LESSONS THAT OUGHT NOT TO BE FORGOTTEN

by AGIM POPA

Peace today cannot be defended without the peoples rising to a man in the struggle against the two superpowers, against both American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism as the main cause of tension in the world and of the threat of a new general war.

The commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the Second World War and the historic victory over Fascism is not simply an act of homage to the peoples that fought to overthrow the hateful order of Fascist bondage which threatened the whole world, an act of respect to those millions who laid down their lives for the achievement of victory, or an occasion to remember the innumerable victims and sacrifices of the peoples during the years of the greatest, the bloodiest and the most destructive war the history of mankind has ever known. The important thing is to draw the proper lessons, to see which were the factors which led to the establishment of Fascism and the outbreak of the war, and how the struggle against war and the Fascist threat should we waged. These lessons are of vital importance in our days when, with the policies they follow, world imperialism, especially the two superpowers, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and their aggressive military blocs, are pushing the world towards a new, destructive general war.

It is a fact that the same phenomena which led to the outbreak of the two world wars are occurring again today before our eyes in ever more alarming proportions.

The exacerbation of the international situation and the increase of the threat of war, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 8th Congress of the PLA, become ever more acute because of the grave economic, political and ideological crisis which has struck the capitalist and revisionist world today.

The entire period after the Second World War is filled with economic crises following one after the other. However, the present crisis, which began in the seventies, is the gravest deep-going crisis of all. This crisis is going on for a very long time and the capitalist-revisionist society is proving incapable of coping with it.

This crisis has led to a great exacerbation of inter-imperialist contradictions, a sharpening of the competition and struggle between the imperialist powers for markets, spheres of influence, sources of primary materials and energy, zones of capital export, etc.

In particular, with their exploitative, expansionist and aggressive policies, with their strategy geared to world domination, the two superpowers are today the main source of the exacerbation of the situation in the world and the increase of the threat of war. The PLA has constantly stressed this point.

In the present conditions of a protracted, profound crisis, the policy and activity of the superpowers is characterized by a pronounced enhancement of their aggressiveness. If in the past in the relations between the two superpowers, as well as between the two military blocs which are led and manipulated by them — NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, there was a policy of maintaining an equilibrium
of some kind, of respecting each other's zones of influence and of going in step in the armaments race, today, as a result of the general crisis and unequal development, the policy of confrontation and disequilibrium is prevailing, with reactions and consequences which cannot be foreseen. Hence, there exists a state of imbalance fraught with the threat of armed conflicts which can lead mankind to a general imperialist war.

An expression and, at the same time, a result of the increased aggressiveness of the superpowers, and world imperialism, in general, is the feverish militarization of the economy and the frenzied armaments race, which is expressed either in the quantitative and qualitative development of missiles and nuclear weapons or in the build-up and sophistication of the so-called conventional armaments. This constitutes one of the more characteristic phenomena of our times. The military budgets of the two superpowers are growing to unheard-of proportions from one year to the other. The military budget of the USA has risen from 114 billion dollars in 1947 to 232 billion dollars in 1990, and from 265 billion dollars in 1984 it will go up to about 314 billion dollars in the financial year 1985-1986. The military budget of the Soviet social-imperialists has grown to similar proportions and at similar rates, as it clearly emerges from the statements of the Soviet leaders to the effect that they have never allowed nor will they ever allow the USA to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union. Such military expenditure in time of peace is unexampled in world history and there is nothing in the past that can be compared to it.

The aggressive and war-mongering nature and policy of world imperialism, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism in particular, is clearly expressed, among other things, in the creation of "hot zones" and the outbreak of local wars which are stirred up by the superpowers and the other imperialist powers to further their expansionist aims, to create pretexts for their presence or intervention, to stomp out the revolutionary and liberation movements in different countries and zones, to maintain a state of tension and to pave the road for the profitable armaments trade. Local wars are, at the same time, used as some kind of "security valve", a means of reducing tensions between the superpowers, so as, for the time being, neither of them will have to set out on a course of global confrontation which might have catastrophic consequences for themselves, in the first place. However, as Comrade Enver Hoxha said, "local wars prepare the ground for aggressors to unleash wars on a broader scale, they are tactical moves of the general strategy of the imperialists for a global imperialist war."!

