

# COMMUNIST LINE

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## EXPOSE AND DEFEAT SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

Seventeen years ago, in 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha of the Party of Labor of Albania, in response to a comment of the Soviet revisionists, stated that, "All things have a source. Marxism-Leninism does not recognize that events can develop spontaneously. Hence you should go thoroughly into these matters."

In the following two documents from Zeri i Popullit, organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, our Albanian comrades have gone thoroughly into exposing the true nature of the Helsinki Insecurity Conference and the Twenty Fifth Congress of the CPSU revisionists. These two meetings, and the role of the Soviet Union, also have their source—the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The entire Albanian people, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor and Comrade Enver Hoxha, have waged a historic, relentless and courageous struggle against modern revisionism, standing shoulder to shoulder at every turn with the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tsetung. For sixteen years now, since June, 1960, this battle has been waged in an open and above board way by our Albanian and Chinese comrades.

By November 1960, eleven or twelve parties had adopted the correct position on some or all of the questions under discussion in the international communist movement. Since that time, the battle against modern revisionism has been taken up by countless Marxist-Leninist parties and the masses of countries all over the world.

The Albanian Party of Labor and the Communist Party of China never accepted the essence of the revisionist line advanced by Khrushchev at the 20th Party Congress. In line with Leninist norms governing the correct relations between communist parties, our Chinese and Albanian comrades sought to carry out this struggle amongst the various communist and workers parties and especially with the Soviet Party directly. But by June 1960 in Bucharest, this was no longer possible. The CPSU had "plunged more deeply into their errors...distorting the Marxist-Leninist concept on imperialism and the class struggle;...they organized the anti-Marxist behind-the-scenes plot of Bucharest in order to settle accounts with the CPC and with any other Party which had become an obstacle to their erroneous course. The blame for the situation rests completely on

the Soviet side." ("From the Report at the 21st Plenum of the CC of the PLA of the Communist and Workers' Parties which was held in Moscow in November 1960", in ALBANIA TODAY, Nov.-Dec., 1975, p.36.)

At this time the clash between modern revisionism and revolutionary Marxism-Leninism was opened up. The Moscow Meeting of 81 communist and workers parties held in November, marks the first clear line of demarcation that was drawn between the phony Khrushchevite "creative Marxism" and revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. In Moscow, before 81 workers' and communist parties, Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered a stinging blow against Khrushchevite revisionism, which is reprinted in a special supplement to the November-December, 1975 issue of ALBANIA TODAY—a document we encourage all comrades to study extremely carefully.

"The writings of (Enver Hoxha) explain and make it possible to understand precisely why the Party of Labour of Albania, a party of a small country and relatively new, rose against the revisionist line of the Khrushchevite leadership, why it was able to maintain such a principles and revolutionary stand and take such a great responsibility before its own people and international communism."

Now, sixteen years later, the lessons drawn by the Albanian and Chinese comrades have proven themselves correct. The principled position taken by the CPC and the PLA stand as historic examples in the history of all Marxism-Leninism to the fact that the struggle against imperialism must go hand in hand with the struggle against opportunism.

The recent 25th Congress of the CPSU is just one more vicious chapter in the history of the fascist regime in the USSR. It speaks for itself of the course reserved for those who seek to raise Marxism-Leninism to some more creative height, who abandon the cause of the proletariat for the temporary rewards of the bourgeoisie.

The analysis of the PLA of the Helsinki Insecurity Conference is an important document to study in order to understand the fierce contention between the two Superpowers over Europe. As the two Superpowers everywhere rattle their swords with one hand and preach "detente" with the other, we must deepen our understanding of the

concrete situation in Europe, strengthen our ties with the European proletariat, and take up the call against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism to prevent them from launching an imperialist war to carve up Europe.

The pacifist slogan of "European security and collaboration" or some "international detente" must be exposed and opposed. Comrade Hoxha aptly described the European situation when he stated that,

"it is true that the peoples of Europe aspire to and need security for their freedom, independence, and normal development, but the security, about which the Soviet revisionists have been making a big fuss recently, is a false security; the peoples of Europe cannot agree to become jointly guilty with the two big imperialist powers against their own supreme interests, they cannot agree to play the game of the two Superpowers, which think only of security for their own spheres of influence and the subjection and domination of the European countries, the peoples do not expect true security from the two big imperialist Superpowers, which are authors of the aggression in Vietnam, the Middle East, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere, which maintain their bases and occupation armies in many countries of Europe, and trample underfoot the freedom and independence of sovereign peoples and countries."

These two articles from the Party of Labor of Albania are important weapons to educate all progressive peoples about the true nature of capitalist restoration in the USSR and the aims of Soviet social-imperialism. Only genuine communist education is the basis for communist action.

In the course of forging a vanguard communist party, Marxist-Leninists must take up the call to mobilize the broad masses of progressive people in the U.S. to oppose and defeat the two Superpowers and their hegemonic plans for imperialist war. It is through carrying forward the great historic mission of the working class in general, and our particular proletarian internationalist duty in the U.S., to topple the reign of the bourgeoisie and establish and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, that bourgeois reaction will be driven in due course from the face of the earth.

Theoretical Journal of the  
Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee



# Congress of The Soviet Revisionists

## A Congress Of Social-Imperialist Demagogy And Expansion

Tirana, March 12 (ATA), "The Congress of the Soviet revisionists—a congress of social-imperialist demagogy and expansion" is the title of today's editorial of the newspaper "Zeri i Popullit". The full text of the editorial follows.

Some days ago the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the revisionist Party of the Soviet Union ended in Moscow. For ten consecutive days, during its proceedings, the bells of the Soviet propaganda rang out with all the power at their command to the glory of the great czar, Brezhnev and the glory of the power of the new revisionist Russian empire.

In his speech Brezhnev tried to paint an idyllic picture of the Soviet Union and to present the present policy of its leadership as an internationalist, socialist policy of peace and security. His internal lieutenant and foreign admirers also spared no effort to present the period of the Brezhnevan rule in "epochal" colours, to put it down in history as a "brilliant" period, almost as brilliant as that of the October Revolution or the Great Patriotic War.

But reality remains reality. It cannot be disguised with advertisement nor be made brilliant with words, no matter how talented their users or how skillful the apologists.

The Twenty-Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was a continuation and a further deepening of the course of the new Khrushchovite leadership towards the intensification of the capitalist exploitation within the country and imperialist expansion abroad. Neither in essence nor in form did this Congress differ from the previous ones organised by Brezhnev and his clique: just the same stale trifling with the term Leninism, the same refined social demagogy, the same deceptive political phraseology, the same statistical juggling, the same vain boasting and empty promises. Only that this time the General Secretary of the Soviet revisionist Party had to exploit his entire arsenal of political somersaults and all the tricks of the opportunist propaganda, to present black for white, the failures as triumphs, the imperialist aggression as pure internationalism, degeneration and revisionist disintegration as the acme of unity and solidarity.

