

KARL MARX AND THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS *by SHYQRI BALLVORA*

KARL MARX, THE FOUNDER OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM, HAS GONE DOWN IN WORLD HISTORY AND WILL REMAIN IMMORTAL THROUGH THE CENTURIES AS THE LEADER AND TEACHER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND THE WORLD PROLETARIAT. THE PROFOUND EPOCH-MAKING REVOLUTION WHICH MARX BROUGHT ABOUT IN THE HISTORY OF HUMAN THINKING, IN PHILOSOPHY AND IN SCIENCE IN GENERAL, PLACED HIM ON THE PEDESTAL OF THE MOST OUTSTANDING REVOLUTIONARY AND SCIENTIST OF ALL TIMES.

IN ELABORATING HIS THEORY MARX NOT ONLY TOOK ACCOUNT OF THE WHOLE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC, PHILOSOPHICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND HISTORICAL THINKING OF THE PERIOD PRIOR TO HIM, BUT HE WAS THE FIRST THINKER WHO UNDERSTOOD THAT THE HISTORY OF THEORETICAL THINKING, OF HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE, WAS VERY CLOSELY LINKED WITH HUMAN PRACTICE, WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY AND PRODUCTIVE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF THE BROAD WORKING MASSES.

The Marxist doctrine in all its constituent parts, dialectical materialist philosophy, Marxist political economy, and scientific communism, is not the fruit of «pure untrammelled» reasoning of the mind, but the reflection of definite objective material conditions. Marx wrote to Engels, «The premises from which we proceed are not arbitrary, not dogmas; they are real premises from which abstraction can be made only in imagination.»¹

Marx's doctrine has served and serves the proletariat and its party to find the right road in the struggle for final liberation from capitalist oppression and exploitation.

Contrary to the bourgeois views and the philosophical world outlook which prevailed in social science, Marx eventually found that key which enabled him to lift social science out of this ancient confusion and to transform it into a science as precise and rigorous as the natural sciences.

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Comrade Enver Hoxha has written, «Karl Marx discovered the laws of social development, of revolutionary transformations, and of the transition of society from a lower to a higher social order.»²

1. THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION — THE GREATEST REVOLUTION OF ALL TIMES

The concept of the social revolution, as a universal objective law, as an historical necessity, is a result of the direct application of the dialectical materialist theory to the study of the human society. In no socio-economic order divided into antagonistic classes can the social contradictions find solution without overthrowing the old order through revolution, through violence, in order to build a new social order on its ruins. In the history of socio-political thinking world-wide, Marx was the first to show that «the mode of pro-

duction of material life conditions the socio-political and spiritual process of life, in general... At a given level of their development the material productive forces of society come into contradiction with the existing relations of production... From forms of development of productive forces these relations become shackles for them. At that time the epoch of social revolution begins.»³

It is the proletarian revolution, the greatest revolution of all times, which liberates society once and for all from the tangle of profound antagonistic contradictions, from social anxiety, and opens the way to the proportional and planned development of those great industrial and scientific forces which, on the one hand, are truly a source of development, but at the same time, become a source of social misery and enslavement, and transform man and his material and intellectual productive potential into a simple material force in the service of bourgeois selfishness and insatiability.

Revolutions, proclaimed Marx, are the locomotives of history, and what is realized during revolutionary periods is incomparably greater than the socio-historical achievements of decades or centuries of «calm».

Marx regarded violent social revolution as a legitimate historical right of progressive revolutionary classes because the revolution is the only way open to any revolutionary class in order to smash the obstacles on the road of historical development and social progress.

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For Marx the proletarian revolution was a decisive condition not only for the elimination of the bourgeois state apparatus, which kept the new progressive forces locked in iron shackles, but also for the birth and organization of the new society, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as an essential historical transitional step, to accomplish the elimination of class distinctions in general, the elimination of all social relations and relations of production of domination, on which these distinctions are based, and the overthrow of all ideas which have their base in relations of oppression and exploitation.

The revolution is essential, also, for the dissemination on a mass scale of communist consciousness, for the education of the working class itself, and the social strata allied to it, in the spirit of communist ideals. «Both for the birth of the communist consciousness on a mass scale, and for the achievement of the aim itself,» wrote Marx and his close collaborator, Engels, «a change in the masses of people is necessary, a change which can be brought about only in a practical movement — in **revolution**; hence, the revolution is essential not only because it is impossible to overthrow the ruling class in any other way, but also because the **overthrowing** class can rid itself of all its old filth and become capable of laying the foundations of the new society only through a revolution.»⁴

Marx regarded social revolution in general, and the socialist revolution, in

particular, as the most sublime creative action of the masses of the peoples, as conscious actions of the insurgent proletariat, therefore the creation of a complete and coherent theory about the socialist revolution, and especially about the violent socialist revolution, as an historic imperative to go over from capitalism to communism, constitutes not only the greatest scientific contribution to the history of philosophical and socio-economic thinking, but also the greatest merit of Marx as a representative leader and teacher of the world proletariat.