In many of its documents and materials, the Party of Labour of Albania has forcefully drawn the attention to these alarming phenomena which are fraught with the real threat of a new world war which, in the conditions of the existence of modern weapons of unimaginable destructive power, could have extremely grave consequences for the whole mankind.

The period before the Second World War was characterized by the advent to power of fascism in some countries, by the establishment of the most savage dictatorship of the bourgeoisie bent on putting down by violence the revolutionary movement of the masses and enslaving other peoples. In our time, in the conditions of the deep-going and all-round crisis which has the whole world capital-revisionist system in its grip, of the great exacerbation of all internal and external contradictions of capitalism, there is a clear tendency to the resuscitation of fascism and the establishment of fascist dictatorships. As the 8th Congress of the PLA pointed out, fascism is knocking at the door of many countries. This is seen, among other things, in the fascination of the state apparatus, the adoption of anti-worker laws and the enforcement of repressive military-policemen measures against strikes, movements of protest, etc., the revival of neo-fascist forces and different terrorist groups regardless of their eventual "Leftist" labels, the establishment of open military-fascist dictatorship in several countries, or social-fascist regimes in a number of countries ruled by the revisionists. In particular, the policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism is assuming ever more essentially fascist features with each passing day.

So, the facts prove that today fascism, although in forms different from those of Hitler and Mussolini, hangs menacingly over many countries and may take advantage of the further exacerbation of the crisis of the capitalist order and the preparations for a new imperialist general war. This is a real and not imaginary threat which calls for high vigilance and resolute actions on the part of the peoples and revolutionary forces to stop it.

As the experience shows, the two world wars broke out also as a result of the venturesome course of the war-mongering imperialist circles in power, with their wrong calculations and their hopes and illusions about the possibility of circumventing the war in space and time, of the achievement of an easy and rapid victory. In our time, too, we are seeing that,
going by their aggressor and war-mongering logic, the imperialist and social-imperialist ruling circles are making miscalculations which lead them to dangerous confrontations up to the unleashing of a new destructive world configuration.

By following the line of fierce confrontation with the Soviet social-imperialists and by deploying American missiles in Western Europe, the Reagan administration stakes on a war between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO on European territory, away from the shores of America. As Comrade Enver Hoxha indicates, the Chinese social-imperialists, too, want a head-on collision between the United States of America and the Soviet Union in Europe. Good sense, however, suggests that such calculations are only dangerous illusions for those who make them, in the first place, as well as the world in general, which may be hurled into a general conflict with extremely grave consequences for mankind.

It is publicly known now that the Pentagon and NATO have worked out a number of military-strategic doctrines, theories and plans which go under different denominations — «flexible reply», «first strike», «air-land battle», «Rogers plan», «star war», etc., but which are all based on a common calculation: to achieve victory in an eventual war by means of a first or unilateral strike, giving the adversary no possibility or time to reply. The Soviet social-imperialists, too, base themselves on the plan of dealing their adversary a shattering blow, which is clearly evident from both the speeches of their leaders and their official declarations, when they say that they have all the means to carry such a threat into effect.

By pushing the world towards a new war, world imperialism and social-imperialism, especially the two superpowers, intend — and this is not the least important part of their plans, to deal a shattering blow at the revolution and the liberation struggles of the peoples, so as to ensure «tranquility» for their rule over the workers and peoples. However, their calculations are destined to failure. Neither police and fascist oppression, nor social demagogy, nor imperialist war can alter the laws of history, can eliminate the class and liberation struggles from the life of society divided into antagonistic classes, or save capitalism and imperialism from their inevitable doom.

The Marxist-Leninists hold that, as long as imperialism exists, different wars — unjust wars of oppression, aggression and plunder unleashed by the imperialists, as well as just revolutionary and liberation wars, are inevitable. Referring to unjust imperialist wars, Lenin emphasized: «The proletariat fights and will always resolutely fight against war, without, at the same time, forgetting for a moment that wars can be eliminated only when the whole division of society into classes is eliminated.»