Brezhnev tried to dodge the tender spots and the discussion of the major political internal and external problems.

Thus for example, he did not mention the "normalisation" of Czechoslovakia and he skimmed over the growing divergencies with several revisionist countries by saying that "a number of parties have specific viewpoints on a series of questions, but the general tendency is characterised by the increase of the solidarity of the socialist countries". Which are these parties, what are these questions? Outside the Soviet Union, everyone knows, but the Soviet people must live with illusions that "the solidarity is increasing", that "the community is growing stronger". And when new events occur, like those of Prague and Gdansk, Brezhnev has the slogans ready to say that the tanks were sent "to save the community", to "strengthen

the solidarity".

In the same manner, Brezhnev avoided any explanation in regard to the conflicts in which the Soviet Union has been involved especially in recent years, for example, the deterioration of relations with Egypt, the complications in Portugal, etc.

But despite this in the problems of foreign policy dealt with at the Congress, the hegemonistic and expansionist course of the Soviet superpower, its efforts to dominate the peoples and nations, its aims to go even further in its preparations for war, were manifested in all their monstrous proportions.

"There is no such corner in the world", he said, boasting like a former British monarch, "the state of affairs of which we have not taken into consideration in the formulation of our foreign policy". Translated into normal language, this means, there is no question anywhere in which Soviet social-imperialism is not trying to intervene, no area in which it is not interested, no zone where it is not fishing in troubled waters, or no international conflict from which it is not trying to profit. Brezhnev again openly announced his plan to advance towards the complete liquidation of the national sovereignty of the revisionist countries and placing them under the direct control of the Soviet state organs and unconditional subjugation to the directives and orientations of Moscow.

In addressing foreign countries, he spoke, not only in the name of the bloc, but also as its patron.

Just for demagogy he did not fail to say that "there is a flourishing of the socialist nations and a strengthening of their sovereignty", but he hastened to declare that "now the reciprocal ties between the socialist nations are becoming closer, more and more common political, economic and social elements are emerging". With this, he was repeating the ultra-chauvinist thesis which has long been circulating in the Soviet Union and which expresses the course of denationalisation followed by the Kremlin, according to which the national sovereignty in the socialist countries is dying out, while a new type of sovereignty, "internationalist", "supra-national" sovereignty is arising. And from the tribune of the Congress, with the arrogance of an absolute monarch he orders the "leading parties to struggle against withdrawal into themselves and national peculiarities, to bear in mind the common international duties", with the aim of advancing this process which he alleges is "a law".

The particularly large place in the reports of Brezhnev and Kosygin and in the contributions of the speakers at the Congress, devoted to the plans of economic, military and ideological integration of the CMEA countries, the efforts which were made to put these plans on a theoretical basis, testify to the fact that the Soviet leadership is demanding very forcibly and urgently, the elimination of all borders, the liquidation of any remaining sign of individuality and independence.

The Congress also touched on relations with the other revisionist parties, but Brezhnev tried to pass lightly over the ideological, political, tactical and other differences

which have emerged between Moscow and many other parties of the revisionist camp.

The Moscow chieftains call their Party "the mother party", the Soviet Union, "the center of communism", and Moscow—"the headquarters of the world revolutionary process". It pleases Brezhnev to frequently stress the "leading" role of his Party, and at the 25th Congress he missed no opportunity to mention to the others, "the programme of the 1969 meeting", or "the laws collectively formulated in definite forms by the international meetings of the sister parties". At the same time he did not fail to repeat the demand for a "new world meeting of the communist and workers parties", at which, according to him, "the general laws of the development of the revolution and the construction of socialism and communism", "will be formulated".

But Brezhnev did not say either to the Congress, or to his Party, that the meeting of European revisionist parties, on which the Kremlin has been so insistent has now been dragging on for years, because many "sister parties" do not want to be linked, through a joint document with Moscow, do not want to take orders from it.

The "anti-opportunist" criticisms, without naming anybody, made at the 25th Congress by Brezhnev himself and many other leading figures of the Soviet Union and the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe, but which were aimed directly at a number of Western parties, represent an ill-camouflaged bluff. Words such as those of Brezhnev at the Congress that allegedly for his Party "there can be no talk of compromises over questions of principle, of reconciliation with the viewpoints and actions which are opposed to communist ideology" sound not only demagogical, but also quite ridiculous. The patriarchs of modern revisionism are now criticising the minor exponents of revisionism because they are not advancing on a correct road.

But, was it not Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Suslov and their ilk who, at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, brought out the "theory" of the parliamentary road and peaceful transition to socialism? Are these not the very ones who invented the revisionist "peaceful coexistence" between the states and classes as the "general principle" of the communist movement? Was it not their 20th Congress which put forward the thesis of rapprochement and collaboration with social democracy? Who invented "the state of the entire people" and the "party of the entire people" which deny the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the working class and its vanguard party? Who was the first to call Titoism "genuine socialism"?

When Soviet leaders reprimand the Italian, French, Spanish and other revisionists over "concessions to opportunism", they are not worried about their ideology, nor are they much concerned that these concessions "will rebound to the detriment of the parties which make them".

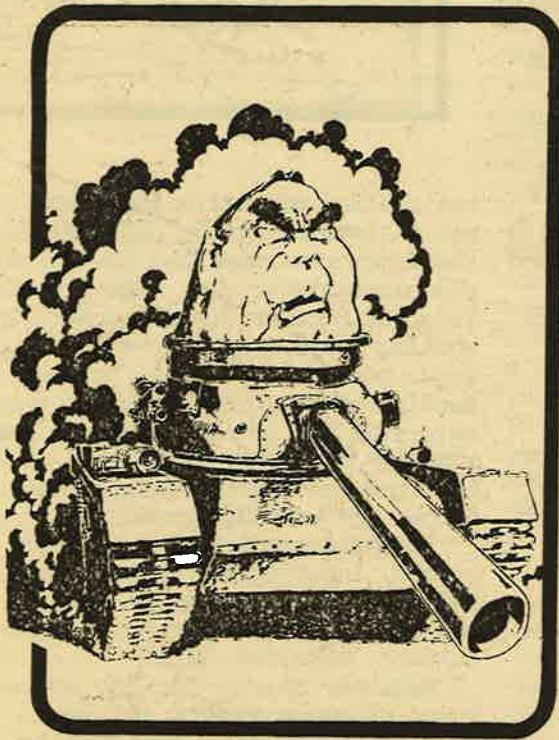
"The tragedy of Chile", says Brezhnev, "does not in the least



wipe out the conclusion of the communists on the possibility of various roads of the revolution, among which the peaceful road". We are not going to stop at this point to say that "the tragedy of Chile" confirmed precisely the bankruptcy of the "roads" preached by Brezhnev. This is already clear. But when the General Secretary of the revisionist Party of the Soviet Union is "for various and peaceful roads of the revolution", why does he deny this right to his Italian, French or Spanish colleagues? What else are Berlinguer, Marchais or Carrillo saying, that is making Brezhnev so worried? Why on the other hand, do the Soviet leaders enthusiastically approve such "concessions" as those of Ali Yata, Secretary of the C.P. of Morocco, who has turned into an open royalist, or Dange, Secretary of the Communist Party of India, who is the most ardent supporter of the Indian Congress Party, a party which has established a regime, scarcely distinguishable from that of the fascists, in that country?

