

# N.Z. COMMUNIST REVIEW

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# Facts Convict the McAra-Wright Conspiratorial Anti-Party Group

Statement of the Political Committee of the Communist Party  
of New Zealand, December, 1974.

**T**HE 'Rights' always raise their heads in a period of growing crisis. That is a general law of revolutionary crises. The 'Rights' raise their heads because they are afraid of a revolutionary crisis and are therefore ready to do everything in their power to drag the Party back and not allow the growing crisis to develop".  
(Stalin, 6.3.26.)

Being un-Marxist in outlook and bourgeois in practice, McAra has rushed into print again with a 28 page folder of documents. This publication is headed by a statement from McAra in which he uses the bourgeois subjective method of assertions resembling McCarthyism to attack the Party. It contains letters written by Wright to V. G. Wilcox, General Secretary, and to the National Secretariat, and is an exposure of the organisational links of the "revolt group" and their bourgeois counter-revolutionary outlook and practices.

These letters create an Alice in Wonderland scene of the "revolt group" as an irresistible force and is summed up by Wright in the following way:

"The reality of the situation should be perfectly plain and inescapable to the Centre. The REVOLT GROUP and the inner Party revolt are realities quite beyond the control of the Centre by any means. Let us live with the facts".

These letters were written for a tactical purpose and were entirely false in every way.

McAra, who discussed Wright's letter to Comrade V. G. Wilcox of 31.8.74, acknowledged the tactical aspect, but had some reservations that it contained weakness instead of strength to carry it through. His views are expressed in a letter to Wright dated 27.8.74, that is, before Comrade Wilcox had received the letter:

**Letter, 27.8.74:** "In the meantime we would like you to have another look at your recent letter to Wilcox. We know you considered it tactical. But is it not so much in contradiction to your previous straight-from-the-shoulder style, that it will be interpreted as a **weakening of your position**".

**"I can picture** (V.W. and Political Committee members), discussing your letter, taking it apart and saying, "We got the b—. He's running for cover".

Along with his bourgeois hallucinations in picture-form, McAra acts as advisor and director, fearful that the little support he has will drift away. Only conspirators and other counter revolutionary elements who are guilty could express such an outlook.

Other members of the "group" considered the letter to Comrade V.W. as suitable material to support their campaign of disruption and slander. Ivan Devereux demanded publication after Wright's meeting with the National Secretariat, **7th September**. He sent the following telegram to Wright on September 11, 1974:—

**"Imperative to have permission to reproduce and circulate letter to V.W. 31.8.74. Feel will massacre you otherwise telegraph back urgently.—IVAN"**

This shows the panic situation in the "group" after Wright had dropped his bundle at the meeting with the National Secretariat on **September 7th**, and their moves to make more desperate efforts to cover up and at the same time continue their disruption.

#### **McARA'S LINKS WITH "GROUP"**

McAra, who circulated Wright's letters, tried to cover up his connections with the letters and the "revolt group" in the following statement, contained in his 28-page folder of documents:

**Note by McAra, October, 1974:—**

"The "Revolt Group" appears to be a Wellington development. It embraces the original genuine Marxist-Leninist Branch. Apparently, some staunch members such as X and J.W., and others have dropped out of the C.P.N.Z. It also has the support of some members of "Resistance" and young people who have deserted Bailey and Co".

**"Cde. Wilsie and I have no organisational connection with the 'Revolt Group.'"**

"Our activity consists in ideological and political exposures of the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the N.S. and P.C. You have also received these. The "Revolt Group" has clearly used these to help it fight for, and unite Party and non-Party people for Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary line of the 1966 Conference of the C.P.N.Z."

This is typical of McAra's double-dealing, and downright lies to cover up the fact that his Whangamata set-up is the Centre of counter-revolutionary activities directed against the Party.

The forces around this Centre are mainly the **nondescript** McAra "group" and certain Trotskyist elements which hang around "Resistance" in Wellington.

Actually, the "group" is that small band of conspirators and counter-revolutionary agents consisting of McAra, Wilsie, Ivan

Devereux, Wright, Hegman and J. Windsor. They are comparable to Dr. Taylor's now extinct "revolutionary committee", and their future can only be downward to oblivion, or to become open agents of imperialism and the state security service.

Other people mentioned by McAra are not in the "revolt group", but their names are being used and they also are being conspired against by McAra and his fellow conspirators. Their names serve as a cover and make it appear that the "group" has some substance. The "group" has connections with various Trotskyist elements in Wellington who have aided Wright in disruptive activity against the Party.

### **FOUNDATIONS of the UNITY of the "REVOLT GROUP"**

McAra claims to have no organisational connections with the "revolt group". Then how did he get hold of the letters written by Wright to Comrade Wilcox and to the National Secretariat. He didn't surely find them in his garbage can?

Wright and Windsor are working together in Wellington on a "programme", known as the "Programme of the Communist Party of Aotearoa". It is an away out "thing", which is not based on Marxism-Leninism and has no substance in objective reality. It distorts the historical development of New Zealand society, obscures class relations in our society and is a subtle attempt to develop race antagonisms. It can only bring discredit to Marxism-Leninism and have a disruptive effect in the broad movement. But opportunist McAra plays the role of both patron and chief, advisor and director and says in a letter to Wright:

#### **Letter from McAra to Wright, August 12, 1974.**

"The situation confronting all of us defending Marxism-Leninism, has reached a stage where it is necessary for the revolutionary forces to have the fullest possible exchange of opinions to ensure the **consolidation of our unity**. We would be glad to have your views on this. Our thinking is that it is not a matter of numbers so much as the clarification of **the foundation of our unity**. Cde. Wilsie and I have studied your letters and Draft Programme and will do more on this. We both felt it due to you you not to delay advising you of our interim views. We both wish you the very best in your endeavours. Fraternally, Bill McAra".

This letter also blows sky-high McAra's assertion that he has "no organisational connections" with the "group".

Apart from this, the "group" has discussed plans for a "get-together" in Whangamata, Ivan Devereux being prepared to sell up to provide some cash and go wherever McAra considers he is most needed. Wright is to remain stationed in Wellington where he can best develop his career and, as is already known from Hegman's statement ("P.V."): "I would be fully prepared to attend any such inaugural discussion without commitment at this stage". This information is provided from their own letters.



As usual, McAra stands around advising and directing. Such opportunism is usual on his part, and he thinks the working class can't get on without him.

As to what they are going to talk about when such a "get together" takes place in Whangamata or anywhere else, can best be gauged by Ivan Devereux's statement in a letter to Wright—dated, 30.8.74:

"Neal, Dear Comrade. Very many thanks for the —.

"**On future tactics** — I'm keen to see the newsletter you produce. Not so keen on a public statement. I see it as necessary to see first of all what effect Bill's material has. It's good stuff.

"Action inside the Party may not be visible for some time. Nevertheless there could be all sorts of action taking place which we know nothing about. Pity we haven't a contact in the Auckland area. I get a bit now and then from a comrade here, but only a hint. Nothing concrete. He did hint nevertheless that all wasn't well with (XX). Well if that's so then the situation is good.