The historical consequences of the Marxist doctrine on the socialist revolution are linked indissolubly with the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat, the working masses and the peoples, for national and social liberation, not only in the past, but also in the present and the future.

The development and enrichment of the Marxist theory of the proletarian revolution with new ideas and theses has always been done in conformity with the deepening and development of the world proletarian revolution. Stalin has rightly described Leninism as Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

The development of the world revolutionary movement after the triumph of the October Revolution when, through the revolutionary movement, socialism was transformed from a theory into a socio-economic system, was a great historical confirmation for Marx's revolutionary doctrine. It demonstrated the correctness and vitality

of Marxism and the close indissoluble connection of Marxism with the proletarian revolutionary movement, as the only movement which could and, in fact, did open new horizons to the development and application of the Marxist theory in practice.

However, Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, the epoch of proletarian revolutions had just begun. The counter-revolutionary reverse which took place in the Soviet Union as a result of the revisionists usurping power was accompanied with the wiping out of all the achievements of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union. The dictatorship of the proletariat was eliminated, capitalism penetrated into all the pores of Soviet society and established itself in all fields. The Soviet Union was transformed into a real superpower, which pursues an aggressive chauvinist policy. Therefore, the laws of the revolution operate in the countries where the revisionists are in power as they do everywhere in the capitalist world. Without another revolution, identical in content with the October Revolution, the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries cannot be put on the road to socialism. Experience from world history shows that anti-social counter-revolutions can prolong the existence of the old exploiting system for a while, but they can never stop the march of human society towards the socialist future.

In all its activity, the Party of Labour of Albania has been and is guided by the immortal Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the socialist revolution. This

has always been its compass, its guide for action, and the Party has applied it in a creative manner, in conformity with the historical conditions and circumstances, always bearing in mind the very rich experience of the revolution and socialist construction in our country, the development of the world proletarian revolutionary movement, and peoples' national liberation wars.

At the 7th Congress of the Party Comrade Enver Hoxha, proceeding from a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of world socio-economic and political development, defined the fundamental feature of our time in the following way: «The world is in a stage when the question of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a future prospect, but a problem presented for solution.»⁵

The indispensable need for the revolution at the present time in individual countries and on a world scale, stems from the basic contradictions of the whole capitalist-revisionist system today, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of appropriation. This contradiction has been deepened and exacerbated to the ultimate limit, therefore, the only alternative for progressive development is that of the revolution. The crisis in which the capitalist-revisionist world has been gripped for years, includes all fields-economic and political, financial and military, ideological and moral. The basis and superstructure of the bourgeois-revisionist order has been shaken to its foundations, and this has intensified the general crisis of the imperialist and social-imperialist system to very great proportions. «The revolution and socialism,» stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha, «represent the only key which the proletariat and the masses need to resolve the irreconcilable contradictions of capitalist society, to put an end to their own exploitation and oppression and establish genuine freedom and equality. And as long as there is oppression and exploitation, as long as capitalism exists, the thinking and struggle of the

masses will always be directed towards the revolution and socialism.»⁶

The transition to socialism through violent revolution has made Marx's doctrine about the socialist revolution the target of monstrous attacks, misrepresentations and distortions by enemies of the proletariat and the peoples, ideologists of the bourgeoisie, and in particular, by modern revisionists.

The bourgeois ideologists and their spokesmen in the worker's movement, the reformists, and the revisionist parties which are in power in the former socialist countries, have united in a single front to discredit the proletarian revolution by advocating all kinds of pseudo-theories with different labels but with the same counter-revolutionary content. They trample on the interests of the workers and the peoples and aim to strengthen the domination of monopoly finance capital and of the new bourgeoisie of the countries where the revisionists are in power. Regardless of the differences and contradictions between them, the alternatives which the revisionists advocate have one aim: to discredit the Marxist-Leninist theory about the socialist revolution, to strip it of its proletarian revolutionary scientific content, and to offer the proletariat and the working masses the revisionist course, which in content has nothing in common with the scientific communism presented by Karl Marx. Modern revisionism, as a collection of currents and anti-scientific pseudo-theories opposed to Marxism-Leninism, is completely identical in content with the bourgeois socio-political doctrine.