It is clear that the Soviet Union is not in the least worried about the attitude the parties take towards Marxism-Leninism, which they themselves have betrayed. The criterion by which the Soviet Union appraises them is their loyalty to Soviet social-imperialism, the approval and the support of its foreign policy, their submission to its diplomatic gambles. It does not judge the parties on whether or not they are for the revolution, whether or not they are for socialism, but on to what extent they are pro-Soviet, to what extent they support the Soviet Union and submit themselves to it.

The Soviet revisionists want, also, to avoid having the revisionist parties of the West come out frankly, publicly and officially with their social democratic views, and publicly proclaim their abandonment of the Marxist-Leninist science. This puts Brezhnev's Party in a somewhat difficult position, because it tries to camouflage itself with Leninism and still speculates with the term socialism. The stand of the Western European revisionists reduces many of Moscow's propaganda cards to ashes, but in particular it incites the disobedience to Moscow and the breaking away of other parties from it.



The ideological degeneration and the continuing disintegration of the revisionist camp is an unceasing progress which nothing can stop. It is a consequence of the counterrevolutionary course of the Soviet Khrushchovite leadership, of its chauvinistic and hegemonistic policy, a consequence of the revisionist betrayal. The Party of Labour of Albania had warned from the very beginning that the differences, quarrels and disintegration are inevitable for the various detachments

of modern revisionism, that they are like a basket of crabs and the more the time passes, the more the contradictions increase, and the more severe become the clashes.

Brezhnev and others had a great deal to say at the Congress about "proletarian internationalism", the principles of which allegedly guide the entire Soviet foreign policy, not only towards those countries and parties which, he calls socialist and communist, but also towards the new states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. "We, Soviet communists", he said, "consider the defence of proletarian internationalism as a sacred duty for all Marxist-Leninists". He left it to his personal herald from Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, whose paeans of praise to the policy and the person of Brezhnev went far beyond all bounds and norms even of the most zealous lackeys, to explain what this sacred duty is. Speculating with the past, he sought to explain that proletarian internationalism is identified today just as it was in the past, with the stand towards the Soviet Union, and, above all, with the stand toward Brezhnev's policy.

In this way, according to Zhivkov, it follows that when Brezhnev orders the occupation of Czechoslovakia—this is internationalism; when he defends Lon Nol against the Cambodian people, again he is acting as an internationalist; when the Kremlin leaders send tens of thousands of emigrants to Israel year after year, they are performing a great internationalist act; when they divide Pakistan and instigate the civil war in Angola, they are sacrificing themselves for others; when they supply with weapons, credits to a great number of reactionary regimes to suppress the revolution, even then they are acting in the name of internationalism.

But whatever the efforts of Brezhnev and his discredited supporters like Zhivkov and Husak, the counterrevolutionary principles by which the present day Soviet Union is guided, cannot be put across as proletarian internationalism. The hegemonism and expansionism of the Soviet revisionist leaders, their brutal interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries and states and the imperialist intrigues and plots they hatch up against them are apparent in every step; all peoples encounter and fight them.

At the time of Lenin and Stalin, when the Soviet Union was the center of the world revolution, the stand towards it was truly a criterion of proletarian internationalism. But today, when Marxism-Leninism and the revolution have been betrayed in the Soviet Union, when its revolutionary policy, its support and solidarity with the liberation struggle of the peoples have been replaced by a hegemonistic and expansionist policy, by brutal interference in the internal affairs, and imperialist intrigues and plots against the sovereign states and countries, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, an internationalist "is he who fights against the Soviet revisionists, exposes their treachery, opposes their anti-Marxist and imperialist policy and line with all his might".

Proletarian internationalism is the ideology of the proletariat alone, it represents its international class unity in struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, for the construction of socialism and the independence and liberation of the peoples.

Therefore, the anti-proletarian revisionist states, the social democrat and revisionist parties, which are lackeys of the bourgeoisie, cannot be internationalist. They regard and interpret internationalism according to their bourgeois and social chauvinist interests.

Proletarian internationalism can never be reconciled with and is in struggle against the big capitalist bourgeoisie, the imperialist trusts and monopolies, with the suppressors of the revolution and enemies of communism.

It is a fundamental requirement of proletarian internationalism that the working class and its vanguard in each country help the revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation, for the construction of socialism and the defence of the victories of the revolution in other countries, with all the strength and means.



The 25th Congress made it clearer that the social-imperialists want to use the mask of "proletarian internationalism" as a means to interfere and divide, especially in the new developing countries. At the present time, the revisionists are up to the most diabolic demagogic manoeuvres, most sophisticated intrigues and most barbarous plots against those countries. Posing as their defender, the Soviet Union is trying in every way to get them within its economic orbit and through the setting of arms to hitch them to its chariot militarily and politically too.

Brezhnev's theses in regard to the national liberation movements, despite all the cloaking of them in "Leninist" terminology, remain reactionary in essence, an expression of the savage social-imperialist policy. Lenin saw the national liberation movements as a very important factor for the strengthening of the world revolutionary process and as natural allies of the proletarian revolution. He considered the support of socialist states and the communists for the peoples' liberation movements as a duty which was linked with the interests of the world proletarian revolution as a whole. While the "aid" Brezhnev has allegedly rendered to these movements, and which he boasted so much about at the Congress, has nothing to do either with the revolution, with internationalism or with socialism.

The aid of the Soviet revisionists has always been accompanied by political conditions and has always been connected with expansion. The Arab East is the clearest example. They have regarded such aid as they have given this or that state from time to time, not from the angle of helping the Arabs to carry their liberation struggle through to a victorious conclusion, but from the angle of their rivalry with the U.S.A. and the deals with it over the division of the Middle East into spheres of influence. They have considered this aid as a capital investment to capture political, economic and military positions in that region of great strategic importance, as the giving of a loan to bind the Arabs hand and foot.

As expected, at the Congress a great fuss was made about the so-



called "detente", the policy on which Brezhnev has staked his reputation and career. In this field, the demagogy flowed in rivers and the oratory knew no bounds. The colours in which Brezhnev painted the present international situation were rosy. "It has required great efforts", he boasted, "for men, especially those who guide the policy of states, to begin to get used to the thought that it is not the balancing on the brink of war that is natural, but the talks about the issues in dispute, not confrontation but peaceful collaboration".