"I see it this way Neal and I've expressed my views to Bill and Diana.

1. "That the revisionists are not going to get the C.P. unless we allow them to.
2. "Demonstrations are necessary outside communist meeting places.
3. "I'll have them here later then organise them in Auckland if necessary.
4. "Any methods that ensure that the revisionists don't get away with their dirty tricks are legitimate. We are as Bill says fighting a war, a class war etc., etc. —"

He then returns to the question of demonstrations:

"I'm getting youth from around the neighbourhood who don't know the first thing about M/L., but are working class and who I've had on demo's. before. These same boys (16, 18), don't know it yet but they are future material for the P.L.A."

He then goes on to discuss the circulation of their material and reminds Wright "Remember this is war". He finishes his letter as follows:—

"**Give it hell mate.** We're winning and if the M/L win the ideological battle then the working class win socialism. M/L must be at the helm at all costs. A later combined get-together of the present revolt group and future ones must meet to consolidate our ideological position. **At that point only could I consider any public statement if deemed necessary.** Bye Neal and good luck. Ivan".

This is a revealing outburst of bourgeois subjectivism, expressed in counter-revolutionary ideas and contempt for people in trying to use them as blind tools to attack the Party in a social-fascist manner. It must be considered along with the statements and letters of Wright.

Some of his views were published in the "People's Voice".

and ties in with the concrete line of attack by all these bourgeois agents. The "P.V." article was not a funny story, it is concrete reality and should be studied with this material. Remember what Wright said:—"What this means in practice is that the rank and file must keep the whip over the centre even after any rectification take place. **That will only be possible if a rank and file network by-passing the centre is built up**".

**These are their thoughts.** Our advice to them is that they Stop, Look and Listen before it is too late.

This is only one aspect of their line of attack. All their conspiratorial activities must be brought out into the open. Remember they are working in an atmosphere in bourgeois society in which the state security service will benefit and the state forces will protect them.

These things and many more show the organisation connections between them.

**IT ALSO SHOWS THAT ALL THE THREADS GO BACK TO McARA AND THAT HE IS THE CENTRE OF ALL THIS ACTIVITY.**

Correspondence in the National Office are examples of what information Wright gives to McARA and other conspirators, information that is biased and untrue in every way.

Here is an example:

**Wright's letter 30.8.74: "Dear Bill, Ivan and Ralph,** "Enclosed is a xerox of a letter to Vic. Sorry it is a bit blurred, but you will get the gist. As you can see I am trying to be friendly while stating sharp criticism. I sent this letter to Vic with my acceptance of the Nat. Sec's. invitation, and I think it makes quite clear that I stand in revolt. The only thing that will make the leadership shift is the fact that the rank and file really are in revolt — I believe will be the case".

Here Wright states their aims, what they are working for.

This shows Wright's true role as an agent of the bourgeois line in dispensing information to each member of the "group" — "**Dear Bill, Ivan and Ralph**". It also shows the composition of the "group", and McARA's role as the centre in circulating material as in the case of Cde. Wilcox's letter and the N.S. letters.

The fact that Wright dropped his bundle when he met the N.S. made their exposure inevitable and complete.

Ivan Devereux saw the dangers in a contradictory situation where Wright had to appear as an honest upholder of M/L but yet had to carry out role of dishonesty towards Marxism-Leninism. This warning is contained in a letter to Wright undated in which he said:

"Neal, You're the key man necessary to carry this struggle into the enemy camp. You've been invited to meet and discuss your views with them. I feel this, that if you go to Auck. or a

representative of the N.S. comes to see you, at this point they will chew you to mince-meat.

"I am sending you a book, and I feel strongly that if you read it a couple of times that you are armed with the necessary weapon to defeat any and all of their revisionist arguments. The policy in the book is applicable to Australia and I believe is the way forward also for the C.P.N.Z. M/L".

### PRINCIPLES OF FRATERNAL PARTIES' RELATIONS

But the meeting was not for the purpose of discussing somebody's book. That is not our business. It is McAra and his gang who are poking their noses into fraternal Parties' business. All genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties work on the principle of proletarian internationalism under which all Parties, big or small must strictly adhere to the principles of complete equality, independence and mutual respect for each other. They must adhere to non-interference in each others affairs, they must support and aid each other. No Party no matter how big should try to lead other Parties or expect other fraternal Parties to do as they do. People who propagate the line that our Party should do exactly as other fraternal Parties do, who draw comparisons between one fraternal Party and another, who endeavour to create splits between Parties are revisionist in their outlook and follow the same line as the Soviet Social-Imperialists who pursue a line of waving the big stick.

The Communist Party of New Zealand went through the world ideological struggle upholding the above principles, but McAra and his band of conspirators want to damage that and adopt the big stick line of Soviet Social-Imperialism.

So when Wright met the N.S. he was wearing his double face. He had to put on an act of being honest and of being a Marxist-Leninist but at the same time he had to act as the **key man** in the interests of conspirators, who represented the interests of imperialism and Soviet Social-imperialism. If he did not succeed and line up to their expectations it was because he did not understand the Marxist-Leninist concepts on contradiction, and is further proof that he is only a bourgeois conspirator.

Wright was invited to meet the National Secretariat because it became known that he, along with others, was engaged in the development of an alternative programme known as the "Programme of the Communist Party of Aotearoa", and also engaged in factional activity with elements hostile to the Party.

This meeting took place on the 7th and 8th of September.

The principles of the Party based as it is, on Democratic Centralism, this being the condition of membership in the Communist Party of New Zealand, were made clear to him. Wright himself affirmed his allegiance to those principles. During the course of discussion it was pointed out that the development of alternative programmes to the established programme and line of the Party,



and factional activity inside the Party, or with elements outside who were hostile to the Party, was impermissible.

## AGREEMENT WITH THE SECRETARIAT

Unanimous agreement was reached as to the following:—

That Wright would unconditionally withdraw his "Programme of the Communist Party of Aotearoa", and that he would take every step to see that it was not published.

That he would make a statement that he had withdrawn the "programme" and according to the circumstances it would be further decided whether or not his statement would be published in the "People's Voice".

That his statement should be approved by the National Secretariat before going out.

That he would discontinue all factional activities and uphold the line and programme of the Party; and that he would break all ties with the "revolt group".

That he would supply to the National Centre all correspondence passed between him and the "revolt group".

That he would self-critically examine his style of work, this to be discussed in the Branch at a later date.

That the matter of reporting back to the Branch be left in the hands of the National Secretariat.

**These decisions were taken to safeguard the unity of the Party and to restore order where there had been disorder attributable to Wright.**

In discussion with the National Secretariat in regard to the non-publication of the "programme", Wright said he could not give an outright guarantee that it would not be published. While he personally gave his promise, he said that before coming to the meeting he had discovered that some persons unknown had "nicked" the stencils. He promised to look into the matter as soon as he went back and take all steps to stop publication.