Continuing the previous Bernsteinian revisionist tradition, the 20th Congress of the CPSU declared outdated the Marxist-Leninist theory on the violent revolution and the smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus as universal laws for the transition from capitalism to socialism, and once again dragged out of the rubbish basket of history the revisionist thesis about the peaceful road to socialism using parliament and the bourgeois state apparatus. The Khrushchevite thesis about the peaceful transition to socialism through the parliamentary road became the source for

the flowering of a number of variants of modern revisionism, especially the Eurocommunist variant, which idealized the bourgeois state and ideology. The so-called third road, the European road of transition to socialism, which the «Eurocommunist» parties advocate, and which was confirmed again at the congress of the Italian revisionist party, held at the beginning of last March, has political pluralism as its pivot. These parties see the transition to socialism as a simple social evolution which is realized as a result of close alliances and collaboration between various political parties, including the bourgeois parties. Such an interpretation of the roads of transition to socialism gave rise to Berlinguer's notorious, now bankrupt, shibboleth, «the historic compromise», that is, of the alliance of the Italian revisionist party with the Christian-democrat party, and the so-called «democratic alternative» which has as its foundation stone reforms of the structure of political and social life as the only road of transition to socialism. Likewise, the French revisionists have declared publicly that socialism will be achieved, not through violent socialist revolution, but without class struggle, and in alliance with other parties, not only with reformist-socialist parties, but also with a number of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties which, allegedly in struggle against the oppression and domination of big capital, are said to be interested in the gradual transition to socialism in democratic parliamentary ways.

The present historical reality, the stern class struggle that is being waged in various bourgeois-revisionist countries, testifies not to the flourishing of democracy, but to the opposite. «It is known that in the epoch of imperialism a development of increasing freedoms and democracy for the masses cannot take place within the framework of bourgeois society,» points out Comrade Enver Hoxha. «On the contrary, this is a period of the great development of the forces of reaction, the militarization of production and the other aspects of life, the oppression of the proletariat and of nations, which reaches the most

savage and barbarous stage under fascism. Only the violent revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can secure the conditions for freedom and democracy for the broad masses of the people to flourish.»⁷

Also serving the hegemonic and expansionist aims of the Soviet revisionists to penetrate in various zones of Africa, Asia, and elsewhere, is the so-called theory of the transition of backward countries directly to socialism, avoiding the phase of developed capitalism with the alleged aid and support of the Soviet Union and other countries of the so-called «socialist community», without the need to carry out the socialist revolution and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in those countries. The Soviet revisionists advocate the thesis that in the backward countries the process of the transition to socialism can be accomplished even under the leadership of bourgeois class and parties, provided only that they rely on the countries of «socialist community» and, first of all, on the Soviet Union. Thus, they arrive at a clear denial of the socialist revolution as the only alternative for the transition to socialism and affirmation of the hegemonic role of the Soviet Union as an imperialist superpower.

The Chinese revisionists' notorious and discredited theory of three worlds, also, has the same counter-revolutionary hegemonic aims. It ignores the fundamental contradictions of our epoch and considers any revolutionary action futile, on the pretext that the time for it has not yet come. This so-called theory reduces the tasks of the revolutionary movement simply to the struggle which all the forces, proletarian, bourgeois, fascist, etc., without distinction, ought to wage against the threats which come to each individual country from Soviet social-imperialism only.

Loyal to the end to the Marxist doctrine of the proletarian revolution, the Marxist-Leninist communists, following the example of the immortal Marx, have as their mission, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «to call on the workers, wherever they are, to rise

against their age-old enemies and break their chains to carry out the revolution and not submit to the monopolies and capitalists, as the modern revisionists advocate. The task of Marxist-Leninists, of genuine revolutionaries,» continues Comrade Enver Hoxha, «is to call on the proletarians and the peoples to rise for the new world, for their world, for the socialist world.»⁸

2. THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS — A SINGLE UNIFIED PROCESS

In the conditions of capitalist development, especially in its highest stage — imperialism, the revolutionary process assumes a unified world-wide character. It is a direct expression of the class struggle, as an objective law and the main motive force in the development of society. At all times and in every country the revolutionary social process is conditioned by the operation of the objective laws.

In conformity with the essence of his theory Marx never regarded the revolutionary movements in various countries of the world as separate and isolated from one another. Marx envisaged the proletarian revolution as a revolutionary process on a European scale, because in his opinion the victory of the working class in individual countries cannot be considered durable, without the active support for the revolutionary forces of one country by the revolutionary forces of other countries. No revolutionary movement, not just the proletarian movement, but also the bourgeois and democratic movement in 1848, and during the 19th century, in general, was imaginable outside the struggle against the main pillars of European reaction. Therefore, proceeding from the relationships of social forces on a national and international scale, Marx and Engels came to the conclusion that the revolution could not triumph in one country alone, because in the conditions of that time the country where the proletarian revolution triumphed would be unable to with-

stand the united European counter-revolution, in the vanguard of which were Tsarist Russia, which quite rightly was called the gendarme of Europe, conservative Britain and monarchist Prussia.