But the reality is quite different, and people are not in the least deceived by the demagogy of the revisionists. The fact is that as a result of the armaments race, the fierce rivalry between the two superpowers, their persistence in their aggressive and neocolonialist policies, their interference in the internal affairs of other peoples, their attacks on the freedom and sovereignty of the nations, not only has the danger of war not been removed, but it is becoming more and more threatening. The war budgets of the two superpowers have reached astronomical levels and have surpassed the record figure of 100 billion dollars per year. Day by day atomic weapons, are being increased and perfected, new model tanks and air-planes are produced, the number of submarines increase, the variety of missiles becomes more extensive. Why all this expenditure, why all these weapons? The aim of the two superpowers is the domination of the world and the means to realize it is the war.

The Soviet social-imperialists and the U.S. imperialists have always tried to hide their expansionism and hegemony, interference and plunder behind fine phrases and false slogans.

This is still going on, now. Brezhnev lauded the conference on the so-called European security to the sky and according to him, as a result of it "favourable conditions have been created for the preservation and strengthening of peace throughout the continent". But the peoples of Europe and the world are becoming more and more aware that the pacifist euphoria, demagogy and the advertisement of the relaxation of tension represent a great diabolic manoeuvre to confuse the people, to cover over the worries which stem from the aggressive policy of the two superpowers with empty promises and false illusions.

It is a fact that no matter how much Brezhnev may defend and advertise it the European Security Conference was a big fraud, that its product is not a commodity which can help peace and strengthen security. The existence of foreign bases, the presence of the U.S. and Soviet troops in many countries, the introduction of masses of atomic weapons has been and remains a problem for Europe. Can the worries of the European peoples be dispelled by the reassuring words the revisionists say at their congresses, when they are sleeping on a powder magazine? How can they feel at ease when the warships of the superpowers have surrounded the continent from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, when their aircraft are roving like hungry ravens around the skies of Europe?

That is why however many "peace programs", "security conferences", or "general plans on disarmament" Brezhnev may fabricate and from what tribune he may trumpet them, he will find a few naives to deceive.

When Brezhnev speaks about "the liquidation of the cold war", about the "transition from the danger of war to peaceful collaboration", etc., he does not have in mind the efforts of the peoples to oppose

the aggressive policy of imperialism and to prevent war. The appeal for "peaceful collaboration and not confrontation", for "talks in regard to the matters in dispute" is directed exclusively to U.S. imperialism. Despite the obscure language diplomacy requires when it is speaking from public tribunes and not in the secret tete-a-tete talks, Brezhnev made an open appeal to the U.S.A. to strengthen the Soviet-U.S. collaboration and to make it the dominating factor of present international life.

It is not fortuitous that at the present Congress of the Soviet revisionists, "anti-imperialism" was not used even as propaganda. The Soviet leadership thinks that the present balance of forces between the two superpowers is such that the bargaining with U.S. imperialism, to the detriment of the peoples and against their freedom and independence, should be carried on as between equals.

The Soviet social-imperialists and their supporters show their real class hostility only against the Peoples Republic of China and the Chinese people, against the Peoples Republic of Albania and the Albanian people, against the revolution and socialism.

If the 25th Congress examined the present world processes and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union from the positions of the imperialist superpower, it saw the internal problems completely from the positions of the bureaucracy and technocracy. The great ideological poverty, lack of creative ideas and the prevalence of an ordinary empirical practicalism, with which the problems of the Party, the economy, culture, science, etc., were treated, made this Congress a convention of technocratic businessmen who are interested only in the efficiency of the economy, its dynamism, profitability and profits, which measures everything in tons and rubles.

When Brezhnev came to power one of the main justifications for the putsch against Khrushchev was the "urgent need" to lift agriculture from backwardness and disorganization, and he proclaimed himself as the savior of the collective farms. He issued one program after another and he promised white bread and roast meat for all. But today, even the mice in the granaries of the Soviet Union are hungry. Twice in succession within a few years, despite those hundreds of millions of hectares of arable land, despite those boundless areas of pasture and forests, despite those great human forces and that great park of machines the Soviet Union has been on the brink of famine. If it had not been for the grain stores of the U.S., Canadian and Australian farmers and the gold of Siberia, the catastrophe would have been even greater than those experienced by the Volga peasants in the time of tsarist Russia.

At the Congress Brezhnev gave no explanation at all, even as a matter of form, of this dreadful situation. He touched on it in passing as if nothing had happened, as if everything in the field of agriculture is going normally, despite the fact that the local newspapers and radio-stations are making daily appeals to the bakers to make the loaves smaller, so that not a crumb will be left either for hens or for chickens.

Five years ago, Brezhnev called the 24th Congress an "historic" one, for it laid down "magnificent targets" for the extensive production of consumer goods, the improvement of their quality, the increase of their range, etc. Indeed, for the first time in the history of the Soviet Union, the rates defined for development of light industry were higher than those of heavy industry. In this field too, the Soviet leadership has utterly failed. The rates remain very much lower than the levels set, the quality of commodities did not advance, the shelves of the stores stayed empty

and the black market flourished.

According to Brezhnev, the shortage of commodities is explained by the fact that "not everybody has managed to completely overcome the attitude towards consumer goods as something of second rate importance". But through such worn out propaganda "arguments", the Kremlin rulers cannot convince the Soviet people to stand in rows for days on end to buy woolen jersey, or a pair of warm shoes. The thing is that when guns are produced, butter disappears.

In his report to the Congress, Brezhnev says: "We have not yet learned that, (by) while ensuring high rates of development of heavy industry, we must also rapidly develop group 'b' as well as the spheres of services". Can it be said that this is a question of "learning" and education? It is clear to everybody that the great disproportions and distortions in various sectors of the Soviet economy, which have such a negative influence on the material and living standards of the working masses, are a result of the Khrushchovite line of the



restoration of capitalism, the militarisation of the country, the armaments race, and the expansionists course. The situation is such, because heavy industry is working for the army, the great funds poured into it go for the production of armaments, most of the best materials are put into the military arsenals, the main scientific institutions and the best working forces are working for war.

In these conditions only a few crumbs, insufficient to keep body and soul together, remain for the consumer goods industry, agriculture, services, etc.