Next day, following the meeting, the National Secretariat received a letter in the post, to this effect. (This letter is included later).

Although with some reservations the National Secretariat accepted Wright's story, there being no way to check up and no grounds for not accepting it, only a lingering suspicion. So Wright went back to Wellington having got over the hurdle of the National Secretariat meeting.

He then had the problem of getting over the hurdle of the assurances he had given to the National Secretariat.

His first job in this direction was to produce his self-critical statement and as the "programme" had then been published he also dealt with the supposed matter of its publication. The agreement with the National Secretariat was that he make a separate

statement, which should give an account of how and who was responsible for its publication.

Here is his statement dated 20.9.74:

### STATEMENT OF N. WRIGHT

"On investigation I find that an anonymous document called "Draft Programme of the Communist Party of Aotearoa" is being publicly associated with my name.

"I therefore state the following: I fully and unreservedly support the line of the Communist Party of New Zealand laid down at the 1966 Party Conference to oppose imperialism, to oppose opportunism, and to raise socialist consciousness.

"I consider that the Party Centre, Branches and Press are genuinely trying to apply this line.

"Mistakes have been made in the application of the 1966 line. This was acknowledged by the Wellington Branch, C.P.N.Z., in its public self-criticism of May, 1973.

"At the forthcoming Party Conference I would hope to see the 1966 Party line reaffirmed, and to help its correct application certain concrete and specific **guidelines laid down. Only the Conference can give such guidelines.**

"The Draft Programme is not a Party document, and public circulation has been carried on by non-Party people.

"My own connection with the Draft Programme was a manifestation of anarchy and a **negation of democratic centralism**, and I express self-criticism for taking this course".

20.9.74

"National Centre, Dear Comrades, The above is the statement discussed at the last Branch meeting with Cde. X present. It is only my suggestion, in no way final; I am happy to stand behind any statement that the Party will stand behind. I will send the correspondence this weekend. Cordially and fraternally, N. Wright".

As it turns out this statement is a tricky bit of work and has a two-faced approach: while it follows the general direction of the decision of the National Secretariat meeting, it also propagates the McAra line on a number of points. The positive was his self-criticism over breaches of democratic-centralism, the negative that while he was making his self-criticism, he was further breaking democratic-centralism. Wright was informed that the National Secretariat would need further time to consider the criticism. He was requested to send copies of ALL correspondence. So far he had sent correspondence received only from the other "group" members, McAra, Hegman, I. Devereux, but none of his own.

During this period he was flooding into the National Office a vast amount of contentious material; this was in the form of a counter attack in which it was hoped that the issue of his previous behaviour would be swamped.

Seeing that the National Secretariat did not become diverted and insisted that he produce his own letters to the "group" he at last did so.

From these letters, the National Secretariat was able to find the true position about the publication of the "programme", that it had in fact already been published by Wright, with the assistance of Trotskyist elements around "Resistance" before Wright's meeting with the National Secretariat and before his letter to the National Secretariat. This was confirmed as being correct when the National Secretariat visited Wellington at the time of Wright's expulsion, and is also confirmed in letters to follow:

Extract from Wright's letter to McAra: (3.9.74):

"Resistance have reproduced the draft programme and copies will be circulated more widely from that source".

Extract from Wright's letter to Ivan Devereux (4.9.74):

"Resistance have re-printed the draft programme and some copies of this will be circulated further".

Copy of Wright's letter to N.S. (4.9.74):

"The National Centre, Dear Comrades, You're not going to believe this, but we live in a strange world and that's how things happen. I mentioned I was preparing a publication, and that I was unhappy both about publishing it and not publishing it. Well I finished the stencils and left them where they were to be printed.

**"They have now disappeared before the printing was done. Maybe they are just mislaid, but in the circumstances I think it must be taken that there is a high likelihood that the stencils have fallen into the wrong hands, perhaps the M/B clique. And that they will be printed.**

"In the event of the documents appearing in circulation I will make a public disclaimer of responsibility. Fraternally, N. Wright".

It is quite clear Wright published the "programme" before meeting the Secretariat and that he consistently lied to the Party leadership.

**Here you have Bourgeois arrogance and double-dealing to perfection.**

Over this we have his self-critical statement in which he says:

"On investigation I find that an anonymous document is being publicly associated with my name".

"My own connection with the Draft Programme was a manifestation of anarchy and a negation of democratic-centralism, and I express self-criticism for taking this course".

At the very time he was writing his self-criticism he was sending copies of his correspondence with the Party to McAra. These formed the basis for discussion and future action against the Party.

Then there is his letter to the National Secretariat (4.9.74):

"In the event of the document appearing in circulation I will make a public disclaimer of responsibility. (That is he will disclaim his own actions).

"There is a likelihood that the stencils have fallen into the wrong hands, perhaps the M/B clique and that they will be printed".

Here he acts the role of the provocateur. We are opposed to the M/B group; we are also opposed to such methods as being outside of Marxist-Leninist style of work. As he says: "It's a strange world".

And from where he stands it must appear so. That is, because he is dealing in fiction and bourgeois trash.

### **ANTI-PARTY CONSPIRATORS**

Summing up, this so-called "revolt group" is a band of conspirators who have departed from Marxism-Leninism, and left the Party under various circumstances, some expelled and some sneaking out to save their inevitable exposure. It is clear from the evidence that they had set up an organisation, and adapted conspiratorial methods for the purpose of attacking the Party through whatever methods they can. Their purpose is to create disorder, disruption and splits in the Party and splits between the New Zealand Party and fraternal Parties.

At a time when the imperialist powers (including Soviet social-imperialism), are in growing crisis and when revolution is the main trend in the world, the attempts to split the Marxist-Leninist Party of New Zealand and the Marxist-Leninist movement throughout the world are becoming more intense and vicious. These attacks come from the state force, from the agents of imperialism (both paid agents and ideological agents). The "revolt group" is therefore serving imperialism in its disruptive counter-revolutionary activity.

It relies on every aspect of opportunism, social-democracy and capitalist outlook to push its filthy barrow. It probes, explores and tests every weakness and every trace of liberalism to gain recruits and inject disruptive issues into Party collectives to stop revolutionary activity.

It is the bourgeois line and serves imperialism. This is why the Communist Party attaches so much importance to the struggle to "Rectify the Party's Style of Work", to practise Marxism and not revisionism, to be open and above board, to unite and not split, to combat intrigue and conspiracy.

As Lenin said, "the fight against imperialism is a sham and a humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism".

The Party leadership is working towards a united monolithic Party effectively prepared to develop revolutionary trends during the growing crisis. It is through this struggle that Marxist-Leninists will reach a higher level of unity. The agents of imperialism like the McAra group are working to head this off.

The 28-page McAra document is a smokescreen designed to cover for the McAra conspiratorial group and to disguise the fact that he is its ideological leader. But on the contrary, the document proves his position as does his statement of October, 1974, gloating over the use of his material by the "revolt group".