Hence, the conclusion that if, in general, wars are inevitable as long as imperialism exists, this does not mean in the least that this or that concrete war cannot be avoided or prevented, otherwise the struggle of the proletariat and the peoples against war would be meaningless. There are many historical facts to prove this. From this standpoint, a new world war in the present time is not a fatality, but only a possibility.

On this question our Party has refuted both the prechings of the Soviet and other revisionists to the effect that world wars can be totally excluded from the life of human society even before the collapse of imperialism which engenders them, preachings intended to negate the absolute necessity of the revolution and the overthrow of capitalism as the only real road to eliminate wars from human society, as well as the thesis of the Chinese revisionists on the inevitability of a new world war in the present time, which serves them to justify their venalente policy of stirring up a war between American imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism. The imperialists and social-imperialists head for war, but they are not completely free to act as they wish. But what is to be done, Comrade Enver Hoxha asked, to stay the hand of the imperialist warmongers?

«This cannot be achieved through a course of capitulation and submission to imperialist warmongers, or by toning down the struggle against them. The facts have proved that the unprincipled compromises and concessions of the Khrushchevite revisionists did not make American imperialism any tamer, better behaved, or more peaceful, but on the contrary, they made it more arrogant and voracious. But the Marxist-Leninists are not for pitting one imperialist state or grouping against the other, nor do they call for imperialist wars, for it is the peoples who suffer in them... Marxist-Leninists have always been and are the most determined opponents of unjust wars.»

The Party of Labour of Albania has stressed many a time that for avoiding and preventing the outbreak of a new imperialist world war and ensuring peace, it is necessary to free the minds of peace-loving peoples from a number of complexes and preconceptions which continue to be encouraged by
imperialism and world reaction, the two most dangerous enemies of peace and security — American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, in the first place.

Historical experience teaches us to reject the doctrine of the superpowers based on the «policy from position of strength» as a means supposed to avoid the threat of war and ensure peace. Such is today Reagan's doctrine of achieving superiority over America's rival, Soviet social-imperialism, through the armaments race and talks from positions of strength, which must bring it to its senses and prevent it from embarking on an aggressive course and, in this manner, ensure peace and security in the world. The same, in essence, is the doctrine of the Soviet social-imperialists on the so-called «military strategical parity» between the two superpowers and their two military blocs, which Soviet and pro-Soviet propaganda advertises as «a decisive premise for peaceful coexistence and the prevention of a nuclear war, the factor which enabled Europe to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War in conditions of peace», a powerful means to contain the aggressive circles of imperialism from a nuclear adventure, etc. As is seen, here we have to do with the same imperialistic lie intended to deceive the peoples, to justify the frenzied armaments race and the aggressive and warmongering policy of the superpowers.

It is clear that a policy built on these concepts («from positions of strength», etc.) is a dangerous policy of balancing on the brink of war which may easily lead to an actual war. Dealing with these imperialist concepts at the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha forcefully stressed: «The People's Republic of Albania does not accept and publicly exposes the so-called theory about the need to preserve the «balance between the superpowers» as a condition or basis to avoid war and defend peace. Peace and international security in Europe and in the world are not achieved through the establishment of «harmony» or balance between the superpowers, but through struggle against imperialist pressures and intervention, through the effort for the liberation of the peoples, through the strengthening of national independence and sovereignty.»

Our Party has also rejected and exposed the American-Soviet imperialist doctrine of «umbrella talks» between the two superpowers as an effective means and guarantee for preventing war and ensuring peace. The essence of this doctrine is that the peoples should leave their fate and that of the whole world, the fate of peace and international security, in the hands of the superpowers and put themselves under the «protective umbrella» of either superpower. But it is common knowledge that the two superpowers, the American imperialism and the Soviet social-imperialism, are the main cause of international tension, that they are leading the world towards a new general holocaust. The so-called disarmament talks of the two superpowers are a great bluff and utter deception.