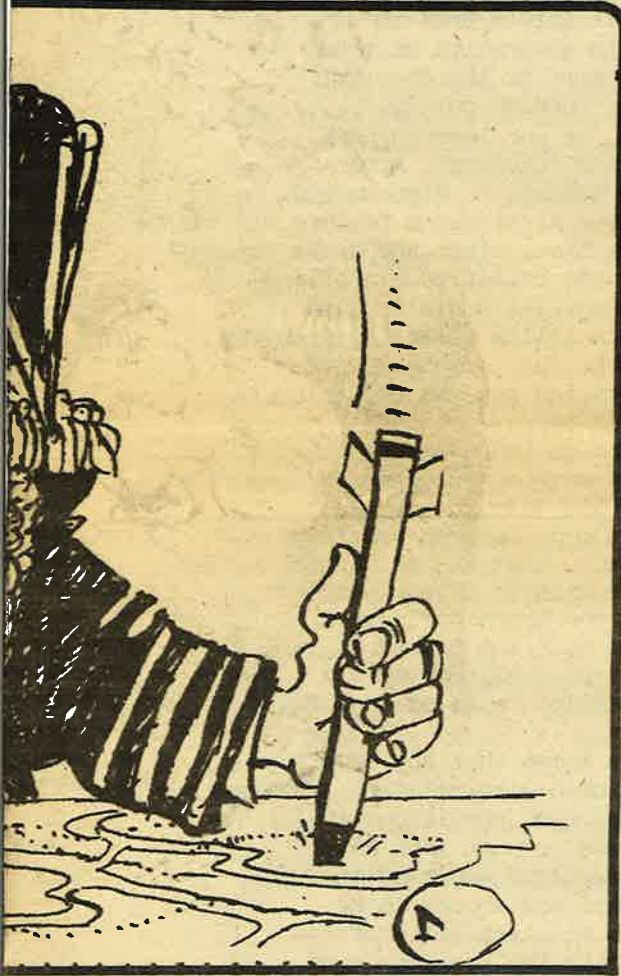
Brezhnev boasts that the Soviet Union produces so many million tons of steel and so many million tons of oil, so many million tons of coal and so many million tons of cement. But, where does all that wealth, all that toil and sweat of the Soviet working people go? The imperialist army and the preparations for aggressive wars are like an insatiable monster which, the more you feed it the more it demands. This is what eats up the iron, which consumes the oil, which burns the coal, or consumes cement, which costs the greater part of the state budget.



A meaningful example of the militarisation of the life of the country and of the increase of the weight of the army in the political and economic fields was provided by this very Congress of the Party.

For the first time, the army sent a special group of army men to the Congress, to greet it in the form of a parade, as the pioneers usually do. With this solemnity, it tried to show that it was present not only as a military force, but also as a political force, which plays a decisive role in the life of the Soviet Union.

Such phenomena which are occurring in the Soviet Union are identical with those in the United States of America. Within the framework of its aims for aggression against the freedom and independence of the peoples, for the preparation of a new world war, American imperialism has militarised the entire economy and has developed the frenzied arms race to unprecedented proportions. This has resulted in uncontrollable inflation which has seriously hit the



standard of living of the masses, an unemployment affecting almost 9 million people, never known to America, without mentioning the increase of prices which are quite beyond the reach of the ordinary people. It has already been proved that the economic potential of the superpowers, their material and manpower reserves, are incapable of supporting the huge military expenditure and unbridled arms race and at the same time preserving some sort of stability of the standard of living of the masses.

The cheap promises made by Brezhnev about "the further increase of the production of consumer goods, improvement of services or the development of agriculture", are simply propaganda, which is repeated from congress to congress and year to year. As long as the course of the militarisation of the economy and capitalist profit exist, the sectors connected with the needs of the people will always go short, and along with them, the broad working masses, who have to foot the bill.

Looking at the ideological and political directives of the Congress, it can clearly be seen that all the internal problems of the

Soviet Union have been reduced to economic efficiency, which itself is regarded entirely according to capitalist criteria and standards. The Soviet leaders regard "efficiency" as the key to solve all the problems, all the difficulties, all the crises they are experiencing. It is "efficiency" which will allegedly eliminate the growing social conflicts, which will reconcile mounting national quarrels and will also solve the many contradictions of the new bourgeois society which are piling up. This is the same language which has been heard for years on end in the capitalist world of the West, where the bourgeoisie is striving through a number of various economic expedients, to ease the crisis, deceive the working people, and sabotage class struggle.

The consideration of the political-social problems outside class relationships as well as their identification with simply technical problems, as the Soviet leaders are doing, is not accidental nor is it a question of methodology. It is an ideological expression of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, of the complete domination of bureaucracy and technocracy which constitutes one of the characteristics of the present day societies of developed capitalism.

On the other hand, this tendency expresses a burning thirst and a concrete effort to increase the capitalist profits through the intensification of production.

The proceedings of the 25th Congress proved in all directions and aspects that the Soviet Union is ruled today by a caste of bureaucrats and technocrats which keeps all the commanding links and instances of the Party, state, economy, culture, etc, firmly in its hands. The figures announced at the Congress in connection with the composition of the Party make this very plain. Officials make up 44.5 per cent as against 41.6 per cent workers, and 13.9 per cent collective farmers in the total number of Party members. But while the number of worker members is somewhere near that of officials not a single representative of their ranks is in the leading organs of the Party. According to figures provided by Brezhnev, 99.5 per cent of the secretaries of the Party Central Committees of the Republics, districts and regions, are intellectuals, mainly engineers, and specialists of the economy. This ratio should also be true of the bureaus and secretaries of the Party branches. Brezhnev tries to explain this technocratism of the Party by referring to the so-called aim of its "qualitative improvement" but everybody can see for himself that the transformation of the Party into a party of the high bureaucratic stratum and working class aristocracy is becoming more marked year by year. It is precisely these technocrats and this stratum who constitute the main support of the new bourgeoisie in the Soviet revisionist party.

Until now, the Soviet leaders have raised a hue and cry about those things they called "problems of developed socialism". Indeed, they have tried to formulate some of them as new "principles and theses" which they considered as "further development of Leninism". They have had a great deal to say also about how they would be reflected in a new constitution which a commission led by Khrushchev and later by Brezhnev had undertaken to draft. But they ran out of ideas and now the theoretical problems have been reduced to current problems of the administration of the economy and its technical aspects. The constitution has been postponed for better times. On these questions, the Congress testified to a petrified routine and stagnation, which only an immovable bureaucracy can spawn.

Brezhnev and his clique tried to give the 25th Congress a lofty euphoric tone and present it as the congress of stability, unity, and security. But the false optimism and soothing words they employed unsparingly at the Congress, cannot cover the grave problems with which the present day capitalist society in the Soviet Union is preoccupied, cannot dispel the worries and disillusionment of the masses. Brezhnev had promised abundance at home and peace abroad. He went to the Congress with a torn sack and an empty spoon. Now he is singing the same old refrain hoping that the masses will obey him and will not stir as long as he is occupying the throne in the Kremlin. But can this situation last for long?

It is true that in the present day Soviet Union there is stagnation and by no means a slight political and ideological passivity among the working people. The chauvinistic propaganda, social demagoguery, the incitement of great power arrogance has stupified the Soviet people more than a little.