Those who practise Marxism-Leninism and the correct methods of work will not be flagged down by his bogus flag-waving. Only the naive, the uninformed and the opportunists will be lured by his flag-waving into his nest of intrigue. The proof of who are Marxist-Leninists is decided by how they practise it.

Be on guard against splitters, disruptors and provocateurs. Uphold democratic-centralism and correct methods of work. Struggle to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist ideological line. Fight imperialism and all its agents.

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## History Develops In Spirals

Hung Yu ("Peking Review")

**T**HE People's Republic of China has triumphantly travelled a militant path for 25 years.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line over the past quarter of a century, our Party, by uniting the people of all nationalities in our country and overcoming all sorts of difficulties, has beaten back repeated attacks by class enemies at home and abroad and won great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction. In particular, our Party has in the past 25 years undergone four major struggles between the two lines in which the anti-Party conspiracies of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, chieftains of the opportunist lines, were exposed and smashed, thereby ensuring that our country marches forward along the road of socialism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the last eight years further testifies to the correctness of Chairman Mao's thesis and policies on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it has further heightened our understanding of the laws governing class struggle in the period of socialist revolution. Practice in our socialist revolution and socialist construction has over and over again testified to this truth: Revolution invariably advances along a zigzag path by incessantly surmounting all kinds of obstacles and obstructions. New things are bound to replace the old and revolutionary forces are bound to prevail over reactionary forces. This is an objective law independent of man's will.

### UNITY OF OPPOSITES — PROGRESSIVENESS AND TORTUOUSNESS

In his work "Karl Marx", Lenin made a vivid and scientific



generalization on the law of the development of things, describing it as **"a development, so to speak, that proceeds in spirals, not in a straight line"**. In many of his important works, Chairman Mao has incisively expounded and elaborated this brilliant thought of Lenin's. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"Events have their twists and turns and do not follow a straight line"**. ("On Protracted War".) Dwelling on the law of development of class struggle, he has said: **"Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law". "Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again . . . till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law"**. ("Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle".) This teaching of Chairman Mao's points out the two diametrically different outcomes for the imperialists and reactionaries on the one hand and the revolutionary people on the other hand; he also points out that a tortuous course of development is inevitable in the struggle between the revolutionary forces and counter-revolutionary forces. The disruption and failure of the counter-revolutionaries and the failure and success of the revolutionary people are two aspects which are interlinked and can transform themselves into each other. The alternate appearance of these two aspects in the course of revolutionary struggle is a concrete manifestation of the law of spiral development.

Why do things develop in spirals? It is because in each thing there is the contradiction between its new and its old aspects and the two aspects of the contradiction are united and at the same time opposed to each other, thereby pushing the development of things. The course of the development of things from a low to a high stage is one in which the new things develop through continuously defeating the old. To conquer the old and replace it, a new thing is bound to meet with strong resistance from the old; only by repeated and fierce struggles can the new thing grow in strength and rise to predominance, and only thus can the old thing be weakened and forced to perish gradually. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the general direction of the development of things is a forward movement from a low to a high stage, it cannot advance in a straight line. The inevitable phenomenon in the actual process of development is that there are twists and turns of varying degrees at one time or another. Chairman Mao has said: **"Like every other activity in the world, revolution always follows a tortuous road and never a straight one"**. ("On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism".) This is because there is a process of development for the revolutionary forces to grow and for the counter-revolutionary forces perish, and it is not possible for the former to completely defeat and annihilate the latter overnight. This is also because the cognition of objective

laws, the leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, requires a process of accumulating experience — from without experience to having experience, from less experience to more experience. Only by repeated comparisons between positive and negative experience can one achieve a correct understanding of the law of the development of revolution and consciously apply this law to accomplish the revolutionary tasks.

Spiral development only approximates a series of circles, but each cycle is not a simple repetition of the previous one and does not return to where it started. As Chairman Mao has summed up: **"With each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level"**. ("On Practice".) Superficially, reversals and zig-zags look like going out of the right path, but actually every time a reversal or a twist and turn is overcome, it is invariably accompanied by a victory and progress, thereby pushing the thing to a new stage. Compared with the old stage, every new one is brought to a comparatively higher plane and by no means returns to the original place. The unity of opposites — the progressiveness and tortuousness of development of things — **makes up the complicated spiral movement**. The viewpoint that things develop in a straight line negates the tortuous nature of the development of things, and the viewpoint that things move in a circle negates the progressive nature of the development of things; both negate the dialectical unity of the progressive and tortuous nature, and will inevitably lead to the metaphysical quagmire.

The history of development of human society over the past several thousand years is a history of spiral development full of twists and turns. Revolutions in the past, be it the replacement of the slave system by the feudal system, or the replacement of the feudal system by the capitalist system, involved dozens or hundreds of years of repeated and tortuous struggles centring around progress and retrogression, restoration and counter-restoration. Since the replacement of one system of exploitation by another system of exploitation involved such a process of development, the socialist revolution in which socialism triumphs over capitalism and which makes final elimination of the system of exploitation and classes its goal, will by no means be smooth sailing. The struggles involved will be more tortuous and protracted than those of any previous revolution and tremendous efforts have to be exerted. Chairman Mao has taught us: **"New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy success, without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts"**. ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People".)

Chairman Mao said this in 1957. Practice in the past 17 years has greatly heightened our understanding of this viewpoint. After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the over-

thrown reactionary classes refuse to take their defeat lying down. They are bound to come out to engage in sabotage and disruption to get back their lost "paradise" and look for agents in the ranks of the Communist Party as their political representatives for staging a come-back. In addition, the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure will be more arduous than before owing to the thousands of years of influence of the exploiting classes' traditional ideas. It will take a considerably long period of time to decide the question of which will win out, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, in the political and ideological spheres. Class struggle and the two-line struggle at home always co-ordinate with the class struggle abroad. The domestic class enemies are bound to work hand in glove with the imperialists and social-imperialists and make trouble whenever they have the opportunity to do so. Therefore, after the seizure of political power, the proletariat faces the heavy task of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, uniting the people of various nationalities and persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Much work remains to be done. The proletariat must sum up the positive and negative experiences in the protracted and repeated struggles and continue to deepen its understanding of the law of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Only in this way can it overcome hardships and obstructions on the path of advance, defeat the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and realize communism.

### ZIGZAG COURSE OF DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA'S SOCIALIST CAUSE

Our socialist cause in the past 25 years has developed along a zigzag course in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Speaking at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949, Chairman Mao clearly pointed to the principal contradictions at home and internationally in the period of socialist revolution and foresaw the protracted and complex nature of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. He thus set forth a correct line and laid down the basic steps and various principles and policies for the transition from the new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of our Party in September 1962, Chairman Mao summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat at home and abroad, advanced in a more comprehensive way the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism and issued the great call: "**Never forget classes and class struggle**". Immediately afterwards, Chairman Mao initiated the socialist education movement on a nationwide scale, criticized Liu Shao-chi's reactionary bourgeois line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence, set in motion the revolution in Peking opera and other cultural

and art fields and launched the criticism of "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office" (a bad opera designed to reverse the verdict passed on the Right opportunists), thus ushering in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The reversals and zigzags of the struggles in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were even more soul-stirring. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the entire Party and the people of the whole country, having broken through all kinds of obstacles and gone through arduous struggles, finally smashed the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi as its ringleader. But the struggle did not end there.

The bourgeois careerist and conspirator Lin Piao, who "lodged for a time" in the Party, jumped out to continue Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary activities. He negated the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, attacked the socialist new things and plotted to launch a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, all in a vain effort to turn socialist New China back into the semi-feudal and semi-colonial China of old. With deep insight, Chairman Mao saw through all this and led the whole Party in exposing in good time the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and smashing its counter-revolutionary machinations to restore capitalism by following Confucius' precept of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites".

The purpose of the current deepening movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is precisely to thoroughly repudiate the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and its revisionist line, criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius — the ideology of the reactionary decadent classes promoted by Lin Piao, consolidate and develop the tremendous achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. Historical experience has proved that each and every victory in the socialist cause has been won through repeated struggles. The socialist revolution in the days ahead will, as in the past, move forward along a spiral course in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines.

### **OVERCOME METAPHYSICAL VIEWPOINT OF STRAIGHT-LINE DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORY**

In order to observe and analyse the situation in the revolutionary struggle from the viewpoint that history develops in spirals, it is necessary to do away with the metaphysical viewpoint which holds that history develops in a straight line. Lenin pointed out: **"Human knowledge is not (or does not follow) a straight line, but a curve, which endlessly approximates a series of circles, a spiral"**. ("On the Question of Dialectics".) In class struggle, looking at problems in a straight-line way means "all struggle and no alliance" or "all alliance and no struggle". According to Chairman



Mao's directives and in the light of the historical experience of our Party, the Tenth Party Congress once again reminded us of the necessity to oppose and prevent these two kinds of one-sidedness. If one does not know that there are ups and downs, tension and relaxation in the course of struggle and that the process of alliance involves struggles against reactionary things, splittist tendencies and erroneous ideas, one does not understand the law of spiral development. Chairman Mao pointed out in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan: **"Today our Anti-Japanese National United Front policy is neither all alliance and no struggle nor all struggle and no alliance, but combines alliance and struggle"**. ("On Policy".) To lead any major class struggle and two-line struggle to victory, it is essential to have a good grip on this Marxist policy. The **"unity-criticism-unity"** formula conforms to the law of spiral development and is an important method for us to correctly resolve contradictions among the people. These contradictions and those between ourselves and the enemy are two different types of contradictions. The knowledge different persons among the people have is not always the same, but they can be united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought through criticism or struggle and through distinguishing right from wrong on matters of line. And only by achieving unity can the correct line be implemented and the erroneous line overcome. Denying the existence of contradictions among the people and stressing unity alone but negating struggle will of course harm the revolutionary cause. Likewise, confusing the two different types of contradictions, stressing only struggle but negating unity, and not knowing the dialectical relationship between struggle and unity and the paramount importance of revolutionary unity will also harm the revolutionary cause. Both tendencies are manifestations of seeing problems in a straight-line way and run counter to the law of spiral development. These two tendencies have occurred in our Party's history and brought losses to the cause of the Party. So we must pay attention to them and always keep in mind the historical experience of one tendency covering the other.

To see things in a straight-line way is in fact a metaphysical way of thinking. Anyone using this way of thinking in observing things inevitably fails to see what is the essence and what is the appearance, which is the mainstream and which is the tributary, which is the part and which is the whole. This way of thinking leads to blind optimism and loss of vigilance when revolution develops successfully, and to indolence, helplessness, pessimism and despondency when revolution faces difficulty and twists and turns. Only by using the dialectical viewpoint of spiral development can one perceive the inevitable reversals and zigzags in the development of revolution, and only in this way can one perceive the inevitable victory of revolution even when it undergoes twists and turns, discern the orientation in the acute and complicated struggles,



grasp the initiative in the struggle and guide it in the course of its development to seize victory.

The reversals and twists and turns in a revolutionary struggle have a dual character. While bringing transitory difficulties to revolution, they at the same time pave the way for still greater successes for the revolutionary cause. The revolutionary people invariably have to be educated and tempered by both positive and negative examples. It is the reversals and twists and turns in struggle that educate and temper us by negative example; after correctly summing up the experience and drawing lessons from it, we create the conditions for winning still greater victories in the revolutionary cause. The failure of the First Revolutionary Civil War in 1927 was a profound lesson to the Chinese people, enabling them to understand the extremely great importance for the proletariat to take the leadership into its own hands and grasp the Marxist truth that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"**. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, our Party mastered the three principal magic weapons (the united front, armed struggle and Party building) for the Chinese revolution, found the correct road for encircling the cities from the rural areas and the final capture of the cities and pushed the Chinese revolution to a new stage in its development. These historical experiences are an invaluable wealth for the revolutionary people.

### **TWISTS AND TURNS CANNOT HALT THE ADVANCE OF REVOLUTION**

As far as the entire course of history is concerned, advance and ascendancy make up the mainstream and essence of things, while twists and turns and retrogression are only branches and transient phenomena. The proletariat is bound to defeat the bourgeoisie; socialism is bound to triumph over capitalism; Marxism is bound to prevail over revisionism — this is the established general trend of the development of history. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history"**. ("On the Chungking Negotiations".) Any reversals or twists and turns, even retrogression and the repeating of history for a while, can only affect the tempo of historical development, but can neither halt the advance of history nor change the direction of its development. Both in the past and in modern times, there have been countless reversals and twists and turns in the development of history.

We firmly believe that no reversals or twists and turns of any kind can obstruct the cause of revolution from advancing; this belief is based on the historical-materialist viewpoint that **"the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history"**. At all times the people are the masters of history and the people always want to make revolution. Led by Chairman Mao, the broad masses are firm in taking the road of socialism. The working

class, the poor and the road of socialism. The working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals all have profound proletarian sentiments for the Party and Chairman Mao and have enormous enthusiasm for the socialist cause. As long as we have firm faith in the masses and rely on them, we can overcome any reversals or twists and turns and surmount any kind of difficulty. Both at home and abroad, class enemies all try to subvert our dictatorship of the proletariat and change our socialist system by taking advantage of the reversals or twists and turns that appear in the advance of our revolutionary cause, but all to no avail. This is because our revolutionary cause stands for the fundamental interests of the people and has won the approval and support of the masses.

**The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.** We also firmly believe that no reversals or twists and turns of any kind can impede the advance of the revolutionary cause because our revolution is carried out under the guidance of the correct Marxist-Leninist line. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is the product of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution; it is the fundamental guarantee for winning victory in the revolution. It is entirely due to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line that we defeated imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries with Chiang Kai-shek as their ringleader, that we got hold of arms and seized political power and won great victories in socialist revolution and construction. When an erroneous line dominated, there were reversals and twists and turns in our struggles, causing serious damage to the revolutionary cause and even leading the revolution to failure; but when the correct line dominates, the reversals or twists and turns that appear in the course of our struggle are only partial and temporary and are not difficult to eliminate. Therefore, under the guidance of the correct line, achievements are always primary and the situation is always excellent. Having undergone tests in prolonged struggles, our Party, state organs and the People's Liberation Army can withstand any storms. After eight years of tempering in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is consolidated as never before. As long as we strengthen revolutionary unity, unswervingly carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, correctly distinguish and handle the two different types of contradictions, we will make the excellent revolutionary situation still more excellent.

**"While the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns".** This is a scientific conclusion drawn from the summing up of countless historical experiences, and it has been verified in practice. (Peking Review, No. 43, Oct. 25, 1974. Abridged, Ed. "C.R.")

# Lenin's Ideas and Work are Immortal

"Zeri i Popullit" (Albania).

Written on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the death of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, who died on January 21, 1924, the following article from "Zeri i Popullit", organ of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania, commemorates the life and work of this great revolutionary leader, the founder and leader of the Communist Party (B) of the Soviet Union and strategist of the great October Socialist Revolution.

All Communist and revolutionaries should learn from Lenin's inspiring example, defend his ideas and fight like him against imperialism and opportunism for the victory of the working class, and of socialism.

Fifty years have passed since the death, on January 21, 1924, of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the genius who succeeded Marx and Engels, and continued their revolutionary work, the strategist of the great October Socialist Revolution, the founder of the first socialist state in the world, the teacher and leader of the international Proletariat, and of all the oppressed peoples of the world.

Lenin's name, ideas and work are involved with the entire history of our century, and with all the radical turning points in the destiny of mankind, as well as the great, world-wide class battles which paved the way to a new epoch—the epoch of the collapse of capitalism and of the triumph of socialism.

The more time passes, the more magnificent Lenin's image appears and the more vital and relevant his ideas and work become.

The vitality of Leninism smashes all the attacks of his enemies, from open ideologists of anti-communism to renegades and revisionists of all hues. Leninism and the revolutionary work of Lenin cannot be conquered by violence, treachery or demagoguery; they are alive and triumphant in China and in Albania, in the crucible of the class and liberation struggles of the working class and the peoples throughout the world and, in the revolutionary activity of the Marxist-Leninist parties which faithfully adhere to Leninism and fight for its defence and victory in struggle against modern revisionists.

A fierce ideological struggle, which is essentially over the future of social development and how to realize it, is being waged in our times. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie, and the modern revisionists, too, are seeking to prove, overtly or covertly, that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism have become obsolete, that they no longer fit current conditions, and that the world is developing

along lines contrary to those envisaged by Marx and Lenin.

Just as after the death of Marx and Engels, so after the death of Lenin and Stalin, a great historic task faced the proletarian revolutionaries — that of defending the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat from the attacks of its enemies, exposing the treachery of the modern revisionists, with the Soviet modern revisionists at the head, and confirming the historical law that the destruction of capitalism and imperialism and the triumph of socialism and communism are inevitable, and that the only correct way to achieve victory is that indicated by Marx and Lenin.

### **LENIN'S CONCLUSIONS CONFIRMED**

Lenin has the great historic merit of having made a profound analysis of the new stage in the development of capitalism — imperialism. Experience has fully confirmed the correctness of this analysis and of the revolutionary conclusions Lenin drew from it. The new phenomena which have appeared in the capitalist world have not changed the exploiting essence of the capitalist order, the class nature of the present bourgeois state, or the contradictions internally and externally corroding the capitalist system. It is only the modern revisionists, speculating on these phenomena, who try to refute the principle of Marxism-Leninism to deny the class struggle, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and replace them by their anti-Marxist concepts of class collaboration and peaceful co-existence, and by reforms within the capitalist order, which aim at perpetuating it.

Reality today in the capitalist world is a new confirmation of the immortal ideas of Leninism. The general crisis of capitalism, with all its consequences, is deepening steadily. The capitalist countries are in the iron grip of the monetary and financial crisis to which the energy crisis is now added, shaking the world capitalist economy to its foundations. On this basis, both internal social contradictions and external interstate contradictions have been further aggravated, divisions in the imperialist economic-military alliances are deepening, and the conflict with the underdeveloped or developing countries of the Third World is sharpening.

### **REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGES**

A new revolutionary situation is being created in the world. The waves of the struggle of the working class against capitalist oppression and exploitation, against the consequences of the economic crisis — the high cost of living, inflation, and unemployment — are rising fast. There is tremendous growth in the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and reaction, old and new colonialism, for the defence of freedom and national sovereignty, for the democratic, independent development of their countries, and for social progress. The resistance and struggle of the working people of the Soviet Union



and other countries against the fascist domination of the revisionist cliques in power is also on the increase.

The revolutionary struggle is exposing all the pacifist and reformist preachings of the Khrushchevite modern revisionists, who have everywhere become the servant of the bourgeoisie and saboteurs of the revolution. The working class and the people are becoming ever more convinced that the only way to liberation is the road of revolution shown by Leninism. The peaceful road advocated by the Khrushchev modern revisionists does not lead the revolution to victory, but in fact paves the way to savage counter-revolution which bloodily suppresses the revolution. The example of Chile is further vivid evidence, showing how dearly the people of that country paid for the pacifist illusions of the modern revisionists. Heavy failures and defeats have also been suffered by the theories and practices of the other pseudo-revolutionary elements who, although appearing to have leftist slogans, in fact cause great damage to the revolution.

There is more current relevance than ever in Lenin's words: **"One of the indispensable conditions in preparing the proletariat to win victory is the protracted, determined and merciless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social-chauvinism and all bourgeois influences and trends of this kind, which are inevitable as long as the proletariat is acting in the conditions of capitalism. Without this struggle, without a complete preliminary victory over opportunism in the labour movement, we cannot begin to talk about the dictatorship of the proletariat"**. (v.i. Lenin, complete works, Russian edition, vol. 40 p.24).

Under the present conditions, the world revolution cannot proceed successfully without a determined struggle against U.S. led imperialism and revisionism, with Soviet social imperialism at the head. These are the two greatest, most savage and most cunning enemies of the revolution and socialism. The stand taken towards U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism has today become the touch-stone for all political forces.

Despite the heavy blows it has been dealt and the defeats it has suffered, U.S. imperialism remains the principal enemy of all the peoples, the greatest oppressor and exploiter of other countries, the international gendarme that has undertaken the defence of the rotten capitalist system. Not only is Lenin's characterization of U.S. imperialism today more valid than ever but the aggressive, oppressive and exploiting characteristics of U.S. imperialism have become more prominent. In Indochina or the Middle East, in Africa or Latin America, wherever aggressions have broken out and plots have been organized, the hand of U.S. imperialism can be discerned. It brandishes arms, it threatens war, it undermines the freedom and independence of the peoples, it brutally interferes in the internal affairs of other countries, it carries out a neo-colonialist policy, and it strives to establish its world domina-



tion.

The new Soviet imperialism has today become another enemy, no less dangerous than U.S. imperialism. What Lenin had stressed with regard to the opportunist chieftains of the parties of the Second International, who became social chauvinists and social imperialists, happened with the Soviet revisionists. The internal political course the revisionists took to restore capitalism could not help leading, in a country as large as the Soviet Union, to the revival of the great-Russian foreign policy of the old Kremlin czars.

The only thing that distinguishes Soviet social imperialism from U.S. imperialism is that the latter tries to disguise its policy with the so-called ideals of the "free world", while the Moscow chieftains try to do this with the name and the ideas of Lenin. This is the gravest insult the revisionists have offered to the conscience of the Soviet people and all world revolutionaries. The most hateful demagoguery and cynicism of the revisionists are expressed in this. But they will not be able to hide the great truth that revisionism and social imperialism have nothing in common with Leninism, and are in eternal enmity with it. As a consistent internationalist and revolutionary, Lenin was a mighty fighter against great-power chauvinism, and against any form of oppression or enslavement of the peoples. He will always be the great standard-bearer of the freedom and independence of the peoples, national equality, and equal rights for all states, whether large or small.

Leninism is the doctrine that lights the way for the proletariat and the peoples, showing them not only how to destroy the old world, but also to set up the new world on its ruins. Under Lenin's leadership, socialism was transformed from a scientific theory into a living reality. He worked out the concrete plan for the construction of the socialist society, and defined the general lines of the road of development towards communism. All the victories of socialism have been achieved on the theoretical Marxist basis which Lenin substantiated and developed. "Socialist" theories and practices which do not rest on this scientific basis have nothing in common with real socialism.

The "socialism" the Khrushchev revisionists talk about is only a mask to disguise its complete degeneration into a bourgeois order, in which power does not lie with the working class and the dictatorship of the proletariat, but rather with the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which exerts its savage dictatorship; the means of production are used by the state, as a collective capitalist, to exploit the working masses and bourgeois ideology, despite its consequences, has become the dominant ideology.

Economic difficulties, accompanied by price rises, unemployment, inflation, fierce social and political conflicts and national disputes, dissolution and moral degeneration, corruption and criminality, have become massive phenomena in national life in the countries where the revisionists are in power.

The revisionists are trying to present all this great treachery as a "continuation of the road followed by Lenin", and as "consistent implementation of Lenin's teachings" against "Stalinist deformations". In fact, the attacks of the modern revisionists against Stalin are attacks against Leninism, because Stalin, during his whole revolutionary life, defended, developed and implemented Leninism. Experience has clearly showed that the trend which emerged under the banner of the struggle against Stalinism was in fact a regressive counter-revolutionary trend, which destroyed Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism.

### REVISIONIST DANGER AVOIDABLE

The regression of the Soviet Union and of some other formerly socialist countries does not in the least prove the failure of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, as the bourgeois ideologists are trying to make out; it merely shows what happens when the teachings of Marxism-Leninism are abandoned and the principles of socialism are given up. Hence the conclusion, which is confirmed by the practice of socialist China and socialist Albania, that this danger is completely avoidable if the communist party remains loyal to revolutionary principles, follows a correct line, adheres firmly to class policy and the class struggle, and every measure to bar the way to bourgeois degeneration.

Lenin considered overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat to be not the end, but the beginning of the socialist revolution, which continues throughout the entire historic period of the transition from capitalism to communism. Until this transition takes place, he stressed, the class struggle continues, with the aim of securing the complete and definite victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road of development. The main weapon in this struggle is the communist party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will exist as such for as long as the class struggle continues inside the country and on an international scale.

The preachings of the revisionists about the extinction of class struggle under socialism, and the transformation of the communist party and the socialist state into a "party and state of the entire people", are not only a flagrant deviation from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, but also a great deception, because in fact they continue the class struggle, but from another position, i.e. from the position of the bourgeoisie and in its interest; their state is not a state of the entire people, because such a state cannot exist, but a new dictatorship against the people, while their party has nothing communist about it, and serves only as a mask to deceive the communists and the people.

Uncovering the ideological beginnings of opportunism in the labour movement, Lenin stressed that these are rooted in advocating economism and spontaneity. The modern revisionists have

absolutised the role of the objective factor, the conditions of material life, the development of the productive forces, the economy, science and technology; thus they have in fact slid into a variant of vulgar materialism, that is economism and technocratism. It is vital to substantiate the role and importance of incessantly strengthening the party and socialist state, placing politics and proletarian ideology in command, educating and tempering the new man, and establishing correct relations between the leaders, the class and the masses; these are decisive factors in the success of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Lenin's ideas are the most powerful weapon of the struggle of the working class and oppressed peoples, all over the world, for national liberation and social progress. There is no question of revolutionary practice on which Lenin has failed to give his scientific Marxist opinion. His contribution to Marxist doctrine is such that it is rightfully called Marxism-Leninism. The correctness and life-giving force of Leninism have been confirmed by world revolutionary practice, and also by the example of our country. Our entire revolutionary road, with all the magnificent deeds of our party and people, bears the seal of Leninism, and stands witness to its great transforming and creative force.

### FOLLOWED LENINIST ROAD

The great merit of the Party of Labour of Albania and its beloved leader, comrade Enver Hoxha, is that they have always resolutely abided by the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism; they have defended them with courage, and a high sense of principle, from all their enemies, particularly from the modern revisionists, and have implemented them creatively. It is precisely because they have defended and implemented Leninism that our party and people have successfully coped with the many difficulties caused by the backwardness inherited from the past, and by our internal and external enemies, the imperialists, and have always emerged victorious over them. On this basis, we have achieved all those great victories in developing the national economy and culture, strengthening and democratizing the people's power, deepening the ideological and cultural revolution, raising the well-being of the people and increasing the defence capacity of the country.

In this struggle, the Party of Labour of Albania has amassed a wealth of experience, and has made a contribution of great value, not only to defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism, but also to developing it further. The precepts of the party and comrade Enver Hoxha on the revolutionarisation of the country's life, and their implementation in our revolutionary practice, are a new contribution to the great cause of barring the road of the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism, of ensuring the onward march of the revolution and socialist construction.



## ALBANIAN PEOPLE STRONGER

These lessons have made the Albanian people stronger and more invincible; they have created an unprecedented revolutionary spirit and a firm confidence in the brilliant future of socialism in Albania. This revolutionary atmosphere was raised to a new, ever higher level by comrade Enver Hoxha's speeches last year, and by the documents of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, which constitute a great long-term programme of work and struggle, to carry out the important tasks we are faced with in the struggle against all the manifestations of alien ideologies and liberal stands towards them.

In commemorating the 50th anniversary of Lenin's death the communists and all the working people of socialist Albania, are proud of the Leninist road they have traversed, and the magnificent victories they have achieved, under the banner of Leninism; with still great confidence in Lenin's immortal ideas, they march onward for the complete construction of socialism.

The anniversary of great Lenin's death is a clarion-call to all the communists and revolutionaries of the world, to defend his revolutionary ideas and work, to learn from them, and to fight, as Lenin did, against imperialism and opportunism, for the victory of the revolution and socialism everywhere in the world. (Reprinted in "Albania Today".)

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# War, Pacifism and the Workers

V. I. Lenin

(Excerpts from articles and speeches.)

## THE MARXIST ATTITUDE TO WAR

"War is politics continued by other (i.e. forcible) means". This famous dictum belongs to one of the profoundest writers on military questions, Clausewitz. Rightly, the Marxists have always considered this axiom as the theoretical foundation for their understanding of the meaning of every war. It is from this standpoint that Marx and Engels regarded wars. ("Socialism and War" July-August, 1915).

How then, can the "real nature" of a war be ascertained; how can it be determined? War is the continuation of politics. We must study the politics that preceded the war, the politics that

led to and brought about the war. If the politics were imperialist politics i.e., politics in the interests of finance capital, of the robbery and oppression of colonies and foreign countries, then the war that emerged from these politics is an imperialist war. If the politics were national-liberation politics, i.e., the expression of a mass movement against national oppression, then the war that emerged from these politics is a war for national liberation.

The philistine does not understand that "war is a continuation of politics", and therefore, limits himself to saying, "the enemy is attacking", "the enemy is invading my country", without trying to understand **why**, by **which** class, and for **what** political object the war is being conducted. (From "A Caricature of Marxism and 'Imperialist Economism'", August-October, 1916.)

There are wars and wars. We must examine the historical conditions which gave rise to each particular war, the classes which conducted it, and for what objects. . . .

Today, however, we are confronted, first of all, by two groups of capital powers. We have before us all the great capitalist powers — England, France, America, Germany—the politics of which for a number of decades consisted of unceasing economic rivalry for world supremacy, to strangle all nationalities, to secure threefold and tenfold profits for bank capital, which has enmeshed the world in the chains of its influence. These are the real politics of England and of Germany. I emphasise this. We must never tire of emphasising this, because if we forget it we shall never understand anything about modern war, and we shall be helplessly in the power of any bourgeois writer who palms off fraudulent phrases. (From "A Lecture on War" delivered by Lenin in May, 1971).

Socialists cannot, without ceasing to be socialists, be opposed to all war.

In the first place, socialists have never been, nor can they be, opposed to revolutionary wars. The bourgeoisie of the imperialist "Great" Powers has become thoroughly reactionary, and we regard the war which **this** bourgeoisie is now waging as a reactionary, slave-owners' and criminal war. But what about a war for liberation waged by colonial peoples, for instance, who are oppressed by and dependent upon this bourgeoisie? In the theses of the "International" group, we read: "In the era of this unbridled imperialism there can be no more national wars of any kind". This is obviously wrong.

The history of the twentieth century, this century of "unbridled imperialism", is replete with colonial wars. But what we Europeans, the imperialist oppressors of the majority of the peoples of the world, with our habitual, despicable European chauvinism, call "colonial wars" are often national wars, or national rebellions of these oppressed peoples. . . .

Second, civil wars are also wars. Anyone who recognises the



class struggle, cannot fail to recognise civil wars, which in every class society, are the natural, and under certain conditions, inevitable development and intensification of the class struggle. All the great revolutions prove this. To repudiate civil war, or to forget about it, means sinking into extreme opportunism and renouncing the socialist revolution. ("The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution", 1916).

Therefore, in the realities of the capitalist system, and not in the banal philistine fantasies of English persons or of the German "Marxist" Kautsky, "Inter-imperialist" or "ultra-imperialist" alliances, no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another or of a general alliance embracing **all** the imperialist powers, are **inevitably** nothing more than a "truce" in periods between wars. Peaceful alliances prepare the ground for wars and in their turn grow out of wars: the one conditions the other, giving rise to alternating forms of peaceful and non-peaceful struggle out of **one and the same** basis of imperialist connections and relations within world economics and world politics. ("Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" 1916).

### DISARMAMENT

The fact that the bourgeoisie is armed against the proletariat is one of the biggest, most fundamental and most important facts in modern capitalist society. And in face of this fact, revolutionary Social-Democrats are urged to "demand" "disarmament"! This is tantamount to the complete abandonment of the point of view of the class struggle, the renunciation of all thought of revolution. . . .

Only **after** the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world historic mission, to throw all armaments on the scrap-heap; the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, **but only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before.**

If the present war rouses among the reactionary Christian Socialists among the whimpering petty bourgeoisie, **only** horror and fright, only aversion to all use of arms, to bloodshed, death, then we must say: Capitalist society has always been an **endless** horror. And if this most reactionary of all wars is now preparing a **horrible end** for that society, we have no reason to drop into despair. . . .

One of the most important reasons why this demand (the demand for disarmament — Ed.), is unacceptable is precisely that it, and the illusions it creates, inevitably weakens and devitalizes our struggle against opportunism. . . . A struggle against imperialism that is not closely linked up with the struggle against opportunism, is an idle phrase or a fraud. . . .

Avowed opportunism is openly and directly opposed to revolution

and to the incipient revolutionary movements and outbursts, and is in direct alliance with the governments, varied as the forms of this alliance may be. . . .

The masked opportunists, the Kautskyites, are the more harmful and dangerous to the Labour movement, because they hide their advocacy of an alliance with the governments under a cloak of plausible pseudo-"Marxist" catchwords and pacifist slogans. The fight against both these forms of prevailing opportunism must be conducted in all fields of proletarian politics: parliament, trade unions, strikes, military affairs etc. . . .

Finally, it goes without saying that opportunism cannot be fought merely by means of programmes; it can be fought only by constant vigilance to see that they are really carried out. The greatest, the fatal error the bankrupt Second International committed was that its words did not correspond to its deeds, that it acquired the habit of unscrupulous revolutionary phrasemongering (note the present attitude of Kautsky and Co. towards the Basle Manifesto). . . .

The petty striving of petty states to stand aside, the petty bourgeois desire to keep as far away as possible from the great battles of world history, to take advantage of one's relatively monopolistic position in order to remain in hidebound passivity — this is the **objective** social environment which may ensure the disarmament idea a certain degree of success and a certain degree of popularity in some of the small states. Of course this striving is reactionary and entirely based on illusions; for in one way or another imperialism draws the small states into the vortex of world economy and world politics. ("Pacifism and the Workers", 1916).

Marxists have never forgotten that violence will be an inevitable accompaniment of the collapse of capitalism on its full scale and of the birth of a socialist society. And this violence will cover a world historical period, a whole era of wars of the most varied kinds—imperialist wars, civil wars within the country, the interweaving of the former with the latter, national wars, the emancipation of the nationalities crushed by the imperialists and by various combinations of imperialist powers which will inevitably form various alliances with each other in the era of vast state-capitalist and military trusts and syndicates. This is an era of tremendous collapses, of wholesale military decisions of a violent nature, of crises. It has already begun, we see it clearly—it is only the beginning. ("Report on Revising the Programme and Name of the Party", March, 1918).



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