THE IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL DEGENERATION OF THE EUROCOMMUNIST PARTIES by PETRO CIRUNA

It is becoming ever more clear with each passing day that the Eurocommunist revisionist parties have ceased to be fighting organizations of the working class. Together with the social-democrats and fascists, they attack by all manner of means the revolution, Marxism-Leninism and communism.


MARXISM-LENINISM HAS BEEN AND REMAINS THE GUIDING COMPASS SHOWING THE PROLETARIAT AND THE WORKING PEOPLE THE ROAD TO ESCAPE OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION

The bourgeoisie, too, is aware of and recognize this great truth, therefore it takes all the measures to impede and paralyse the process in which the masses gain the consciousness for revolution, it resorts to all means to preserve its domination, activating for this purpose its agency — the modern revisionists, including the Eurocommunist revisionists, who more zealously (and more openly than the others) have become the main supporters of the capitalist order, thus sanctioning their open and final departure from Marxism-Leninism and the revolution.

In his book «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses that the degeneration of the Eurocommunist parties had begun long ago, but after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, this process was further intensified. Under the pretext of the «creative development» of Marxism-Leninism they turned their former proletarian course and line into bourgeois ones, renounced from the proletarian revo-

PETRO CIRUNA — Reader at the «V. I. Lenin» Higher Party School.
tion, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle, the hegemonic role of the proletariat and the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, replacing them with anti-proletarian, bourgeois and revisionist theses, «theories» and concepts. The theses and «theories» of the Eurocommunist revisionists on the different «original» roads of transition from capitalism to socialism, like the «democratic road», the «historic compromise» and others which, in fact, negate the revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, fall within this category. For the same counter-revolutionary strategic aims and in order to put out the class struggle, the Eurocommunist revisionists borrowed from the arsenal of the old opportunists and revisionists the anti-proletarian and bourgeois «theories» and theses on «fraternization in divergence», the «consumer society», the «developed industrial society», and others, with the aim of replacing the dictatorship of the proletariat with the «democratic state», the hegemonic role of the proletariat and its party in revolution with the leading role of the intelligentsia, the youth, the students and the different petty-bourgeois strata.

Capitalizing on the new historical conditions, these renegades from the working class also advocate changes in the role and historic mission of the proletariat and its party. Thus, the Eurocommunists see the present-day capitalist society as unified, they no longer see its polarization into proletarians and bourgeois. According to them, at present all the classes and strata of capitalist society, and especially the intelligentsia, are the same as the proletariat. The «consumer society», the «developed industrial society», according to the Eurocommunists, not only has changed the form of the old capitalist society, but also has levelled out the class differences. In connection with this, Georges Marchais declares that now «there can be no longer any talk about the French proletariat, but about the French working class.» By means of these theses, the revisionists try to refute the Marxist-Leninist theory on the role and historic mission of the proletariat in the socialist transformation of society, because the bourgeoisie and its parties also aspire to this transformation. But, as the classics of Marxism-Leninism pointed out and practice proves, this role in revolution and in the construction of socialism can be played by no other class or social stratum apart from the working class, for the reason that this class is not only the main productive force, but also a barrier to the ideals of socialism and communism, the most conscious, the most organized and the most disciplined class, the class capable of leading the masses in the revolution to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and to secure the construction and defence of socialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha also stresses that since the Eurocommunists deny the leading role of the working class in the revolution and construction of socialism they certainly give up also the role and mission of the communist party as defined by Marxism-Leninism and confirmed by the long history of the world revolutionary and communist movement. They advertise the so-called «pluralism» which allegedly conforms to the special democratic character of socialism is supposed to assume in these countries. As a result of this anti-Marxist concept, the revisionist parties of France, Italy, Spain and other countries have placed the compromise with the bourgeois parties, their participation in the state power of capital, in order to give a new lease of life to the latter, at the foundation of their reformist programs. The development of events is proving that the Eurocommunists have departed altogether from the concept of the Leninist party, sanctioning bourgeois, opportunist, reactionary and even fascist philosophical views even in their Constitutions. Now these parties, «the French, Italian or Spanish communist party have only the name communist», Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «because the three of them are floundering in the stinking waters of the bourgeoisie which they serve. The programs of the revisionist parties of the Western countries are typically reformist programs, which do not differ from the programs of the bourgeois parties, socialist and social-democratic, which sing the same refrain.» In these programs they sanction their anti-proletarian, anti-communist orientation, their role of active agents of capital, bent on defending at all costs the bourgeois order, its oppressive and exploitative structure and superstructure. These parties try to justify this open betrayal of the proletariat by covering it up with all kind of «arguments», such as «programs must conform to the situation», «now in the countries of Western Europe development trends make it possible to go to socialism together with the other social classes», provided similar programs of action are worked out gradually, «the establishment of socialism and the construction of this order does not necessarily require that the teachings of Lenin on the special mission of the party of the working class be applied, because we live in new times, and because this would hamper the deepening of democracy, the participation of the other parties and their contribution in the efforts to go to socialism», etc. From these very «arguments» it becomes quite clear that the revisionist Eurocommunist parties are for the status quo of the regimes set up by capital, stand for the bourgeois democratic republic, even for the monarchy. The head of the Spanish revisionist party Carrillo declared publicly that he renounces the republic and accepts the monarchy, thus aligning himself with the other reactionary parties in the defence of the fascist rule. This is a truly «original» road to go to socialism!

From the history of the communist and worker movement we know that other renegades from the working class have long ago proposed such roads and that the classics of Marxism-Leninism have actively fought to expose and defeat them. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party can play its vanguard role, can lead the struggle of the working class and the working masses for freedom and socialism, our great classics have pointed out, only when they assi-
militate and implement the theory of scientific socialism, the ideology of the working class, and do not slide into the positions of the bourgeoisie ideology or enter into collaboration with its parties. This is absolutely necessary, for without a revolutionary theory, without knowing the laws of the movement and the revolution, the party is not in a position to lead the struggle of the proletariat, to draw it and its different allies to itself.

There is no doubt that the present-day struggle of the proletariat to transform society is carried out in times different from those in which the founders of the proletarian doctrine lived. But the new times have not changed the material and social conditions of the proletariat and working people, their oppression and exploitation remain, indeed they have become even more intensive, the situation has undergone no change in its content, that is why the movements and revolts of the working people have mounted higher instead of retrogressing, therefore the revolution is no longer an aspiration, but a concrete task put forward for solution. Precisely in these conditions, the true communist party, as the vanguard and more conscious detachment of the working class, armed with the revolutionary theory, is again the only leading force which provides political and ideological content to the struggle of the masses which is in a position to correctly define the fundamental objectives and tasks of each stage of the revolution and socialist construction, to work out the methods, ways, and means for their achievement, to convince the masses ideologically of the correctness of its program and slogans and to throw them in ever bolder revolutionary actions against the bourgeoisie and reaction, as well as against their parties.

The role of the revolutionary party of the working class in preparing the revolution and ensuring its triumph is decisive, because the spontaneous movement of the working class alone, revolutionary action alone, as the classics of Marxism-Leninism have pointed out, cannot produce the socialist conscious-

ness. It is the Marxist-Leninist party, the only carrier of the proletarian ideology which makes the working class aware of its role and mission. Hence, the great importance of the constant Marxist-Leninist education of the party members, of the working class and working masses, as an absolute precondition for the triumph of the revolution, for the construction of socialism and communism. The classics of Marxism-Leninism have stressed that social and national liberation is the conscious work of the working class and other working masses led by the Marxist-Leninist party. They have refuted as utopian and reactionary any opportunist and revisionist view that liberation can come from other classes and parties or from «due reason». Bent on impeding social progress, all the enemies of the working class and its party have intentionally belittled the importance of the role of consciousness, the role of the party and the role of theory for the movement of the working class and, in this way or another, have advocated spontaneity. But as J.V. Stalin has pointed out, «The theory of spontaneity is the theory of lowering the element of consciousness in the movement, is the ideology of «khvostism», the logical basis of every opportunism.»