But this dizziness cannot last long. The failures are piling up and one day they may burst out into a real tragedy. It would be good not only for the Soviet people but also for the people of the whole world, if the Soviet people were to awaken and see the reality. Brezhnev and company have turned the Soviet Union into a capitalist country where the masses are exploited and the nations are oppressed, into an imperialist power which is hated and cursed by all the peoples.

We would like to hope that the Soviet people, who have known freedom and socialism, a people from whose bosom Lenin, Stalin and the Bolsheviks emerged, will again find the strength to emerge from this gloomy period of their history into which the revisionists have plunged them. The overthrow of revisionism would be a new page they could inscribe in the glorious history of the revolutions, freedom and independence of the peoples.

The Party of Labour of Albania has predicted and warned that the betrayal by the Soviet revisionists will lead to great misfortunes for the Soviet people and dangerous threats for other peoples. Therefore considering it as a great internationalist duty, in the future, just as in the past, our Party will resolutely continue its struggle for the exposure of Khrushchevite revisionism and the hegemonistic and expansionist actions of the Soviet leaders, the aggressive policy of social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism, these two savage enemies of the revolution, socialism and the peoples. ★



THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION  
WILL SURELY RISE UP AND THROW  
OFF THEIR FASCIST OPPRESSORS.



# European Insecurity Conference

Tirana, July 29. The newspaper "Zeri i Popullit" publishes today its editorial entitled "Conference of European Insecurity". The editorial reads as follows:

After two years of laborious talks, deals and combinations in the backstage, it was decided to summon that which is called Conference on European Security, in Helsinki in the end of this month. Not a small number of documents, full of fine words and sweet promises will be placed before the heads of European states on July 30, to sign them.

The show is pompous, but its clamour cannot cover the dangers this dangerous Soviet-American enterprise constitutes for the European peoples and the rest of the world. It cannot lift the doubts and uncertainty the Helsinki Conference has raised in the rank and file of our continent, in all those who really aspire peace and security in Europe.

The question arisen before the beginning of the talks on the Conference of European Security, arising today and which will arise is one and the same: who threatens Europe? From whom must the European peoples secure themselves? Is it that peace and security in Europe is endangered by Belgium or Switzerland, Finland or Austria and so the need arises that they or other such European countries, officially pledge that they give up "the threat and the use of force"?

The answer is not difficult, it is known and does not seek the discovery of anything unknown. Peace and security of Europe are threatened directly and constantly by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, by their aggressive and expansionist policy, by their military blocs, by the armies and military bases they maintain in other countries. The freedom and independence of the European peoples are threatened and endangered by the policy of the spheres of influence the two superpowers are following, by the imperialist practices of the political clienteles and interferences in the home affairs of the others, their neo-colonialist course and their frenzied thirst to subjugate and dominate countries and nations. Europe is endangered and threatened by the Soviet-American atomic blackmail, their military adventures, their feverish preparations for a third world war.

From those parts of the documents made known to the public until now, it seems as if the papers to be signed in Helsinki do not contain obligatory political conditions, military commitments, etc. In appearance, from the formal point of view, it seems as if no one charges himself with any concrete obligations and that hands have been bound to no one. But in reality, everybody sees it that through (the) Helsinki Conference, the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. imposed on the others an international document, which in fact recognizes and admits the present status quo in Europe, that is, there are recognized and admitted the spheres of influence, it is recognized and admitted the political, military and economic domination of many countries of our continent by the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists.

It follows very clearly from the holding of hitherto talks that the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. have not been preoccupied at all for the real European security, but the security of their spheres of influence, of their political and military bases, lifting of those barriers hindering the extension of their political and economic hegemony, the tranquillity of rear lines, to spearhead their attack more fiercely and with greater force in those areas where "gaps" are created or where the revolution and liberation struggles of the peoples are being waged.

Which is the profit of the European people, which is the profit of the general peace?

Has it perhaps become easier now, with "European Security" the domination of Soviet revisionists on East Europe? Did the Soviet troops withdraw from there? Did their political, economic and military integration into the Soviet Union cease? Did Moscow's pressure on the national culture of those countries and the attack against their national traditions ease?

Is it that with the European Conference the suffocating pressures of the U.S.A. on the West European countries will ease, the interference of beyond Atlantic monopolies in their home affairs will cease, is it that they will avoid inflation and crisis imported from America?

The Helsinki Conference brings but (fine) sounding words and false illusions. It happened what we had long since warned and that was clearly expressed in the Statement of the Government of the Peoples Republic of Albania, that the two superpowers will try to turn the Conference on European Security into a means to spread their liberal-pacifist spirit that allegedly, today all the world problems, international class conflicts, can be solved through "peaceful" talks and "personal contacts", that the present Soviet and U.S. chieftains are men of peace and work for peace.

The Helsinki table is U.S.-Soviet the others pay the expenditure. The documents to be signed there do not reflect in the least the interests, wishes and worries of European peoples. It came out that the hope of those who thought that the Conference on European Security would strengthen the independence of some countries who are under the domination and influence of the Soviet Union or the U.S.A., that it would encourage some others for autonomy, was only an illusion, an empty hope. Facts proved that in setting the objectives of the Conference, in working out the projects, in formulating the theses and concepts, the weight of other participant states has been very small and their role is a minimum. The superpowers talked and decided on the Conference outside it in the bilateral meetings, not only out of the reach of eyes and ears of the others, but also against the interests of the others. Even the final date of the conference was decided only after Gromyko and Kissinger talked in Geneva.

Now when the two superpowers are in the grip of grave crises and have suffered all round failures, when the anti-American and anti-social-imperialist wave is rising in the world, they feel very much the need of supporting each other. Especially the Brezhnev

clique feels it, the initiator of this Conference, which has linked "European Security", "detente", with its personal political destiny. It must go to the 25th Congress of the Soviet revisionist Party, foreseen for the beginning of the coming year, with a "success", to show that its foreign policy is "listened to" and "respected". Through diplomatic manoeuvres it is aiming at consolidating its positions within and in the satellite countries to assume a new impetus to follow the hegemonistic policy in other regions.

The conclusion of the Helsinki Conference is seen by Brezhnev also as a favorable condition to summon soon the conference of the European revisionist parties and to turn it into a tool to strengthen its domination on them, to bind them more to the charriot of the Soviet foreign policy.

The U.S.A. is not less in need of a diplomatic "success". After the shameful defeats in Vietnam and Cambodia, after Kissinger's failure in the Middle East, after the great weakening of the belief of its allies in it, U.S. imperialism is in need of raising its fallen political prestige and through the fear of the Soviet-U.S. collaboration set the order in the shaken alliances.

Ford turned on the green light for the Conference on European Security because in this way he will help the pro-American Brezhnev group in Moscow, just as the clique ruling in the Kremlin at present prefers that the Nixonian line of rapprochement with the Soviet Union Ford follows, be continued by the new administration to be elected the coming year.

