest. Precisely in this difficult situation, in which it is the merit of your Party to be struggling, the Party must provide complete and factually based explanations about the mechanism of the political–economic oppression which German capital exerts, because you have to do with a proletariat with a high level of education and qualification, with farmers who have sufficient land and work with mechanized means, and you have to do with an intelligentsia with traditions, but imbued with the most varied reactionary ideological views which, as we know, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels combated and exposed

over a wide front.

Imperialism is continually inventing new fascist and revanchist counter-revolutionary theories, both open and disguised, which respond to the situations which those who create them are experiencing, and it spreads them not only in Germany, but everywhere in the world, concocting and encouraging new outlooks, new ways of life, which are adapted to the technology, the industrial development and capitalism in decay.

Imperialism, especially in your country, combines all these theories and outlooks with the Teutonic spirit, with the old Bismarck Junker outlook and Hitlerite national-socialist savagery.

Our doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, explains and clarifies all these situations which have developed and are developing.

It has foreseen everything, while also providing a correct solution for the

fundamental problems of each epoch, the problems of the materialist and dialectical development of history. Only a rabid enemy of Marxism–Leninism can act as the Chinese revisionists are doing.

Amongst other things, at the Congress of Writers and Artists of China which ended recently, through the vicepresident of the League, they declared that in the 19th century Marx and Engels could not have foreseen the development of productive forces through the wide–scale use of electric power and nuclear energy. Lenin was able to recognize this and that is why he said that communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country, but, say the Chinese, he was not acquainted with electronics, and consequently, his theory, too, is of no help in today's conditions of development.

On the other hand, this Chinese revisionist

made himself the apologist of imperialism by stating, to the astonishment of all, that this system is not in decay or in decline, but is advancing, developing production, science, technique and the productive forces, therefore, he concludes, this new situation of the imperialist countries has brought forward new problems to be studied. «Mao Zedong thought» provides this «aid». In other words, according to this revisionist, we must reject Marxism–Leninism.

In these conditions it is our duty to arm ourselves by studying and thoroughly mastering Marxism–Leninism in order to clearly distinguish the false, so–called Marxist– Leninist theories such as «Mao Zedong thought», the theories of the «Eurocommunists» who would be better called Eurorevisionists, and other such theories.

As we see, we are facing many enemies whom we must fight together in Marxist–Leninist unity of revolutionary thought and action.

Our struggle is serious and complicated. It is a stern political, ideological and economic struggle and, in certain conditions, even an armed struggle. On this occasion, I want to stress that for us Marxist–Leninists the revolution has begun, it is a process in development, therefore we must carry it through to the end, The fundamental issue of this revolution is the seizure of state power by the proletariat by force, by violence, because the capitalist bourgeoisie which holds state power does not relinquish it willingly or through reforms.

Of course, we Marxist–Leninists are realists; we are organizers and know that the revolution is prepared objectively and subjectively. Sacrifices will be required, we

and the peoples will shed our blood, we will have to be clear in our thinking, prudent and courageous in actions, fearless on attack and careful in retreat. We must also know when we can make compromises, of course, only when these are advantageous to the revolution. On this question and in everything else, both in strategy and tactics, we are guided by Marxism–Leninism.

We must take full account of the political circumstances, clearly discern the splits in the ranks of the enemies and exploit them in favour of the revolution and erode the material, political and military power of the enemies.

World capitalism, social–democracy and modern revisionism have always fought, distorted and misrepresented proletarian internationalism, the collaboration of communists, and the unity of thought and action of the communist and workers'

parties. On us, the Marxist–Leninist parties, devolves the urgent task of putting all these things on the right road.

The so–called joint meetings which social–democracy, modern revisionism hold from time to time are worthless, formal, and are held to feel the pulse of the partners who take part in them. At these meetings each participant aims to benefit himself at the expense of the others. Of course, we Marxist–Leninists need meetings, but we have no need for meetings just for the sake of meetings, fruitless meetings, meetings which allegedly affirm our existence. First of all, we need meetings to exchange experience, to co–ordinate the cardinal actions for a given situation, we need meetings of a militant character in which unity prevails and not meetings in order to quarrel and split.

The holding of these meetings depends on

the seriousness of the parties, on the problems which require joint solutions, as well as on the moments when these solutions should be applied. Therefore, we think that slogans about «general meetings of communist parties (Marxist–Leninist)» should not be issued without first carefully weighing up and deciding the problems which will be discussed in them.

In our opinion, these meetings, whether bilateral, trilateral, multilateral, or general, are determined by the objective needs of the struggle, by the need to exchange experience and for special consultations about related problems which all of us face. Our Party clearly defined this view at its 7th Congress.

Now I come to another question. If we look at the present state of the communist parties (Marxist–Leninist) of Europe, along with the good results achieved in

strengthening them, it seems to us that since some of them are new, they are still not properly consolidated politically, ideologically and organizationally.

We, the older parties, with greater experience, must help them. Our opinion is that this assistance cannot be provided properly by a meeting or a communique which might emerge from it, but bilateral and trilateral contacts should take place and these require patience, explanations, and real knowledge of the situations in which each party operates.

Our common problems here, in old Europe, are capital ones, but they are problems not only of Europe, but of the whole world, of all peoples, because no part of the globe, no class, no party, whatever its type and the ideology on which it is based, can isolate itself from the events which are taking place all round the globe or fail to take part in this

complicated struggle. Naturally, the intensity of the struggle may not be the same everywhere and this has its own objective and subjective reasons.

We Marxist–Leninists cannot fail to see and study this revolutionary development in all its complexity, with the positive and negative aspects which it presents, and basing ourselves on this, construct our strategy and tactics.

Capitalist and revisionist Europe looks united, but it is and it is not. The interests of Western capitalism seem harmonized and co–ordinated in NATO, in «United Europe» and the European Common Market, but amongst the states which comprise these organisms there are profound contradictions and rivalries, the law of the jungle, crises, inflation and unemployment, fear of the social–imperialist Soviet Union and, above all, fear of the revolution, prevail there.

The situation in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries of Eastern Europe, which take part in the Warsaw Treaty and COMECON, is similar.

There are confrontations between the two blocs as well as between states within the blocs, but still without weapons; the rivalries between them are becoming more and more profound. There is fierce economic competition, a frenzied arms race and struggle for the weakening of one bloc by the other.

Hence, in this situation there is unequal economic development, there are capitalist and revisionist states which are wealthy and less wealthy, dependent and less dependent, as well as states which are completely dependent, but which pose as free, independent, sovereign states as Tito's Yugoslavia, Rumania and others describe themselves. The multinational companies

dominate their political and economic life. The superstructure of these states responds to this structure. In all the capitalist countries of Europe disguised fascism has its own forms and forces of organization, social–democracy has its numerous parties and modern revisionism also has its parties. All these parties are political instruments of capital, imperialism and social–imperialism. They represent and defend the interests of various capitalist groups of one or the other bloc, of one or the other capitalist or revisionist state. Decay, rivalry and ideological and political confusion reign throughout them. All of them, with their structures and superstructures, are fighting jointly in the framework of alliances, but also in disalliance and rivalry, in order to safeguard the regime of oppression and exploitation of capitalism as a world system and of capitalism within each state; they are

fighting to suppress and exploit the working class and the peoples, to put down the revolution, whether anti-imperialist or proletarian, anywhere in the world.

These are the situations in which we, the Marxist–Leninist parties, the genuine communist parties, the leadership of the proletariat and the proletariat of all countries, are fighting.

The enemies strive to keep the European proletariat split and disorganized and all we Marxist–Leninists can see this. This is the main aim of all the parties of capital, social–democracy and modern revisionism. Only the doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin assures the proletariat of unity of its ranks and its allies. That is why the bourgeoisie, capitalism, revisionism and socialdemocracy pervert, distort, fight and deny Marxism–Leninism.

In these conditions our primary task is to

defend Marxism–Leninism, to apply it correctly in revolutionary ways in the conditions of each country, but not in isolation from the struggle of other peoples, to make correct analyses of particular and general situations and to form alliances while safeguarding the individuality of the Marxist– Leninist party. This is the principle of our struggle from which we must not budge, because only in this way can the struggle which capitalism is waging against us be successfully opposed.

The alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry, the progressive intellectuals, the unemployed of various strata, and the proletarian–worker emigrants who work in each separate capitalist country, is essential. Without this alliance, in this situation our struggle will remain restricted. In Germany there are many such forces, indeed, there are Albanians who have come mainly from

Kosova, who, amongst other problems, have the problem of unemployment.

The Kosovars are courageous, they have the tradition that when they give their word they do not go back on it, have many fine characteristics which they preserve and a strong sense of friendship. If they make you their friend they will never forget you and will lay down their lives for you.

In order to achieve such an alliance, first of all, there must be struggle for unity of action of the proletariat, which is not achieved all that easily, because of the obstacles which the parties of the bourgeoisie, such as the social-democrats and the Christian-democrats and the demagogy of renegades from Marxism-Leninism, the modern revisionists, raise and the traditions which they have implanted. Unity is strong when it is established from below, from the base, proceeding from the real problems and

needs of the workers, from the needs of the rank-and-file unionists, and in this way, according to the problems and circumstances, forms of organization for unity of action are created and the split with their reactionary union bosses becomes obvious.

The pronounced political content of the demands in strikes and demonstrations in which the new revolutionary leaders will emerge, will strengthen this unity. In the course of this struggle new forms of organization and leadership will emerge too.

Unity, this is the key problem of our Marxist-Leninist parties, the motto of which has always been and still is: «Workers of all countries unite!» This is achieved when attention is paid also to the slogan: «Workers of one country unite!»

This unity implies ceaseless struggle against those who combat it, hence, against the

local capitalists and capitalist superstructure, implies struggle against the organization and ideology of political parties of the bourgeoisie and against capitalist exploitation.

Our struggle, then, is a great and extensive one. It is not easy, on the contrary, it is difficult. Naturally, this all-sided struggle does not discourage us or make us pessimistic, but gives us courage.

Nevertheless, it cannot be coped with by the forces of the Marxist-Leninist party alone which, while standing firm on principles, must not be sectarian or opportunist either in thought or in action, otherwise it will withdraw into its own shell or become a revisionist party.

Therefore, our Party thinks that the problem of the unity of the working class and the forming of alliances on sound foundations with other strata and forces for specific

issues, for minimum programs, in order to go over eventually to alliances of a broader character and more far-reaching programs, are decisive problems.

We think that a mature Marxist-Leninist party with some experience can and must accomplish these tasks.

First of all, of course, it is essential that it should thoroughly understand all these major problems and then solve them correctly from the political, ideological and organizational stand-points, in conformity with the concrete conditions of its own country, so that the objective and subjective factors operate for the mobilization of the masses in revolts, uprisings and revolution. Such a thing occurred in Iran, but there the Islamic bourgeois party and not the Marxist-Leninist party led the uprising. Of course, Germany, France, or Italy are not like Iran, which is a weak link of capitalism and

imperialism.

Nevertheless, the representatives of Islam were able to inspire the masses who overthrew the Shah and not only wiped out his feudal power, maintained by means of modern weapons, but also struck a heavy blow at American and the other imperialisms.

The American imperialists, placed in difficult positions, do not know who to support or how to act, whether or not to intervene in Iran with arms. Armed intervention on their part would be catastrophic, not only for the United States of America, but also for the whole capitalist world.

The Moslem believers in Iran are on the move. Not all the masses believe in Mohammed, but they all want liberation from the yoke of imperialism. Of course, the bourgeoisie, the capitalists, want to use the existing situation for their own interests.

What will happen later? That is another problem the development of which we shall watch. Nevertheless, we Marxist–Leninists draw some conclusions, seeing that the people came out in the streets, overthrew the Shah and succeeded in bringing the army, which was armed to its teeth, over to their side.

It is well known that whoever oppresses others also oppresses his own people. If the oppressed people in Iran rose against their oppressor, then why should the other oppressed peoples not rise against their own oppressors and the oppressors of others? Capitalism propagates the impossibility of this, while at the same time it organizes oppression in a thousand visible and invisible forms.

At the present time an exceptionally difficult political and economic situation has been

created for imperialism and for American imperialism, in particular. Apart from other things, the problem of the dollar has become one of its weak points, because the German mark, the Japanese yen and the French franc are paying for the dollar.

Hence, the countries which use these currencies do not want the dollar, but the franc, the mark, the yen, etc.

The struggle of the proletariat, led by the Marxist–Leninists against imperialism, the local capitalism, the bourgeois state and its political parties, cannot fail to lead to blows between these latter and the proletariat and its allies. Provided our actions are revolutionary there can be no other outcome.

The reformists avoid coming to blows, indeed they vote for and support the strengthening of the armed forces, the police, and other forces protecting the

capitalist system. The reformists are only for certain reforms, sufficient to deceive the proletariat and the masses; they are for their own participation in the capitalist state, hence, they are for the capitalist order.

They describe anyone who rises against the bourgeoisie and its lackeys as terrorist and anarchist. We Marxist–Leninists are against terrorism and against anarchism, both in theory and practice. However, we are preparing the revolution, hence we are bound to come to blows with the army of the bourgeoisie. For this reason the bourgeoisie is already preparing the terrain and indoctrinating the masses psychologically to create the impression amongst them that we, the communists and proletarians who rise in insurrection against the system of oppression and exploitation, are allegedly terrorists, anarchists, murderers and bank robbers and label us

with other epithets which are perfectly appropriate for terrorist and anarchist gangs, but in no way appropriate for communists. It is the capitalist system which creates these gangs, which causes the degeneration of their members and encourages them to operate under pseudo-revolutionary, pseudo-proletarian and pseudo-communist labels. Originally, many members of these gangs were honest people, unemployed and homeless and suffering great hardships, but this miserable life and capitalism itself drive them to commit acts of terror, robbery and murder. In some cases these gangs are an embarrassment to the power of the bourgeoisie, but mostly they serve the bourgeoisie and so it increases them continuously and leaves them free to operate. This is the army of fascism with which the proletariat has clashed and will

always clash whenever it rises in revolutionary struggle. Such gangs are the auxiliary aids of the army, the police and all the organs of coercion of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, it is a primary task of our communist parties (Marxist–Leninist) to educate and train the proletariat and the masses day by day by engaging them in minor actions and then in bigger actions against the bourgeoisie and the various forms of oppression which it employs, especially against the army and the other means of oppression of the capitalist order. This is no easy task. For this reason the Marxist–Leninist party does not separate its revolutionary strategy from its revolutionary tactics. The essence of our struggle is to make the soldier, the son of the people, a political person so that he will not be an automaton, but will consciously sabotage the orders, discipline, and armaments of the

army, erode the power of the reactionary officer caste, refuse to open fire on the people and, at the culminating moment, turn his weapons against the system, against his superiors, and join the insurgents, as occurred in Iran.

In the countries of Europe this is a thing that cannot be realized immediately, therefore, the communist parties (M-L) here have to do a great deal of work. It is clear that their subsequent activity will be easier when the genuine parties of the working class have carried out adequate work with the sons of the people before they are recruited to the army.

We must sabotage the imperialist war. This is done by preparing the masses and coordinating the struggle against the capitalist structure and superstructure with the struggle to sabotage the army of the bourgeoisie. The Marxist-Leninist party

turns imperialist war into civil war.

This is what Marxism–Leninism teaches us, therefore, the ways and means must be found for us to develop and concretize this great lesson in practice.

This will be achieved only when we prepare the soldier for such an action, when he understands this action and is conscious of its importance, when he sabotages the munition plants and depots and the infrastructure of the bourgeois army and when, at the same time, the Marxist–Leninist party through struggle and in the course of fighting has organized the army of the armed people and, at the head of the proletariat, launches direct attacks to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and place power in the hands of the people, which is the main objective of the revolution.

All this complex struggle of the Marxist–Leninist parties, the proletariat, and the

working masses cannot be waged in the same way and with the same intensity, with the same forms and methods in all the countries of Europe and the world. This is understandable and an objective fact. The situations are not the same and cannot be developed in the same way everywhere, but Marxism –Leninism, the ideology which guides us and must guide us, is the same, the objectives which we must achieve are the same, while the forces in movement and in confrontation have been defined by Marxism–Leninism on the basis of the dialectical and historical development of human society. Hence, it is up to the working class in alliance with the peasantry and other exploited strata, under the leadership of its own Marxist–Leninist communist party, to carry out the revolution and take power into its own hands.

Only a genuine Marxist–Leninist party is able

to study and understand these great and important problems correctly, to organize the struggle, the revolution, and achieve the objectives which history has allocated to the proletariat and to the party as the leading and guiding force of the proletariat.

We think that only a party of the Lenin–Stalin type can lead the proletarian revolution to its successful conclusion and build the new society, socialism and communism.

Assimilation by the militants of the ideology of Marx and Lenin and its rigorous application in practice with iron proletarian discipline have great importance.

The proletarian revolution demands iron proletarian discipline. Therefore, the vanguard party of the working class is characterized by unity of revolutionary Marxist–Leninist thought and action.

There must be only one line and not two in a

Marxist–Leninist party. In the party there is genuine democracy within the principles and norms established, there is open and constructive discussion in which the opinions which may exist about various problems are thrashed out, there is sound Marxist–Leninist comradeship and sincere communist love for one another.

Bureaucracy, liberalism and sectarianism are combated, always within these norms, and the cult of individuals, favouritism and other evils and all sorts of other hangovers inherited from the old bourgeois–capitalist society are combated.

Militancy demands great sacrifices, even up to the ultimate sacrifice, from us communists. Not all communists understand this. There are some who understand it narrowly, restricting their efforts to superficial propaganda which causes no problems or dangers to «democratic»

legality and the adoption of some feeble political stands without militant mobilization and without concrete results.

The revisionist parties are parties of «permanent» paid officials, commercial parties which act in politics in the way they run their capitalist enterprises. For example, the French revisionist party, the Italian revisionist party and others have their own trusts and receive open subsidies from the state and secret subsidies from the capitalist groups. Their «militancy» is a facade which deceives the proletariat and supports the capitalist apparatus and system, hence, does capital no harm.

The period through which we are passing is glorious and revolutionary, but also difficult for our parties. Our struggle must be waged with closed ranks so that we are not infiltrated by the enemy, either through provocateurs or agents, or ideologically, in

order to split us. «Mao Zedong thought» is one of these weapons which is being employed at present for this purpose.

The existence and activity of a party in legality and the possibilities which the capitalist bourgeoisie may provide for it to work must not create unhealthy illusions.

We must use these possibilities to develop the revolutionary work, but the party through its sound nucleus can act better in illegality by exploiting the various forms of work which the possibilities of bourgeois «legality» permit, but not for a moment forgetting the tooth and nail struggle with the army of the bourgeoisie which will attack us.

We must not understand the problem of illegal work in a sectarian way and shut ourselves away in isolation, neglecting all the forms of the struggle which «legality» permits, although we must not forget that

this legality is ephemeral. The legal work of the party is known to the enemy; whereas its illegal work, which is combined with and guides the legal work, must not be known to the enemy. The legal struggle must, without fail, achieve certain limits, certain results which serve the revolution, create the objective factors for it, prepare the wide-scale mass attacks against the oppressive capitalist system and its state.

The Party of Labour of Albania is in power. Socialist Albania is the only state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We are encircled by savage enemies who are also your enemies and the enemies of all mankind, but all of us together also have countless friends in the world with whom we are united in struggle for the one aim, for the revolution.

We fight to expose and disarm the external enemies through our correct, principled and

courageous policy which arouses respect among the peoples and fear among the enemies, both because of the good opinion which it creates about Albania and because of the recognized fact that the Albanian people know how to fight and defend themselves if they are attacked. So, for the enemy the question presents itself like this: you may well try to enter the war but how will you come out of it?! The enemy may and does have many sophisticated weapons, but Albania is strong. One of the main aims of our struggle in the international arena is to increase our friends, to assist our co-fighters and to disarm and expose the enemies. We never forget the enemies, we do not overestimate them, but neither do we underrate them, we face them without batting an eyelid, because we are determined to fight to the end, to defend ourselves against them whether in the

international arena or within our own country, in ceaseless struggle against the influence which they are doing their utmost to impose on us.

Our Party is constantly working to strengthen the situation within the country in every direction. We have some difficulties, but, of course, we have more successes.

The Chinese revisionists caused us serious difficulties in the economy, but we are struggling to overcome them and we shall do so . . .

We are also encountering some difficulties in trade exchanges with the capitalist states, but we shall surmount these, too, without making even the slightest political concession, without toning down the political struggle even for a moment and without accepting the smallest credit from them. In our payments to them we shall continue to be correct, as we have always

been. We shall accomplish everything with our own forces, with prudent and well-considered steps. We will always be opposed to exaggerated optimism.

The continuous strengthening of this sound situation within the country is and will continue to be the main objective of our Party. We are working to ensure that the development of our socialist economy and culture and the strengthening of the defence of the Homeland continue to advance. Above all, we are working to safeguard and strengthen the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Party within its own ranks and the unity of the Party with the people.

We are struggling to promote new cadres, that is, to prepare the leading cadres for the future, because the Party must always be young, continually rejuvenated with fresh blood. This unity has been created and tempered and will be further tempered only

on the course of Marxism–Leninism.

Our close, sincere, equal relations on the course of Marxism–Leninism are a vital issue. We must defend Marxism–Leninism, must master and apply it even better than hitherto by fighting harder and more effectively in creative ways for the proletarian revolution and for genuine socialism. We must fight together, shoulder to shoulder, with closed ranks and assist each other as much as we can. We, as Marxist–Leninists in power, will help you in your revolutionary struggle. On the other hand, you help socialist Albania where the Party of Labour is in power, where the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established and the new socialist society is being built successfully, according to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our Party thinks that a stern struggle must be waged against the various kinds of

modern revisionism and this struggle must be linked closely with the struggle against American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, capitalism and its parties in each separate state and on a world scale. We emphasize the struggle against the various kinds of modern revisionism, because this is the most recent and least unmasked variant of social-democracy in the period of imperialism, of capitalism in decay, the period of anti-imperialist revolutions and proletarian revolutions.

In essence, the various kinds of modern revisionism have the same ideological views and the same objectives:

- The rejection of the Marxist-Leninist theory as a theory allegedly unsuitable for our times;
- The rejection of the revolution and the seizure of power through violence;

— The integration of capitalism into «socialism» by means of reforms in pluralism and in collaboration, in harmony and coexistence of classes and their ideologies;

— The preservation of the existing capitalist state structures as well as of religious beliefs, while accepting only some minor formal change.

Although Togliatti's polycentrism has been achieved in general, there will be further splits and fragmentation.

Today we see a number of variants of modern revisionism:

1. Soviet modern revisionism which «dominates» in a series of revisionist parties within its sphere of influence which, in general, are the former communist parties.

This revisionist grouping disguises itself with Leninism, but fights it both as a theory and as a revolutionary practice.

The parties of this revisionist grouping operating in the capitalist countries are in opposition, but they are also making efforts to participate in the capitalist governments of their own countries. Their demagoguery is very dangerous.

2. «Eurocommunism», the banner of which is carried by the Spanish, French and Italian revisionist parties as well as others which have openly rejected the Marxist–Leninist theory and the idea of the revolution, defend parliamentarianism, pluralism, reformism in theory and in structure, reject the class struggle, preach class peace, struggle for participation in the capitalist governments and legal collaboration with capitalism, while integrating themselves into its structure and

superstructure.

3. Chinese revisionism with «Mao Zedong thought» as a pseudo–Marxist, eclectic, Bukharinite, revisionist, opportunist theory with tendencies for world hegemony both in ideology and policy. Although not well crystallized, «Mao Zedong thought» is a theory of the developing Chinese bourgeoisie, which has aggressive, war–mongering, socialimperialist tendencies. This pseudo–Marxist theory rejects Marxism–Leninism while disguising itself as a theory of the revolution; likewise, it tries to disguise the struggle which Chinese revisionism is waging for world hegemony and neo–colonialism, rejects the class struggle, has a pronounced Asiatic but also world character and comes out openly against proletarian internationalism.

4. Titoism, a revisionist current which operates with out disguise against Marxism–Leninism, places itself openly in the service of world capitalism, is the builder of an anarcho–syndicalist pseudo–socialist structure with all the anti–socialist and anti–Marxist–Leninist features. Titoism is a friend and supporter of the «Eurocommunists» and is trying to become their leader, but without success.

This current is also making efforts to influence China, to set it more firmly on the capitalist course, and this influence has begun to have effect in several directions, although China aims to create and is creating its capitalist system in its own way.

5. Various eclectic social–religious, social–bourgeois, anti–Marxist currents which pop up continually like toadstools after the rain.

Our parties must bear in mind that these revisionist variants, which are all on the attack against socialism and the revolution, also have their theories with which they want to manipulate the masses within the country and outside it, on the international plane. The theories of «three worlds», «the non aligned», «the developing world», or theories like that which claims that «socialism is being built everywhere» are opium for the peoples, are antipopular theories which are emerging as a reaction to the anti-imperialist situation and serve precisely to protect the capitalist system from the attacks of the masses, to hinder the anti-imperialist movement and struggle of the peoples.

These pseudo-liberation theories create illusions and try to paralyse the revolutionary drive of the masses by creating the opinion among them that they are at

work, «in struggle», and that what they are doing, or appear to be doing, is sufficient.

Through the pompous conferences, the broad meetings, through the exchanges of government delegations and parties of these countries amongst themselves and the great publicity which accompanies these numerous manifestations, the bourgeois press is striving to confuse and daze world opinion and sometimes even the new, unformed Marxists.

All these things constitute the complexity of our struggle. In our fundamental fight, in our strategy and tactics, in our daily struggle and activity we must always take all these actions of our enemies into account and unmask them openly and without respite. It is for this reason that we must temper our parties every day, must arm them with our Marxist–Leninist theory and must safeguard and strengthen the Marxist–Leninist

ideological unity of the party. In this way alone we can and will find our bearings correctly in our complicated, but glorious struggle, because this is the great struggle for the liberation of peoples from capitalist bondage, the struggle for the triumph of the proletarian revolution on all continents.

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