The theory of spontaneity of the Eurocommunist revisionist parties today is expressed through their thesis on the decisive spontaneous role «the development of the technical-scientific revolution» plays in the socialist transformation of society, which is a variant of the «theory of the productive forces» of Kautsky’s adopted, of course, to modern conditions. According to this thesis, the level of the productive forces at present is so high that it allegedly impels the capitalist world to «integrate» spontaneously into socialism, whether consciously or «unconsciously, gradually and radically». Hence, the Eurocommunists come to the conclusion that the only correct road to go to socialism is the peaceful road which is supposed to have many «models».

The bourgeoisie-revisionist theses on class conciliation, pacifism, departure from the revolution, renunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, «specific socialism and others are the daily ideological nourishment of the revisionist parties. By educating its members and those sections of the proletariat, which are still under their influence, in this opportunist spirit, they serve with zeal the bourgeoisie, help it to strangle the revolution and any revolutionary movement of the working class and the working masses.

For the education of their members and cadres the Eurocommunist revisionist parties use extensively, apart of their own means of propaganda and education, all the means of propaganda of the bourgeois state. They have become today a component part of the political and ideological superstructure of the bourgeois order. Their aims are one with those of the bourgeois parties: to poison the consciousness of the proletariat and the other working masses with a view to diverting them from the revolution and keeping them under the yoke of oppression and exploitation.

Besides directing, the Eurocommunist revisionist parties also carry out their counter-revolutionary activity by means of the mass organizations which are manipulated by them, especially by means of the reformist trade unions. In their programs these trade unions advocate of class conciliation and collaboration, with the aim of serving capitalism and prolonging its life, of coming to its assistance, especially in the conditions of the general crisis which is sapping the foundations of its political and economic rule.

The programs of the reformist trade unions in Italy, France, Britain, the United States, Germany, Spain and other countries, inspired by opportunist and reformist theses, have long ago been suited to the aims of the bourgeoisie. Even on the plane of the struggle for economic demands, these trade unions call for a «struggle limited» within the bounds of the capitalist relations of production and of the bourgeois socio-economic order. Any expression of political protest against the existing order is considered by the trade-union
working people, whereas in the last 5 years this figure rose to more than 250 million. The recent events in Poland show that the revisionist countries are not immune from this evil, either.

TO ACHIEVE VICTORY OVER THE BOURGEOISIE THE PROLETARIAT MUST BE IDEOLOGICALLY UNITED AND ORGANIZED

In his major work «One Step Forward, Two Steps Back», in which he laid the organizational foundations of the party of the new type of the working class, V.I. Lenin, among other things, stressed that «In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon besides its organization. Split by anarchic competition prevailing in the bourgeois world, oppressed under the burden of a forced labour to the advantage of capital, constantly thrown into the «abyss» of utter misery, savagery and degeneration, the proletariat can become, and will surely become an invincible force only when its ideological unity, based on the principles of Marxism, is cemented with the material unity of an organization uniting millions of working people in the army of the working class.»

Against this Leninist organization of the proletariat and its party have risen today, as in the past, all the revisionists and the Eurocommunists more openly than the others. It could not be otherwise, for, as V.I. Lenin has pointed out in his above work, «opportunism in program is naturally linked with opportunism in tactics and with opportunism in organizational questions.» Thus, along with the ideological and political degeneration, the process of their organizational degeneration has also taken place in the Eurocommunist revisionist parties, mainly because they have completely abandoned the Leninist principles and norms on the composition and building of the party, its inner functioning and development of its activity. And, as our Party has pointed out, the turn «from the Leninist norms, which constitute the strength of the party as a steel organization of the vanguard of the proletariat, to revisionist norms, is the greatest evil for a Marxist-Leninist party, is the terrible weapon of the degeneration of the party, of its disintegration, of its departure from its historic mission for the transformation of society.»

Behind their attempts to find a new road also in the organizational field, all the modern revisionists are for the disintegration and disorganization of the proletarian party, for sowing confusion in its ranks in order to neutralize it, to make it amorphous and harmless to the capitalist order. And as their strategic aim is the negation of revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the perpetuation of the bourgeois order, they also condition the organization of the party on this strategy, on these counter-revolutionary aims. Thus, for example, the Eurocommunist revisionists, as they have raised parliamentarism to an ideological and political system «for changing the social order», have adopted the legal forms of organization and activity to the organizational structure of their parties, too, indeed they are the only forms they use, the same as the other parties of the bourgeoisie. Likewise, their requirements for admission to the party have been reduced to participation in the electoral campaigns of these parties, to casting the vote for the revisionist candidates to the bourgeois parliament and to backing of the activity of their revisionist leaders in carrying out their state functions. In the same spirit as these demands, they also deal with the problem of discipline of the party members who are called on to militate in defence of the bourgeois law and the bourgeois order.

Our great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have repeatedly stressed that the true party of the proletariat, as a party of transforming action, a party of the revolution and the construction of socialism and communism, and not a mere observer of the situations, must organize itself in an exemplary manner, must be the personification of discipline and order and instil this into the working class.
and the other working masses. Marx teaches, "In its struggle against the combined efforts of the rich classes, the proletariat can operate as a class only after it has organized itself into a separate political party." That this organization of the proletariat in a political party capable of assuming the leadership of the struggle against the bourgeoisie is absolutely necessary to ensure the triumph of the social revolution and the achievement of its final aim - the disappearance of classes. And this will be achieved, Marx and the other teachers of the proletariat point out, when there are true revolutionary strong, when priority is given to quality over quantity, when, in the first place, workers and among them, especially those engaged in industry, are admitted to party membership. It is natural that people from the other classes who consciously adhere to the cause of the working class, who carry out the class struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the construction and defence of socialism and communism are admitted to the party. However, when representatives of other classes join the proletarian movement, from them is demanded, in the first place, not to bring along any left-over of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and such prejudices, but make the world outlook of the proletariat unreservedly their own.

In total disregard for these teachings and opposing them, the Eurocommunist revisionists, proceeding from the concept that one can and must go to their "socialism" not under the single leadership of the party of the working class, but in alliance and together with the party of the bourgeoisie, not through the violent revolution, but in the parliamentary road, in the framework of the present-day bourgeois constitution, and only with some reforms, advocate in favour of a broad party to which everybody may be admitted, people not only with bourgeois left-overs, but even with religious beliefs and observing religious rites, provided they express the desire to be communist and cast their votes for the candidates of the party in various elections. In this way, they say, a great worker party can be created, and it "will compete with the other parties and force the latter to enter an alliance with itself and, together, carry out socialist transformations."(1)

Such like concepts on the party of the working class have deepened the degeneration of the Eurocommunist revisionist parties on the organizational plane, too. Instead of rigorously organizing the party, in order to protect it from the infiltration of non-revolutionary elements into its ranks and to ensure the realization of its program on the basis of the rules, which put the activity of each member under the control of the party and the will of the majority, they advocate and encourage the opening of the doors of the party to everybody, as well as "freedom of action", because in this way allegedly "democracy" becomes more comprehensive, "freedom" is developed, things which they claim are only hampered by "old sectarian organizational patterns." Leninist democratic centralism. The Eurocommunist revisionists consider party discipline, the obligatory execution of decisions, a requirement which runs counter to democracy, which impedes the initiative of the masses and places them under the dictate of the higher organs, or the majority under the dictate of the minority. In this way, these renegades come out openly against the teachings of Lenin on the party of the proletariat as a compact and well-organized body, in unity of thought and action, with a steel discipline, against his instruction that "the party, as the vanguard detachment of the class, should be as well-organized as possible, that it should admit into its ranks only those elements who accept at least a minimum of organization."(2)

Like the mensheviks, whom Lenin exposed ruthlessly for the fact that they reduced the role of the party member to that of a striker, and were more interested in the broadest possible spread of the name of the party member "without explaining what advantage would accrue from the broadest possible spread of a name which does not respond to its content," the Italian, French, Spanish and other revisionists reduce the role of the party member to the level of the voter for the revisionist candidates and of an "exemplary citizen" who observes and defends the bourgeois law. This is their concept of party membership, and that explains why the Italian revisionist party has, according to their own figures, about 2 million members. The same holds true for the Spanish and French revisionist parties. Thus, the opening of the doors of the party to everybody, hankering after numbers, caused, among other things, the degeneration of the Eurocommunist revisionist parties. This is a great negative lesson for the true communist parties. J.V. Stalin has emphasized that even a big communist party, no matter how rich is its experience, would degenerate into a social-democratic party if it tends toward an excessive growth of its ranks and neglects the quality of its members.

As the result of the abandonment of Leninist principles and norms the Eurocommunist revisionist parties are riddled with formalism, stagnation, disintegration and disorganization. The Eurocommunist revisionist parties base all their organizational existence on an inflated apparatus of functionaries who are linked with the party not by revolutionary ideals, but by material gain. Thus, the French revisionist party has several trade enterprises which serve as intermediaries for the delivery of Soviet, Czech, Polish and other goods, from which it makes huge profit. At the same time, it makes a handsome profit from putting its press organs at the disposal of capitalist companies for advertisement of their goods. The same thing occurs with the Italian revisionist party, the revisionist chiefs of which, apart from what we said above, by holding important posts in the representative organs of the Italian state as deputies, senators and trade-union leaders, as well as through misuse of party funds, lead a life which differs in nothing from that of the bourgeois bosses.

Collaboration with social-democracy and the merger into one trend with
the bourgeois parties is another indication of the complete and all-round degeneration of the Eurocommunist parties. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes that «The Eurocommunists have identified themselves, not only in theory, but also in their practical activity with old European social-democracy, and have amalgamated with it into a single counter-revolutionary current in the service of the bourgeoisie.» Both sides have renounced any revolutionary activity, have turned into wreckers of the revolution. They try to sabotage strikes, demonstrations and any revolutionary movement, or to adapt them to the bourgeois order, to bourgeois democracy and legality in order to help the bourgeois maintain and strengthen its positions. In their stand towards the imperialist superpowers, too, the Eurocommunist revisionists are in much the same positions as the social-democrats and maintain the same stand as them, supporting, according to the occasion, now American imperialism, now Soviet social-imperialism, collaborating with them and encouraging their aggressive policy to the detriment of the revolutionary and liberation movement of the peoples. This they have sanctioned with concrete actions. «The anti-Marxist Berlin Conference,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «will remain in history as a conference that publicly proclaimed the transition of modern revisionism to the social-chauvinist positions which social-democracy has defended up till now, that officially and publicly abandoned the idea of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.»

It is becoming ever more clear with each passing day that the Eurocommunist revisionist parties have ceased to be fighting organizations of the working class. Together with the social-democrats and fascists, they attack by all manner of means the revolution, Marxism-Leninism and communism, and have become the main warlords of the capitalist order. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «In order to defend the capitalist system, Eurocommunism labours to raise a barrier of thorns and brambles to the revolution. But the flames of the revolution have swept and destroyed not only such barriers, but also whole fortresses erected by the bourgeoisie.»

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3 J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 94, Alb. ed.