It is well known that any security is closely linked with military aspects, with that what real conditions it offers to avoid or push back an eventual aggression. But why the superpowers did not accept to be discussed the military sides of the security despite the insistence of some of the participants? They made this because they want the European peoples to be insecure and weak in order to impose more easily their will and dictate, because they want to deprive them of their possibility and force of self defence, their capacity to oppose the law they want to make on Europe. The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists want to compel the other countries to remain disarmed or with a limited and non-effective armament in front of the growing military force of the two superpowers, to be passive and powerless in front of their arms improvement, the increase of their military bases and war budgets.

The military aspects of the security were avoided in Helsinki because the superpowers want to preserve by all means the psychosis of fear and war. The superpowers want to place the military security of the European countries under their two umbrellas, which as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, are aiming so that the peoples and countries have no other alternative but to see their salvation linked either with one or the other superpower, not to think with their own heads, that their will and freedom be linked with these two monsters.



The agreements of the European Security Conference are a new cobweb of the two superpowers to further involve their allies and the others. This is the greatest speculation which has been ever done on the desire of the European peoples for peace and security, collaboration and good neighbourhood. How can it be spoken about a secured Europe when it is full of foreign military bases and atomic bombs of the superpowers with hundreds of thousands of Soviet and American soldiers, numerous tanks and airplanes? The superpowers did not want the discussion of the military problems, because they want to preserve intact their gendarmery in Europe, want to preserve the constant military pressure and blackmail, want to keep Europe encircled and isolated from the rest of the world.

How can it be spoken about its security without the Mediterranean, without the Middle East, without North Africa? History has proved more than once that the conflicts that have broken out in Europe, even when they were not about the Mediterranean, North Africa or the Middle East, they have always been swept over in their flames. The destinies of these areas are very closely connected with those of Europe and their separation by the Conference on European Security is artificial and with bad aims.

The U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, furiously opposed the connection of European security with that of the Mediterranean, North Africa and Middle East, because there would arise the problem of withdrawal of their fleets from the Mediterranean, there would be exposed the barbarous and gunboat policy they implement towards the coasts of this basin, there will be revealed even more the brutal interference in Arab-Israeli conflict, there would come more to the fore their fierce rivalry in that area, that endangers the peace and security of all peoples. The attitude of the superpowers on this question was a proof that they want to further extend their domination in those areas, so that it becomes complete and permanent.

Therefore, the participants in the Helsinki conference should not make haste to sing to "the victories" of peace and security, detente in Europe.

The agreements, treaties, concessions and compromises manipulated and concluded under the direction of the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. can never contribute to the strengthening of peace and security, either on the regional plane, or on the international one.

European security not only does not avoid the inter-imperialist rivalry, that constitutes also one of the main sources of launching the aggressive wars, but being a product of the expansionist and hegemonistic policy of the superpowers, it will influence in the increase of existing contradictions and tensions on all areas and continents.

Possibilities are created to the superpowers to act more freely on other continents, to increase their pressure and intrigues to split and set the peoples against each other in order to devour markets, to monopolize new spheres of influence and extend their hegemony. They have begun to enter the Indian Ocean and extend in Africa, to envy the riches of the Persian Gulf and show their claws to Asia and Latin America.

Thus, the existing conjunctures become more uncertain and there increases everywhere the possibility of gathering the new explosive elements, the threats and dangers towards the interests of peoples and nations.

The zealous propagators of European security are speaking now a great

deal about prohibiting the violation of the borders and avoidance of the use of force, through it. They present Ford's "solemn" statements and Brezhnev's word of "honour" as a guarantee to this. But can the European peoples base their security on such palavres? They have suffered too much from the imperialist aggressions and perfidies of superpowers to let themselves be deceived by some scraps of paper, by demagogic agreements and treaties.

Hitler had put tens of signatures that he would never violate the borders of France, Belgium, Holland, and with tears in his eyes he had sworn that after the Sudeten seizure he would not touch Czechoslovakia in the slightest. All know what happened later on. Brezhnev, too, hardly a month before dispatching his tanks in Prague had signed in Bratislava a long document, which praised to the sky the non-use of force. The U.S.A., not only through the UN Charter, but also in an endless number of treaties, has pledged not to violate the borders and not to use force. But they did not fail to interfere in Greece and attack Korea, occupy Vietnam and land in the Lebanon, interfered in Santo Domingo and fight against the Cambodian people. The naives or short-sighted alone can trust the beautiful words and the promises for peace of imperialists, they alone can hope on the power of statements, general agreements or the false morality of aggressors. But the peoples do not believe in words and are not deceived by the imperialist revisionist demagogy.

The so-called policy of detente the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists are making much noise about, is the continuation of "cold war", but in another form, it is the old policy of violence, but disguised under smile and lullaby.

Peaceful coexistence as the imperialists and revisionists understand and interpret it, is a counterrevolutionary and anti-national ideology and practice, it is anti-popular and out and out anti-democratic. As an expression of expansionist and hegemonistic policy of the superpowers, it represents a dangerous instrument to put the peoples under the yoke, to subjugate and colonize them. The so-called "spirit of detente" being propagated especially by the revisionists, is the spirit of subjugation and passivism, aiming at weakening the revolutionary vigilance of the peoples, at compelling them to give up defence of their vital national interests, at leaving them disarmed politically and spiritually in face of the attacks of the two superpowers.

There existed an old illusion in Europe, which it has paid dearly. Numerous politicians have thought that concessions may be made to the aggressors on this continent to sidetrack the war towards far countries. But history has proved that peace is indivisible. Under the conditions of the present world this has become more true. The aggressors have not been stopped and will never be stopped with concessions and the more so with illusions. The withdrawal has whetted always ever more the appetite of those who wanted to attack and occupy.

Real detente, the avoidance of the danger of war are not achieved with illusions and hopes based on "reason" and "realism" of U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists. They constitute an objective that should be achieved by people themselves, fighting against the hegemonistic and expansionist policy of superpowers, exposing and hindering their deceptive demagogic manoeuvres, fighting the false pacifist psychoses they spread,

strengthening the feelings of defence of national freedom and dignity of peoples and independent countries, strengthening, first and foremost, the revolutionary spirit and international unity of proletariat and working people in all world.

Comrade Enver Hoxha stated in his speech on October three 1974, before electors:

"Where does the security of the peoples of Europe or of the peoples of the world lie? Does it lie in the public or mysterious travels of a certain Kissinger, of a certain Gromyko or in the tricks of a certain Brezhnev who is bleeding the Soviet and other peoples white, in the travels of a certain Nixon who drowned the world in blood and guided the American Mafia to Watergate bugging and cover up, a most shameful scandal which shook the whole of America? And the future of the world should be entrusted to this kind of people: a fine future indeed! Of course, those who have placed their trust in those tragic illusions are free to attend the meetings in Vienna, Helsinki and anywhere they like. Let them have their pow-wows. But on our part, we too, are free not to go to those meetings, and we will not go there. And it is not only we, but also the peoples who are absent at those meetings. This is significant for us".