Lenin always considered the triumph of proletarian revolution first in a few, or just one country, as the starting-point of the world socialist revolution. The revolution in any country «is part of the world proletarian revolutionary movement,»⁹ stressed Lenin.

Despite its peculiarities from period to period down to the present day, the world revolutionary process develops in conformity with the laws discovered and formulated by Karl Marx. The revolutionary movements of various characters and types, as links of the chain of a single, unified world revolutionary process, have their root causes in the exacerbation to the limit of all the contradictions which are eroding the imperialist-revisionist system today and the all-round crisis of this system.

The unequal economic and political development of the capitalist world makes the fundamental contradictions of the imperialist-revisionist system ever deeper and more acute. All the zones and countries which are languishing under capitalist-revisionist oppression and exploitation, or are threatened by imperialism and social-imperialism, have been caught up in the world revolutionary process. Although the level of socio-economic and political development of the countries which have been drawn into the world revolutionary process vary and, as a result, the character of the tasks which the revolution and the national liberation wars have to accomplish varies in individual zones and countries of the world, the thing that unites them in a unified revolutionary process is the common enemy — the international bourgeoisie, imperialism and social-imperialism, reaction and the world counter-revolution, which are fighting in every way and with all their means to perpetuate the capitalist-revisionist oppression and exploitation of the working masses and the peoples.

Basing itself on the essence of the

revolutionary theory of Karl Marx, developed in the conditions of imperialism by Lenin, the Party of Labour of Albania upholds the principle that since imperialism or social-imperialism has been completely and finally transformed into a world-wide system of financial, economic and military enslavement, and neo-colonialist oppression of the majority of the population of the world, the revolutionary struggle to smash the shackles of this world system of enslavement cannot but have an international character. The movement of revolutionary classes and the various people's national liberation wars are waged with success if they unite in a single current, in a united anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist front. «When we speak of the revolution we do not mean only the socialist revolution,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha. «In the present epoch of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism, the peoples' liberation struggle, national-democratic, anti-imperialist revolutions, the national liberation movements also, are component parts of a single revolutionary process of the world proletarian revolution, as Lenin and Stalin explained.»¹⁰

Today more than in any time in the past the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the bourgeois-revisionist socio-economic system on a world scale, is ripe for revolution, is clearly obvious and, of course, it breaks out or will break out wherever the link of the capitalist world chain is weakest. Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, «In the present situation there are a series of weak links of the capitalist world chain, as there will be in the future, at which the revolutionaries and peoples must carry out ceaseless activity, an unrelenting and courageous organized struggle to break these links one after the other.»¹¹

The universal laws of the development of the world revolutionary movement, discovered and formulated by Karl Marx, which condition the global strategy of the revolution and national liberation wars, at the present time are not in opposition to the real, concrete situation of the revolutionary move-

ment and national liberation wars in individual countries, but, on the contrary, open new horizons to these national movements, orientate them correctly and show them that there is only one way to achieve victory and that only anti-imperialist, anti-social-imperialist solidarity, their unity in a single world front, in irreconcilable struggle against reaction and counter-revolution, will make the triumph of the revolution possible.

The specific features of the world revolutionary process at the present time stem from the real concrete situation of the development of the revolutionary movements in individual countries and zones. Therefore, the party of the working class at all times and in every country must know how to apply the fundamental principles of the revolutionary Marxist doctrine correctly, in conformity with and fully adapted to the national and national-state differences in each country. The common internationalist task of the proletariat of different countries to destroy the capitalist-revisionist world system cannot be accomplished if the proletariat of each country does not establish its political domination there, if the proletariat is not raised to the level of the leading class of its own nation as Marx and Engels put it. In the «Manifesto of the Communist Party» Marx and Engels wrote, «The proletariat of each country must, of course, settle accounts with its own bourgeoisie.»¹²

The fact that the present world revolutionary process is a single process does not rule out, but on the contrary presupposes the combination of various types of revolution in it, in conformity with the tasks which they have to accomplish in different countries according to their levels of economic, social and political development. The differing political socio-economic conditions in different countries make it historically necessary that the revolution in many countries must pass through several periods which, in the end, must lead to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, the revolutions in different countries must be of different types: proletarian

revolutions, national-democratic revolutions, national liberation wars, etc. Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present state of socio-economic and political development in different countries of the world as a whole shows very clearly that the Trotskyite theory of the permanent revolution, of skipping stages, is completely anti-Marxist and anti-revolutionary. Basing itself on the Marxist doctrine, the PLA has always presented the question clearly, that the determination of the strategic tasks in different countries is always conditioned by the concrete historic situation, by the level of socio-economic and political development of that country, by the tasks which the revolution is historically and objectively obliged to accomplish in this or that country.

«The level of maturity of the revolutionary situation, the character and the development of the revolution cannot be the same for all countries,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha. «These things depend on the concrete historical conditions of each individual country, the stage of its economic and social development, the ratio of classes, the situation and level of organization of the proletariat and the oppressed masses, the scale of the interference of foreign powers in different countries, etc. Each country and people has many specific problems of the revolution, which are very complicated.»¹³

The combination of national and international tasks in the world revolutionary process does not negate, but presupposes the development of revolutionary movements and national liberation struggles in each country as independent political movements which do not accept orders or directives from outside. The party of the most revolutionary class must determine the program, strategy and tactics which are suitable for the concrete conditions of each country. Marxism-Leninism has always opposed the artificial incitement of the revolution in different countries. The revolutionary parties of the working class are guided by the principle that the organization and launching of the revolution is a matter for the internal revolutionary forces.

The collaboration and reciprocal support between revolutionary movements and national liberation wars in different countries of the world is a condition of decisive importance for strengthening the unity of the world revolutionary process as well as for finding the ways to link together and channel the revolutionary movements and the national liberation struggles into a single process of the struggle for the triumph of national independence and the overthrow of the capitalist order.

In our epoch, which Comrade Enver Hoxha has defined as «the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, hence, the epoch of great quantitative and qualitative transformations which lead to revolution and seizure of power by the working class, for building the new socialist society,»¹⁴ internationalist solidarity is a condition of decisive importance for achieving victory over capitalism. In 1872 Marx wrote, «Let us not forget the main principle of internationalism: solidarity. We will achieve our lofty purpose if we implant this vital principle firmly amongst the workers of all countries. The revolution must be solid and the great experience of the Commune of Paris teaches us this...»¹⁵

3. THE HEGEMONY OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE REVOLUTION — A DECISIVE CONDITION TO CARRY IT THROUGH TO FULL VICTORY

Basing himself on the dialectical materialist explanation of history, Karl Marx arrived at the fundamental conclusion that the main social force which carries history forward is that class which stands at the centre of the epoch, which determines its essence and content, the economic, social and political relations, and the direction and perspective of development of the society in a given historical epoch. In the conditions of capitalism this class is the proletariat, which Marx defined not only as the bearer of the most revolutionary ideals, the ideals

of communism, but also as the main social motive force which must lead all the other oppressed and exploited popular masses in the struggle for the destruction of the capitalist order and open the way to the building of socialist and communist society. «The main thing in the doctrine of Marx is the explanation of the world historic role of the proletariat as the creator of socialist society,»¹⁶ points out Lenin. «Of all classes which confront the bourgeoisie today,» wrote Marx and Engels, «only the proletariat is a truly revolutionary class. All the other classes decline and disappear with the development of large-scale industry, while the proletariat is precisely a product of it.»¹⁷

Marx demonstrated theoretically that it is precisely the historical economic, social and political conditions which have placed the working class at the head of the social progress and have made it, as Marx said, a class «in the hands of which is the rebirth of mankind». Marxism proclaimed the basic idea of our epoch, that in the conditions of capitalism the working class is the only class that is capable of social initiatives, which has its own interests, principles and world outlook, which stands opposed to all the wealthy classes, a class on which the whole strength of a nation, its future and that of all mankind, is based. Hence, of all the oppressed and exploited classes, socio-historical development has placed the working class at the centre of the revolutionary process in individual countries and on a world scale, making it the leader of the non-proletarian strata of town and countryside tens and hundreds of million strong, which are exploited and oppressed by world capitalism and imperialism.

The figure of Marx as a scientist of great genius who, for the first time in the history of human thinking, penetrated into the essence of social development, is linked indissolubly with the figure of Marx, the consistent revolutionary, the outstanding representative and great teacher of the pro-

letariat, and the leader of the revolution.

The necessity of the political education and organization of the proletariat as an independent class, the need for leadership in the practical struggle and revolutionary movement, led Marx to the conclusion that the role of the political educator and organizer of the revolutionary struggle can be performed by the revolutionary political party of the working class, which he called the Communist Party. The Marxist doctrine on the party, as the vanguard detachment and the leading staff of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle for social liberation, is a contribution of exceptional importance for the development of the revolutionary process, the struggle for democracy, national independence and socialism.

According to Marx, the task of the party of the working class is not just to formulate the true watchword of the struggle, that is, to be able to present this struggle objectively as the product of a given system of relations of production, but also to be able to understand the essential need for this struggle, its content, the process and the conditions for waging it and to organize and lead it.

The party of the working class has as its historic mission to prepare the political army of the revolution, to make the proletariat conscious of its leading role, to temper and steel the alliance of the working class with the broad masses of working people of the town and, especially with the peasantry.

Marx, together with his comrades, formed the party of the proletariat and armed it with a scientific revolutionary program, with the «Manifesto of the Communist Party», which has become the permanent credo of the international workers' and communist movement.

In order to give guidance and leadership to the workers' and communist movement in individual countries and throughout the world, Marx became the initiator for the formation of the First International (1864-1876), which, under his leadership, did colossal work and

carried out extraordinary activity for the preparation of cadres and the necessary conditions for the dissemination of Marxism and its triumph over petty-bourgeois, opportunist and anarchist socialist trends, for the formation of parties of the working class in all countries of the world, or at least, in the majority of them. Considering the revolutionary process in each individual country and world-wide as a real objective process which has as its fundamental tendency the transition from capitalism to communism, Marx set himself the task of educating and preparing the revolutionary classes, in the first place, the working class, which was at the centre of the revolutionary process, for those great battles, for the revolution which was to overthrow capitalism and bring about the establishment of socialism. An essential demand of the doctrine which he created was the active participation of broad masses of working people in the living revolutionary movement. Marx and Engels stressed, «For us communism is not a situation which must be created, is not an ideal which must be adapted to the reality. We consider communism the real movement which puts an end to the present situation. The conditions for this movement result from the premises which exist now.»¹⁸

This is why Marx can never be understood only as a great scientist, only as someone with a profound knowledge of events, history and philosophy, but must be seen as an active revolutionary, linked closely with the broad masses of workers, with their struggle, and with the revolutionary movement. And his doctrine is nothing but the summing up of the revolutionary experience of the masses, in the first place, of the workers' movement, illuminated by very profound philosophical knowledge, and profound knowledge of world history past and present.

The Party of Labour of Albania resolutely defends the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the main social motive in the present revolutionary process in individual countries and the world as a whole is the proletariat. Thanks to its role and place in the socio-econo-

mic system, as the main productive force and the bearer of ideas of social progress, of socialism and communism, the working class stands in the vanguard of the world revolutionary movement and has as its historic mission to lead the broad strata of the population to overthrow the order of oppression and exploitation and to build socialist and communist society.

In order to denigrate the role of the working class as the leader of the revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation, the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists spread all kinds of views, alleging that the development of capitalism in recent times, especially the technical-scientific revolution, has led to the deproletarianization of the working class, which has allegedly been changed into the co-manager of enterprises, factories and plants, therefore, henceforth, the proletariat no longer needs the socialist revolution, because it has allegedly realized its aspirations within the framework of the existing society. Some so-called theoreticians support the thesis that in our time all wage and salary earners, not only the workers, but also the people of art and culture and officials, have turned into workers. Consequently, they say, today we can no longer talk of a special leading role of the proletariat in the revolution. In reality, the development of capitalism and the technical-scientific revolution have brought out more than before and placed increased emphasis on the historical world mission and role of the proletariat as the leading political-social force of the revolutionary process, both in individual countries and on a world scale. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «The working class remains the main productive force of society, the most advanced class, the class more interested than any other in national and social liberation, in socialism, and is the bearer of the finest traditions of revolutionary organization and struggle. Objectively history has charged it with the mission of leading the entire struggle for the transition from capitalism to communism.»¹⁹

Guided by Marxism-Leninism and in conformity with the requirements of the actual economic, social and political development, the revolutionary party of the working class elaborates the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and defines the programmatic objectives of the revolutionary forces. Whatever the circumstances in which the revolution develops, regardless of the periods through which it and the revolutionary power must pass, the Marxist-Leninist party never gives up the aim of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, because complete social and national liberation can be realized finally only through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Analysis of the present class structure of the capitalist-revisionist world also brings out as one of the most important questions of world revolutionary strategy the problem of allies of the working class, always in the context of the strategic tasks the revolution must accomplish.

The Marxist-Leninist theory on the hegemony of the working class has found a brilliant application and confirmation in the carrying out of the revolution and the triumph of socialism in Albania. Under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist Party, the working class of our country united the broad masses of the people around itself in a single front, led them in the revolution, and today is leading them resolutely on the road of the construction of socialism.

The time in which we are living has placed major tasks of world historic importance before the world proletariat and the peoples who are fighting for freedom and democracy, independence and socialism. «Present-day capitalist society, both bourgeois and revisionist,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, «is pregnant with revolution and the revolution always has been and always will be guided only by the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. All the different ideas which seek to revise our great theory will end up in the rubbish bin of history, just as they have always done. They will be smashed,

together with capitalism, imperialism and social-imperialism, by the great power of the world proletariat which leads the revolution and is inspired by the immortal doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.»²⁰

4. THE DOCTRINE OF KARL MARX HAS TRIUMPHED IN STERN, IRRECONCILABLE STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST ENEMIES

In its history of more than 135 years, the doctrine of Marx has advanced on its course in life-and-death struggle against many savage enemies, not only the open bourgeois, conservative or liberal enemies, but also against doctrines which at first sight seemed to be linked with the workers' movement and to defend the interests of the working masses, although in essence they were as utopian as they were reactionary, because they hindered the political consolidation of the proletariat, its organization in its own political party, and held back the world revolutionary process. Proudhonism, trade-unionism, Bakhunism and Lassallism, were smashed to smithereens before the invincible force of the Marxist doctrine. Lenin stressed that, beginning from the last decade of the 19th century, «Marxism triumphed indisputably over all the other ideologies of the workers' movement.»²¹ But the enemies of Marxism now began to change their tactics. Since it was impossible for them to come out openly, the agencies of the bourgeoisie in the revolutionary workers' movement began the struggle against the Marxist doctrine «on the general bases of Marxism, as revisionism» (Lenin). During the whole of this century revisionism, as a political phenomenon and ideological trend, has been opposed to the Marxist doctrine in order to strip it of its content, of revolutionary aims and to obstruct and inhibit the world revolutionary process. All the battles and victories of Marxism during the 20th century are linked indissolubly

with the struggle to unmask revisionism. In this stern struggle the continuers of Marx's work not only preserved and defended the revolutionary critical essence of the Marxist doctrine, but complying with the requirements of the Marxist theory continued to develop it in conformity with the new historical conditions, without giving up any of its fundamental theoretical premises. The revisionists of all hues from Bernstein, who was the first to formulate in the most complete way those ideas and concepts which were in the past and remain to this day the foundation of revisionism, continuing through Kautsky and Bauer, Bukharin and Browder, Tito and Khrushchev, Togliatti and Brezhnev, Mao Zedong, Berlinguer, Marchais, etc. and their followers, have repeated and are repeating the same ideas and concepts which are a complete negation of the revolutionary essence and critical spirit of the doctrine of Karl Marx. Their revision of the foundations of Marxism in the sphere of philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism, their negation of the theory on the class struggle, the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, their complete betrayal of the interests of the working class, the revolution and socialism, have made these renegades the most rabid and dangerous enemies of Marxism. «Bernstein proclaimed Marx outdated,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, «and Kautsky deliberately misrepresenting the transition from capitalism to imperialism, negated the revolution. Their example and methods have been followed by all the modern revisionists, too, from Browder and Tito, Khrushchev and the Eurocommunists, down to the Chinese 'theoreticians' of 'three worlds'. Under the false pretext that they are implementing and developing Marxism-Leninism in a 'creative manner', adapting it to the new conditions existing in the world today, all these anti-Marxists are trying to negate the scientific ideology of the working class and to replace it with bourgeois opportunism.»²² continues Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The enemies of Marxism, both bourgeois and revisionist, try to fabricate and invent breaches and inconsistencies in the historical development of Marxism. Marx's doctrine was not created in a moment like Pallas Athena from the head of Zeus. The consistency and coherence of Marxism are apparent in the historical and logical development of them in connection with the world revolutionary process and, first of all, with the world proletarian movement. In the work of Marx and Engels one can trace the development of the fundamental ideas of the Marxist doctrine, with the continuity of an iron logic, linked closely with the revolutionary movement, with the struggle of the oppressed and exploited masses, as a generalization of the experience of the world revolutionary and liberation movement. Thus, the idea of the revolution with violence, the doctrine on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the doctrine on the leading role of the working class, etc. are brilliant examples which show that Marx did not make theoretical «inventions», shut up in his study, but that the theoretical premises presented by him were nothing other than the reflection of real premises in their historical development. The revolutions in many countries of Europe in the years 1848-1849, in which the working class played a very great role, the Commune of Paris, as the first attempt to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and other revolutionary movements, were the inexhaustible sources which served Marx and Engels as living historical material from the generalization of which they formulated the fundamental theoretical premises of their doctrine. The attempts of bourgeois-revisionist ideologists to oppose the old Marx to the young Marx, as though the ideas which he presented in the period when he was young run counter to the ideas he expressed in the later periods, are distortions and falsifications of the historical truth, of the essence of Marxism as a dynamic doctrine which is consistently developed and enriched in conformity with the de-

velopment of the revolutionary process on a world scale.

The enemies of the working class, the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, do the same thing with Lenin, too, opposing him to Marx and Engels. By summing up the historical experience of the world revolutionary process, Lenin, the creator of Leninism, the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, developed and enriched the doctrine of Marx and Engels with new theses and conclusions, not negating the fundamental theoretical premises of Marxism, but on the contrary, defending and standing loyal to them to the end. Meanwhile, the Soviet and Yugoslav revisionists distinguish themselves especially for their feverish efforts to oppose Stalin to Lenin. Their purpose in doing this is to denigrate the works of Stalin, and in this way, to attack and distort the fundamental Marxist-Leninist theses on the revolution and socialist construction.

The world revolutionary process, the experience of the international workers' and communist movement, during more than a century since the emergence

of the Marxist doctrine, has demonstrated clearly the complete consistency and coherence of Marxism which, as Lenin stresses, is like a «solid block of cast steel». «You cannot remove any fundamental premise, any important part from Marxism without deviating from the objective truth, without falling into the lap of reactionary bourgeois deception.»²³

Marx's doctrine was not left in oblivion after the death of its creator, as has been the usual fate of scores of philosophical socio-political doctrines, which after the death of their creators, disappeared or withered away, and do not withstand the course of history whatever influence they may have had on social and political life when their creators were alive.

It turned out quite different with Marx's doctrine. Having its roots in the objective reality, since it is an adequate and faithful reflection of world socio-political development, Marx's doctrine not only did not wither away and disappear, but with the passage of time assumed a more complete and all-round confirmation as a result of new, more profound and more intensive development of the capitalist world, of

profound revolutionary upheavals, and the new experiences which the revolutionary movement of the broad popular masses and, in particular, world proletarian movement accumulated. The Marxist doctrine has not become obsolete, but on the contrary, parallel with the revolutionary process in individual countries and throughout the world, it is being developed and enriched and remains, as always, the only unerring guide for the world revolutionary and liberation movement. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «We are living and fighting in the epoch which is characterized by the irresistible transition from capitalism to socialism. All the brilliant teachings of Karl Marx and Vladimir Illyich Lenin, which have never become outdated as the revisionists pretend, are being confirmed.»²⁴

The world historical development of the revolutionary movement has brought new confirmations and new triumphs for the doctrine of Karl Marx, that titan of revolutionary thinking and action. But to use the words of Lenin, «for Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, the coming historical epoch will bring an even greater triumph.»²⁵

1 K. Marx - F. Engels, «The German Ideology», p. 16, Alb. ed., Tirana 1972.

2 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 11, Eng. ed., Tirana 1978.

3 K. Marx - F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 376, Alb. ed., Tirana 1975.

4 K. Marx - F. Engels, «The German Ideology», p. 115, Alb. ed., Tirana 1972.

5 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 159, Eng. ed.

6 Enver Hoxha, «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», pp. 286-287, Eng. ed., Tirana 1980.

7 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 230, Eng. ed.

8 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 251, Eng. ed., Tirana 1978.

9 V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 24, p. 235, Alb. ed.

10 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and

the Revolution», p. 173, Eng. ed., Tirana 1978.

11 Ibidem, p. 67.

12 K. Marx - F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 32, Alb. ed., Tirana 1975.

13 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the revolution», pp. 175-176, Eng. ed., Tirana 1979.

14 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», Eng. ed., Tirana 1979.

15 K. Marx - F. Engels, «On the First International», p. 369, Alb. ed., Tirana 1981.

16 V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 18, p. 651, Alb. ed.

17 K. Marx - F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 31, Tirana 1975, Alb. ed.

18 K. Marx - F. Engels, «The German Ideology», p. 47, Alb. ed., Tirana 1972.

19 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and

the Revolution», pp. 219-220, Eng. ed., Tirana 1979.

20 Enver Hoxha, «Eurocommunism Is Anti-Communism», p. 250, Eng. ed., Tirana 1980.

21 V. I. Lenin, «The Struggle against Opportunism and the Foundation of the Third International», p. 10, Alb. ed., Tirana 1978.

22 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», second edition, p. 4, Eng. ed., Tirana 1979.

23 V. I. Lenin, «Materialism and Empirio-criticism», Tirana 1976, p. 335, Alb. ed.

24 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 19, p. 386, Alb. ed.

25 V. I. Lenin, «The Struggle against Opportunism and the Foundation of the Third International», Tirana 1978, p. 25, Alb. ed.