Everyday that goes by proves true with new facts that the clamour of the two superpowers about disarmament, their interminable plans and projects, their never-ending conferences and talks are only a smokescreen to cover up and justify their armaments race. In the reality, in their talks there is no question about real disarmament, but only about an equilibrium between the two superpowers which, armed to the teeth, want to maintain their nuclear monopoly to the detriment of other countries which in this way remain at the mercy of the superpowers and have to submit to their nuclear blackmail. These countries are left with the «consolation» that the superpowers will eventually pledge their «word of honour», that they will not employ their nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries in whose territories there are no such weapons.

But it is known what the pledges and commitments of the superpowers are worth. Their policy and actions are characterized by perfidy and the unscrupulous violation of agreements and pledges. Everyday we hear the two superpowers accusing each other of the violation of the agreements reached on this or that kind of armaments. They need these accusations to justify the continuation of their frenzied armaments race.

One of the historical lessons of the Second World War is precisely that the talks and agreements between the imperialist powers about disarmament, peace and international security have led only to the preparation and unleashing of aggressions and wars. This lesson should never be forgotten. Our Party adheres firmly to the thesis, whose correctness has been proved by the experience of many years, that both when the two superpowers come together and reach an understanding and when they compete and quarrel with each other, it is others that pay the bill.

Faced with the mighty upsurge of world opinion against the nuclear armaments race of the superpowers, these are forced to embark on an all-out demagogical campaign for nuclear disarmament. However, imperialism, the superpowers and their agents, such as the modern revisionists and others, try to propagate the
idea as if only the nuclear armaments pose a threat to mankind, while passing in silence or covering up their unrestrained competition in conventional armaments and the danger threatening the peoples, the whole mankind from the outbreak of wars waged with this kind of weapons. It is absolutely necessary to refute this idea which is supported by the aggressive and war-mongering forces, too.

It is clear that the preparations of the superpowers and the other imperialist and social-imperialist powers for war are based both on nuclear and conventional weapons. Our Party has stressed that "Albania is resolutely against war and for peace and genuine security, against atomic and conventional armaments, and for the liquidation of all nuclear or conventional weapons," that "ignoring the threat of conventional weapons may cost the peoples very dear", that "the struggle against imperialist war and genuine peace cannot be imagined without opposing conventional armaments."5

With the advent to power of the revisionists in the Soviet Union, after Stalin's death, and its degeneration from the great homeland of socialism and the staunch defender of peace and international security into a capitalist country, along with the United States of America, another just as dangerous, aggressive and war-mongering superpower — Soviet social-imperialism, emerged on the world scene. In order to null the vigilance of the peoples to sleep and to manipulate their movement against war, the Soviet social-imperialists and their supporters propagate the thesis that, as in the time of the October Revolution and the Second World War, today, too, the peoples and peace-loving forces must rally around the Soviet Union, the supposed powerful bastion of anti-imperialism, peace and peoples' freedom. This dangerous demagogy must be exposed and rejected. Comrade Enver Hoxha said, "The peoples must not fall into the trap of the so-called 'anti-imperialist front' advertised by the Soviet social-imperialists in which they are seeking to embroil all those who are opposed to and fight against United States imperialism. To join this 'front' means to sacrifice the loftiest interests of your country, to expose the people to danger, to become a minion of the social-imperialists and cannon fodder for their ambitions. The contradictions of the Soviet Union and the United States of America are not contradictions between socialism and imperialism, as Moscow is trying to pass them off, but contradictions between two big imperialist powers.6 Peace today cannot be defended without the peoples rising to a man in the struggle against the two superpowers, against both American imperialism and Soviet so- cial-imperialism, as the main cause of tension in the world and of the threat of a new general war.

The road of an effective opposition to the policy of the superpowers is not that of "non-alignment" preached by the Yugoslav revisionists, or "equidistance" from the military blocs, etc. First of all, the "non-alignment" preached by the Titoites is only a fiction, a hoax. Yugoslavia is de facto aligned to one or the other superpower, follows an internal and external policy in their service. The essence of the Titoite preachings about "non-alignment" and the "movement of the non aligned", which have met with the approval and support of the two superpowers and the other imperialist powers, is to divert the peoples from the resolute struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism, to sabotage their revolutionary and liberation struggles. This movement of non-involvement in the resolute struggle against imperialism and the superpowers can by no means be a factor for the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international security, on the contrary, with the illusions it spreads, it leaves a free hand to the imperialist and social-imperialist warmongers.

The acute and vital question that poses itself today when we commemorate the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War and the victory over aggressive and war-mongering fascism, is: "What must be done in the face of the threat of a new even more destructive war to which imperialism and the superpowers are pushing the world?"

The historical experience of the Second World War brought to the fore with particular force the great importance of the powerful role of the peoples who rose bravely in the resistance to fascism and, with their determined struggle, became one of the decisive factors of the victory over fascism. This lesson is of primary importance for the present struggle against the threat of a new world war. In 1951 the great Stalin declared: "Peace will be preserved and strengthened if the peoples take the question of the defence of peace into their own hands and defend it to the end. War may become inevitable if the warmongers are able to deceive the masses of the people, if they succeed in deceiving them and throwing them into a new world war."6

Hence, it is necessary for the peoples to sharpen their vigilance and rise in resolute actions to lay the hand of the imperialist and social-imperialist warmongers. Not the pacifist illusions spread by the war-mongering forces to lull the peoples to sleep, not the hopes on talks and agreements
between American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism which conspire against the peoples, not resilience on this or that superpower and their military blocs or the other imperialist powers, but the blow-for-blow struggle against imperialism, the two superpowers, in the first place, and the other imperialist powers so as to prevent them from leading the world into a new holocaust, that is what is required in the present time. Comrade Enver Hoxha said, "The important thing is that the peoples do not fall into fatalism, become passive observers and be caught unawares; they must be prepared for the worst and fight to prevent it from occurring."

The struggles and efforts of the working class and the masses of the working people of the freedom-loving peoples, of the revolutionary, patriotic, democratic and peace-loving forces, their resistance to the aggressive and inhuman policy of imperialism, the two superpowers, in particular, are decisive factors against the world capitalist and imperialist system, which deepen the splits in the capitalist alliances and exacerbate inter-imperialist contradictions, which hinder and prevent the realization of the enslaving and war-mongering plans of imperialism.

As far as Europe is concerned, our Party has made its stand clear that, not such illusory meetings as that of Helsinki or Stockholm at which the superpowers have the initial and last word; but only resolute opposition to American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and any other imperialism, liquidation of aggressive blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, removal of nuclear weapons and missiles, of foreign troops and bases, rejection of any foreign dictate and tutelage, are the only effective way for ensuring peace on our continent.

However, as the 8th Congress of the PLA points out, the development of events will show whether imperialism will be able to hurl the world into a new catastrophe, or the peoples will succeed in preventing the war and saving mankind. Hence, the peoples must be prepared for both possibilities; on one hand, to struggle with all the forces and means at their disposal to prevent the outbreak of a new war, to stay the hand of the warmongers and to foil their plans; on the other hand, to keep in mind and rightly assess the other possibility, too, that of the outbreak of a war so that they are not caught unawares but know how to go about it if the war cannot be avoided.

The Marxist-Leninist analysis of the current conditions shows that in our time the struggle for the prevention of war and the defence of peace is closely linked with the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. In this situation, Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 8th Congress of the Party, "the peoples' war and the revolution are on the agenda, not only as aspirations and immediate tasks for liberation from capitalist oppression and imperialist yoke, but also as historical necessities to defeat the war-mongering plans of imperialism and avert a new general war."

In the present conditions the teachings of the great Lenin about the necessity of the overthrow of capitalism, which is the source of war, through the transformation of the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war and the triumph of socialism as the only real road to save mankind from all wars, sound very topical and have vital importance. Our Party adheres consistently to these teachings. In connection with this, Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote: "Lenin taught the communist revolutionaries that their duty is to smash the war-mongering plans of imperialism and prevent the outbreak of war. If they cannot achieve this, then they must mobilize the working class, the masses of the people, and transform the imperialist war into a revolutionary liberation war."5

The modern revisionists, like the renegades from the 2nd International exposed by Lenin in his time, try to ignore this link between the struggle for peace and the revolutionary and liberation struggle against the bourgeoisie and imperialism, for their overthrow. They stand totally on the positions of bourgeois pacifism, deny the necessity of any revolutionary action, make the question of socialism and the liberation of the peoples dependent on "détente" under the pretext that the struggle for peace today is a decisive factor also for the solution of problems of social and national liberation which preoccupy the working people and the peoples of the world. The revisionists turn things upside down, they even consider the revolutionary movements undesirable allegedly for the sake of avoiding the threat of a nuclear conflict. These preachings, however, which take off the agenda any revolutionary task are not only a betrayal of the cause of the working class, but also a disservice to the cause of the defence of peace and the avoidance of war. Hence, the exposure of these preachings is an absolutely necessary for an effective struggle against the threat of a new war which hangs over mankind in the present time.

The facts prove that in the period before and during the Second World War the communists played a decisive role in leading the anti-fascist resistance of the peoples and their
liberation struggle against the fascist occupiers. This, too, is an important lesson. In the struggle that is being waged today to avert the threat of war and to stop it, if it breaks out, a great role of vital importance belongs to the true revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties. They see their role in enhancing the political awareness of the masses, in making them conscious of the threat of war, in organizing and arousing them in active actions against the war preparations. The Marxist-Leninist parties and forces take an active part in the present movement against the preparations for war and in the defence of peace by giving them correct orientation and slogans, by combating the prechings of an abstract pacifism among them and directing their struggle against the cause of tension and the source of war — imperialism, the two superpowers, in the first place. Above all, the Marxist-Leninist see their task for the constant advancement of the revolutionary and liberation struggle to overthrow capitalism and imperialism, as the only road to save mankind from imperialist wars.

Today, on the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War and the victory over fascism, the peoples remember the passionate words of Julius Puck, «People, be vigilant!» Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great and unforgettable leader of the Party and our people, has more than once drawn the attention of the peoples to the great threat that hangs over mankind in the present time.

As for our people, who took an active part in and made an important contribution in blood and sacrifices to the great anti-fascist struggle of the peoples, they have drawn the appropriate lessons from the experience of the Second World War and the developments after the war up to our days. Led on the right course by the Party of Labour of Albania and illuminated by the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, they remain always vigilant towards developments and situations in the world today which is fraught with dangers. Our people are fully aware of the savage hostility of the diverse imperialists, especially the two superpowers, of the reactionary forces and the modern revisionists towards our Party and our socialist Homeland. They do not forget for a moment their aims to overthrow our socialist order, to enslave our country which, with its example and unyielding stand, exposes the demagoguery and the dangerous policy of imperialism and revisionism before the whole world, proves the correctness and vitality of Marxism-Leninism, and shows the peoples the only correct road — that of the resolute struggle for national and social liberation. So, attentively following developments in the world, having no illusion about and hope in the «assurances» and offers of this or that great power, our people have taken and are taking all the necessary, measures so as never to be caught unaware, but to be always fully prepared to cope with any surprise.

The constant strengthening of the unity of our people round the Party, the preservation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the active participation of the masses in the government of the country, the combat readiness of the whole people to defend their country, the constant advancement of the socialist construction, the mobilization of all energies for the ceaseless development of our socialist economy according to the great Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance, the consistent implementation of an independent foreign policy, a policy of the ceaseless strengthening of the international position of the country, of the strengthening of friendship with the revolutionary forces and the peace-loving peoples, of peaceful relations and good neighbourliness with other countries, the relentless struggle against imperialism and reaction, and especially, the two superpowers — this is the road which guarantees the secure future of our people in any situation.

1 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 39, Alb. ed.
5 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 186, Eng. ed.
6 J. V. Stalin, Interview given to the «Pravda» correspondent on February 16, 1951.
7 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 191, Eng. ed.
8 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, pp. 162-163, Eng. ed.