This clear stand of our Party, government and people on European security, meets the lofty demands not only of Albania, but also the cause of the strengthening of peace and security on European continent. We have openly and sincerely pointed out that the sovereign states should not be attracted by the plans of revisionists and imperialists, for they are to the detriment of their national sovereignty and security of peoples.

By now, numerous, participant countries that took part in the talks hoping that there would take place an equal dialogue among states to arrange the European and world problems were deluded. But they entered the dance played by the Soviets and Americans and could not manage to come out of it. Even numerous of their efforts for procedural questions and demands on some softened formulations, were arrogantly and brutally rejected by the superbig.

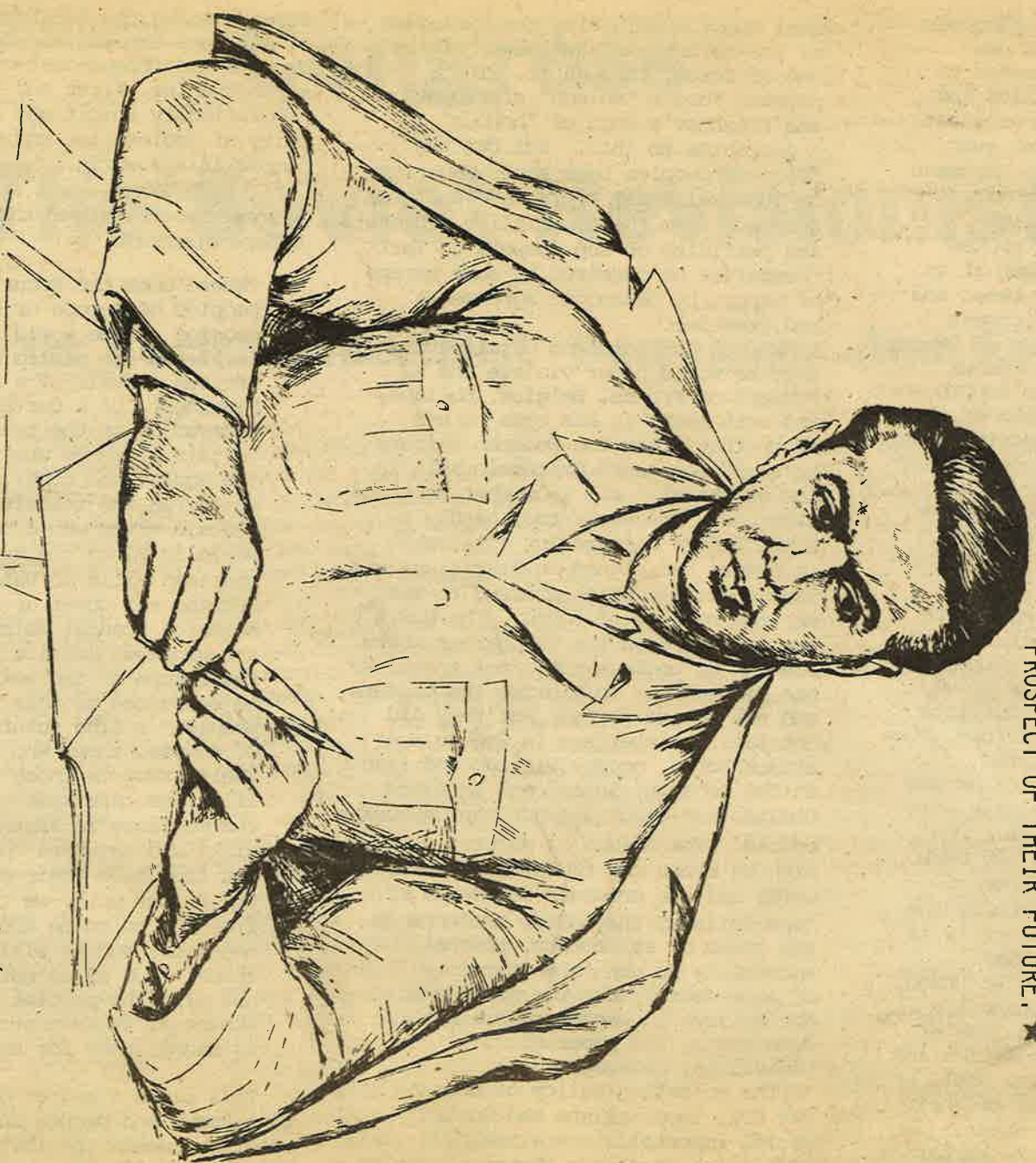
Real peace and security in Europe is not something that can be donated by the superpowers, to be ensured by some scraps of paper without value, by demagogic statements and deceptive promises of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists. First and foremost there should be the withdrawal of the foreign military bases and troops that are still in numerous European countries, the policy of military armaments should be fought and opposed, and threats and blackmail of the superpowers, there should be smashed the aggressive blocs and broken the other agreements that are made use of by the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union to follow their policy of domination and subjugation of the European peoples.

Certainly, the dangers and threats are great, but they should not be viewed upon in a fatalist spirit as inevitable. The efforts will be fierce, but they can be successful if the pacifist illusions, the imperialist-revisionist lies and deceptions will be forcefully rejected, if the chains the superpowers want to bind the European peoples will be cut with the sword.



THERE CAN NEVER BE DETENTE BETWEEN THE PEOPLE ON THE ONE HAND AND THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS AND SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS ON THE OTHER, AS THERE CANNOT BE REAL PEACE AND SECURITY AS LONG AS THERE WILL EXIST THE PRESENT HEGEMONISTIC POLICY OF THE SUPERPOWERS. PEACE AND SECURITY, DETENTE AND

COLLABORATION ARE PROBLEMS THAT SHOULD BE SOLVED AND CAN BE SOLVED BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES THROUGH A CONSISTENT AND DETERMINED STRUGGLE AGAINST THOSE IMPERIALIST AND EXPANSIONIST FORCES WHO WANT TO PLUNDER THE COUNTRIES AND NATIONS OF WHAT THEY HAVE MORE SACRED, THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, THE PROSPECT OF THEIR FUTURE. ★



Comrade Enver Hoxha, founder and leader of the Party of Labour of Albania. (Sketch by the Albanian artist Zef Shoshi)

Z Shoshi, 1973

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# EXPOSE and DEFEAT SOVIET SOCIAL- IMPERIALISM

DOCUMENTS FROM THE ALBANIAN PARTY OF LABOR ON  
25TH CONGRESS OF CPSU REVISIONISTS, HELSINKI

**Theoretical Journal of the  
Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee**