

Albania today

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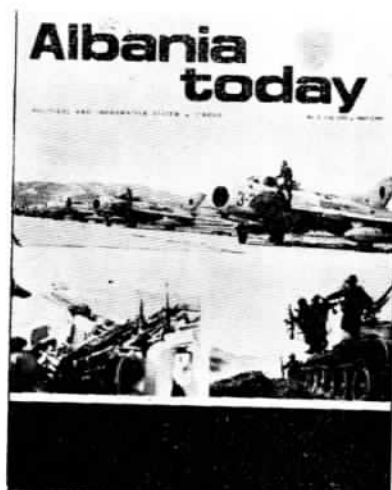


JULY 10, 1943 - JULY 10, 1973

**Thirty years ago the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha
founded the people's army
as a powerful weapon for national liberation and the defence
of the gains of the socialist revolution**



Our painters have treated in their works subjects from the life of our army in various stages. Painter Fatmir Haxhiu has depicted in this tableau the General Commander of the National Liberation Army, Enver Hoxha, directing our forces against the enemy operation of June 1944



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ALBANIAN WOMAN- DETERMINED BUILDER OF LOYAL TO REVOLUTION

On all the fronts of social activity in Albania, the presence, revolutionary spirit, the mind and hand of the Albanian woman are strongly felt

by **MEHMET SHEHU**

OUR CONGRESS, AS WELL AS
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IGS OF THE CENTRAL
PARTY, AND OUR PAR-
LEADER, COMRADE

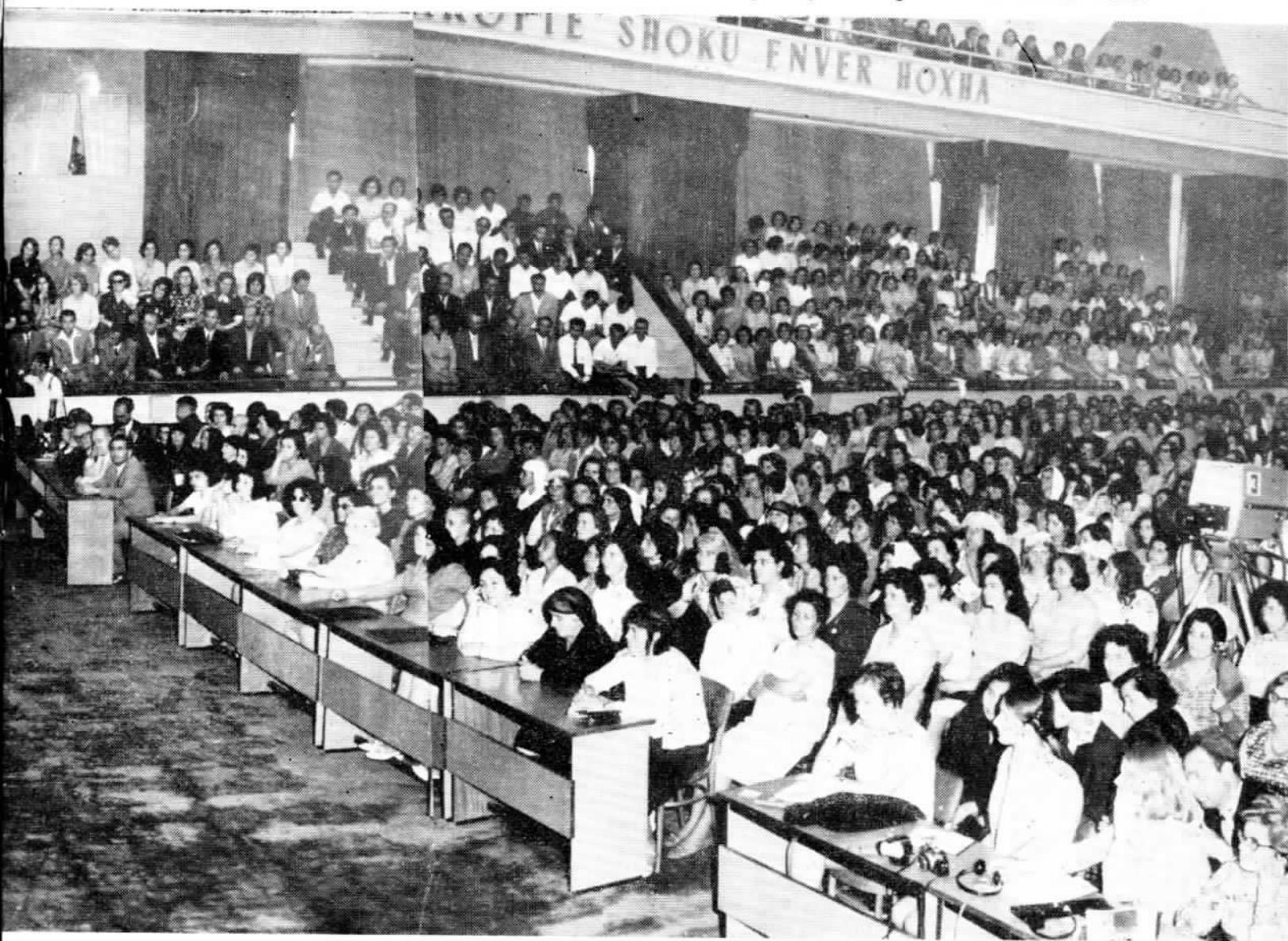
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SOCIALISM,

Comrade Mehmet Shehu greeting the Congress of the Albanian women



once and for good from the foreign yoke and exploitation, from the shackles of the canon law and religion, of backward customs and other negative factors inherited from the past, today are struggling with a heroic spirit, free and happy, side by side with men and as their equals, for the complete construction of the socialist society.

The freedom itself which we won by fighting against the foreign yoke in the national liberation war has its roots in the blood of tens of thousands of martyrs, men and young men, mixed also with the blood of thousands of other martyrs, women and young women. Nobody ever granted the Albanian women equal rights with men, but they won them with their own blood, with their revolutionary efforts and noble sweat under the leadership of the Party. The mothers of the national liberation war generation have rocked us in the cradle singing the songs of valiance and love of motherland of our people and, when they sent us to the war, they accompanied us with the warm words coming from their hearts:

"Go my son to the party's unit and may your rifle shoot like a canon". And when they got the intelligence of their son's or daughter's death in battle they said: "May the Party live".

Nowadays the Albanian mothers educate their children in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, in the feeling of love of work, of determination for the defence of the homeland, of loyalty to the people and the party. The Albanian young women who took an active part in the national liberation war became an example of inspiring, heroic deeds, of revolutionary will and crystal-clear honesty for all, by raising still higher the patriotic and heroic spirit of Nora, Tringa, Shota, Marigo, Sado and of thousands of other women who in the past have fought shoulder to shoulder with men for freedom and independence.

This heroic spirit was raised to the highest peaks by our partisan and communist girls of the first hour - Zonja, Margarita, Bule, Persefoni, Qeriba, Inajete and hundreds upon hundreds of others who laid down their lives in the battle-fields for the liberation of the homeland and who were later on, after the liberation of the country, followed by heroines of socialism - Shkurta, Mrika, Marta, Prenda, Dila, as well as by the entire sound revolutionary generation of women. The Albanian women are loyal to and determined in the cause of the people and of the party and have distinguished themselves for their revolutionary courage in fighting and subduing the conservative, backward and in affirming the revolutionary new in our life, living up to the teachings of the party and comrade Enver Hoxha. Glory to the heroic Albanian women, staunch builders of socialism and loyal to revolution!

The historic victories of the Albanian women and of the Albanian people have been achieved through struggle, suffering, efforts and toil as well as thanks to the correct Marxist-Leninist leadership of the party. Without our heroic party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, the Albanian women, like the entire Albanian people, would have still been in slavery, and in Albania the people would not have been masters and the working class would not have been in power today. But

the bourgeoisie and the foreign invaders would have been still ruling, and in this building which was in the past the centre of catholic obscurantism in Albania and a hotbed of anti-Albania plots, for the enslavement of the people - in this building where this revolutionary congress of the Albanian women is being held, today the Vatican would have been still ruling. The Vatican which is the epicentre of the most sinister reaction in the world, with its black cassock clad agents - pitch-blacklike their hearts and the heart of the pope are. We were liberated, we abolished the exploitation of men by men, we are successfully building the socialist society, we are living happy and we are always marching ahead, thanks to the correct Marxist-Leninist leadership of the party and the vitality of our people. Glory to our hawk-eyed party! Glory to our heroic revolutionary people!

Your Congress, dear comrades, is convened following the 6th Party Congress which assigned important tasks also to your organisation and to the whole party for the further deepening of the emancipation of women. The balance-sheet of the successes with which you come to your 7th Congress today, testifies to the consistent implementation of the tasks assigned by the 6th Party Congress to you. The report delivered to this Congress by comrade Vito Kapo is a testimony to the great role of the women in the life of our country and of the contribution that has been and is being made by the Albanian women to the great work of the socialist construction of the country.

Without the active participation of the women in the struggle for the construction of socialism, socialism cannot be built. Today there is no front of our life and of our activity where the presence, the revolutionary spirit, the thinking and the hand of the Albanian women does not leave its strong imprints. Suffice it to mention the fact today women constitute over 40 per cent of the town workers and the majority of workers in the agriculture, health, trade and other sectors.

Naturally, the participation of the women in work is an important index of the degree of their emancipation. But a still more significant index, a decisive one, is the equality of women with men. With us the woman has legal and practical rights equal to those of man, being equally remunerated for equal work, whereas in the capitalist countries the work of the women is remunerated up to 35-40 per cent, less than the same work of man. Besides, while in the capitalist countries, unemployment among women is chronic, here there is no trace of unemployment at all, the people's power takes special care to create new work places for all able-bodied men and women. This is one of the greatest achievements of the people's power.

It is well known what the women's state was like in our country before liberation. But even after liberation, for a certain time, the weight of religion, of canon law, of backward customs, the negative heritage of the past still for a certain time continued to weigh heavily on women. It was the party that courageously undertook to emancipate the women from this second yoke. This was not an easy task, for it had to over-

come and subdue the stumbling blocks set up by religion, canon law, atavism of the men and women themselves, backward customs and other negative factors which hung on the everyday life of women. But the party did not give way. Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings on the emancipation of the women became the ideological and practical platform of the line of the party in this major issue, and the movement for the emancipation of the women became a genuine revolution within the general framework of our uninterrupted socialist revolution. This revolution has achieved colossal victories and is in continuous development. Nevertheless, the struggle for the emancipation of the women is not yet through; what we have done so far is only the beginning. Now we have embarked on the second stage of this revolution, the stage of the complete emancipation of the women. The struggle for the complete emancipation of the women is closely linked with the overall aspects of the struggle which is being waged in our country by the entire people, under the leadership of the party, for the complete construction of the socialist society under the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement. The strength of women is colossal; without the complete integration and correct utilisation of this force in the general framework of the forces of production of the country, the construction of socialism cannot make headway.

Not only women, but men too, should be engaged in the struggle for the complete emancipation of the women. This is an indispensable condition determining also the success in this struggle. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us: "This struggle cannot be waged without the political and ideological uplift of people, both men and women, young men and young women, and unless the Marxist-Leninist principles of the party are implemented correctly in life". Therefore, all and everyone, should be engaged in the struggle for the complete emancipation of the women - the women themselves and their organisation, the party, the working class, the trade unions, the youth and its organisation, the school, arts and literature - all without exception.

If it is not well understood that the problem of the emancipation of women is not the problem of women alone, but of men as well, say, in some cases of men chiefly, then this struggle cannot proceed duly. Man breeds in himself the atavistic feeling to rule over woman; similarly the boy has the atavistic feeling of his superiority over the girl. And atavism weighs heavily on the mind and conscience of women with their feeling of submission to men. Hence the task that all of us, males, should subject ourselves continuously to the uninterrupted, day to day process of the critical review of our conscience so as to cast away that obscure feeling which has struck roots in the depth of our conscience to rule over women. Similarly, women, too, should fight against that obscure feeling which has struck root in the depth of their conscience - the feeling of submission and inferiority. This is a long process, in which the party should continually educate people, both men and women, boys and girls, in the spirit of equality, social justice, marital and family unity, etc.

In order to correctly implement in life the Marxist-Leninist principles of the party, as comrade Enver Hoxha instructs us, we should bear in mind without fail the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. If we do not bear this in mind and do not correctly estimate the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, then not only we will not achieve our goals in the future, but worse still, there is the danger that the victories achieved so far may collapse. This is the fundamental question in our collective and personal life. Whoever forgets this, he practically deviates from the reality and in this case the damage brought to socialism is considerable.

Socialist Albania is the bastion of socialism in the heart of the bourgeois and revisionist Europe. We are in the conditions of blockade and encirclement. Under our concrete conditions of imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement, the principle of self-reliance, steel-like proletarian discipline, ideological clarity and the struggle against any manifestation of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology amongs our ranks, especially the struggle against manifestations of liberalism, revolutionary vigilance, the spirit of sacrifice and the fighting readiness - all this assumes a decisive significance for the destinies of the homeland. Hence the task for all of us, men and women, young and old, to work, fight and live in the same steel-like discipline as a military unit in encirclement.

If socialist Albania has been able to resist and has not been subdued so far by the blockade and encirclement, this has happened because the people and the party have never lost faith in their own forces and in Marxism-Leninism, they have never lost their revolutionary vigilance and have been conscious of the circumstances and the danger of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, by adapting their revolutionary activity to the situations and requirements of the blockade and the encirclement. Therefore, we have been indomitable.

But, does it ever mean that we have not had shortcomings? To think so means to commit a blunder and loosen the vigilance; it means to leave the tracks open to the enemy. The party, as a directing force of the working class and masses, views its activity with a critical eye, and persistently fights against the shortcomings it notices.

The refined methods of the enemy should not mislead us, because imperialists and revisionists are like the wolf which "changes its hair, but does not change its habits". In our actual conditions, the class struggle should be kept ablaze against any activities of the external and internal enemy, against any manifestations of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology. We should not forget that, under the actual conditions, one of the principal methods resorted to by the enemy against us is the method of giving priority to the ideological diversion in a thousand forms and ways so as to penetrate into our ranks, to the end of infecting our sound situation by intensively feeding liberalism and keeping conservatism alive.

The party keeps its eyes open and its vigilance sharp. The blows dealt at the manifestations of liberalism, at the same time as the struggle against conservatism and bureaucratism



Comrade Enver Hoxha and the other Party and State leaders in the presidium of the Congress

is going on, are but the deepening of the further revolution of the whole life of the country, the consistent perseverance of the class struggle on the Marxist-leninist platform.

The recent speeches by comrade Enver Hoxha have aroused the entire party, all the working masses, women and girls, young and old, and have launched them in a spirited militant encounter against the manifestations of liberalism which still crop up amongst us, as an outcome of the imperialist-revisionist ideological pressure in many sectors of our activity and, especially, in arts and literature. Criticism and self-criticism is going on heatedly in our ranks in order to discover the shortcomings and to fight them, and, as a result, an unprecedented impetus of the masses and cadres erupted in factories and fields, in schools and offices, in every sector.

It is of extraordinary importance for us to keep going and to the necessary height this fire of the class struggle, this intensity of criticism and self-criticism, especially in the ranks of cadres, and this should find expression in the concrete results of our work and struggle for the construction of socialism. We must understand that the continuity of this revolutionary drive at work and for the strengthening of the proletarian discipline, of this militant spirit of criticism and self-criticism to put into practice especially the content of comrade Enver Hoxha's recent speeches is decisive for the destinies of socialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's recent speeches are in themselves a great revolutionary summons of our party for a deeper ideological and political understanding by all, especially by the communists and cadres, of the situation of the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement in which our country is found; it is a summons for an uncompromising and more intensive class struggle in the ideological field against the manifestations of liberalism and against any other alien manifestations in our ranks, a summons for the further strengthening of the sense of responsibility on the part of everybody and, in the first place, of the cadres; a summons for steel-like discipline in production, at school, in military training and elsewhere; a summons for tireless work, for keen revolutionary vigilance and complete and continual combat readiness.

Hence the task for everyone of us to pose to himself everyday the question of what has he done the day before and what will he do the next day in order to fulfill his tasks, to break the blockade and encirclement, in order to promote the socialist construction and to ensure the defence of the homeland and the perpetuation of socialism in our country. Hence the great tasks for the women's organisation, too. First of all, the women's organisation should fight for the ideological uplift of women, so as to make them completely conscious of their tasks, so as to enhance their revolutionary drive. Everywhere women are militating - in factories, construction sites, agricultural cooperatives, at schools, in the sector of arts and literature, in offices, everywhere they are to be found. If due importance is attached to the work which is to be done by all and everybody for the ideological uplift of women, then the other tasks, too, the tasks connected with the complete emancipation of women included, will be better fulfilled.

It is known that the educational and cultural level of women in general is still low. The question of the women's qualification for the assimilation of modern technology is one of the

most important tasks. The backwardness of women in vocational qualification is felt everywhere, but it is felt especially in the countryside. The struggle for the vocational qualification of women is a constitutive part of the struggle for their complete emancipation because the success in this struggle enables women to be promoted to posts of responsibility, to do their work better and to free themselves from the shell of their inferiority complex towards men. Hence the task for the party organisations, the trade union organizations, the working collectives and the women's organisation itself, to fight and better organize the educational and cultural uplift of women, for their qualification parallel and together with men.

The women's organization should fight so that the women can become staunch militants in the struggle against liberalism wherever they work and live, for the strengthening of the proletarian discipline at work, for the carrying out of their tasks in an exemplary manner. They should become determined fighters against the manifestations of the bourgeois fashion and bourgeois mode of living which is served to us by the enemy in a thousand forms and ways. And they should understand this, first of all, as a great ideological problem. The question of aesthetic tastes is of a political and social character, and the society should not keep aloof, but should fight actively against the manifestations of the bourgeois and revisionist aesthetic tastes in our ranks. Our aesthetic tastes are revolutionary ones, characterized by the sense of beauty, purity, modesty, comfort. To be reconciled to the manifestations of liberalism means to become a passway for the bourgeois ideology and to badly damage socialism. The struggle against liberalism is a struggle against imperialism and revisionism on the ideological plane, a struggle for the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and for the successful construction of socialism.

The dust of liberalism, like the rust of conservatism should be wiped out everyday with the broom and brush of revolution, otherwise the track is left open to the enemy and the premises are created for turning the country from socialism back to revisionism and capitalism. And no one is immune from this dust and rust. Therefore, the party and comrade Enver Hoxha demand from everyone to adopt a critical stand towards one's own act as well as the acts of the others every day and every hour, and this should be done without fail, ranging from the cadres and communists, and in turn, up to all the working people, every person, family and collective of our society.

But while we must fight against liberalism in all the forms it appears and whoever be its carriers, we should keep going the struggle against the manifestations of conservatism, especially connected with the complete emancipation of women. In our country, conservatism has not yet completely been done away with, its roots are deep. It is a great historic merit of the party and our people to make Albania the first country in the world without religious cults. But religion, which is also the source of conservatism, has been subdued but not completely abolished as yet. The struggle against religion is a protracted one; even from its grave religion will endeavour to bite and poison people. Backward customs still impede the complete emancipation of women and continue to harass them. There are still cases of engagements of girls in tender

age, of go-between marriages, of assigning women to difficult jobs which should have been done by men, etc. The manifestations of conservatism, in whatever aspects and forms, should be consistently fought against and along the road pointed out to us by the party. This implies that conservatism should be fought against from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and not from the positions of liberalism. We should still further and continually deepen the struggle against religion and backward customs.

We should denounce mercilessly the obscurantist activities of the ex-clergymen who still practise their cults in various forms. No mercy should be had of those who endeavour to enslave our girls by means of the marriages concluded against their own wish, and in other cases of this sort.

The ideological education of people and the work for the emancipation of women should have as their goal the strengthening of the family too. We should fight for the sound family unity and concord, for the rise of the educative responsibility of parents for their children and their good manners, for a happy and socialist family life, devoid of both liberal and conservative manifestations.

Dear comrades,

Our internal situation is very sound. We are in the high tide of the work for the fulfilment of the tasks laid down to us by the 6th Party Congress. The tasks of the plan for the first two years of the 5th five-year plan which have passed, have been carried out well in general, whereas the plan of the first six months of this year is being carried out still better, and in many sectors it is being overfulfilled.

The People's Republic of Albania, which has been transformed into a great construction site, into a wide field of production and complex revolutionary school, is proceeding at rapid rates towards the successful construction of the material-technical base of socialism. Every year witnesses the building of great, middle and small size projects, which go to strengthen industry and radically improve its structure with new branches, which expand the material-technical base of agriculture and speed up the process of its intensification and modernization, which ensure the rapid development of the social and cultural sectors, which consolidate the defence of our country.

But we are not carried away by the successes, for we always march ahead, increasing social production and ensuring the uninterrupted development of the whole life of the country. Eversince we burned our bridges with the Khrushchovite revisionists, we have made a progress which is incredible to the revisionists and imperialists. Our rates of social production development are of the highest. It is long since we have successfully carried out the collectivization of the countryside even in the most mountainous regions of the country, unemployment has been done away with once and for good, the standard of living has been raised with each passing year. We have never experienced price rises for consumer goods but, instead, there have been reductions and stability of prices. Not a single manifestation of inflation has appeared and

will ever appear in our economy, the electric reticulation of the country has been accomplished, the system of pensions has been extended to the peasantry as well, socialist Albania is a country of no taxes and direct fees, of no churches and mosques, religious cults. Socialist education, culture and arts are developing at unprecedented rates and have become the property of the masses; socialist democracy is flourishing and proletarian dictatorship is continually being strengthened. The defence potential of our country is continually being raised: the enemies will never catch us asleep, and those who dare violate our sovereignty and freedom, should know that the response of our people will have terrible consequences for them.

The unity of the people round the Party and of the Party round its Central Committee with comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, has never been so strong as it is today. Whoever underrates the strength and vitality of this unity makes a fatal mistake. True, socialist Albania is in the blockade and encirclement of the imperialists and revisionists, but it is not and will never be isolated. With us is our powerful ally - great China of Mao Tse-Tung, with us are all the revolutionary peoples of the world, because we are on the right road, on the road of socialism and communism. No power on earth is in position to make the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania swerve from this glorious road. Our revolutionary march is and will ever be uninterrupted.

Dear comrade delegates,

Your congress is holding its proceedings at a time when U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism have entered the stage of the frenzied intensification of their collaboration in order to hold their sway over the world.

Today, the greatest danger to the peoples comes precisely from this imperialist and plotting collaboration.

In appearance, it seems as though the international situation is calm, whereas in fact dangerous plans are being mapped out behind the back of the peoples and against them.

The U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists are endeavouring by all means to extinguish the revolutionary struggle of the peoples, to smother revolution and socialism, to rule over the world by dividing the spheres of influence as though the various countries and zones of the world were their own estates. They try to create illusions about peace and security and to damp the vigilance of the peoples to serve their aggressive aims through their tactics of appeasement, of overt and covert negotiations and various other tricks. This is a situation of relative calm, a dangerous situation for the people and for the revolution. It is precisely in this revolution that they sharpen their knives and work out the plans against the peoples, in the first place against People's China and the People's Republic of Albania. This situation should not deceive us. But on the contrary it should induce us to strain our forces to the maximum, to work tirelessly, in a militant discipline like under the conditions of encirclement, and to be always prepared for the defence of the homeland.

On the other hand, the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists although they are deepening their allround collaboration as all hard-core imperialists, have irreconcilable antagonistic contradictions between them, and these contradictions cannot be extinguished but will accompany them to their grave.

The general crisis of the world capitalist system is being ever deepened with each passing day, and it has stretched its claws even to the countries where the revisionists are holding sway. The Soviet-U.S. collaboration will never manage to save the world capitalism from this general crisis; not will Soviet social imperialism escape its destiny. The antagonistic contradictions, internal or external, of the capitalist system and of the countries ruled by the revisionists, are constantly sharpening; the revolutionary struggle of the working class and of the freedom-loving peoples in the world is being developed. The plans of the two superpowers will never be realized, the future belongs to revolution and socialism, not to imperialism and revisionism.

The People's Republic of China is being strengthened every day, the great Chinese people are marching triumphantly and scoring ever greater victories in the socialist construction and the consolidation of the defence might of their country, the international positions of the People's Republic of China are being strengthened continually; People's China, which is also the most powerful enemy of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism stands like an insuperable bastion and as the principal strategic base of revolution to the devilish greed and plans of the two superpowers.

The war of the heroic Vietnamese people smashed the myth of the invincibility of the military force of U.S. imperialism and this is a great victory not only for the Vietnamese people, but also for all the peoples of the world. The heroic Cambodian people are fighting in an exemplary manner against the reactionary forces of Lon Nol and against the Saigon and U.S. aggression. We hail the heroic war of the fraternal peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and we shall be forever by their side till their final victory.

The black cloud of the Soviet - U.S. collaboration has overcast the skies of the Middle East. But, no doubt, the Arab peoples will win in the end. Nixon and Brezhnev are doing their utmost by the proxy of Israel and the reactionary cliques of certain Arab countries to liquidate the Palestinian resistance, but the heroic Palestinian people are fighting and will not be subdued.

We have confidence in the victory of the fraternal Arab people and we shall always be with them in their just struggle.

The People's Republic of Albania follows with attention and vigilance the events on the international arena and is actively and successfully fighting on this arena.

We know well that Albania is like a thorn in the flesh of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists and their lackeys and they leave no stone unturned against our country, in order to force us into submission. No, socialist Albania will never submit to the imperialists and revisionists. The Albanian people will never trust their enemies, we will never forget what Italian fascism and German nazism have done with us, what the imperialists and the revisionists have done with us. The Party of Labour of Albania will never lower the banner of communism whatever the situation, the dangers and the sacrifices be.

By persevering in the implementation of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, in the future, too, we shall successfully cope with any storm and stress that might rush against us, and we shall always forge ahead with revolutionary confidence and courage.

Let us keep going on this way, dear comrade delegates; on the way of the party and of the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, and there will be no power on earth to subdue us.

Let us throw ourselves into a general assault against the manifestations of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, for the further deepening of the class struggle in the interest of socialism, for the uninterrupted consolidation of proletarian discipline, for the consolidation of the people's power, for the flourishing of the socialist democracy, for the maintenance and development of the general mobilization of all forces and energies to the end of successfully carrying out the tasks of the state plan, for the constant improvement of the fighting preparedness in defence of the homeland.

Let us throw ourselves into the general assault, women and men, for the further deepening of the struggle for the complete emancipation of women.

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC AND REVOLUTIONARY ALBANIAN WOMEN.

LONG LIVE THE 7TH CONGRESS OF THE ALBANIAN WOMEN'S UNION.

LONG LIVE THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA AND ITS CENTRAL COMMITTEE WITH COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE HEAD.



Mother and child

We reproduce in this issue some pictures by painter Lumturi Dhrami

STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE ACP IN THE PERIOD OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Ensurance of national independence and the building of a people's democratic government, fundamental tasks of the strategy of the ACP in the period of the National Liberation Struggle. Unification of the people into a single front, organization of the general armed uprising, creation of the national liberation army as well as organization of the national liberation councils as the only state power of the people - main component parts of the tactics of the ACP

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FASCIST INVADERS AND TRAITORS TO THE COUNTRY (1939-1944) IS THE MOST GLORIOUS EPOCH IN THE AGE-LONG HISTORY OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE. IT CONSTITUTES THE FIRST STAGE OF THE REVOLUTION IN ALBANIA WHICH IN NOVEMBER 29, 1944 WAS VICTORIOUS IN THE POLITICAL FIELD. AFTER LIBERATION this revolution continued without interruption as the socialist revolution passing the stage of the construction of the foundations of socialism in town and countryside, while as far back as 1960 it ushered in the new stage of the complete construction of the socialist society.

by NDREÇI PLASARI

NDREÇI PLASARI, member of the Central Committee of the PLA, professor specialist in the history of the PLA and of the national liberation struggle of the Albanian people.

The national liberation struggle was led by the Albanian Communist Party, - ACP (today the Party of Labour of Albania). This struggle had in reality begun as far back as in April 1939 when the Italian fascists occupied Albania by the force of arms, but before November 1941, when the ACP was founded, it had not yet taken the character of a people's armed uprising, and the less so of a people's revolution. At this time only the objective conditions of the revolution had been prepared and the subjective conditions were lacking, that is, the people did not have that political preparation, that readiness, high consciousness and organization which are necessary for such

a great struggle as that for national liberation. The revolutionary leadership needed to prepare these subjective conditions was absent. The communist groups that existed at that time in the country were not in a position to prepare such conditions and lead the struggle, the people's revolution. The Communist Party was created as a necessity to lead the people's masses in the revolutionary struggle up to victory. With the founding of the Party the possibilities were created for the preparation of the subjective conditions of the revolution, and in fact it prepared these conditions within a short period of time. Within only a few months of the formation of the ACP, the national liberation struggle in Albania assumed the character of a people's revolution.

Under the leadership of the Party, this revolution swept the whole country driving the invaders into a scorching fire and bringing about a profound differentiation of the internal political and social forces, until it ended in complete victory for the insurgent Albanian people. Victory was achieved as a result of the working out and continual and skilful implementation of a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary political line.

The political line of the working class party consists of its strategy and tactics. The Albanian Communist Party worked out its strategy and tactics, its political line, at the meeting for the foundation of the party (November 8, 1941), at the National first Conference (March 1943) and at other meetings and conferences which were held during the war; it worked it out through the materials, decisions and directives of the Central Committee of the Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha was the main architect of the revolutionary line of the ACP.

I

Strategy of the A.C.P.

Working on the strategic line, the working class party defines the aim and strategic tasks, the principal enemy, the motive forces of the revolution, the internal allies of the working class and the external war time allies for a given historical period. The strategic aim was clearly defined by our Party right from its founding. This aim was formulated in the following words: «Fight for the na-

tional independence of the Albanian people and for a democratic people's government in an Albania free of fascism».

There are two fundamental strategic tasks in this strategic aim: The attainment of national independence and the building of a people's democratic government. This strategic aim was defined on the basis of the fundamental contradiction that existed in Albania at that time, of the contradiction between the people and the invaders. There was also another contradiction, the contradiction between the labouring masses and the exploiting classes. But this contradiction had passed into the background at that time. However, neither of these two contradictions could be solved separately because the main exploiting classes, the landlords, chiefs of clans, and the reactionary bourgeoisie had turned into tools of the invaders, servants of fascism. Therefore, the attainment of the strategic aim of the party affected not only the interests of the invaders, but also the interests of the exploiting classes. Building the people's democratic government meant, of course, depriving the main exploiting classes, the landlords and the reactionary bourgeoisie of power.

The fascist invaders, first the Italian and then the German invaders, remained the principal enemy from the beginning to the end. Whereas the main local exploiting classes were not fought by our Party as a class enemy, but as tools of the invaders, as traitors, and the Party adopted the same stand towards them as toward the invaders.

The principal motive forces in the national liberation struggle were: **the working class and the peasantry.**

The Albanian working class at that time was small, dispersed and not yet formed as industrial proletariat. Nevertheless, the future belonged to this class, it had better experience in organization and struggle than any other class in Albania. But above all, it had its own party, the Communist Party. No other class in Albania had such a party, with a programme built on scientific bases. Therefore, it was up to this class to fulfill the leading role in the National Liberation Struggle, and it was to carry this out through its own party.

The peasantry, which made up the overwhelming majority of the population (more than 80 per cent), was the biggest motive force of the revolution and the clo-

sest ally of the working class. The participation of the peasantry in the struggle was decisive for the development of this struggle on a large scale and for the attainment of final victory. The party made no distinction between the different strata of the peasantry, neither at the beginning when it was founded, nor later, up to the end of the war. And even when in the course of the war it was clearly seen that the rich peasants passed over to the opposite side of the National Liberation Struggle and joined the reaction, the landlords and the reactionary bourgeoisie, even then the Party did not change its slogan of drawing the whole of the peasantry, without distinction, into the struggle. This is understandable if one bears in mind that the main slogan of the Party, in conformity with its strategic aim, was to unite all patriots in the struggle, all Albanians, without distinction of class or political conviction.

Other motive forces of the National Liberation struggle were: **the petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie of the town.** The petty bourgeoisie made up the largest population of the cities, whereas the middle bourgeoisie was smaller in number. It was in the interest of both to take part in the National Liberation Struggle. But neither could fulfill a leading role in this struggle because they were very weak from the economic viewpoint, and still weaker from the political viewpoint. They were heterogenous and, besides this, the patriotic section of the bourgeoisie at that time did not have its own political party. Without its own political party no class whatsoever can fulfill a leading role. From the very start the Party clearly realized that the patriotic section of the bourgeoisie could not play a leading role in the National Liberation Struggle, but nevertheless it could take part in this struggle.

It clearly follows from the analysis of the main strategic aim and of the motive forces that the National Liberation war was a democratic anti-imperialist revolution. That is why all the slogans of the Party were of such a character. The meeting of the groups for the founding of the party condemned the erroneous slogans, that had been launched formerly by the communist groups, such as «For a soviet Albania», «For a communist Albania», as entirely erroneous slogans. The Party determined its strategic slogans in conformity with its strategic aim. Such

strategic slogans were: «Fight for a free, independent, democratic people's Albania», «Death to fascism! Freedom to the people!», «Let all honest Albanians, without distinction of class, political conviction, religion and region, unite in the struggle against fascism, for a free democratic Albania». In the struggle against the fascist invaders, the Party also defined its external allies. On an international scale, our National Liberation struggle was a component part of the great antifascist world war. That is why the allies of the Albanian people in the National Liberation Struggle were precisely **all the peoples and states that were fighting against fascism.** These allies were: the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States of America and all the other peoples that had risen in struggle against the common enemy, the German, Italian and Japanese invaders.

II

Tactics of the A.C.P.

The tactics of the working class party include the forms of organization and struggle for a definite period, the political line and the stands of the party at particular moments. The party works out its own tactics on the basis of its strategic line, in conformity with the specific internal and external, objective and subjective conditions.

For the attainment of its strategic aim in the National Liberation War the Albanian Communist Party solved three fundamental tasks which served as a key to victory.

First task: uniting the Albanian people into a single National Liberation Front.

Second task: the organization of the general armed uprising and the creation of the National Liberation Army.

Third task: Organization of national liberation councils as the sole state power of the people in Albania.

These three tasks were a component part of a single revolutionary process and were solved in close connection with one another.

Failure to perform one of these tasks would make the victory of the revolution impossible.

1. — **The National Liberation Front was the principal form of the unity and organization of the masses in struggle.** The motive forces of the National Liberation

Struggle had to unite and did unite into this front.

Unlike many other countries of Europe, in Albania the National Liberation Front was created as a direct voluntary union of the popular masses and not as a coalition of political parties. This also happened due to the fact that there were no antifascist political parties here except the Communist Party of Albania. The Communist Party of Albania, at the time when the National Liberation Front was created at the Peza Conference (September 1942) and even later, was not opposed to the creation of any antifascist political party in Albania, it was not opposed to cooperation with such political parties if they were created. But no antifascist political parties were created during the war. The patriotic section of the bourgeoisie, which may have created such parties, was not in position to do so, it was politically weak. But the main thing was that the Communist Party of Albania managed within a short period of time to become the sole leader of the National Liberation Struggle. The overwhelming majority of the people accepted and embraced the line of the party, recognized the Communist Party of Albania as leader. The authority of the Party grew very much and this high authority of the Party, this recognition of the Party as leader by the overwhelming majority of the population, made the creation of any other party impossible. A political party is created when it becomes necessary, when the objective conditions demand it. Our revolution, the National Liberation War, had its own Marxist-Leninist revolutionary leader. Why should other parties be created? In these conditions the patriotic section of the bourgeoisie joined the National Liberation Front directly, without the mediation of a political party of its own, but by groups or individuals.

The fact that no other antifascist political party was created in Albania was a very good thing. If some other party had been created, it would certainly have been the bourgeoisie which would have created it. It would have only created troubles for the ACP and people during the war-time as well as after it. The absence of other political parties facilitated the job of the Communist Party in performing its great leading mission.

The Front was based on the alliance of the working class and peasantry, with the working class as the leader of the war,



**The Fatherland is of the whole people,
therefore it is defended
not only
by the regular army but by the entire armed,
organized and militarily trained people**

and the peasantry as the broadest basis of the front. The peasantry, under the leadership of the ACP, became the main source and force of the National Liberation Struggle, the most powerful backing of the Party and the working class. Certainly, it was no easy job to win the peasantry over. When the Party was founded, it had very few ties with the peasantry because it had not inherited such ties from the communist groups. Among the ranks of the communist groups there had existed a very erroneous mentality which considered work with the peasantry as outside the sphere of communist activity. This mentality, this sectarianism, was also evident for some time after the founding of the Party. The communists of the groups had not been accustomed to working with the peasantry. The Central Com-

mittee of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, in particular, had to do much work with the communists to teach them how to work with and win over the peasantry. The communists won the hearts of the peasantry and of the people in general by their courage, bravery and honesty. It was not long before the people, especially the peasantry, became convinced of the correctness of the political line of the Party, seeing this correctness in the performance of the Party, in the activity of the communists. When the Party created its bases in the countryside, linked itself with the masses of the peasants, it became much easier for it to organize the armed uprising, to bring about the unity of the people in the National Liberation Front, to lay the foundations of the people's power.



Concerning the National Liberation Front, the most delicate sector of party work was the work with the nationalists. Although they were not numerous, drawing them into the struggle was important, for a part of them had an influence on the various sections of the people. Through them, the Party could use this influence to draw the masses of the people into the struggle. The patriotic nationalists saw the Party programme as the fulfilment of their immediate demands. Therefore, there was a sound basis to draw them into the struggle. The Party worked patiently and tactfully with the nationalists. It was very cautious and very frank with them. In its work with them it did not resort to the method of pressure and intimidation, but used the method of persuasion. The nationalists had to become convinced of the

ability of the ACP to lead the struggle through their own experience, just as the whole people had to become convinced thus, for one may claim «to be able to lead» as much as he likes, but nobody will follow unless this is proved in deeds, unless people are convinced of the truth of this ability. A part of the nationalists, the most patriotic, the most progressive and determined in the struggle, allied themselves very closely with the Party. Later on, many of them became communists too. But there were other nationalists who vacillated a great deal. The Party worked patiently with this category – once, twice, ten times, it never tired of showing them the correct road, of convincing them that it was in their own interest to join the National Liberation Front and, when they joined it, the

Party cooperated with them in a sincere fraternal way. There were some who were hesitant, who wavered greatly and refused to enter the Front, but who did not collaborate with the invaders. In such cases the Party tried to neutralize their influence. As for those who slipped into treason and joined the invaders the Party fought against them in the same way as against the invaders, as against traitors. The National Liberation Front had its own programme. This programme was based on the political line of the ACP. The Front's programme was worked out at the Peza Conference. In fact, the foundations of the National Liberation Front were laid down prior to the Peza Conference in struggle against the fascist invaders. The Peza Conference laid down the organisational foundations of the National

Liberation Front. The unity of the people without organisation could not have been stable, the Front could not have been set up without having created its organisational base.

The Front was built up on the basis of convincing the masses of the correctness of the political line of the Party. Nobody compelled the masses to unite into the National Liberation Front and accept the leadership of the Party. This came about solely because the masses became convinced of the correctness of the Party line.

The Party used many means to convince the masses. A sound weapon in the hands of the Party to reach this aim was agitation and propaganda, the Party's educative work with the masses. Up till that time, no political organisation in Albania had carried out such agitation and propaganda, such an educative, vigorous, militant, mobilizing, clear and accurate job. Of course this was not sufficient. Revolutionary activity was a more important means than agitation and propaganda. The Party always accompanied words with deeds. Revolutionary activity, accompanied by the example of the communist, was the soundest weapon, the best instrument to convince the people of the correctness of the political line of the Party. «Without action, there is no communist party, — the ACP pointed out in its documents... Action and struggle are what add to the growth and strengthening of the party. We cannot link ourselves with the people unless we prove to them that we are able to lead». (Resolution of the First Consultative Conference of the Active of the ACP, April 1942). Organization was the other sound means. In many of his works comrade Enver Hoxha clearly states that only the ties with the organized masses are sound and stable ties. Therefore, the Party paid very great attention to the organization of the masses. At the beginning it created the National Liberation Front and later it created the other mass organisations, such as the Union of the Antifascist Youth and the Union of the Antifascist Women. These organisations served as sound levers in the hands of the Party for the education and mobilization of the broad masses in the struggle. The Party has fought on two fronts for the continual strengthening of the National Liberation Front: against sectarianism as well as against opportunism. Sectarian manifestations were seen in some communists who, at the

beginning, despised work with the peasantry, who showed no patience in working with the nationalists, who immediately after the emergence of the «Balli Kombëtar» organisation, demanded that war be declared against it at a time when it had not yet been explained to the masses that «Balli Kombëtar» was a traitorous organisation. Opportunist manifestations were evident in individual communists who were yielding to the strong pressure exerted by the reactionary bourgeoisie, the landlords and the Anglo-American imperialist reaction. Capitulating before this pressure, there were some who demanded that the name of the Communist Party not be at the fore, that its leading role not be propagated and that the Party merge into the Front and thus lose its individuality. These manifestations, and viewpoints were very dangerous because they would have led to the loss of the leading role of the Party, to the defeat of the revolution. The Party has continually fought similar manifestations, both sectarian and opportunist, and has not allowed them to take root.

Besides the fascist invaders the local reactionaries also made exceptionally numerous and allround efforts to destroy the National Liberation Front. They resorted to various means, and one which they thought would be greatly successful was the creation of «Balli Kombëtar» towards the end of 1942, as a reaction against the National Liberation Front. «Balli Kombëtar» came out with a series of demagogical slogans seeking to deceive the people by claiming to be a patriotic organisation. It did not recognize the Peza Conference, it did not recognize the programme of the National Liberation Front, it demanded that the Front and the Party join the «Balli Kombëtar». This organization conducted propaganda against the Party and secretly collaborated with the invaders. The Party knew that «Balli Kombëtar» was an offspring of reaction and represented the interests of the reactionary bourgeoisie. Despite this, it did not proclaim war against it at the beginning because when «Balli Kombëtar» emerged many people believed it was a patriotic organization. The Party pursued a wise tactic. It called on «Balli Kombëtar» to enter the war against the invaders and, on this basis, to unite in the National Liberation Front. However «Balli Kombëtar» was not in favour of war against

fascism. On the contrary, it was collaborating with fascism. It asked that war not be waged against the fascists, that a wait-and-see attitude be adopted. «The Albanian people must begin their struggle only one week before the capitulation of Italy, — the ballists said, — because Italy is a big power, and we are small, we are unarmed; to wage war against such a great power as Italy and Germany means breaking one's own head against the wall, this leads to the annihilation of the Albanian nation».

It was precisely on the question of the war against the invaders that the Party spearheaded its main blow against «Balli Kombëtar» in order to expose it, for «Balli» was against this war. Not only did it refuse to take part in the war, but it came out ever more openly against the National Liberation Struggle, against the partisan units, until it completely joined the invaders, especially with the arrival of the German invaders in Albania, throwing itself into open armed war against the national liberation movement.

After the country's occupation by the Germans another political organization, «Legaliteti», was created. Before this time, the Zogists were in the National Liberation Front. Abaz Kupi, the official representative of the Zogists, was a member of the General Council and of the General Staff. He had entered the National Liberation Front at the instructions of the English, in order to establish Zog's influence there. Through the Zogists the English had hoped to establish their control over the National Liberation Struggle and over post-war Albania. However, the continual increase of the authority of the Communist Party, of its leading role in the struggle, completely spoiled the plan of both the Zogists and their bosses — English and Americans. Then, when it was obvious that the Zogists were not exerting any kind of influence on the National Liberation Front, the English advised them to leave the Front and create an organisation of their own. The organisation which they created was called «Legaliteti». In this case, too, the Party made it clear that it was not against the creation of a «Zogist party», but that this «Zogist party» should fight against the German invaders and join the National Liberation Front. However, «Legaliteti» was not created for war against the German invaders, but for war against the National Libera-

tion Front, for war against the ACP. At the beginning, just as «Balli Kombëtar», it sought to keep this collaboration secret, but it was impossible for it to do so. «Legaliteti» joined «Balli Kombëtar», the quisling government and the German nazis themselves, thus throwing itself into open armed war against the Front and the National Liberation Army.

Under these circumstances, the Party had no reason to wait. The people were pressing for war to be proclaimed against these traitorous organisations, against «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti». The Party proclaimed armed war against the traitorous organisations and other armed forces, because otherwise no successful war could be waged against the Hitlerite invaders and victory could not be achieved. The Party at no time forgot that the German nazis always remained the principal enemy. It always fought the traitorous organisations and their armed forces as tools of the invaders and destroyed them before the Germans had gone. In September 1944 there were only remnants of the traitorous organisations and reactionary forces in Albania.

Thus, the National Liberation Front was never weakened and destroyed, but on the contrary it continued strengthening and served as one of the main weapons to ensure victory.

2. - The armed uprising was the main form of the war. In those conditions there was no other possibility, principal means of war to achieve victory except the armed uprising. The Party did not neglect other forms of struggle, such as demonstrations, sabotage, protests, the spoken and written, exposure of the enemies. But all this aimed at preparing the people for the general armed uprising. In the specific conditions of our country the armed uprising could not be an immediate outburst. It was an entire and protracted process beginning with antifascist demonstrations and small combat actions, and ending with the general people's uprising.

The armed uprising necessarily demanded the creation of the armed forces, of the National Liberation Army. This army had the task of securing the complete liberation of the country, without waiting for outside forces coming to the assistance of the people; at the same time it also served as an armed support for the people's power. These tasks, which are strategic tasks, could be performed only by

a regular army of the people, of the new Albanian State. Therefore, with all its forces the ACP struggled and reached its aim to create a regular people's army in Albania, an army of the new State of the people's democracy, parallel with arming the broad masses of the people.

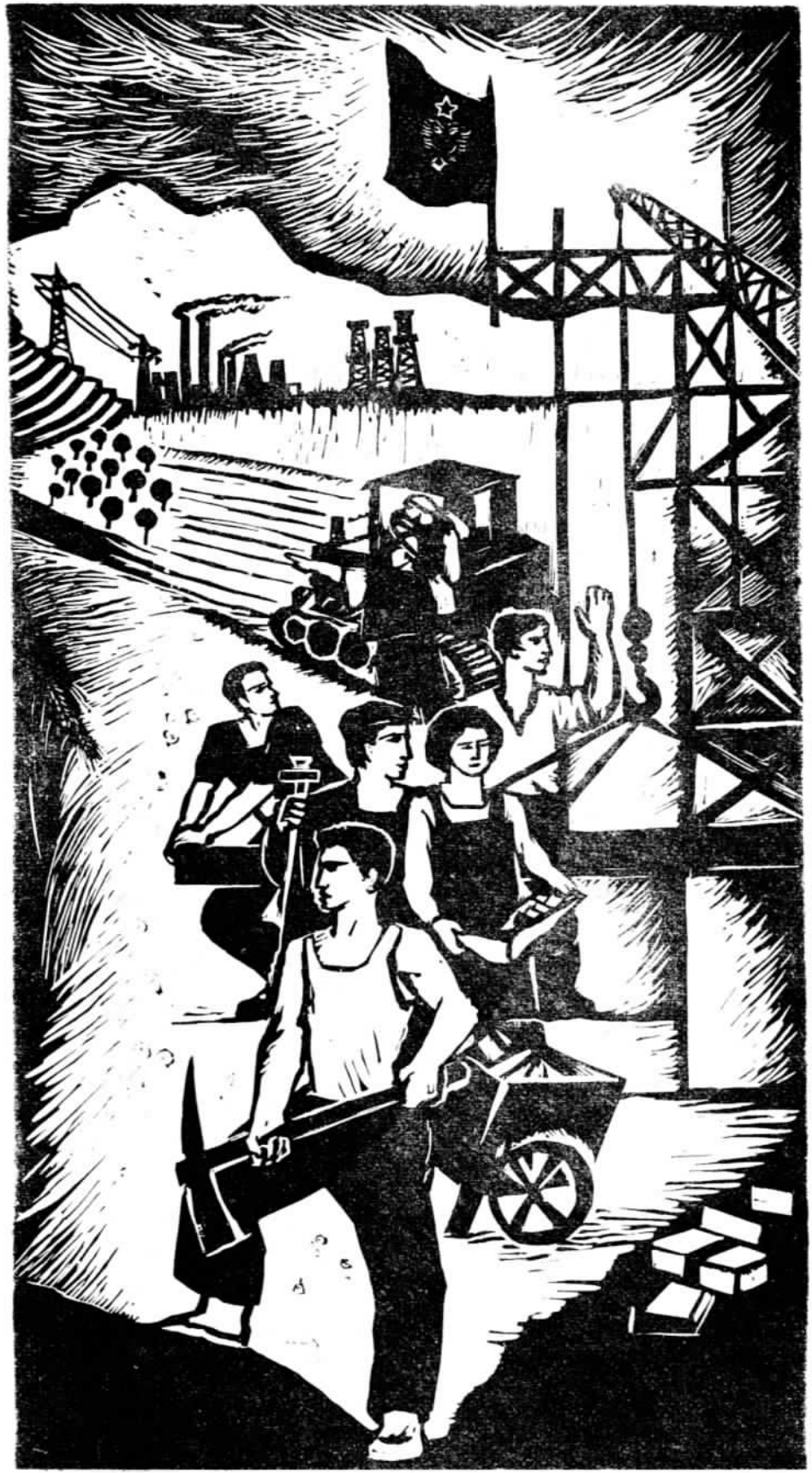
This of course could not be achieved at once, just as we could not at once begin the general people's uprising. We had to begin with the lower forms, the guerrilla units, groups and battalions, and then pass over to brigades and, finally, unite the brigades into army divisions, the army divisions into army corps.

The armed uprising in our country underwent three main stages. First stage: from the founding of the Party until July 1943. At this stage the foundations of a regular National Liberation Army were laid, and the people were politically and militarily prepared for the general armed uprising. Second stage: from July 1943 until May 1944. At this stage the National Liberation Army was organized. The uprising assumed the character of a general people's uprising.

Third stage: from May 1944 until November 29, 1944. At this stage the general uprising led to the complete liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power. The National Liberation Army was completely transformed into a regular army of the people and of the new Albanian State.

The guerrilla units were the first school of the war. They were created in the city. Why were they created in the city and not created from the beginning in the countryside? The reason for this was that at the beginning the Party had ties almost only with the popular masses of the city. There can be no armed struggle without the support of the popular masses. When the Party created close ties with the peasant masses, when it created its bases in the countryside, then it became possible to develop the partisan movement in the countryside too. In the peasant areas partisan units were created, then battalions and other formations in turn. The partisan units and battalions were larger formations. They were able to carry out operations on a larger and more important scale than the guerrilla groups. Unlike the guerrilla groups, which had their base in the city and in the occupied regions, the partisan units had their base in the liberated regions.





The operations carried out by the guerrilla groups and units had first and foremost a political character and then a military character. Every action of the guerrilla groups and partisan units had to serve as a new link connecting the Party with the masses. Therefore all the actions of the guerrilla groups and partisans units were carefully studied by the Party committees. Such actions were carried out as were acceptable to the popular masses, so that each action be of the greatest possible political advantage. For example, they did not kill every spy, fascist or Italian officer, but they killed those who had terrorized and massacred the people, who had earned themselves the hatred of the people and whom the people wanted to be killed. After each combat action the authority of the Party grew increasingly, the Party earned ever greater credit from the people.

The first big formation of the regular army was the brigade. Unlike the units and battalions, it was not a formation of one region or one district, but it was a formation under the command of the general staff operating where it was needed most. The general staff worked out a special plan for the gradual unification of the units, battalions and partisan groups into brigades. This plan was not suspended even in the most difficult period of the National Liberation Struggle, the winter of 1943-1944 when the German fascists organized large-scale operations to destroy the National Liberation Army. At the beginning of the operations, in November 1943, there were 3 brigades, whereas in March 1944, when the operations ended, there were 7 brigades and an 8th one was being organized. In May 1944 there were about 35,000 fighters in the regular partisan detachments. The Përmeti Congress decided that the National Liberation Army should completely assume the character of a regular army. This decision had been realised by the month of October. At that time there were 70,000 fighters in the National Liberation Army, which was organized in brigades, the brigades incorporated into army divisions and these into army corps. There were no more partisan units and battalions. Also there was no more need for the district staff which formerly led the partisan detachments in the district. The army was led by the General Commander comrade Enver Hoxha, General Secretary of the ACP. From June

1944 this army was fully in a position to throw itself into a general offensive against the invaders, an offensive which led to the complete liberation of the country on the 29th November 1944.

Ninety per cent of the National Liberation Army were peasants, 80 per cent were youths between 16 and 25 years old, 9 per cent were girls.

In view of the organisation of the general uprising and the creation of the army, the Party solved great and complicated problems, such as the problem of training cadres, the problem of arming the Army, of supplying it with foodstuffs and clothing, the problem of working out the tactics of the struggle, etc. The Party solved these problems in a creative manner. Cadres were trained from among the ranks of the workers, peasants, patriotic teachers and students, in the crucible of the war. Many of them had not a sufficient education, indeed they were even illiterate. Nevertheless, they showed such ability in war that they defeated the German and Italian army generals and officers who had graduated from military academies and schools.

At first, the Army was armed with the rifles which the Albanians had hidden in holes and walls after previous foreign occupations. The partisan groups, at the beginning were armed with Turkish, French, Greek, Serbian, Belgian and Austrian rifles; there were also Italian rifles. Not only were these weapons old, but there was also a shortage of ammunition. The little ammunition available was used up very quickly. Thus, it was necessary for the old weapons to be replaced by Italian arms by capturing them from the invaders. Therefore the invaders were the main source of weapons for the National Liberation Army. The arms were captured from them in war by the guerrilla groups, by the partisan detachments and battalions and then by the partisan brigades. In some cases weapons were bought from various people, and even from Italians. There were Italian soldiers who used to sell rifles, pistols and grenades. But the major part of the arms were seized from the enemies in combat. At the end of the war about 50 per cent of the partisans were armed with weapons captured from the Germans. As far as the supplies were concerned, these were ensured, in the first place, by the peasants. They supplied the National Liberation Army with foodstuffs. Later on,

when the war began against «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti», in every region which had been liberated, the partisans confiscated the property of the traitorous chieftains who were usually rich and had grain crops, livestock and other foodstuffs. Part of these confiscated foodstuffs were used to feed the National Liberation Army, whereas the rest was distributed to the population. Clothing was also secured through the help of the people, in the first place, through the help of the population of the cities. Another part was captured from the enemy.

As far as the tactic of the armed struggle is concerned, this was a tactic of partisan warfare. Even when our National Liberation Army was transformed into a regular army, the tactic of partisan warfare remained to the end the main tactic of the war due to the fact that the enemy, the invader, was superior in number, and incomparably superior in combat equipment which our army could not have. Thus it could not have waged a frontal war against the enemies or it would have been annihilated. This is why it relied on the tactics of partisan warfare. By means of these tactics and the high morale of the fighters, the adversary's superiority in number and especially in combat equipment was neutralized. The tactic of partisan warfare was characterized by the spirit of offensive, uninterrupted actions, skilful manoeuvring, numerous movements, and excellent use of the terrain, especially the mountainous terrain. These tactics of the partisan warfare were worked out by the General Staff, by the Central Committee of the Party and especially by comrade Enver Hoxha.

In conclusion, the armed uprising in Albania began and was inspired in the city. With the growth of the armed uprising its epicentre passed on to the countryside. The countryside became the main base of the uprising, the peasants became its main force. At the same time the movement also grew in the city. The countryside was liberated first. It served as a starting point for the liberation of the city and of the whole country. Nevertheless the city remained, to the end, the inspirer and leader of the uprising.

3. - The state power of the national liberation councils was born and gained strength parallel with the armed struggle. The Party created the national liberation councils as new forms: both as organs

of the state power. They were set up in the occupied areas and in the liberated areas. In the occupied areas they did not perform functions of political power. There, they mainly prepared the people for the general uprising. The councils were organs of state power only in the liberated areas. When an area was liberated, the councils which had been acting in illegality were automatically transformed into organs of political power.

The national liberation councils quickly gained authority in the eyes of the popular masses who themselves created them under the leadership of the Party. When the Party saw that the majority of the people recognized the councils as the sole organs of political power in Albania, it launched the following slogan at the second National Liberation Conference which was held in Labinot in September 1943: «The national liberation councils, the sole political power of the people in Albania».

One month previously, Ymer Dishnica and Mustafa Gjinishi, in opposition to the directives of the Central Committee of the Party, in opposition to the concrete tasks they were entrusted with by the General National Liberation Council, accepted a traitorous agreement with «Balli Kombëtar» at Mukje, which disregarded the national liberation councils and handed political power over to reaction, to «Balli Kombëtar» which was collaborating with the invaders. The so-called «Committee for the Salvation of Albania», which was to be created according to the agreement reached with «Balli Kombëtar» in Mukje, was to replace the General Council and serve as a «Provisional government». Considering that this kind of government, «the Committee for the Salvation of Albania» was made up mainly of ballists and zogists, it is easy to understand in whose hands political power would have rested. But our Party, the Central Committee and comrade Enver Hoxha, could never accept such an agreement. Therefore, as soon as they learned about it, on comrade Enver Hoxha's initiative the Central Committee rejected this agreement without hesitation, condemning it as an act of treason which would annihilate the leadership of the Communist Party in the struggle and in the national-liberation state power, which would annihilate the revolution. How could such an agreement be accepted when the Albanian people had accepted the na-

tional liberation councils, the work of Party, as the sole political power in Albania? Ymer Dishnica and Mustafa Gjinishi, in opposition to the will of the people, were handing political power over to the reactionary bourgeoisie. One had to be either mad or a traitor to do such a thing. And how decisive was the decision adopted by the Central Committee and comrade Enver Hoxha that rejected the Mukje agreement, was shown by the later course of events.

In May 1944, when the day of liberation was not very far off, when the Anglo-Americans were manoeuvring to create an Albanian government in exile in London, and were also making efforts to create a so-called Albanian government in the mountains in North Albania, which was still in the hands of the reactionaries and Germans, the Përmet Congress was convened on the initiative of the Party. The Congress founded the new State of People's Democracy. It created the first provisional revolutionary democratic government which was called the National Liberation Antifascist Committee with comrade Enver Hoxha as chairman, it prohibited Zog's return to Albania, and decided to recognize no other government at home or abroad except the government which was created at the Përmet Congress. These were historic decisions. In fact the Përmet Congress solved the question of political power in Albania to the advantage of the democratic revolutionary forces. Even though half of Albania had not yet been liberated, this was of no great importance. The population of the unliberated areas as well as the population of the liberated areas did not recognize the quisling government created by the invaders, but recognized only the government which was created by the representatives of the people at the Përmet Congress. In fact, while the quisling government existed formally for a long time, it did not play any role at all and nobody paid any attention to it.

Thus the state power set up in Albania by the invaders and the exploiting classes was annihilated and the people's power was established. When the country was completely liberated, on the 29th of November 1944, this political power was extended over the whole country. The Party solved the question of political power with genius and creatively. The Central Committee of the ACP and com-

rade Enver Hoxha, did not wait for the entire country to be liberated before establishing the people's power at a time when, by exploiting the circumstances created, it was already possible to do this during the National Liberation Struggle. When Albania was completely liberated the people's power had already been established throughout the country.

The national liberation struggle remained up to the end an anti-imperialist democratic revolution. Nevertheless, elements of socialist revolution developed in its fold. First, the authority of the working class party grew so much that it became the all powerful leader in the Front, in the State, in the army. Second, through the national liberation struggle not only the domination of the invaders was destroyed but also the political domination of the landlords and the reactionary bourgeoisie. As a matter of fact, the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat was already decided during the national liberation struggle. The state power of the national liberation councils, which was born and developed as the state power of the democratic revolutionary masses led by the Party, in the conditions of the development of the uninterrupted revolution from a democratic-anti-imperialist revolution into socialist revolution, began, immediately after liberation, to perform the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is the functions of state power changed whereas its composition remained in essence that of war time. Immediately after the country's liberation the broad masses of the people also definitely specified the form of the state order. Through universal, secret and direct vote, in December 1945 the people elected the Constituent Assembly, which on January 11, 1946 proclaimed Albania a People's Republic. The Albanian Communist Party launched the slogan for a «People's Republic» only after the war. During wartime such a slogan would have impaired the unity of the people around the national liberation front, taking into account that the aim was to rally all Albanians around this Front, without distinction of class and political conviction, in struggle against the invader. The stand of the Party was that the form of the order must be decided by the people themselves after liberation. It was clear that the masses of the people, closely linked with the Communist Party in the

wave of the people's revolution, would not accept any other form of state order than the people's republic which contained all the features of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and would reject a monarchy or any other form of bourgeois dictatorship.

During the national liberation struggle the revolution developed mainly in the political field. It did not solve economic and social tasks. The Party had not set itself the aim of solving such tasks because the main thing at that time was the liberation of the country and the question of political power. The economic and social tasks of the democratic anti-imperialist revolution were solved after the war, in the framework of the socialist revolution. Therefore, the land reform too which was one of the main tasks of the democratic revolution, since it was being carried out in these conditions, was very deep. It not only liquidated the remnants of feudalism, but it also deeply affected the capitalists, it divested the merchants of the land ownership, whereas it did not leave the rich peasants more than 5 hectares of land each also confiscating a considerable part of their agricultural inventory and livestock.

4. - The ACP also solved other questions of a tactical character. One of them, of very great importance, is the Party's revolutionary stand towards foreign allies. This stand played a decisive role in the victory of the revolution. The Party remained always faithful to its alliance with other states and peoples which were fighting against fascism. It tried, with all its forces to respect the agreements, rules and norms among the allies. In these relations the Party implemented three main revolutionary principles.

First revolutionary principle: The Party did not adopt the same stand towards the allies, but differentiated between them. One stand was adopted towards the Soviet Union and another stand was adopted towards the English and the Americans. The Party was well aware that the Anglo-Americans had not given up their imperialist aims. They would remain allies only until fascism was destroyed, while the Soviet Union was an ally of our people not only in the war for the destruction of fascism but also during the establishment and consolidation of the people's power.

Second revolutionary principle: Our Party, cooperating with the external allies, was

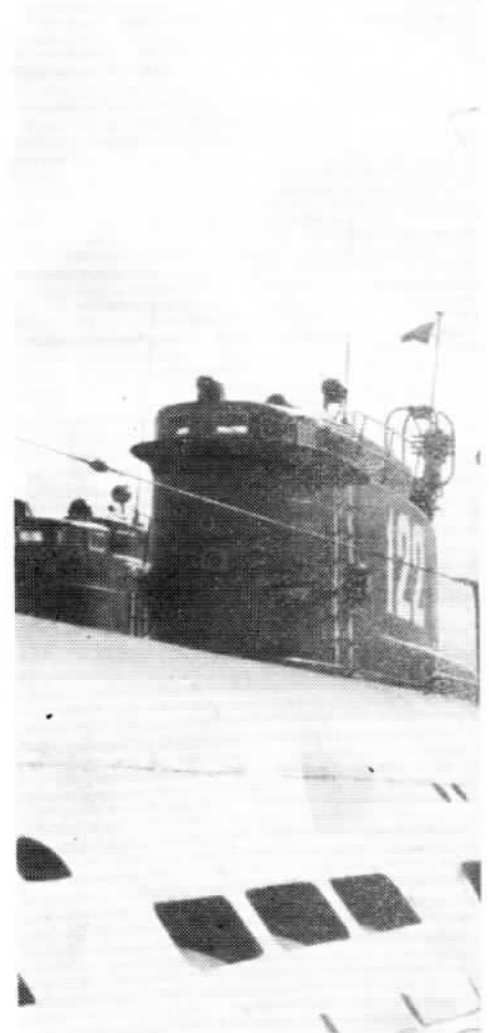
always careful and never allowed any of the allies to interfere in the internal affairs of the national liberation struggle, in the internal affairs of the Albanian people. It defended the Albanian people's complete sovereignty through to the end. By implementing this principle, the Party smashed each and every aim and attempt of the Anglo-Americans who left no stone unturned to establish their control over the national liberation struggle and the whole country and to annihilate the gains of the revolution in order to keep the power of the exploiting classes on its feet.

Due to the resolute application of the principle of preserving the complete sovereignty of the people and of rejecting any foreign interference in its internal affairs, what happened in Greece, where the leadership of the Greek Communist Party bent the knee before the pressure of the reactionary bourgeoisie and of the Anglo-American imperialists and handed over political power to them, did not happen in Albania. Thus, the Greek people, who waged such an heroic struggle against the fascist invaders, gained nothing.

Third revolutionary principle: The Party accepted the aid of the allies and demanded this aid, but it never relied on external aid to attain victory in the struggle, although it highly evaluated the external factor, particularly the great patriotic war of the Soviet Union. The Party taught the people to rely on their own forces, on their armed struggle, on the general popular uprising. The people adopted the party slogan: «Freedom is not donated, but gained through blood and sacrifices». The application of this principle too, was of decisive importance. It is common knowledge that, in Europe, only Albania liberated itself by its own forces, without the necessity of the Red Army or the Anglo-American armies coming here. This does not exclude the recognition of the decisive role played by the Soviet Union, with J.V. Stalin at the head, in the destruction of Hitlerite Germany, a factor which also provided a possibility for the Albanian people to carry out their liberation struggle against the nazi invaders with so much success.

* * *

We can draw very useful lessons from the revolutionary experience of our Party



and people in the national liberation struggle.

- This experience shows that only a programme built on Marxist-Leninist principles, a programme which meets the demands and interests of the people and socialism can be acceptable to the masses. Our Party has followed and is continually following this lesson.

- But it is not sufficient just to build up a correct Marxist-Leninist line. One must also know this line and be determined to the end to implement it. There have been parties with a generally correct line, but due to the fact that they have not shown determination, maturity and courage to carry out this line in practice, they have failed, they have been destroyed or have slipped into entirely erroneous positions. What does it mean to know the line and



Under the constant care of the party and government the armed forces are being continually modernized so as to be always in complete preparedness to accomplish with honour the sacred duty of the defence of the Fatherland

implement it, as it has been implemented by our Party?

First, one must not bow before difficulties. Our Party has heroically overcome all the difficulties. Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Central Committee have taught the communists, and our people not to lose their bearings in the difficult situations which inevitably arise on the road of the revolution as a result of the losses caused by the blows dealt by the enemy. In difficult situations our Party has shown courage, it has manoeuvred, but it has never lost sight of the main objective, it has always known how to find a victorious way out, having firm confidence in its own forces, in the forces of the people.

Second, it is necessary to always rely on the masses, to turn the Party line into a line of the masses, to consult the masses,

to learn from the masses. One must know how to carry out lively, correct, moving, mobilizing and real propaganda, as does our Party. Never separate words from deeds. Revolutionary action, accompanied by the example of the communist, is the most fruitful and powerful means to convince the masses of the correctness of the political line of the party. One should work with all one's forces for the sound organisation of the masses. Only the ties with the organized masses are sound and stable ties. One must know to use the mass organizations as powerful levers.

One must be creative and not dogmatic, both in working out the programme and in implementing it. Our Party has faithfully applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism during and after the war. But it has always applied these principles in

a creative manner. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have given us the general, fundamental principles of the revolution. These principles, however, do not give a ready-made political line to the working class party. The Party, relying on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, must be able to work out its strategy and tactics by itself and apply them through to the end in compliance with the specific national and international conditions. The implementation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism in our country, in every direction, bears the seal of originality, of creative thought and action, of our concrete conditions, in the solution of the question of political power, as well as in the organisation of the Front, the organisation of the armed uprising and of the creation of the people's army, etc. The creative application of Marxism-Leninism assumes still greater importance for the Party of Labour of Albania today, when it has to carry the revolution forward on untrodden paths towards communism. The experience gained in the National Liberation Struggle has served and continues to serve the Party of Labour and the working people of the PRA as a powerful beacon to march ahead and non-stop on the triumphant road of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism.

Features and characteristics of the people's army. The leadership of the Party in the army as an indispensable factor for the preservation of each revolutionary features. The people's army — guarantee of the defence of national sovereignty and of the victories of the socialist revolution

PEOPLE'S ARMY - ARMY OF REVOLUTION

by **ARIF HASKO**

OUR ARMY COMPLETED THIRTY YEARS. THIRTY YEARS OF BATTLES AND CLASHES ON THE VICTORIOUS MARCH FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS DEFENCE. THEY ARE DECADES OF TEMPERING AND VICTORIES INSCRIBED WITH GOLDEN LETTERS, WITH THE BLOOD AND SWEAT OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE.

IT IS A NEW ARMY, LIKE THE PARTY THAT CREATED IT; IT IS INTREPID, LIKE THE PARTY LEADING IT; IT IS UNCONQUERABLE, LIKE THE PARTY WHICH IS ITS HEART.

* * *

Our people's army has been created by the Albanian Communist Party (today the Party of Labour of Albania) and comrade Enver Hoxha, in the crucible of the struggle against the fascist invaders and traitors for the liberation of the country. The realization of the strategic plan of the Party for the expulsion of the invaders and the liberation of the country, for the overthrow of the old state power and the erection of the new power of the national liberation councils, was possible only with the organisation, education and direction of a revolutionary army, issued from the fold of the people, linked like flesh to bone with it. This was not easy task, but it was vital. Precisely here resides the great historical merit of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha who knew how to solve this problem in a

creative manner in the specific conditions of our country.

The world historic experience of various countries had shown that there could be no victorious revolution without its armed wing, without a revolutionary army.

The organization of the liberation armed struggle, of the general popular uprising could not thus be done without creating the regular national liberation army.

Ours is a warrior people. They have never laid down their arms during the centuries. The enemies have never seen them forced down to their knees, they have never seen their back, but their chest; they have never seen them fearing the force of the more numerous means of the enemy. The Party strongly relied on these traditions, on the love for the fatherland, bravery and courage, and linked itself

away anything it runs across and shakes mountains and plains as an earthquake, so from the early partisan groups and guerrillas, which at the beginning were small in number, increasing from day to day with the best sons and daughters of the people, there was created the powerful national liberation partisan army, which in 1944 counted over 70.000 fighters organized into brigades, army divisions and army corps. It was a really people's army.»

Thus there was created an army of a small country which would face a strong army, many times larger in number, means and arms. The first school of this army were the guerrilla units, at the beginning in cities and then also in the countryside; its barracks were all the houses of the people, the Albanian mountains, its «calling-papers» were the calls and leaflets of the Party which were reviving the national consciousness. There was no mobilization but voluntarism. Schools and academies for its cadres were the bold actions, clashes, battles. They were learning while fighting; its best «intendants» for the supply with arms and military technique were the detachments and depots of the invaders and traitors who were stripped of them through fighting; the food and clothing was provided by the people.

The national liberation army, though it was the main armed force, was not the sole; alongside it and in cooperation with it, were acting hundreds of voluntary territorial detachments and battalions of the villages, hundreds of guerrilla units of the cities, implementing the revolutionary principle of the arming of all the insurgent popular forces.

Precisely on July 10, 1943, when the General National Liberation Council decided on the creation of the General Staff, with comrade Enver Hoxha as political commissar, as an organisational and political centre which would realize the strategical and operational leadership of the armed struggle against the fascist invaders and traitors, the regular partisan units counted about 10.000 fighters organized in 22 battalions and in a large number of groups, as well as not less than 20.000 other armed men who constituted the territorial voluntary detachments and guerrilla units. The liberated areas included more than half the land area of the country. After this, on August 15, 1943, there was created the first army

unit, the first shock Brigade which was followed by some other brigades. Thus, July 10 marked the forming of the regular national liberation army the heart of which the Party was and remains.

Our army passed through hundreds of battles against the Italian and German fascist invaders, it grew, it tempered itself and reaped victories. As the Party wanted it, the army became a people's army with roots in the people, a very disciplined army, with high consciousness, movable, manoeuvrable, it avoided the blows of the enemy, preserved its own forces attacking the enemy where and when he did not expect it; it waged a partisan and not frontal war; that war was waged by all the armed forces, turning the country into a sea of fire of the people's struggle. It knew how to counterpose very active actions of a revolutionary army to the classical actions of the fascist and nazi armies; to impose its tactic on them; it counterposed the people's ability and wisdom, self-action, the initiative and creativeness of the revolutionary cadres to the routine and classicism of the cadres of the bourgeois fascist and Prussian schools and academies. Thus the rifle fought against the gun and won, the small defeated the big, the proletarian spirit conquered the spirit of aggression.

Depicting this powerful political, military, moral and psychological blow dealt by our army to the nazi army, one of the commanders of the latter wrote in October 1944: «The Germans are increasingly landing in an impasse, so much that at last they find themselves compelled to hand over Albania... Nobody hopes to come out alive from Albania».

In this life and death struggle we strongly relied on our own territory, on the Albanian territory, on our traditions, on our own forces and shoulders, linking our struggle with the antifascist struggles of the peoples, in the first place with the struggle of the Soviet peoples led by J.V. Stalin. By their own struggle, by their own forces, our people liberated the homeland and mounted on the pedestal of the absolute master of their country on the 29th of November 1944.

But our people, educated with the feeling of proletarian internationalism, did not stop their struggle against the invaders; they closely pursued them, they went to the assistance of their Kossovo brothers; they sent two divisions of the National Li-

with and took deep roots in the people. But our people had lacked the tradition of an organized army. They had fought in groups and in a guerrilla form, but they did not become the foundation of an organized army. That army which was created by the Zog regime was an army of the medieval type, an anti-popular parasitic army, for parades, submerged in corruption, ignorance, espionage and treachery. Therefore, the Party had to seek and find out the ways and organize a new army. And it did so. The Party built up this new army step by step, degree by degree, in the wave of the revolutionary struggle, parallel with the growth of the consciousness of the popular masses, parallel with making the party line a part of their life; parallel with the intensification of the struggle. **The partisan movement served as a basis for the preparation of the general armed uprising and for the creation of a regular liberation army.**

Our army began its road with several tens of men and became a large army. Comrade Enver Hoxha, speaking about this, has said: «Like the small snow ball which rolling down the mountain slope slowly grows up and turns into a powerful avalanche, which vigorously wipes

beration Army to the assistance of the peoples of Yugoslavia. They fought heroically for the liberation of Montenegro and Sandjak, of Bosnja and other places up to Vishegrad.

* * *

The new Albania which was born after the liberation began its march on the socialist road. This road was not an easy one. The Anglo-American imperialist enemies considered it as a thorn on their back. They had their cards burnt in their hands. Their «allies» – the ballists and zogists, were stigmatized by the people as traitors, as servants of many masters. They served the Italian and German fascists, the British and the Americans, but they failed. They failed but they did not stop their plots, at home and abroad. Therefore, the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, in the days when the banner of freedom was fluttering throughout the country, in order to ensure it, began the re-organisation, modernisation and strengthening of the army. Without a strong people's army the country's defence could not be guaranteed, there could be no people's power. They were guided by V.I. Lenin's teaching that it is not sufficient to seize the state power, we must also hold it.

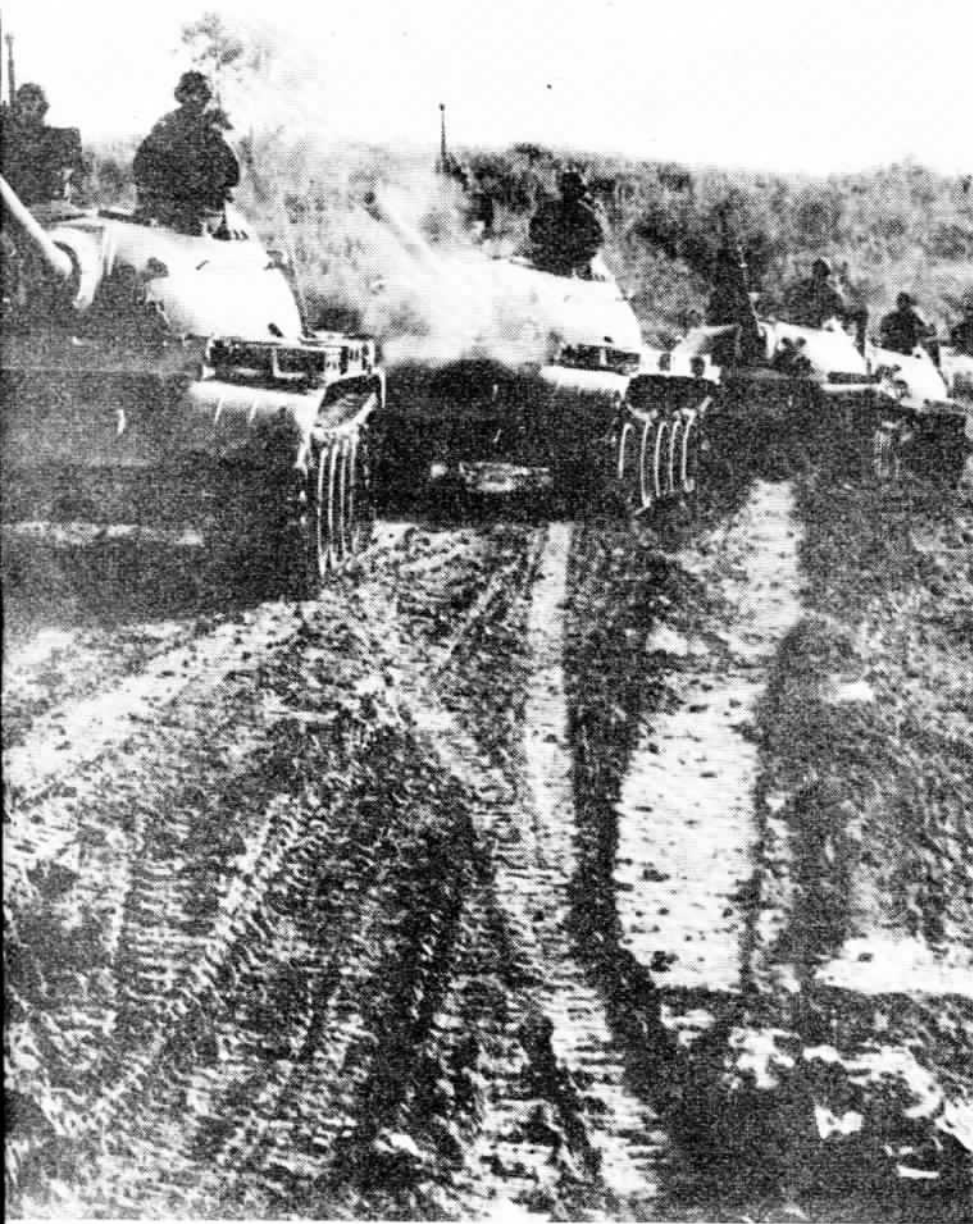
And at the time when the wounds caused by the war were still open, when the ashes of the ruins was seen everywhere, when the smell of gunpowder was still felt, when the flame of patriotism had risen higher and higher, the enemies had not laid down their arms. The main objective of the remnants of reaction and of the imperialists and revisionists, to realize their dream – the overthrow of the people's power –, was the army, that army which smashed them, that which would exterminate them. Precisely for this reason they began to launch such slogans as «What is the use of this army now that Albania has been liberated», «Let us lay down the arms now and grasp the picks and shovels». But the Party, the people were vigilant. And they kept their vigilance sharp in order to hit those who wanted to disarm the revolution. The Party launched the revolutionary, militant slogan: «Build up socialism holding the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other». Exposing the enemies who were calling «to lay down the arms», comrade Enver Hoxha wrote: «Our army does not



lay down its arms until the slightest danger to the people disappears. Our army will strengthen, will further steel itself, it will be the defender of the victories of the people, the defender of the new construction of the country».

Today, when we are drawing the balance-sheet of the 30-year victories we rightly take pride in that our army has preserved and developed its traditions from year to year, in that it has preserved the high revolutionary spirit, that it has everywhere served the people and the Fatherland with devotion. Experience, the great treasure of the national liberation struggle was carefully amassed, it was studied and generalized. The military art of the people's war is based on this colossal wealth, on this great treasure which is the experience of our army in the struggle for the liberation of the country.

Our people's army, under the leadership of the Party and of comrade Enver Hoxha, marched onward with determination on the road of modernisation. Parallel with the transformations of the country on the road of socialism, with the development of industry and cooperativist agriculture, of education and culture, the army, too, was developed and strengthened, it was equipped with the modern military art, with new weapons and technique, it further improved its organisational structure in conformity with the new stage, with the new tasks it was accomplishing as an army of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was not achieved without difficulties and obstacles, but through a fierce class struggle at home and on the international arena, through the struggles for the defence of the people's power, as well against the remnants of the reaction as against the imperialists, who left no stone unturned, organizing provocations and aggression, exerting blackmail and pressure. The arms of our army defeated the arms of the enemies in the August 1949 provocations, just as they caused the plans of the internal enemies of the Party and the people to fail even before and later. The army remained always united round the party, boundlessly loyal to the people.



A tank unit departing for exercise

* * *


The further deepening of the socialist revolution, the setting of the entire country into the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society, the further revolutionisation of the whole national life, particularly in these recent years, were positively reflected in the whole life and activity of our armed forces. These years marked another period in the strengthening and revolutionisation of the army, in its transformation into a big people's army, in its equipment with the military art and science of the people's war.

Casting a glance on the militant road of our people's army in these three decades of its existence, we once more stress the great lessons that come out for a new type army, an army of the people, army of the revolution, as our army is.

First, there can be no revolutionary army without a revolutionary party to lead it. Our army was born and became a strong army because it was created, organized and led by the party of the revolution. The party made it a political army; it has always been and remains its soul and heart, in its command; the party makes it invincible. The political work of the party, the priority of the ideopolitical work to the military work makes our army to always remain a loyal arm of the people, of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The party has educated the army with its line, with Marxism-Leninism. This has been and remains the Nr. 1 weapon, the most powerful one, which has made of our army a political, revolutionary, pure army. The party leadership has always ensured the popular proletarian character of the army.

Second, the defence of the homeland is the question of the entire people. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «The fatherland is of the entire people, and that is why it is defended not only by the regular army, dressed in uniform, but by the whole armed people, militarily organized and prepared.» Ours is not an army of barracks, a closed caste which remains



The Albanian people's army is equipped with new weapons and technique

detached from the people but merged with the people and jointly with them defends the Fatherland. In this direction our Party has fought the bourgeois and revisionist views on the army, which place it above the people, detach it from the people, turn it against the people.

On this problem our Party is guided by V.I. Lenin's instruction that with us «every citizen should be a soldier and every soldier a citizen». Thus, the whole country is now a construction site, a school of education and an impregnable military fortress. The revolutionary slogan of the Party «To hold the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other» finds expression in this. Our army has become today a school which trains the entire people militarily. This is a great principle of our Party, a general law of the building and defence of socialism. In this finds expression also the further deepening of our socialist democracy that the broad masses should ever more actively take part in the administration of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the development and direction also of the armed forces.

This is a Marxist-Leninist principle, but in our country it is of special importance if we bear in mind that we are small country, encircled by the imperialists and revisionists who exert continuous and allround pressure on our country. That is why comrade Enver Hoxha, in his recent speeches, instructs us to broadly and deeply understand the question of the defence of the country, that our new man deeply understand the question of the defence, understanding in the first place the conditions in which we work and build socialism. He says: «... At these political moments the world and our country are living, everything that is being done, any action, any work, any word, should be connected with the defence of our socialist homeland against the enemies, that is the question of the defence should predominate in the mind, heart and consciousness of every man».

Third, even a people small in number can successfully defend their homeland against an enemy larger in number and means. This has been confirmed by our many century old history, from Scanderbeg to the Vlora battle, from the glorious national liberation struggle to the heroic struggle for the defence of the country during these 29 years of liberation.

The application of the revolutionary

principle of self-reliance is one of the conditions to realize the country's defence. And we have always based the defence of our homeland on our own forces, on the revolutionary steel-like bone of our people and party. The application of this principle is of actual importance because the imperialist-revisionists are trumpeting today that the small people can be defended and ensure their independence and freedom only under the «umbrella» of the two superpowers which is aimed at keeping the peoples in slavery, at intimidating them and make them lose confidence in their own forces. Thus, we rely first and foremost on the internal factor as the decisive factor.

Another demand is the forming of the firm belief in the victory. This has been and remains a characteristic of our people and army. This confidence has been created in us by the Party, since the guerrilla units were set up, when we still had a small army, and the more so now that we have the state power in our hands, with our party at the head, having a powerful socialist economy, having our new man educated by the party, when we have an army and a whole people organized and armed, militarily trained. Our firm confidence is nurtured by the Marxist-Leninist ideology – the line of our party.

Fourth, the force of our army resides in its ties with the people. It was born in the fold of the people; the latter maintained it, preserved it and fought, jointly with it, for the liberation of the country. The people nurture it with the best traditions, with patriotism and bravery; the people have spared nothing to provide it with modern arms and technique; the people have always, in every situation, lived and fought for the defence of the country shoulder to shoulder with the army. Therefore, the close connection with the people, the living with their joys, victories and preoccupations has further deepened the popular revolutionary character of our army. These are ideopolitical, economic, military and spiritual ties, they are revolutionary class ties.

The whole militant road of our army is permeated by the mass line as a red thread. The cadres firmly rely on the opinion, on the force of the masses; they listen to their voice; together with them they discuss and solve the problems of education and training. They educate

and teach the soldiers, but they also learn from the soldiers. In this process the cadre-masses relations, which is an important principle of a revolutionary army, incessantly strengthen and improve.

Fifth, the army has responded to the people's care by its loyalty, by its intensive training for defence and by its unsparing aid in socialist construction.

Our army, alongside the entire people, together with them, participated in the reconstruction of the country and in the socialist construction. There is no great economic and industrial work in which the soldier has not shed his sweat, there is no project or natural calamity in which the army has not given its valuable aid. This is of double importance and serves above all to educate the army with the love for work, for the men of labour.

* * *

Our army meets the 30th anniversary of its creation, on July 10, 1973, with a rich balance-sheet of achievements, with higher results in its political and combat training, with a still greater preparedness. Being led by the Party and the general commander comrade Enver Hoxha, it is a reliable guarantee for the defence of the victories of our people.

Always appraising with a great ideological clarity and great political maturity the situations, the double imperialist-revisionist encirclement of the country, the preparations for war being made by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists, their feverish armaments race, every military man, as well as our entire people-soldier, draw the great lesson that we must be militarily prepared so that any aggressor that would dare touch our country should burn in the flames of our people's war; they sharpen their revolutionary vigilance and keep the gun-power dry so that the enemies should never catch us unawares. History has taught us this. And we are confident that we shall win over each and every aggressor or coalition of aggressors should they dare to touch the sacred borders of our Fatherland. The glorious 30-year road of our army is a testimony to its force and power, as an army of a new type, as a people's army, as an army of revolution.

PANORAMA OF THE ECONOMIC - SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA

**Some thoughts and facts about
the Albania of yesterday, today
and tomorrow. Rate of develop-
ment in the various fields of
socio-economic and cultural
construction**

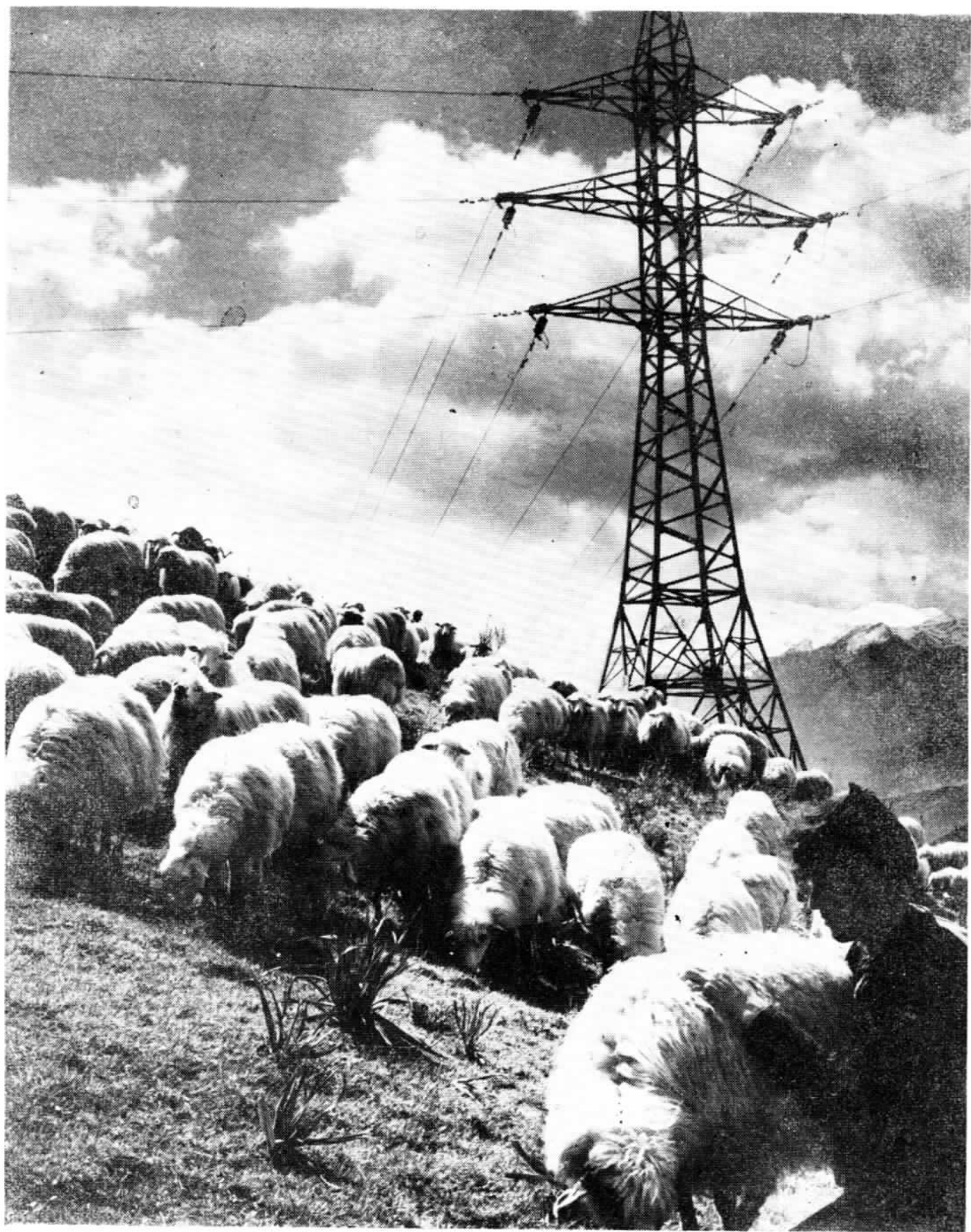
by ARISTOTEL PANO

*ARISTOTEL PANO, University professor at the economics
faculty of the State University of Tirana, specialist on problems
of finance and statistics.*

IN THE SOUTH-WESTERN PART OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA, IN AN AREA OF ABOUT 28,000 KM², LIVE 2,3 MILLION ALBANIANS, WHO, HOLDING THE PICK IN ONE HAND AND THE RIFLE IN THE OTHER, ARE SHOWING THE WHOLE WORLD WHAT WONDERS A FREE PEOPLE CAN WORK, HOWEVER SMALL IN NUMBER, WHEN THEY ARE LED BY A GENUINE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY. VERY FEW PEOPLE KNEW ALBANIA BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR. SOME FOREIGN BOURGEOIS POLITICIANS CONSIDERED ALBANIA AT THAT TIME AS MERELY A GEOGRAPHICAL notion and, some ultra reactionaries and fascists, between imperialist bargainings, were trying to trample underfoot this ancient country and people of patriotic, revolutionary traditions.

It is difficult to characterize the giant stride of the Albanian people within 29 years of the people's power in a few pages. Poverty and the impoverishment of the working masses reigned in pre-liberation Albania. The taxes and imposts levied on the people constituted 95,7 per cent of the state budget and this budget was mainly used for the palace, for the police and the army of the Zog regime. In this field no comparison whatever can be drawn with the present situation, since Albania today is the only country in the world where the working people pay no imposts or taxes whatever.

Before liberation, the Albanian peasants suffered from malaria and other diseases, they were illiterate and their small huts were lit only by torch-light and oil-lamp, while today all the Albanian villages are lit by electric light. The pre-liberation Albanian economy imported almost everything from abroad, including matches and needles, while now our country produces the major part of its commodities by itself and, indeed, some of them successfully compete in foreign markets too.



Or let us take another fact; before liberation 80 per cent of the population was illiterate, while today 1/3 of the population pursues studies and Albania has its own academy of sciences with its many institutes and an electronic computer centre, all managed by Albanians themselves.

It is perhaps difficult for a foreigner to understand the grandeur of these socio-economic changes made by the Albanian people under the brilliant leadership of their Party of Labour. But the Myzeqe peasants or the Kurbnesh highlanders, who have lived the sad past, feel the magnificence of the successes of the socialist construction of the country at their every step. Therefore, when Radio Tirana announced that in the elections to the Sixth legislature of the People's Assembly 100 per cent of the voters cast their votes for Democratic Front candidates, the Albanians very easily understand this logical fact which to a foreigner may seem very very strange and paradoxical. In reality this is one of the external aspects of the monolithic unity of the people around the Party of Labour and our outstanding and glorious leader comrade Enver Hoxha. Their names are connected with all the victories of socialist Albania during these 29 years of the building of a free and happy life here on the Adriatic coasts, in the heart of Europe infested with imperialism and revisionism of various hues.

1. Figures which speak for themselves

The various aspects of the economic development of a country can be shown by many specific indices, but the most eloquent index for this purpose is without fail that of the national income. The change in the volume of the national income summarily characterizes all the successes achieved by an economy in the development of its productive forces, as well as the financial possibilities of a country for further accumulation and for the uninterrupted elevation of the level of wellbeing of the labouring masses.

As a result of the vigorous development of the various branches of material production, in 1970 the Albanian national income increased over 8,3 times in comparison with 1938. Despite the great increase of the population, per capita incomes for the same period increased 4 times. The 1971-1975 five-year plan envisages a further increase of the national income by 55-60 per cent as compared with 1970.

A main feature of the national income of our country is the achievement of a high rate of increase throughout the period of socialist construction, although the basis of comparison becomes greater from year to year. Here is a table of the average annual growth of the national income according to the 5-year plans:

	1955-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-75 (Plan)
Average annual rate of increase in %	7	5,8	9,1	9,5

As can be seen, if we exclude the 1961-1965 period in which, as a result of the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade, our

economy suffered a certain decline in the rate of increase, in all the other periods the average annual rate of increase of the national income has continued to grow. This is one of the characteristics of our progressive and high rate of development.

In order to better understand the successes of Albania concerning the increase of the national income we can draw some comparisons with the world as a whole and with other countries.

During the 1960-1970 period the average annual rate of increase of national income for the world in general was 5,6 per cent, for Europe it was 4,6 per cent, while for Albania - 7,2 per cent. Thus, during this period the average annual rate of increase of Albania's national income was 29 per cent higher than the world average and 56 per cent higher than the European average.¹⁾

Albania, due to its correct economic policy, has obtained a higher rate of increase of the national income not only in comparison with the world average and with that of Europe, but also in comparison with many individual countries which had better conditions of development from the viewpoint of the past.

Thus, if we consider the last period of our development, 1965-1970, and compare ourselves with some neighbouring countries or with some other countries of Eastern Europe where the revisionist cliques are in power, then we have the following results²⁾:

Country	Average annual rate of increase in %:
1 Albania	9,1
2 Yugoslavia	6,2
3 Greece	7,1
4 Bulgaria	8,6
5 Poland	6,1
6 Hungary	7,0
7 Czechoslovakia	6,8
8 Italy	5,6

Another important fact is that our rate of increase of the national income is not only high, but increases continually, while in other countries the rate has begun to fall. Thus, for the 1971-1975 period the average annual rate of increase of the national income in our country is envisaged to be 5 per cent higher than that of the 1966-1970 period, while in Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, this rate is expected to decline.

In pre-liberation Albania about 90 per cent of the national income was ensured from agriculture alone, which shows that it was essentially an agricultural country. Now the structure of our economy has completely changed. The implementation of the Leninist policy of industrialization resulted in the transformation of Albania from an essentially agricultural country into an agricultural-industrial country. This is also evident from analysis of the present-day structure of the production of the national income according to the branches of material production. The specific weight of individual branches of material production in the realization of the country's national income expressed in percentage is as follows:

Branches of material production	1938	1950	1960	1965	1970
1. Industry	3,2	11,0	32,7	35,0	42,4
2. Agriculture	93,1	76,3	44,4	43,8	34,5
3. Building construction	0,8	4,6	10,9	10,1	12,2
4. Transport, Commerce, etc.	29,3	8,1	12,0	11,1	12,9
Total	00	100	100	100	100

The above data shows that the major part of the national income is now realized in Albania from the industrial branch. The specific weight of the industrial branch in the realization of the national income grew from 11,0 per cent to 42,4 per cent in the twenty years between 1950 and 1970. The fifth five-year plan (1971-1975) will mark a new stride forward in the increase of the role of industry in the creation of the national income and in the transformation of Albania from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural country.

Today in Albania the socialist relations of production have triumphed 100 per cent in all the sectors and branches of the economy. Thus, the whole of the national income is produced in the socialist sector. The economic policy of the Party of Labour of Albania has ensured not only a rapid growth of the national income, but also its correct utilization in the interest of the labouring masses, in the interest of the present and of the future. In Albania there are no longer parasitic and exploiting classes, as is the case in the capitalist and revisionist countries where the bourgeois classes and strata in power appropriate the major part of the national income. In Albania, the whole of the national income belongs to the working people and is used to their advantage, to increase the wellbeing of the working people.

One of the main preoccupations of the economic policy of our Party concerning the utilization of the national income is its correct division into accumulation fund and consumer fund. On this question the aim has been and remains to utilize the national income in such a way as to ensure a high rate of development of the country and to improve the material and cultural standards of the working people, not only at present, but in the future, too. The high rate of increase of the national income has created conditions for the consumer fund, on which the material and cultural standards of the labouring masses depend, to grow continually both in volume and per capita of the population.

Thus, in 1970, as compared with 1950, the volume of the consumer fund amounted to 373,3 per cent, and per capita of the population - 213 per cent. Thus, the consumption per capita of the population within 20 years doubled, which shows a considerable improvement of the material and cultural conditions of the labouring masses. In every period, alongside the large investments and accumulations, the Party has taken care to earmark a considerable part of the funds for the increase of the real incomes of the population. Thus, under the fourth five-year plan (1966-1970) the real incomes per capita of the population increased by 17 per cent. It is expected that the real incomes per capita of the population will increase more or less at the same rate during the 1971-1975 period too.

2. Results of the policy of industrialization

It is wellknown that the economic successes of a country at the present time are determined in the first place by the rate and proportions of its industrialization. For this reason, since the first days of the establishment of the people's power, the Party drafted and applied the magnificent plan for the socialist industrialization of the country at a rapid rate. Albania inherited a backward industry from the past, therefore essential changes had to be made in this field within a short period of time. Thanks to its correct policy in the field of industrialization too, within 20-25 years our country created a modern and diversified industry, formerly non-existent, which not only fulfills a large part of the country's needs but also provides many commodities for export.

One of the indices testifying to the colossal successes of our country in the field of industrialization is that of the increase of total industrial production. Thus, in 1970, as compared with 1938, total industrial production increased 63,7 times. This colossal increase of total industrial production in comparison with 1938 is mainly the result of the high rate of economic development. This is also shown by the fact that our industrial production has greatly increased not only in comparison with the pre-liberation period, but also with the subsequent periods.

If we compare our rate of increase of industrial production during the 1951-1970 period with that of the world and its areas we have the following results:³⁾

Country	Average annual rate of increase 1951-1970
1. Albania	14,7
2. World in general	7
3. Developed capitalist countries	5,3
4. Other capitalist countries	10
5. Revisionist countries	10

Thus our rate of increase of industrial production is double that of the world, almost 3 times higher than that of the developed capitalist countries and 47 per cent higher than that of the revisionist countries.

Of special importance is the fact that our economy continues to develop at a high rate, although the basis of our industrial production has grown considerably. In order to appreciate the proportions of the growth of the basis of industrial production suffice it to mention that under the first five-year plan (1951-1955), one per cent of the increase of industrial production represented production amounting to 5 million leks, while under the fourth five-year plan (1966-1970), one per cent of this increase represented production amounting to 70 million leks. Despite this great increase of the basis of comparison, the rate of increase of industrial production continues to be higher than the average for the world and its various countries. To become convinced of this, suffice it to look at the figures of the last five-year plan, 1966-1970.

Thus, during the 1966-1970 period the average annual rate of increase of total industrial production was:⁴⁾

Country	Average annual rate of increase of industrial production in % for the 1966-1970 period.
1. Albania	12,9
2. Revisionist countries:	7,5-8
a) Bulgaria	10,9
b) Hungary	6
c) German D.R.	6,5
d) Poland	8,4
e) Czechoslovakia	6,8

The above data shows that we continue to have a very high rate of increase of industrial production as compared with the revisionist countries. This rate of ours will continue to be high under the 5th five-year plan (1971-1975) too. For this period an average annual rate of increase of industrial production of 10,3 per cent is envisaged, a figure about 7 per cent greater than the rate envisaged for the same period in Bulgaria, about 70 per cent greater than that envisaged in Hungary, 65 per cent greater than that in the German D.R., 65 per cent greater than that envisaged in Czechoslovakia, etc.⁵⁾

A characteristic of our industrial development is the priority growth of the branches producing the means of production and especially of the electric power industry, engineering industry, chemical industry, etc., at the same time without neglecting the consumer industry. In the last decade (1960-1970) the tempo of the individual sectors of industry was characterized by the following indices (in %):

Years	Total industrial production	of which		
		Extracting Industry	Processing Industry	Power Industry
1960	100	100	100	100
1965	139	105,3	141,7	167,9
1970	225,4	179,9	259,0	441,0

These figures show that the production of electric power has continued to grow with greater priority, which is of great importance for the development of the economy.

While previously, the greatest weight in the total industrial production was represented by the production of consumer goods (group B), now the most important specific weight is represented by the production of the means of production (group A). In 1970 the latter accounted for 56,6 per cent of total industrial production. The new five-year plan (1971-1975) will mark a new stride towards the further industrialization of our country, especially with the construction of such rich projects as the ferrous metallurgy combine in Elbasan (the first stage of which will be put into operation in 1975) and the big Fierza hydropower station.

3. Profound changes in the agricultural sector

In the pre-liberation period Albania was a very backward agricultural country, where 40 per cent of the land was in the hands of 3 per cent of landlord families, while 14 per cent of the peasant families were landless.

The first revolution carried out by the people's power in the agricultural sector was the land reform. Through this reform the land and other means of production of the landlords and rich peasants were expropriated and distributed to poor peasants. Seventy-thousand peasant families benefited from the land reform; they were given the land they had dreamed of for so long, free of charge.

The second revolution in the agricultural sector was collectivization, the voluntary union of the small peasant economies into large socialist economies, a process which was completed in the years 1965-1966. With the conclusion of collectivization the exploitation of man by man was liquidated once and for all in agriculture, and socialist relations of production were fully established in the countryside too. These two important revolutions opened great prospects to the development of the productive forces and to the increase of agricultural production.

During the years of the people's power the Party has devoted its attention in the agricultural sector to the extension of the arable areas, to the mechanization of and introduction of chemical aids into agriculture, to the increase of agricultural yields and to the improvement of the entire structure of agricultural production.

Albania is a country with a high rate of increase of the population whose needs could not be fulfilled without the increase of the arable land area. Therefore, the clearing of virgin land and the big land reclamation works enabled the arable land area to increase to 599.000 hectares in 1970, in comparison with 292.000 hectares in 1938, that is, to double.

The great tasks of increasing agricultural production could not be realized without the mechanization of agricultural work. Therefore, providing agriculture with mechanized means has been one of the serious concerns of the people's power. Thanks to this care, in 1970 Albania had 10.900 tractors in terms of 15 HP, in comparison with only 30 tractors all told in 1938; while in 1970 it had 1.286 threshing machines, in comparison with 75 in 1938. The tasks of increasing the yield of agricultural crops could not have been realized without the introduction of chemical aids into agriculture, without the use of chemical fertilizers. While much still remains to be done in this direction, the successes achieved so far are encouraging. In 1970 176,8 thousand tons of chemical fertilizer were used in Albanian agriculture in comparison with 5,2 thousand tons in 1950. In 1970 over 75 kg. of active substance were used per hectare of cultivated land in comparison with only 2,6 kg. in 1950. Today we are more advanced in the use of chemical fertilizers than Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia and many other countries. Great importance in agriculture has been attached to the extension of the irrigated area, taking into consideration our weather conditions. Thus, while in 1938 only 10 per cent of the cultivated area was irrigated, in 1970 this figure increased to 54⁰/₁₀₀.

All these measures have resulted in the satisfactory increase of the volume of agricultural production. The tempo of total agricultural production has been as follows:

Index of total	1938	1950	1960	1965	1970
Agricultural production in %	100	119	172	223	309

Thus, in comparison with 1936, in 1970 the volume of total agricultural production in our country increased over 3 times. This increase is 5 per cent greater than the increase of the number of the population.

On the question of the rate of increase of total agricultural production we have surpassed the world average as well as the average of many other countries. During the 1954-1970 period, the average rate of increase of agricultural production for the world as whole was 2.6%, while for Albania it was 4.9%, or 1.9 times more.

Important successes have been achieved in the agricultural sector, particularly during the fourth 5-year plan (1965-1970). In this period the average rate of increase of agricultural production was higher than in all the previous periods and considerably surpassed the average rate of increase in all the countries of Eastern Europe. Thus, during the years 1965-1970 the average rate of increase of agricultural production in Albania and in some other countries of Eastern Europe was as follows:6)

Countries	Average annual rate of increase in %
1. Albania	5,8
2. Bulgaria	3,4
3. Hungary	2,8
4. German D.R.	1,5
5. Poland	1,8
6. Czechoslovakia	4,9
7. USSR	3,9

As can be seen, during this period the average annual rate of increase of total agricultural production in Albania was 2-3 times greater than that of the other countries.

Agricultural production will take a very important stride forward during the 1971-1975 period when, under the 5th five-year plan an increase of 65-69 per cent is envisaged, that is an average annual rate of 10,8 per cent.

With the increase of agricultural production, with the economic and organisational consolidation of the agricultural cooperatives, the incomes of the peasantry, too, have increased and continue to increase. In recent years the state itself has adopted a series of measures to the benefit of the peasantry, such as the abolition of taxes on the mountainous and hilly agricultural cooperatives, the reduction of tariffs on machine and tractor station work, establishment of pensions and other forms of social security for the cooperativists, etc.

4. Albania - a big construction site

These great successes of socialist Albania could not have been realized without a studied and intensified programme of investments and construction work. Our country has turned into a big construction site, where factories, hospitals, schools and apartment houses are going up everywhere. In order to understand the majestic programme of construction work in Albania suffice it to compare the state investments made in various periods:

	Sum in million leks
1951-1955	2250
1956-1960	4266
1961-1965	6029
1966-1970	9406
1970-1975 (Plan)	16460

Thus state investment funds have increased at a rapid rate from one five-year plan to another.

Investments in the 1971-1975 period will be particularly great, surpassing the total investments made in the 1960-1970 period. The major part of the investments has been earmarked for the construction of industrial projects, but a considerable part has been allocated to other branches, including for the construction of apartment houses.

The improvement of housing conditions has been a continual concern of the Party and our people's power, and this has been solved not only through the construction of houses by the population themselves, but also through large-scale construction work by the State. Thus the construction of apartment houses by the State and of houses by the population is characterized by the following figures:

Periods	Total number of flats and houses built	of these:	
		by the State	By the population
1951-1955	26110	7596	18514
1956-1960	47413	11734	35679
1961-1965	44693	15808	28885
1966-1970	73213	29045	44168
1971-1975 (Plan)	80000	40000	40000

This large scale construction work carried out during the 1950-1970 period, has enabled more than half of Albania's population to move into new lodgings. In the improvement of the wellbeing of the working masses it is important to point out not only the high rate of the construction apartments, but also the exceptionally low rent the population pays. In fact house rent in Albania amounts to only 1,5-3 per cent of the expenditure of an average family.

5. Development of education and health

The panorama of the great changes that have occurred in socialist Albania during the years of the people's power would be incomplete if we did not stress the revolution that has been carried out in the field of education and health. Education and health services in our country are provided free of charge to the whole population.

Ever since its early years the people's power has adopted energetic measures to completely eradicate illiteracy and to develop all forms of education. As a result, today we have a broad network of schools of all types, and the State makes colossal expenditure on them.

The following figures give an idea of the development of education in Albania:

Indices:	1938	1950	1960	1965	1970
1. Total number of pupils (7) and students per 1000 inhabitants	56,3	178,0	311,5	425,0	661,2
Of these:					
a) In 8-year schools	54,6	170,8	274,8	361,2	555,3
b) In middle schools	1,7	6,8	29,9	51,0	80,4
c) In higher schools	--	0,3	6,7	12,8	20,5
2. Budget expenditure on education and culture (in million leks)	...	58,6	250,1	333,4	553,8

The figures in the above table show that the development of education and the budget expenditure on education have taken on proportions incomparable with the preliberation period or even with the year 1950.

The health service in Albania has undergone similar development. Thanks to the great concern of the Party and the people's power in our country, such diseases as malaria and syphilis, which formerly half the population suffered from, have long ago disappeared. This table of health indices and budget expenditure in the health service in Albania gives an idea of the development of this sector:

Data:	1938	1950	1960	1965	1970
1. Number of doctors and dentists	122	149	478	990	1808
2. Number of inhabitants per 1 doctor	8527	8156	3362	1865	1181
3. Number of beds in health institutions (in thousands)	1,0	5,3	8,6	11,1	15,1
4. Number of beds per 10.000 inhabitants	9,6	43,7	53,4	59,3	70,8
5. State budget expenditure on health (in million leks)	...	31,4	153,0	71,4	260,7

These figures show that while in 1938 Albania had 1 doctor for every 8.527 inhabitants, in 1970 it had 1 doctor for every 1181 inhabitants, or over 8 times more. Likewise, in 1938 health institutions had 9,8 beds per 10.000 inhabitants while in 1970 there were 70,8 beds, or over 7 times more. State budget expenditure on health has also increased at a very rapid rate.

The measures and concern of the Party and the people's power towards health have been directly reflected in the prolongation of the average life expectancy in Albania and in the perceptible lowering of the mortality rate, which has ensured a rapid increase of the population.

Thus, while in 1938 the average life expectancy of the population in Albania was 38,3 years, in 1969-1970 it rose to 68 years; the mortality rate in Albania in 1938 was 17,8 per thousand, while in 1969 it fell to 7,5 per thousand.

As a result of the mechanization of agriculture and of a broader use of chemical and organic fertilizers, agricultural products in Albania have greatly increased

All this shows the great improvement of the material and cultural standards of the labouring masses.

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The data presented in this article, although incomplete, clearly testifies to the colossal successes of the Albanian working people in the complete construction of socialist society. They are indisputable testimony to what a country and a people, though small in number, are able to do when they proceed



on the road of socialism, led by a genuine Marxist-Leninist party.

1) Data concerning the World and Europa refer to the 1960-1963 period and have been taken from «Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics 1970, II volume International Tables p. 74-91.

2) Concerning Yugoslavia, the data has been calculated on the basis of Statistiqni Godisnjak Jugoslavje pages 102-103; Greece - on the basis of Roczhik Statystyczny 1972 p. 625 (Polish statistical year book); concerning other countries - on

the basis of the yearbook «Narodnoe Hazjastvo SSSR 1970 goda» page 84.

3) For the world as a whole the calculations are ours. For the groups of countries the figures have been taken from the review «Mirovaja ekonomika i mjezhdunarodnie othoshenra» Nr. 1 - 1973, pages 151 and 156.

4) Figures taken from the review «Vjestnik statistiki Nr. 12 - 1971 page 34.

5) Calculations made according to data from «Vjestnik Statistiki» Nr. 12è 1971 page 34.

6) Figures for these countries taken from the review «Vjestnik Statistiki» Nr. 12-1971 page 36.



THE INTELLIGENTSIA IN SOCIALISM

by **FIGRET SPAHIU**

Criticism of the revisionist viewpoints concerning the class nature and role of the intelligentsia in socialism. Establishment of a correct relationship between the intelligentsia and the working class and labouring peasantry an indispensable condition for building the socialist society.

THE MARXIST-LENINIST SCIENCE, DEFINING THE INTELLIGENTSIA AS A SPECIAL SOCIAL STRATUM, HAS AT THE SAME TIME SHOWN ITS PLACE AND ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL PRODUCTION AND SOCIAL LIFE IN GENERAL. EVER SINCE ITS FORMATION AS A SPECIAL SOCIAL STRATUM, THE INTELLIGENTSIA HAS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE AND HAS MAINLY SERVED THE INTERESTS OF THE CLASSES IN POWER. NO RULING CLASS IN ANY SOCIAL ORDER CAN DO WITHOUT ITS OWN INTELLIGENTSIA. THIS IS WHY EVERY CLASS WHICH COMES TO POWER DEVOTES SPECIAL ATTENTION TO CREATING AN INTELLIGENTSIA WHICH IT PLACES AT ITS SERVICE. IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE CAPITALIST SOCIETY THE INTELLIGENTSIA IS AN INTERMEDIATE STRATUM AND A VERY HETEROGENEOUS MASS FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE PLACE IT occupies and the role it plays in the economic, political, social and ideological life of the society. It is recruited from various classes, mainly from the ruling class, and it serves various classes and mainly the ruling class. Taking into consideration the growth of the weight and role of the intelligentsia in the conditions of the present-day development of the technical-scientific revolution the bourgeoisie tries by all ways and means to corrupt it materially and spiritually, to better place it at its own service in order to oppress and exploit the working people and to stifle the revolution. «The capitalist bourgeoisie, — comrade Enver Hoxha has said, — trains its cadres with definite ideo-political tendencies, so that, through

them, it can rule over the working class, direct and exploit it and deceive it by demagogy and thus perpetuate its own rule». The intelligentsia, playing an important role in the development of culture, science and technology, brings great profit to the bourgeoisie.

In the socialist society the role and composition of the intelligentsia as a social stratum is different. The socialist intelligentsia, led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, plays a great role in the creation of the material and cultural values of the socialist society through the activity it carries out in all the spheres of social life. The socialist intelligentsia is recruited mainly from the working class and the labouring

working class as the decisive force of social development, that it has brought the intelligentsia to the forefront, that the unfolding of the technical-scientific revolution leads to the «elimination» of the working class, to its «integration into the capitalist system». Many bourgeois sociologists present the fact of the quantitative growth of the intelligentsia as a process which transforms the intelligentsia into the principal motive force of the development of society. They use these viewpoints to negate the role of the working class in the development of society, to negate the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist revolution.

At the present time the various anti-Marxist viewpoints about the class nature of the intelligentsia and its role in socialism are also widespread. These viewpoints have been spread particularly in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries. In general, the revisionist sociologists view the intelligentsia as a social group of the socialist society; but the majority of them do not consider it as a special social stratum which occupies a position between two classes.

In the opinion of some revisionists, there are no longer classes in socialist society as long as there is no private ownership of the means of production. They hold that the only social element in socialism is the «productive and self-administrative collective» which, according to the work place, is allegedly made up of the workers, engineers, technicians, administrative personnel, teachers, physicians, etc., or of the peasants, agronomists, veterinary surgeons, zootechnicians and all the other working people who work in an agricultural cooperative or enterprise. The distinctions between the workers and peasants on the one hand and the intelligentsia on the other hand, are not seen by the revisionists as class distinctions, but only as occupational distinctions between the social groups which comprise the «productive and self-administrative collective». Thus, for instance, the propagandists of the Soviet Khrushchevite revisionists, in order to camouflage their departure from Marxism-Leninism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, present the matter as if «Soviet society is at the stage of transition from developed socialism to communism». Proceeding from this «thesis», they distort the content of the changes that have

occurred in the social structure of the present-day Soviet society. According to them, in Soviet society «the social structure with classes is being replaced by the structure of collectives without classes», «with the building of developed socialism classes in our country (that is, the Soviet Union) have been transformed into social strata of the «producer-workers», who, due to the division of production branches, carry out various jobs». (Problems of the change of the social structure of Soviet society, Izd. M. 1968, page 49, 118).

The Soviet revisionist sociologists, speaking of the «disappearance of classes» in Soviet society, of their allegedly being transformed into strata, in fact negate the existence of the intelligentsia as a special social stratum. Some of them, even when admitting the intelligentsia as a special social stratum, narrow this concept, including in it only the working people who engage in creative mental work, such as scientists, writers, artists, teachers and, in general, the workers in the sphere of ideological activity. However, the dominant viewpoint in revisionist sociology is that admitting the existence of the working class and the peasantry, but negating the existence of the intelligentsia as a special social stratum and merging it into the fundamental classes of the socialist society, considering the entire intelligentsia of production, the public service and superstructure, including the leading and administrative cadres, as component parts of the working class or of the cooperativist peasantry. «In present-day Soviet society, — the Soviet revisionist sociologists say, — bearing in mind the socio-economic and socio-political features of the working class, it seems reasonable for us to include within it all the working people, of mental work as well as of manual work, of the branches of material production and distribution employed in enterprises and institutions which are the common property of the people», «the present-day productive intelligentsia has all the features of the working class».

In genuine socialist society, as a result of the vigorous development of the productive forces, of the elimination of the exploiting classes and of the structure to narrow the essential distinctions between the working class and the labouring peasantry, the intelligentsia grows in number,

peasantry. It is closely linked with these two classes by common radical economic, political and ideological interests, by the common aim for the construction of socialism and communism.

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The vigorous development of the technical-scientific revolution at the present time has raised many urgent problems, especially those connected with the changes in class structure, with the role and place of the intelligentsia in the development of society, as well as with its class nature.

It is true that the technical-scientific revolution, among other things, has also brought about the quantitative increase of the intelligentsia, particularly of the technical-scientific intelligentsia, of its weight and role in the development of production. This fact has become a source of much speculation by the bourgeois ideologists, as well as by the revisionist ideologists. They seek to prove that the progress of technology has repudiated the Marxist-Leninist ideas about the

its role in the development of the society grows and there is a continual rise of the ideological, educational-cultural and technical-professional level of the working class and peasantry, but this does not mean that in the conditions of socialism all class distinctions disappear and that we can no longer speak of the stratum of the intelligentsia. Even less can this happen in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries where, in fact, the socialist order has been liquidated.

Marxism-Leninism, correctly appraising the role played by the intelligentsia in socialist society, points out that it will exist as a special stratum during the entire period of socialism, until communism. The intelligentsia, Lenin wrote, "... will remain a special stratum until the attainment of the highest level of development of the communist society..." Therefore, during this entire period the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party must show special concern to create the socialist intelligentsia, and also to educate it ideologically and politically. Perceptible changes in the social structure of society certainly occur in the process of the construction of socialism, but the complete elimination of class distinctions must be seen as a long, complex and difficult process while the disappearance of the intelligentsia as a special social stratum is closely connected with the entire process of the elimination of the fundamental classes of socialist society.

The Soviet and other revisionist sociologists are seeking to "argue" their anti-Marxist viewpoints that allegedly class distinctions and, consequently, the intelligentsia as a special social stratum, disappear in the period of socialism, by referring to the definition Lenin made of the notion of classes, where he says that classes are large groups of people one of which appropriates the work of the other. They also refer to Lenin's thesis that "socialism is the disappearance of classes". In reality, however, the revisionist sociologists distort these Leninist theses for definite purposes. In fact when Lenin pointed out that "socialism is the disappearance of classes" he had in mind the disappearance of the exploiting classes and not of classes in general. Dwelling on the analysis of classes in general, Lenin defines the place occupied by the large social groups in a specific historical system, their relations with

regard to the means of production, their role in the social organisation of work, the amount of their income and the method of obtaining it, as their fundamental and essential features.

In addition to these fundamental features, there are also distinctions between the viewpoints, world outlook, psychology, way of life, customs, etc., of various classes and social strata. Proceeding from such a Marxist-Leninist view of the problem of classes, it clearly follows that class distinctions are preserved throughout the entire period of socialism and, as Lenin pointed out, classes in general will disappear only in the complete communist society. For classes and social strata, and, consequently, the intelligentsia as a special social stratum to be completely eliminated in the first place it is indispensable for all the working people to be placed in one and the same relationship to the means of production, for group property to become the property of the whole people. This is the essential thing. Besides this, for classes to be completely eliminated, the essential distinctions between the social position, the role in the social organisation of work, the amount of income and method of receiving it, the way of life, world outlook and psychology of the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia; between the town and the countryside, between those who do mental work and those who do manual work, — distinctions which are a consequence of the old social-class division of labour — must be eliminated. This is why the elimination of all class distinctions in the conditions of socialism cannot be spoken of.

This is precisely what makes it possible for the intelligentsia to be preserved as a special social stratum until the highest degree of communist society.

The view of the Soviet revisionists that there are allegedly no class distinctions in Soviet society and that the intelligentsia there has partly merged with the working class and partly with the peasantry, has definite political and ideological aims.

First, the Soviet revisionists, by claiming that allegedly "social homogeneity is being increasingly strengthened in Soviet society" (Problems of the change of the social structure of Soviet society, Izd., M. 1968, page 47), seek to "prove" that Soviet society is allegedly advancing towards communism, that the class struggle has died out and is no longer a

motive force of socialist society. It is true that with the coming to power of Khrushchevite revisionism changes have occurred and continue to occur in the class structure of Soviet society. But these changes have led and continue to lead not to the elimination of class distinctions, not to the merger of the intelligentsia with the working class and the peasantry, not to the creation of the social homogeneity of Soviet society, as the Soviet revisionist sociologists are trying to assert, but in the opposite direction: to the further deepening of social-class distinctions, to the increasingly greater polarization of present-day Soviet society, to the creation of the new bourgeois class from among the ranks of the upper and middle strata of the intelligentsia, from the leading party and state cadres and from the working class aristocracy.

Second, the viewpoint merging the intelligentsia partly with the working class and partly with the peasantry in reality serves the Soviet revisionists' concealment of the fact that the new Soviet bourgeoisie, the bureaucrats and technocrats, are at the head of society in the Soviet Union; holding the dominant positions in the leadership of the party, the state and the economy, they oppress and exploit the working class and the other labouring masses. The upper intelligentsia is that part of the Soviet intelligentsia which became the main support and aid of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. This part of the intelligentsia is in antagonistic contradiction with the working class and the labouring masses, just as is the new Soviet bourgeoisie itself.

Third, the Soviet revisionists, by spreading the view that the intelligentsia has merged with the working class and the peasantry, have created the conditions for elements from the upper and middle intelligentsia, from the bureaucrats and technocrats, to flow into the revisionist party and especially into its leading organs. This was clearly shown from the composition of the delegates to the 24th Congress of the revisionist Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at which 2,624 of 4,963 delegates (that is, over 52 per cent) were engineers, economists, technicians, agronomists, zootechnicians, physicians, jurists, 600 delegates were managers of industrial enterprises, of construction sites, state farms, chairmen of collective farms, etc., and 1,887 were workers of party committees,

of the state power, officials of the trade union and youth apparatuses; of these, 1,000 (that is, almost the 1/5 of the total number of delegates) were secretaries of party committees. This fact convincingly shows that in present-day Soviet society the key positions everywhere are in the hands of the new Soviet bourgeoisie which relies on the upper and middle intelligentsia, on bureaucrats and technocrats, who have placed themselves above the working class and the other labouring masses which are oppressed and exploited by them.

The upper and middle intelligentsia, the leading cadres of the Soviet revisionist party and state, of the army, of the economy and various institutions, are being increasingly differentiated not only from the working class and the peasantry, but also from the masses of rank and file intelligentsia. This differentiation is seen in all directions, in particular with regard to the level of wages and way of life. Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 6th Party Congress: **«Having taken the reins of the state and the economy into its hands the new Soviet bourgeoisie, composed of bureaucrats and technocrats, uses them to ensure privileges and huge incomes for itself. The gulf between this bourgeoisie and the working class and the working masses is becoming ever deeper. Payment according to work done has been replaced by an entire system of the distribution of incomes, which enables the bourgeoisie to appropriate the toil and sweat of the working masses, to ensure in the most varied ways incomes many times larger than those of the workers and peasants».** (Enver Hoxha, Report at the 6th Congress of the PLA, English edition, page 236).

Facts show that the differences between the payment of workers and the leading bureaucratic apparatus have continued to extend. Through its new economic reform the Soviet revisionists have built such a remuneration system, under the pretext of the new for material incentive, thus paying high wages to the managers. For fulfilment of the plan indices alone, every year the managers of combines, trusts, etc., receive bonuses worth 7.2 monthly pays, not including other kinds of bonuses. The average ratio between the pay of workers and managers is 1:2. The material incentive fund created in the Soviet enterprises is administered by the managers who fix not only the pay

of the working people, but also the bonuses. According to data of the Soviet press itself, 80-85 per cent of the material incentive fund goes to the managers, 15-20 per cent of that which belongs to the workers goes to the working class aristocracy. The Soviet revisionists themselves admit that «the highest wage is received by leaders vested with full powers and who at the same time bear a great responsibility for the task entrusted to them and who, as a rule, are highly skilled at work and politically» (Structure of Soviet intelligentsia, Izd. Minsk 1970, p. 122-123).

All this shows that the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union is increasingly extending the class differentiations between the new Soviet bourgeoisie, the upper and middle strata of the intelligentsia, the bureaucrats and technocrats on the one hand, and the working masses on the other hand. On this basis, antagonistic contradictions have emerged, and are being further deepened and aggravated.

The treatment of the intelligentsia as a «select élite», its being placed in all the key positions of the leadership of the party, the state and the economy, the negation of the leading role of the working class and its treatment as a mere productive force, the spreading of intellectualism and technocracy, were some of the main causes of the overwhelming majority of the intelligentsia being changed into a privileged stratum which is the basis of revisionism in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries.

According to Marxism-Leninism the role played by the stratum of the intelligentsia in socialism is directly dependent on the leading, vanguard role played by the working class. Therefore, although the role of the intelligentsia in the process of socialist construction continues to grow, it can never replace the leading role of the working class. Absolutizing the role of the intelligentsia, wiping out the distinctions between the intelligentsia and the working class, as the modern revisionists do, is aimed precisely at negating the leading role of the working class.

The Party of Labour of Albania, guided by Marxist-Leninist science, has always borne in mind the question of the establishment of a correct relationship between the intelligentsia in general on the one

hand, and the working class and labouring peasantry on the other, not allowing distortions in this direction. Likewise, drawing the necessary lessons from the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in the other countries where the revisionists are in power, the Party of Labour of Albania has adopted a series of measures and has amassed a wealth of experience of great theoretical and practical value in the struggle to bar all roads to the birth of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in Albania. An important aspect of this experience is the struggle against intellectualism as a manifestation of bureaucratism. Striving to increase the number and role of the intelligentsia and specialists, in conformity with the needs of socialist construction, at the same time the Party fights against intellectualism as a dangerous manifestation which may also affect our intelligentsia.

Our experience shows that in order to successfully fight intellectualism timely attention must be paid to narrowing the essential differences between those who do mental work and those who do manual work, that parallel with training the intelligentsia, measures should be taken for

to elevate the general educational, cultural and technical-professional level of the working class and the labouring peasantry; that in training the intelligentsia attention should be paid not only to the professional aspect, but especially to its political and ideological education, that this education should be done not only through books and school, but be closely connected with life and revolutionary practice, with the direct participation of the intelligentsia in production; that it should be closely connected with the workers and peasants. In this respect, of great importance are the measures adopted by the PLA for the further revolutionization of the school, the measures that have been taken for the preservation of a correct relationship between the pay of the intelligentsia and the working masses, not allowing marked differences or the creation of the category of privileged people; as well as the practical application of comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings that the working class, just as everywhere, establish its continuous and effective control over the work of the intelligentsia too.

Fighting the concepts and manifestations of intellectualism, at the same time the

PLA fights against vulgar concepts which negate and underevaluate the work and role of the intelligentsia. The cadres, the intelligentsia, have their deserved place and play a great role in our socialist society. But the Party points out that, without underevaluating the indispensability and contribution of the cadres and intelligentsia we should strongly rely on the working class as the class in power, as the leading class of our socialist society, as the decisive force in the production of the material blessings and in the entire development of the society on the road of socialism and communism.

All these measures aim at the Albanian intelligentsia tempering themselves ideologically and politically as revolutionaries, at them placing all their creative energies and abilities in the service of the cause of socialist construction, at the cadres and intelligentsia in general being placed in such conditions that they never consider themselves as leaders and commanders of the working class, that they do not place themselves over the class and the working people, but consider themselves everywhere and always, servants of the working class, servants of the people and, that together, they lead, work and produce.



Exercise with modern weapons at night

«There has been an unprecedented revival of the various anti-Marxist trends of the Trotskyists and anarchists who, by infiltrating into various mass movements, especially into those of youth and intellectuals, are seeking to fish in troubled waters, with a view to diverting the masses from the correct road and throwing them into dangerous adventures that lead to grave defeats and disillusionment. Although they frequently come out with ultra revolutionary and antirevisionist slogans, in fact they play the revisionists' game and together undermine the cause of revolution».

ENVER HOXHA

ANARCHISM AS COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY THEORY AND PRACTICE

by BUJAR HOXHA

ANARCHISM IS A PRODUCT OF THE BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY AND ITS COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE. THE ORIGIN, NATURE AND FEATURES OF ANARCHISM ARE CONNECTED WITH THE CLASS INTERESTS OF THE BOURGEOISIE. HISTORICALLY, ANARCHISM AS AN IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL TREND HAS, FROM ITS BEGINNING, EXPRESSED AND REFLECTED THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THAT SECTION OF THE BOURGEOISIE, IN PARTICULAR OF THE petty-bourgeoisie, which has most strongly felt the weight of the consequences of capitalist development.

The social basis of anarchism is mainly the petty-bourgeoisie. When speaking of the social basis of anarchism, V.I. Lenin points out that the small proprietor, the small boss «easily passes over to extreme revolutionism and is unable to show

himself consistent, organized, disciplined and determined. The petty bourgeois, who «frets and fumes» over the horrors of capitalism, like anarchism, is a social phenomenon typical of all the capitalist countries». (V.I. Lenin, works, v. 31, p. 18., Albanian edition). During its approximately one and a half centuries of existence, anarchism has gone from one fai-

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In this study are put forward some thoughts on anarchism as a counterrevolutionary ideological offspring of the bourgeoisie, on its practical manifestations and on the necessity of the struggle which the working class must wage against it on behalf of the revolution and socialism

the revival of the anarchist views, Lenin stresses that anarchism has been as a punitive force against the opportunistic offenses of the labour movement. Both these ugly things, Lenin continues, reciprocally complement one another. (See V.I. Lenin, Works, v. 25, p. 180, 3rd Russian edit.). In order to convince ourselves of the correctness of this Leninist truth suffice it to address ourselves to practice, to the course of historical events. The vigorous revival of revisionism which began after the XX Congress of the CPSU swept over working class parties in countries where the socialist revolution had triumphed, as well as in capitalist countries. From revolutionary parties, they turned into counterrevolutionary parties. In the countries where the working class had political power in its hands, these parties prepared and realized that counterrevolutionary reversal which led to the restoration of capitalism. In the bourgeois countries these parties became «stabilizers» of the capitalist order and a support of the reactionary bourgeoisie. In such a situation trends of anarchism emerged. The new anarchists reared their heads.

Alongside the criticism against the capitalist order and the calls for the destruction of this order and of all state authority, in order to raise their prestige in the eyes of the working class, they began to use «leftist», «revolutionary» phraseology and criticize the «communist» (revisionist) parties as well as the «socialist» (revisionist) countries. But their propaganda and their writings, proceeding from erroneous bases of principle and methodology, sow ideological confusion among the masses, and divert them from the road of revolution and socialism. Thus, by their activity the present-day anarchists objectively provide grist to the mill of the bourgeoisie and, wittingly or unwittingly, together with the revisionists, help the bourgeoisie to consolidate its rule. However, one cannot draw from this the conclusion that all the elements who intend and desire to fight against the bourgeois order, proceeding from anarchist positions, are consciously servants of the bourgeois government, and of the capitalists. What should be stressed is this: even when such elements sincerely fight against the capitalist order and are prepared to make the greatest sacrifices for this struggle they nevertheless objectively do the opposite of what they aim to reach. Historical experience confirms a great truth of Marx's doctrine.

Capitalism can be destroyed and communism can be built only when the revolutionary movement is guided by a truly revolutionary theory, when it is armed with the theory of Marxism. No other theory gives the working class that spiritual weapon which creates the possibility for it to perform its historic mission: to destroy capitalism and build the communist society. For this reason the ideologists of the proletariat, from Marx to our time, have fought and continue to fight for this theory to be assimilated by the masses, and they have criticized and exposed all the different antiproletarian, antisocialist, counterrevolutionary trends. These trends include anarchism with all its manifestations.

The fight of the Marxist-Leninists against the anarchists is intensifying in all directions. Although the divergences with the anarchists essentially remain those that existed before, the anarchists, under the pretext that the specific historical conditions have changed, raise some old questions in a new form and level criticism against everybody, confounding the most fundamental and the simplest problems. Suffice it to mention here that they confound and put on a par, for example, the revisionist, Trotskyist and Marxist-Leninist parties and the revisionist countries and the socialist ones. If we were to speak of the fundamental problems about which a fierce ideological struggle is being waged between us and the anarchists, we would mention the question of the revolution and of its tasks, the question of the party and its role, the question of the stand towards the state and its future, the question of the freedom and development of the individual and of the masses, the question of the other organisations of the working class, the question of the stand towards the revisionist parties, towards the Trotskyist groups, the question of the stand towards Stalin, etc. On all these questions our position is diametrically opposed to that of the anarchists.

The anarchists speak of the destruction of capitalism. Many of them see in revolution the means of this destruction. But the anarchist understanding of revolution has nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist understanding of it. If attentively seen, it clearly follows that the anarchists, with their viewpoints about revolution hinder its carrying out and, consequently, hinder the liberation of the working class from the yoke of capital. Where is this evident? First of all, the

lure to another. How then, can one explain the fact that it continues to exist and in particular periods in some particular countries has even extended further? How can one explain the fact that today there is a revival of anarchist views and of the anarchist movements and that classical authors of this trend, such as Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Shtirner or those of a younger generation such as Cohn-Bendit and others, have great publicity in the press, radio and television of the capitalist countries?

We can clarify this question, too, if we turn to Lenin. Speaking of the causes of

anarchists distort the question of the motive forces of revolution. Although there exist divergences among the anarchists about this question, a common feature unites them: they all deny the role of the proletariat and, consequently, of the proletarian party in the revolution. Various social strata and groups are considered as motive forces of the revolution, but they do not consider the real and main force, — the proletariat. Thus, for instance, there are some who consider the lumpen-proletariat as the principal motive force of the revolution and criticize Marx and Engels, who in their opinion, have not understood, that this lumpen-proletariat has the spirit and force of the coming social revolution, something which the «bourgeoisified section of the working class» does not have (See Roger Boussinos, little Encyclopaedia of anarchism, p. 105, Italian edition, 1970).

This social basis of revolution is extended by other anarchists. They include among the motive forces of the revolution groups of students and various elements. They especially praise to the skies the student and youth movement as a revolutionary movement which they allege must be the spark of the labour movement, the decisive factor of each and every revolutionary movement. This opinion is expressed by anarchist Cohn-Bendit as follows: «A spectre is haunting the world, the spectre of students. All the world powers have entered into a holy alliance in order to be able to seize and curb it, the pope and the central committee, Kissinger and de Gaulle, the French communists and the German police». (Cohn-Bendit, *Obsolete Communism. The Left-Wing Alternative*). The reactionary forces today have not united to penetrate and take control of the student or youth movement. From U.S. imperialism to Soviet social-imperialism, they are joined in united front to fight their common enemy — communism. If the students and the youth take part in the struggle for the triumph of communism, this is to be welcomed. But neither the students nor any other group can play the role of the revolutionary vanguard which is played by the working class in this struggle. Denying the role of the working class in

the revolution means fighting against the revolution, means hindering its realisation and triumph, it means strengthening the positions of the bourgeoisie and capitalism. The working class has been and remains the most revolutionary class of society. The conditions which make it the decisive force of present-day social development, and the leading force in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist world, have not changed at all. In spite of the changes the present-day capitalist world has undergone, the working class is deprived of any kind of ownership of the means of production. In contrast with the preachings of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, capitalist society is not being deproletarianized, but is being continually proletarianized; the weight and role of the working class in production are becoming increasingly decisive; it remains the main productive force of society.

Life shows that when the working class moves, when it suspends work even for one day, the hole of the bourgeoisie is shaken and all its institutions are placed in a state of alarm. Certainly the working class does not make revolution by itself. The working class secures its allies — the labouring masses of the city and the countryside, the intelligentsia and the students, the youth and the women. Comrade Enver Hoxha, pointing out the leading role of the working class in the revolution and its importance for the fate of the revolution, says: «The question of hegemony in the revolution is of great principled importance because its direction, its consistent development and its very fate depend on who is at its head. The stand towards the working class and its leading role is a touchstone for all revolutionaries» (Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, Albanian ed. p. 210).

Concerning the forms of struggle to be used for the destruction of capitalism, there are divergences among the anarchists. But these divergences by no means change the anarchist essence of their viewpoints. Some anarchists think that the bourgeoisie can be overthrown through isolated «revolutionary» actions. In their opinion, these actions can be

carried out by small groups of determined individuals, as for instance the groups called «the extra-parliamentary opposition», or isolated and conspiratorial urban guerrillas. Others advocate individual terror, thinking that individual and collective assassinations, kidnapping of persons, sabotage, etc., are the most effective means to attain the goal. Relying on such principles, the anarchist groups in various countries decide upon their practical activity. Experience shows that however sensational and bold these actions may be, they do not bring about the change of the situation. On the contrary, they hinder the revolution because very dangerous illusions may be created in politically immature elements concerning the effectiveness of individual and collective terror, of spontaneous and unorganized movements. There are anarchists who still consider as true the old anarchist thesis that the general strike is the supreme weapon for the destruction of capitalism, a thesis which was long ago exposed by Marx and Engels. It has been proved in theory and in practice that capitalism cannot be wiped off the face of the earth with any kind of strike. It can be eliminated only by means of the proletarian revolution.

There is no definite opinion among the ranks of the anarchists today concerning the tasks to be solved by revolution. Some think that the fundamental task of revolution is the elimination of the cultural inequality existing in the present-day society, the elimination of the division of men into intellectuals, mental workers, on the one hand, and workers and peasants, manual workers, on the other hand. Thus the elimination of such a division is, allegedly the main task of each and every revolutionary movement. With such a viewpoint the anarchists conceal the fundamental task of the socialist revolution, which is the seizure of political power by the working class, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, without which there can be no question of eliminating capitalism as a social order with all its evils, including the contrast between the manual and mental work. The contrast between manual and mental work, which

was born with private ownership over the means of production and with antagonistic classes, characterizes all exploiting societies. It disappears when the cause that has given rise to it disappears, that is when private ownership over the means of production disappears. This is achieved with the establishment of socialism. This is confirmed by the experience of Albania where private ownership over the means of production has been liquidated. As a result, this contrast has disappeared and today in Albania, although differences between manual and mental work continue to exist, these differences keep narrowing with the advance on the road of socialism. Therefore we say that the elimination of the contrast between mental and manual work cannot be the cause of the construction of the socialist society, but is the effect of this construction.

Not being consistent in their opinions, the anarchists are easily influenced by various events and, without understanding their essence, and in general without understanding the causes which determine these events, they draw erroneous conclusions about revolution and socialism. In the first place, the anarchists stress the idea of the self-organization of the masses in the revolution. In their opinion, the masses by themselves, without the need of leadership, through various violent actions, will win victory over the bourgeois bureaucracy.

From this anarchist understanding of revolution we draw two important conclusions: **First, the anarchists deny the need of a leading staff of the revolution, that is they deny the need of the party, as they replace it with the self-organization of the masses; and second, the anarchists, speaking only of victory over the bourgeois bureaucracy, leave aside the necessity of replacing the bourgeois state with a new type of state.**

Let us analyse more deeply these viewpoints about the role of the party and the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to the anarchists, to secure the triumph of revolution it is not necessary for the objective and subjective conditions to be ripe. Suffice it for these or those groups to decide to

act and the revolution will come about and will triumph. This expresses their subjectivism in understanding the revolution. Historical experience shows that revolutions are not created, and do not develop according to the desire of these or those groups of men, or of certain individuals, however outstanding they may be. If within a country the conditions for revolution are not ripe, each and every effort to stage it is doomed to failure. Very significant and instructive in this direction, are the failures of those who have attempted to carry out revolution when the objective and subjective conditions for it were lacking, because such a way of understanding revolution inevitably leads to adventurism which is a premise for defeat. By denying the need for the ripening of the objective and subjective conditions of revolution, the anarchists deny in the first place **the role of the party** in the revolutionary movement. Moreover, they see the role of the party as an obstacle, as curbing the revolutionary movement, and they attribute a counterrevolutionary role to the communist party. Let us briefly summarize the viewpoints of the present-day anarchists on three questions in this field:

First, the anarchists seek to prove that the working class does not need a leading party, as the revolutionary movement develops spontaneously.

Second, the anarchists seek to prove that the working class, if it has such a party, cannot direct its struggle itself, either in capitalism or in socialism.

Third, the anarchists criticize as reformist the revisionist parties (such as those of the USSR, France, Italy, etc) not because the anarchists aim to create revolutionary parties, but because they aim to prevent the creation of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties or to destroy the existing ones. In a word, the anarchists are opposed to the political organization of the working class.

Lenin, speaking of the liberation of the working class from the yoke of capital, forcefully stressed that to fight and overthrow the bourgeoisie, the working class has no other weapon in its hands except organization. If we take full account of this teaching of Lenin, we shall clearly

understand how dangerous is the anarchist viewpoint that denies the necessity of the creation, existence and role of the party for the revolutionary labour movement.

As a theoretical basis for the denial of the necessity of the creation of the party and of its role, the anarchists have the theory of «spontaneity» of the labour movement. On this basis they fight the idea of introducing scientific socialism into the labour movement in order to make it conscious, a duty which can be and is accomplished by the working class party. This is why they also demand an anonymous «labour movement», detached from the influence of the party, in short a spontaneous movement. Anarchist Cohn-Bendit says that «the anonymous character is the term which most perfectly characterizes a spontaneous movement. We call spontaneous a movement which develops without passing through official organizations; thus, an anonymous movement which cannot be given a name that may have previously existed, thus, a movement which gives itself a name» (Op. cit.).

Historical experience shows that the spontaneous movement cannot lift the working class out of the framework of capitalism. This means that it remains oppressed and exploited if it does not create its own party which organizes, directs and leads its struggle against the bourgeois order for the triumph of socialism and communism. Socialism has not come about, and will not be established in any country as a result of spontaneous development, without an organized struggle headed by the working class under the leadership of its own party. Exposing the theories which advocate spontaneity in the labour movement and negate the role of the party, comrade Enver Hoxha says: «All the revolutionary forces fighting for the overthrow of the bourgeois order can win victory only if they merge with struggle of the working class, if they recognize and accept its leading role and that of the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party... Any other alternative leads to adventurism and defeat» (Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, Albanian edit. p. 212).

The anarchists oppose the party to the class. In their opinion, the party hinders and restrains the struggle of the working class. They go to the extent of asserting that if the working class wins and has its own party, its situation does not change. It remains as it was in capitalism – a «directed», a guided» class. In this way, not without purpose, the anarchists identify the leadership and guidance of the party of the proletariat with capitalist oppression and exploitation. To reinforce this idea, these counterrevolutionary theoreticians proclaim the working class party to be a counterrevolutionary, reactionary party. And to prove this, they give us as an example the communist party of the Soviet Union and its role in the counterrevolutionary reversal of the Soviet Union. But here they confound the most elementary things.

It is a fact that the Russian revolution has degenerated. But this degeneration was not organized and led by a revolutionary party of the working class, but by a counterrevolutionary party. It is known that the economic base defines the superstructure. This is a general line of social development. But in the conditions of socialism the superstructure plays a decisive role in the creation of the new socialist relations of production, as well as in their development and further improvement. If that degenerates, and in the first place if the party, which is the guiding and leading force in the conditions of socialism degenerates, as a consequence the degeneration of the social-economic order also begins. This occurred in those countries where the revisionist usurped the party leadership and are in power, something which led to the already known consequences.

It is a very interesting fact that in their struggle against the idea of the formation of the revolutionary party and against the existing parties of the working class, the anarchists furiously attack J. V. Stalin. They proclaim that «the theoretical and practical denunciation of Stalinism in all its forms should be the necessary starting point of all future revolutionary organizations» (See the newspaper «De la misère en milieu étudiant», 1967). It is not ac-

cidental that the anarchists find themselves in the same camp with all the reactionaries and counterrevolutionaries, beginning with the social democrats and Trotskyists and ending with the revisionists. It is not accidental that all the enemies of the working class and of socialism, be they bourgeois, right-wing socialists, revisionists, etc., have united under the same banner – the banner of anti-Stalinism, because Stalin consistently defended the leading role of the proletarian party and the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat in socialist construction, he consistently fought together with Lenin and after Lenin, against the social-democratic, anarchist, Trotskyist, revisionist and cosmopolitan trends and their spontanist and liberal, counterrevolutionary and liquidationist concepts.

On another very important question, that of the state, the anarchists hold views diametrically opposed to Marxism-Leninism. The anarchists are against any state. They proclaim it as a great evil. «The state organization today is the greatest obstacle in the development of mankind towards a better society and, therefore, anything serving or guaranteeing the state power (police, army, diplomacy, bureaucratic apparatus) is bad and harmful and should be overthrown». (See: Roger Boussinos, op. cit).

As they did yesterday, today too they make no distinction at all between various states. They put all the states on a par with each other. That is why they argue for the elimination of the state in general and do not consider at all what class it serves. The anarchists' stand towards the state in general reflects their ideological confusion. It is known that history knows no such «state in general». The state has in every epoch served definite social classes. It is known that the state is an historical category and was born when society was divided into antagonistic classes. In all antagonistic formations the state has been a tool of the exploiting classes and has served that minority of the population which had the monopoly of the means of production and political power. Things changed

when the state passed into the hands of the working class. Now, for the first time in history, it begins to serve the overwhelming majority of the population. The anarchists do not understand this essential change. And in this way they oppose any kind of political organization of society and thus also the dictatorship of the proletariat as an indispensable weapon of the working class on the road of transition to communism. The anarchists deny the necessity for any kind of political organization of society after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. In their opinion, the organization of society will be based on the idea of the self-organization of the masses, of self-government, self-administration, the idea of the elimination of the concept of «director» and the «directed», «leader» and the «led» within any organization of society. According to them, self-administration aims a replacing the state principle of governing from above in all forms and fields. Thus, the anarchists draw the conclusion that self-administration does not come within a state system and eliminates all and every reason for the continuing existence of the state.

Lenin, dealing with the Marxist and anarchist understanding of the question of the state, points out three fundamental differences between them. First, while the Marxists assert that the state will wither away after the liquidation of classes by the socialist revolution, the anarchists stand for the complete and immediate liquidation of the state. Second, while the Marxists stand for the destruction of the old state machine and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the anarchists deny the necessity for the proletariat to use state power, and deny the dictatorship of the proletariat. Third, while the Marxists want the proletariat to prepare for revolution by exploiting the present-day state, the anarchists deny this (See Lenin, Works, vol. 25, p. 575, Albanian edit.).

The anarchists hold positions of accentuated individualism and egoism. Their views do not admit that the interests of

the individual can be harmonized with those of the collective, of the society. Thus, they oppose the individual to the collective. This reactionary view becomes particularly evident when the anarchists strive to prove that the freedom and happiness of the individual are in contradiction with the socialist order, with the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the complete liberation of the working class and of the labouring masses which is realized in the socialist society. According to the anarchists, man in these conditions has turned into a tool serving the state. This anti-socialist thesis is repudiated by the experience of our development, which proves in practice that personal freedom and happiness, can be ensured within the collective, that the flourishing and free development of the collective is an indispensable condition for the all-round development of the individual and his freedom.

Despite this abyss separating anarchism from Marxism-Leninism, many bourgeois, social-reformist and anarchist authors have striven and are striving to wipe out the contrast existing between them. There are among them those who present Marx and Lenin as if they held positions of anarchism rather than those of Marxism. Some of them have sought to present the wellknown anarchist Bakunin not only as a revolutionary and socialist, but also as a precursor of Lenin. Anarchism as a doctrine is considered by them as an ideological source of Leninism. Concerning this, H. Kohn writes that «the extremist theories of M. Bakunin's anarchism and of the nihilist agitators, like S. Nechaev and P. Tkachov who stood for violence and ignored social morality, were revived later in Leninism» (H. Kohn, *Basic History of Modern Russia*. Princeton 1957, p. 41). Other authors are trying to further deepen this thought. They are seeking to prove that the creation of the theory of revolutionary action is allegedly a merit of Bakunin. Hence they draw the conclusion that Leninism is nothing but a continuation of this theory. Social-reformist authors have also not lagged behind on the road of such slanders. Thus, for instance, the

social-reformist Henrik Kunov considers Leninism as a «recurrence of Bakunism». E. Picryi, in his work «The doctrine of anarchism», says that the «Bolsheviks do not understand how much they owe to Bakunin». Also anarchist Cohn-Bendit, one of the active participants in the events of France in May-June 1968, in his book «Obsolete Communism – the Leftwing Alternative» seeks to prove that Lenin has allegedly passed over, at given moments, to the positions of anarchism. It is through such a prism that this author sees the struggle waged by Lenin to analyse the value and importance of the Soviets, when he says: «Lenin became 'almost an anarchist' and attempted to make the party take that ideological turn for which it was very little prepared». In the same book, Cohn-Bendit considers Lenin's work «State and Revolution» rather as an anarchist work (!) although it is known that in this work Lenin, parallel with attacking revisionism, demolishes the anarchist views about the state and revolution.

But this is not all. There are other authors who seek to prove that no essential differences exist between anarchism and Marxism, that they are both allegedly socialist trends and differ only in the fact that they aim, through different tactics, to achieve the same objective. This, in their opinion, means that between anarchism and Marxism there exist only tactical differences. The climax is reached when they proclaim anarchism as «the most radical trend of socialism».

It is a fact that among the anarchists there are many elements who are bent on waging struggle against the bourgeois order, injustices and privileges and imperialist violence. We find among them elements that are determined to fight and make any sacrifice. This situation of revolt against, of challenge to the oppressive and exploiting order which is manifested through concrete actions by many elements described as «ultra-leftists», reflects the fact that the masses are dissatisfied with the existing situation in the capitalist countries. But, unfortunately the road chosen by them does not lead to the wanted objective, that is to the elimi-

nation of injustice, oppression and exploitation. Capitalism cannot be destroyed under the guidance of just any kind of ideology, doctrine, by just any kind of ways or means. This great aim can be attained only when the masses are guided by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, which is the only doctrine that scientifically points the way to the destruction of capitalism and the building of communism.

The Marxist-Leninists greet and support any sincere inclination and aspiration towards socialism, but at the same time they point out that socialism in every country has won or can win only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and under the leadership of the working class and of its party armed with the proletarian world outlook. Therefore, at this time, when there is a deepening of the ideological confusion caused by the modern revisionists who are striving to intensify it, one clearly understands the great importance of the struggle against all influences of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, anarchism included, among the ranks of the working class, as well as the importance of arming the working class with the only scientific ideology – Marxism-Leninism. And the successes in this direction are great. In the struggle for the great cause of the liberation of the working class the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist forces are swelling and strengthening. Today, almost everywhere new Marxist-Leninist movements and parties have been formed which have taken the banner of the revolution and socialism in hand and are raising it higher and higher. In conditions of a fierce class struggle they are courageously exposing both the bourgeois reaction and the revisionist treachery as well as petty-bourgeois and anarchist adventurism. While we are waging a fierce and irreconcilable struggle against anarchism as an ideology and practice of action, at the same time we should do a big job with those elements who are wholeheartedly for the cause of the working class, in order to detach them from anarchist views and practices, so that their energies should not harm, but rather help, the revolution.

DIPLOMATIC COUNTERREVOLUTION

by **SHABAN MURATI**

Some thoughts about the relationship between foreign policy and ideology in our epoch and criticism of the anti-Marxist viewpoint about this problem

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE ON AN INTERNATIONAL SCALE FURTHER WIDENS THE GAP SEPARATING THE TWO PRESENT-DAY CURRENTS OF THEORETICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT, - MARXISM-LENINISM AND THE BOURGEOIS-REVISIONIST IDEOLOGY. IN PARTICULAR, THE DEBATE IS EVIDENT IN THE FIELD OF THE THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AS THESE RELATIONS ARE CONTINUALLY ASSUMING GREAT IMPORTANCE IN THE PROCESS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN SOCIETY.

AMONG THE CARDINAL PROBLEMS THAT GIVE RISE TO DISCUSSION, DRAW ATTENTION AND INCITE CAMPAIGNS, IS THE PROBLEM OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FOREIGN POLICY AND IDEOLOGY IN OUR EPOCH. POWERFUL IMPETUS

was given to this problem by the demonstration of a phenomenon, or rather a new trend, in present-day international relations which, in world political science, is known as «diplomatic revolution». This tendency is nothing but the intensification of the diplomatic contacts and talks of the state figures of various countries in the seventies. Of course talks are a central element of diplomacy and not an

invention of the diplomatic school of the end of our century. In the epoch of imperialism and state-monopoly capitalism and when the ratio of forces in the world is in continual movement and is always changing in favour of the forces of the revolution and progress, bourgeois diplomacy has taken out of its old arsenal the method of diplomatic talks at any cost, making a fetish of them. This «diplomatic revolution», which is proclaimed as the acme of political realism for a state or system, is being imposed as an aim in itself and we are often witness to «diplo-

matic mini-revolutions» that take on grotesque proportions.

International relations, as a sphere of social life, are subject to the same class and historical laws as any other social phenomenon, and no «diplomatic revolution» whatever can completely overturn their structure and, the less, so, change their character. The bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians justify their claims about the absolute role of the «diplomatic revolution» with the fact that it has a special character if compared with the past. And what is this distinctive feature that makes them describe the diplomatic revolution as the «sole regulator of the antagonisms in social life?» The countless works, studies and articles of the bourgeois and revisionist authors about this problem hold that this specific feature is that today the role of ideology in international relations in general and in diplomacy in particular, has not only reached the necessary minimum of exis-

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tence, but has even gone below this, completely eliminating it. They seriously recommend that modern methodology in the study of international relations in the present-day epoch requires the division of ideology from diplomatic practice, in as much as, in their opinion, diplomacy has ceased being political activity with ideological content, and a global de-ideologisation has allegedly occurred in international relations. The political conclusion they draw is that, the more a state abandons ideological principles, the more successful will be its policy, since ideology «is a remnant of the cold war», an expression of conservatism and dogmatism.

In support of their viewpoints they put forward as a classical example of confirmed practice the Soviet-US bargainings, the understanding reached by the United States of America and the Soviet Union which has been embodied in a series of agreements of immediate and prospective operation. «We congratulate ourselves on having carried out negotiations with Moscow without ideological obstacles» — S. Hoffmann, an American authority in the field of international relations, writes in the July 1972 issue of the review «Foreign Affairs». Dealing with the bipartite Soviet — U.S. relations, Hoffmann puts forward the thesis that the ideological character of the diplomacy of the two powers has been left aside. Certainly, it would be naive to believe that U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have made an alliance without a common ideological basis, and concretely their anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary basis. Here we can mention the wellknown postulate of the notorious anti-communist J.F. Dulles, formulated in 1957, that «agreement means compliance of viewpoints». Without an ideological change in the leading organisms of the Soviet party and state the Soviet-US alliance would not have been a reality today. Not only the above case, but the entire analysis of the endless course of events shows that the role of ideology is in no way reduced in international life, but on the contrary it increases parallel with the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the aggravation of the contradictions between the forces of imperialism, revisionism and reaction on the one hand, and the forces of the revolution and peoples on the other hand, a contradiction of clearcut ideological expression.

Requiem for wat will never die

«The effectiveness of ideology weakens throughout the world and above all in the field of the problems of foreign policy» — Nixon said in one of his messages about the world situation. «The radical difference of our epoch is the weakening of ideological conflicts» — one of the most renowned ideologists of US imperialism, Zb. Brzezinski, has written. At first sight it seems as though the works of the theoreticians of imperialism sound the death knoll of ideology in general, irrespective of class affiliation. But one quickly discovers that their negation of ideology extends only to the communist ideology, to Marxism-Leninism. According to them, the communist doctrine, born of some specific conditions of the development of capitalism in the 19th century, did cross the limit between two centuries; it became archaic and inapplicable to the problems of the modern epoch, and as such was doomed to die. The oracles of bourgeois political thought make haste to expound their black prophecies. «Marxism is a dying doctrine», journalist W. Lippman proclaimed, whereas Brzezinski puts the verb in past tense, declaring: «Communism, until recently the most militant and principal ideology, is dead». Thus, in a chorus, the bourgeois ideologists sing requiem to communism, to the ideas of Marx. And their simple and cunning reasoning is thus: Since Marxism no longer exists, neither can ideology exist any longer, but must be continually expelled from international relations and no longer taken into consideration.

In their opinion, ideology became an active force and factor in international relations only with the emergence of the socialist system on the world arena and with the appearance of the socialist states and policy. Of course, this does not respond to historical reality. The foreign policy of all the states in all the pre-socialist socio-economic formations, has had its definite ideological content and aims. Suffice it to quote as an example the diplomacy of the Vatican, or the ill-famed «Holy Alliance», inspired by the reactionary politician Metternich, the role of which in suppressing the revolutionary tempests at the beginning of the past century, shows a simple ideological function. When the bourgeois theoreticians demand that the ideological basis of a

foreign policy be abandoned, they do so only to demand that the socialist countries abandon their revolutionary principles and ideals, and turn their foreign policy into a bargaining partner of the imperialist foreign policy on the basis of momentary advantages. Clearly they do not apply the demand for a foreign policy without ideology to themselves, and it would be naive to expect such a thing. On the contrary, all the actions of the foreign policy of this or that capitalist state, irrespective of their slogans, bear the clear seal of bourgeois ideology, and accomplish ideological tasks parallel with political, economic and other tasks. The old advice of former American Secretary of State, J.F. Dulles, who forcefully stressed: «We must be dynamic. We must use ideas in the capacity of arms», is the core of the activity of bourgeois diplomacy, the pivot of its ideo-philosophical platform.

Certainly, the ideologists of the international bourgeoisie know the great force and important role of ideas in the foreign policy of a country, and the more revolutionary those ideas, the more the bourgeoisie fears them. This is why it fears the Marxist ideology as the most revolutionary ideology of all time, and therefore it obstinately demands that the Marxist ideological principles be banished from international relations. Great aid in this theoretical subversion is given to the bourgeois ideologists by their revisionist colleagues. The revisionist theoreticians are striving to prove that the force of a foreign policy is not the high ideological spirit of principle, nor the lofty ideals for which it fight and for which it enjoys the support of the broad labouring masses. Thus the Soviet professor G. Deborin treats a typically chauvinist concept when he considers the economic, military and technical-scientific potential of a given country as the source of the force of the foreign policy of that country. In reality, the role of a foreign policy is conditioned, first and foremost, by the correctness of the ideological line on which that policy is built. This is shown by the example of socialist Albania, whose foreign policy has gained incomparably greater weight on the international arena than its economic and technical-scientific potential. Another viewpoint of the present-day Soviet political school about the role of ideology in international relations is that, in the framework of peaceful coex-

istence and for its sake, the ideological platform in interstate relations should be avoided as much as possible. «The ideological struggle in international relations can be and is an object of regulation on the basis of international law» – the Soviet professor G. Tunkin writes in the review «International Life». This means that the ideological antagonism between two systems must be solved at the conference table, and ideology and principles be sacrificed. The revisionist ideologists «forget» that the ideological struggle is not a separate act undertaken voluntarily by this or that party, by this or that state, and which can be abandoned in the same way. It is a legitimate result of present-day social development itself, and in the clash between the two ideologies, communist and capitalist, where there is no question either of coexistence or of unification and adjustment, one of the most important aspects of the process of the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism finds its expression. An «ideological adjustment», as demanded by various revisionists, cannot be understood otherwise than as a return to the bourgeois ideology, or as depriving the socialist ideology of its revolutionary essence and aims, transforming it into a harmless doctrine acceptable to bourgeois circles. The bourgeois ideologists directly, and the revisionist ideologists indirectly, sing requiem to Marxism-Leninism, to the communist ideology. But the increasingly greater spread of communist ideas in the world today, their being embraced by millions upon millions of men and women on the five continents, show that what imperialism and revisionism sing requiem to is not dead and will never die. The anti-Marxist ideologists would do well to devote their black prophecies to the system and ideology they themselves represent and defend.

Technical-scientific revolution and international relations

The alchemists of bourgeois political thought think that they have found the

elixir of life for their system. They have frantically written about it since the end of the 50's and even nowadays it is used as the main argument of the bourgeois political, sociological and philosophical sciences to back up their theories about the radical changes caused by the technical-scientific revolution in all spheres of social life. In their opinion, it has eclipsed social revolution, which has become not only superfluous and useless, but also dangerous and regressive, to the extent that it demands preventive measures. According to them, the miraculous power of the technical-scientific revolution also influenced international relations which were reduced to a simple technical and scientific character. «The world is transformed not by the revolution of Marx and Engels, but by the radical influences of present-day technology» – the American professor M.D. Schulman says; while according to the Soviet authors V. Gnevashv and A. Davidov, in the epoch of the tempestuous technical-scientific revolution social progress depends on scientific research. To them, the technical-scientific revolution expels ideology not only from the national framework of each society, but also on a world scale, estranging it from international relations. Science and technology were transformed into a «new ideology» which embraces all the systems of classes whose ideologies were formerly antagonistic. This so-called departure, of ideology from the sphere of international relations, never to return, results in the disappearance of social-political limits between various societies which gradually integrate till they meet at one point, at the so-called industrial society. A group of American sociologists write in the book «Industrialism and industrial man»: «The giant of industrialism walks proudly on the earth transforming all the features of the old traditional societies. The world is entering a new epoch, the epoch of total industrialization. Both the East and the West are approaching it». One of the most fashionable theories in the field of the sociology of international relations that has appeared on the stage today is that of convergence between the two systems, capitalism and socialism, which, from two individual rivers of social deve-

lopment, are now flowing along the same bed of the technical-scientific revolution. In their opinion, socialism ceases to be socialism, and capitalism is no longer capitalism. «The differences between capitalism and socialism cease being ideological and are increasingly becoming administrative-economic and technical» – W. Lippmann writes. A similar viewpoint is also expressed by the newspaper «Pravda» which wrote some time ago: «The field of science and technology is the main field of the battle of socialism with capitalism». It is interesting to point out that, although at first sight the revisionist theoreticians criticize the theory of convergence, on the other hand they praise it as a concession which the bourgeois ideology allegedly makes to socialism, accepting it as fellow traveller. In reality, the theory of convergence has been raised on the actual fact of the capitalist degeneration and restoration of capitalism in the former countries of people's democracy, thus, on the fact of the identical social-economic character of social orders in the capitalist and revisionist countries. Convergence has occurred here not because the technical-scientific revolution has changed the nature of the social system, but because the revisionist treachery and the anti-socialist and pro-capitalist ideological and political line adopted by the revisionist leaders led to such a development. As to the convergence between genuine socialism and capitalism, – this is a ultra-reactionary thesis which at no moment responds to reality and never will. The effect of the technical-scientific revolution in international life is also made a fetish of by all the anti-Marxist students for whom the criterion now separating the systems and nations is the level of industrialization. This non-class, reactionary view of present day international relations is widespread in the American, Soviet and other political schools. In their view, the world system of international relations presents only the antagonism between the different levels of social product, and they even go as far as to demand the creation of various alliances on this criterion thus, according to the degree of the industrial development of this or that country. In

the opinion of the revisionist ideologists as well as in that of the bourgeois ideologists, the technical-scientific revolution becomes a road to the unification of the peoples. «The revolution in science led to the possibilities of the effective roads of the unification of the various peoples and states» – the Soviet scholar G. Pokrovskij writes; whereas, according to V. Kortunov «technical-scientific progress connects the foreign policy of various states with a complicated tangle of interests». It is truly paradoxical to speak of unification of peoples and states and consequently of integration on the basis of the technical-scientific revolution and not on common ideological, political and social bases. It is a reactionary utopia which expresses only the ultimate hegemonistic aims of typically imperialist policy.

Concept of public diplomacy

The term «diplomat» is to all peoples a synonym of ruse and secrecy. And this has been imposed by the stand of the ruling classes in the exploiting societies which have never, for a single moment, revealed the real class aims of this or that action of diplomacy. Of course, the deepening of the secret character of diplomacy in our day has become a more obvious phenomenon and has proceeded parallel with the deepening of the general crisis of the world capitalist-revisionist system and with the weakening of the political position of imperialism and revisionism in the world today. Imperialism and revisionism, as political forces on the international arena which are not destined to survive, become more cunning. This is so true that treachery has now become an inseparable feature of the imperialist and revisionist diplomacy, not only with regard to the peoples, but also in the relations within their own camps. The example of the ultra secret bargainings and talks between the United States and the Soviet Union is very significant in this respect. Indeed, in November last year a NATO committee was compelled to examine a document which said: «Nixon made bargainings in Moscow last

month without consulting the allies and without informing them in detail afterwards. There is the danger of bilateralism between the two superpowers leading to agreements at the expense of the European members of the alliance». This fact shows very well that the joint communiques issued at the end of the bilateral talks do not express the real state of affairs nor the real degree of partnership and aims, but they are purely smokescreens, in which the truth is not revealed to the peoples, or even to the allies. And what can dictate such behaviour other than an ultra-predatory aim, whose bilateral character does not allow what really has been going on at the conference table to be revealed? Counterposing to this reality and in an effort to conceal it, the ideologists of imperialism and revisionism are making noisy publicity about the concept of public diplomacy. According to them, now the ideological prejudice which divided the peoples (as if it were only this) and prevented state figures from finding a common language, no longer exists. Diplomacy, irrespective of the country, situation and social system, is interested in peace for a whole generation and has definitely embraced the principle of transition from the era of confrontation to that of talks – (Nixon). Reconciliation on a national and international scale, in their opinion, is total. Diplomacy now proceeds from humanitarian objectives which stand above and outside classes and ideologies. Therefore, it has no reason not to present itself to the public and allegedly it has indeed come out openly on the podium, before the judgment of the public. The public opinion of the modern society, which has the use of radio and television, is in position not only to appraise, but even to influence diplomatic methods and actions. This, in a few words, is the essence of the concept of public diplomacy. «Now, – the Soviet scholar J. Kandlov says, – a noticeable democratisation of international relations in general and of diplomacy in particular is evident.» Whereas according to another Soviet author, V. Israelian secret talks now proceed with series of speeches from the tribune before the public. Such

a viewpoint is widespread in American political schools. «Diplomacy is now shown over television – J. Reston writes in the «New York Times».

The concept of public diplomacy is entirely false. The powerful development of the mass media has not induced diplomacy to come out of closed doors onto television, but on the contrary it has intensified demagoguery and propaganda in order to deceive the peoples about the problems of foreign policy. The former Canadian Prime Minister, L. Pearson, wrote in his book «Diplomacy in the atomic century» that diplomacy has propaganda functions, and points out that a good diplomat must always be a good propagandist. The reason for such a statement is easily understood: it is to conceal the real aims of a diplomatic action in particular and of a foreign policy in general. It is by no means accidental that propaganda is now described as the fourth sphere of every foreign policy. It is clear that concerning problems of this nature the bourgeoisie, whether the capitalist or the revisionist one, makes no concessions at all. To claim that there is public diplomacy and democratization of international relations would be to claim with unpardonable naivety that the epoch of total reconciliation and total tranquillity has come to our planet, it would be to claim that the peoples are no longer threatened by any danger because they have the foreign policy of their governments under their day to day control. Lenin's words concerning this problem are very relevant: «The most important problems, war, peace, diplomatic questions, – he said – are decided upon by a very small handful of capitalists who deceive not only the masses, but often, deceive even the parliament». Of course the stripping of ideology from international relations, with all its manifestations, is an invention of bourgeois and revisionist political science. They, too, clearly realize that ideology does not disappear nor does the capitalism-socialism antagonism weaken. All their theories and concepts, from the death of ideology in international relations and the convergence of different social systems, to «public diplomacy», are a part of



As a result of the mechanization of agriculture and of a broader use of chemical and organic fertilizers, agricultural products in Albania have greatly increased

the continuous offensive launched by the bourgeois ideology against the communist ideology. This shows the ideological impotence of the bourgeoisie, its inability to set forth positive ideas to respond to the actual development of the world and to the interests of the overwhelming majority of the working people. Attacking the communist ideology, which continually seizes the minds and hearts of men, the bourgeoisie seeks to create an ideological vacuum which it wants to fill with its own ideology. These efforts are an expression of the intensification of the ideological struggle at the present time

and of the deepening of the ideological, political and social incompatibility between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on an international scale, incompatibility which remains one of the main features of social life. Ideology is and will remain the inevitable source of every policy, and the correctness and effectiveness of a foreign policy will always depend on the correctness of the ideological line followed by a state, a party or a political organization. Concretely, the more foreign policy is based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology and strictly adheres to revolutionary principles at all times and in every situa-

tion, the better it will play its role in the process of the revolutionary development of the world and in tipping the balance of power to the advantage of the revolution and socialism. No diplomatic revolution whatever, which more accurately should be called a diplomatic counter-revolution, can diminish in the slightest the invincible force of the Marxist-Leninist ideas which properly respond to the laws of the historical development of human society and remain the sole effective guide to action in all spheres of social activity, including the field of foreign policy.

CHRONICLES

May day in socialist Albania

The Albanian people celebrated May day, the international day of the working people, with grandeur and a rich balance-sheet of achievements. Popular manifestations were organized throughout the country expressing the complete unity of the people with the party, the revolutionary optimism to victoriously march on the road of the socialist revolution.

A manifestation was organized in Tirana, the capital city of the P.R. of Albania, present at which were the First Secretary of the CC of the PLA, Enver Hoxha; the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Haxhi Lleshi; the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mehmet Shehu, and other Party and State leaders.

Present were also the delegation of the Federation of Trade Unions of Vietnam, headed by the president of the trade unions of the building materials industrial branch, Nguyen Manh Duc; the delegation of the trades unions Federation for the liberation of South Vietnam, headed by the member of the Committee of the Trade Unions Federation of the Trung Bo central area, Le Khoan Hong; the delegation of the General Trades Union of Rumania, headed by the member of the Executive Committee of this Union and chairman of the Committee of the trade union of building construction and of the building materials industry Gheorghescu Mirecea; the delegation of the pan-African trade union, headed by Fatu Diarra, deputy to the National Assembly of the Republic of Guinea; the delegation of Federation of the Trade Unions of Palestine, headed by the member of the supreme council of this Federation Mosleh El Satari; the delegation of the Algerian working people's General Union, headed by the member of the National Executive Commission of this Union, Bakush Adbelkader; the delegation of the revolutionary workers from Italy, headed by Luigi Morisi; the delegation of the General Confederation of the working people of the PDR of Yemen, headed by the member of the Executive Committee of the TU of the second province, Fadhle Ahmet Elmisri; the representative of the National Union of the working people of Tanganyika, Valerio L. Komu, and the delegation of the revolutionary workers from Britain, headed by Jeffrey Alterman.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the PLA, of the Council of Ministers and of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions, those present and the

entire Albanian people were greeted by the President of the Central Council of the ATU, Rita Marko.

Tens of thousands of working people of the Capital marched past the tribune where were the leaders of the Party and the State and the foreign guests, acclaiming the Party of Labour and comrade Enver Hoxha, the triumphant Marxism-Leninism, the international solidarity of the working people and the international day of the working people. The working people presented at the manifestation the brilliant results they have achieved in all the fields of life.

The martyrs' day

May 5 in Albania is the martyrs' day. The entire Albanian people, on this occasion commemorate with respect thousands of martyrs who laid down their lives for the freedom and independence of the country, for the construction of socialism and the defence of the achieved victories.

On the martyrs' graves and at the lapidaries in their memory wreaths and bouquets of fresh flowers are placed and solemn ceremonies are organized. Comrade Enver Hoxha and other Party and State leaders attend many of these ceremonies in various regions of the country. On this occasion they paid visits to martyrs' families. Comrade Enver Hoxha paid visits to many martyrs' families of the Durrës district. He had very warm and cordial conversations with the relatives of the martyrs. On this occasion the beloved leader of the Party and the people was enthusiastically greeted by the working people of Durrës.

At the martyrs' cemetery in Tirana homage was paid and wreaths were laid

Among the working people

Recently, eighty writers and artists left for the construction sites of the big projects of the five-year plan, such as the metallurgic combine of Elbasan, the Fierza hydropower station, the deep oil processing plant and some other industrial and mining centres, as Batër, Pukë and Çervenakë, Mborje-Drenovë, Memaliaj, agricultural enterprises and cooperatives of Myzeqe, Devolli, Kruma and Dropulli.

CHRONICLES

The going of writers and artists to work and production centres has become a common occurrence in Albania in order to become better acquainted with the revolutionary vigour of the working people, with their mass heroism for the building of socialism so as to be able to reflect it in the best possible way in their literary and artistic works.

Diplomatic relations Albania-Nigeria

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Military Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, guided by the desire to develop the ties of friendship and cooperation, agreed that diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level be established between the two countries.

Scientific symposium on literature

On May 24 a scientific symposium held its proceedings in the hall of the Academy of Sciences of the PRA in Tirana, on the theme "Present-day problems of tradition and innovatorism in our literature of socialist realism." The symposium was organized on the initiative of the Institute of Linguistics and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the PRA. Attending were students of literature; critics, writers, pedagogues, workers of education and culture and teachers of literature from the Capital and various districts of the country.

Present were also the member of the CC of the PIA Kahreman Ylli, the President of the Academy of Sciences of the PRA professor Aleks Buda, the President of the Albanian Writers and Artists Union professor Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi, the vice-Minister of Education and Culture Mantho Bala, the vice rectors of the State University of Tirana Shpresa Zenelaj, Osman Kraja, and other comrades.

The opening speech was delivered by the director of the Institute of Linguistics and Literature professor Androkli Kostallari. Then the vice-director of this institute, Koço Bihiku, delivered the report "Present-day problems of the tradition and innovatorism in our literature of socialism realism."

After the report there were read out eight communications.

Then discussions ensued on the report and the communications.

A good will delegation from Somalia

A good will delegation from the Democratic Republic of Somalia, headed by the member of the Supreme Re-

volutionary Council and Secretary of State of the Ministry of Posts and Communications of the D.R. of Somalia, Ahmed Mohammed Fara, arrived in Albania on May 26.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs Nesti Nase had talks with the head of the delegation Ahmed Mohamed Fara. During the talks, which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, opinions were exchanged about the development of relations between the People's Republic of Albania and the Democratic Republic of Somalia, as well as about a number of important international questions of common interests.

On May 27, Haxhi Lleshi, President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PR of Albania, received the good will delegation from the Democratic Republic of Somalia, headed by the member of the Supreme Revolutionary Council and State Secretary of the Ministry of Posts and Communications of the Democratic Republic of Somalia, Ahmed Mohamed Fara. During the reception, which passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, Ahmed Mohamed Fara handed to the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Haxhi Lleshi, a message from the chairman of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Somalia, Mohamed Siad Barre.

The delegation was received also by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PR of Albania, Mehmet Shehu.

On May 29 the good will delegation from the Democratic Republic of Somalia left Albania.

May decade

It has now become a tradition in Albania to hold the May decade. On May 15, in the opera and Ballet Theatre in Tirana there started the concerts of professional troupes, of the young talents of music schools, the young pioneers palace, the best amateurs of the regional agricultural cooperatives, the amateur workers of various production enterprises. The professional artists and the worker and peasant amateurs, in the performances they gave, showed a high ideartistic preparation, they performed with skill, expressing the enthusiasm, militant spirit, the revolutionary optimism of our working masses which, directed by the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, reap increasingly greater successes in the building of the new life, socialism. The working people of the Capital followed with great interest all the concerts and expressed joy and pleasure at the good preparation of all the groups that competed.

On May 27, the final concert was given with selected numbers by the groups participating in the May 1973 decade. The hall was filled to capacity with working people from the work and production centers, various institutions of the Capital, military men, youths and girls, workers of art, culture and science.

Attending the concert were the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania Enver Hoxha, the president of the Presidium of the

People's Assembly Haxhi Lleshi, the chairman of the Council of Ministers Mehmet Shehu and other Party and State leaders.

At the closing of the concert, those present and the participating groups applauded and acclaimed the Party and the beloved leader of it and of the people, comrade Enver Hoxha. Amidst the revolutionary enthusiasm of the working people, comrade Enver Hoxha and other Party and State leaders walked to the stage and complimented the professional and amateur artists on the beautiful concert they gave.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk in Albania

At the invitation of the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania, Haxhi Lleshi, and of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, Mehmet Shehu, the head of state of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and his wife, princess Monique Sihanouk, arrived on June 4 in Albania for a friendly visit.

During his stay in Albania, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk was received by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Enver Hoxha, at the seat of the Party Central Committee. A warm talk was held during the reception. The Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania gave a reception in the Palace of Brigades in honour of the head of state and chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and the persons accompanying him.

Attending the reception were the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania Mehmet Shehu, other Party and State leaders, representatives of mass organisations and other invitees.

During the reception, which passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Haxhi Lleshi and the head of state and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia Samdech Norodom Sihanouk delivered speeches.

The head of state of Cambodia and chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, organized in the Palace of Brigades the show of two documentary films, one of which presents the historical trip of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk in the liberated areas. Attending the show were princess Monique Sihanouk and other high-ranking Cambodian personalities. Present were the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the

People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania Mehmet Shehu and other party and state leaders.

At the end of the show, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk presented comrade Enver Hoxha with copies of the two documentary films. Comrade Enver Hoxha expressed his pleasure and thanked Samdech Norodom Sihanouk for this valuable present.

The head of state and chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia Samdech Norodom Sihanouk gave a reception in the Palace of Brigades on June 8.

Present at the reception were the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania Mehmet Shehu, and other party and state leaders.

During the reception, which passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, speeches were delivered by the head of state and chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, Mehmet Shehu.

On June 9, the head of state and chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and his wife, princess Monique Sihanouk, left Albania.

7th Congress of the Albanian women's union

The 7th Congress of the Albania Women's Union held its proceedings from June 11 to 14, 1973. The Congress was attended by 1400 delegates and invitees. The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the P.L.A. Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the P.R. of Albania Mehmet Shehu and other Party and State leaders were present.

The Congress was honoured with the participation of delegations from 26 countries: the delegation of the Women's Union of the D.R. of Vietnam, headed by Nguyen Khus Xien Hong, member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Women's Union of the D.R. of Vietnam, the Union's president for Hanoi;

the delegation of the Women's Union for the liberation of South Vietnam, headed by Liu T'hi Lien, member of the Committee of the Women's Union for the liberation of South Vietnam;

the delegaton of the Union of the Democratic Women of Korea, headed by Jeng Meng Hi, member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Democratic Women of Korea, directress of press publications for the woman and manager of the documentation cabinet of the CC of the Union of the Democratic Women of Korea;

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The delegation of the Women's National Council of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, headed by Maria Chokan secretary of the Women's National Council of the S. R. of Rumania;

the delegation of the Women's Association of Cambodia, headed by Sien An, member of the Committee of the National United Front of Cambodia;

the delegation of the Lao Hak Sat Women's Association, headed by Shansi Rasmi, member of the Central Committee of the Lao Hak Sat Women's Association, the Association's president in the Luang Prabang province;

the delegation of the Women's Organisation of the Arab Socialist Union headed by prof. Nafize El Ghamraoui, president of the Committee of conferences and foreign relations in the Women's Organization in the Arab Socialist Union, adviser for youth and sports at the Ministry of higher Education of the Arab Republic of Egypt;

the delegation of the Algerian Women's National Union, headed by ShamaShanç Braham, member of the Union's National Council and Secretary-General of Satiï vilayet;

the delegation of the Syrian Women's General Union, headed by Suad Ahmed Sakar, vice-president of the women's steering Bureau for the Daran district;

the delegation of the Palestinian Women's Union, headed by Mufide Dabagh, member of the Central Committee and in charge of the section for relations with the Arab women's organizations in the Palestinian Women's Union;

the delegation of the Tanzanian Women's Union, headed by Odilia Tibaidjuka, secretary of the West Lake district Women's Organization;

the delegation of the Congo (B) Women's Revolutionary Union, headed by Micheline Ekondi Akala, member of the Executive National Committee of the Congo (B) Women's Revolutionary Union, charged with the press and propaganda at this Committee;

the delegation of the Angola Women's Organization (OMA), headed by Maria Ruth Neto, leading member of the Angola Women's Organization (OMA);

the representative of the New Zealand revolutionary women Join Istwood;

the delegation of the revolutionary women of Italy, headed by Carla Francone;

the representative of the Marxist-Leninist women of France, Monique Maubert;

the representative of the Marxist-Leninist women of Austria, Elisabeth Klimits;

the delegation of the People's Union of the Women of Spain, headed by Julia Perez, member of the leadership of the People's Union of the Women of Spain;

the representative of the Marxist-Leninist women of Chile, Sonja Rogazi;

the representative of the revolutionary women of Australia, Jill White;

the representative of the Marxist-Leninist woman of the German Federal Republic;

the representative of the Marxist-Leninist women of the Sweden, Marita Gate;

the representative of the Marxist-Leninist women of Norway, Kiti Strand, member of the central leadership of the Norwegian Women's Front;

the representative of the Marxist-Leninist women of Brazil, Mariza De Suza;

the delegation of the Bolivian Women's Union, headed by Lidia Gailer;

the delegation of the women of the Albanian colony in the U.S.A., headed by Persefoni Karçini.

The Congress held its proceedings with the following agenda:

1) Report on the activity of the Albanian Women's Union General Council and on the main tasks deriving from the 6th Congress of the PLA for the complete emancipation of the Albanian women.

2) Elections to the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union. On behalf of the Central Committee of the PLA, comrade Mehmet Shehu greeted the Congress.

The Congress held its proceedings in a high spirit of revolutionary enthusiasm which has swept over the entire country to carry out in practice comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings on the further deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution, the intensification of the struggle against the influences of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology and all the remnants of patriarchal, feudal ideology and backward customs.

The steel-like unity of the masses of women of the socialist Fatherland round the Party of Labour of Albania and the leader of the people and the Party, comrade Enver Hoxha, was manifested at the congress. The congress was also a manifestation of proletarian internationalism which expressed the ardent support and backing of the Albanian women for the revolutionary struggles of the women of the world for freedom, independence and social rights.

The congress was greeted by the delegations of the revolutionary women of many countries of the world. These greetings were an expression of the high appraisal of the work and struggle which the women of socialist Albania have waged and continue to wage for their complete emancipation and for the fraternal internationalist aid they give to the women of the entire world.

At the last sitting, on June 14, the delegates elected the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union, comprised of 151 women.

At its first meeting the General Council elected the presidency comprised of 25 members.

Comrade Vito Kapo, member of the CC of the PLA, was elected president of the General Council.

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«ZËRI I POPULLIT», Organ of the Central Committee of the Party, comments in a lengthy article on the proceedings of the preparatory Helsinki meeting concerning the European Conference on security. The article which is entitled «The Helsinki consultations reveal the hegemonistic aims of the two «superpowers» in Europe», says: «During the heretofore proceedings in Helsinki it has become clear that the two «superpowers» went there with plans coordinated and prepared before hand. The threads of these plans come out from the secret Soviet-U.S. talks held for years, and particularly at the Nixon-Brezhnev summit meeting in Moscow in June last year. They went to Helsinki determined to impose these plans on the other participant countries, through promises, deception, pressure and blackmail. The article further reads: Everything done there so far shows about the aims of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism to preserve the status quo on this continent, ensure here a certain relative tranquility, so that the two «superpowers» may have their hands free to direct their blows more forcefully to other areas of the world, in compliance with their global counter-revolutionary strategy. They are using this «action» of theirs as one of the most important links of the «peace offensive» which they have frontally undertaken in these recent years in order to quench and lull the vigilance of the peoples, to make them give up the revolution and the national

liberation struggle, to spread among them the liberal spirit, so that to more easily realize their aggressive plans, seeking to get the fortress from within with the collaboration of the wavering and counterrevolutionary forces of various countries. Therefore, they advertise the conference they are preparing as the magic wand «for the European security and collaboration.»



«ZËRI I RINISË», organ of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labour Youth Union, comments in an article on the increase of the unemployed among the ranks of the intelligentsia in the USA. The article, which is entitled «Worse than the black year», making thereby allusion to the year 1970 which was considered by the American press as a black year for the students, writes among other things: «Unemployment to one or another extent has been a permanent co-traveller of the U.S. capitalist economy. But in these recent years it has been noticed in the labour market of the USA that chronic unemployment has greatly affected also the intelligentsia and in particular the young graduates, those who just graduate from the universities, colleges and other institutes of higher learning. This phenomenon has taken such proportions that many specialists in the fields of education and economy are of the opinion that the time

has come to revise the formal law which stipulates that «every person has the right to receive higher education». The major part of the American youths who graduate from institutes of higher learning, they point out, remain jobless or are compelled to do odd jobs which do not conform at all with the speciality they have acquired at school.»

After quoting many figures and facts drawn from official documents or from the U.S. press itself which show not only the very great increase of the number of the jobless intellectuals at present, but also the dim prospects for the future, the article concludes: «The further increase of the ranks of the unemployed, particularly of the ranks of the worker and student youth, shows that the so-called programmes of Nixon and his colleagues against unemployment are but empty promises aimed at arousing illusions among the ranks of youth and at diverting it from the road of the struggle for its rights. But irrespective of the attempts of the ruling circles to hoodwink the masses of youth, the increase of the ranks of the unemployed has directly contributed to the sharpening of the contradiction between the labour and the capital, which is reflected in the extension of the student movement in the bulwark of imperialism. The American youth, by its own experience is understanding and is becoming ever more aware of the fact that the order in power is responsible for all the evils, it closes to that youth

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the prospect for the present and the future.»

■

The Albanian press has supported and continues to support the Cambodian people's just struggle against the U.S. aggressors and their Pnom Penh puppets. All the newspapers have written many articles on this question. In an article entitled «The Cambodian people are resolutely marching on the road of the struggle for the realisation of their aspirations», the newspaper «BASHKIMI» writes: «The favourable situation, the victories of the liberation struggle of the Cambodian people best of all testify to the invincible force of this struggle. It cannot be conquered because it is a just struggle, the best road chosen by the Cambodian people to realize their legitimate right, the realisation of their aspirations to freedom and independence. With their struggle and one success after the other, the Cambodian people and fighters are showing also their vitality, they are still more increasing their prestige on the international arena.

The Albanian people have supported and will support with determination the Cambodian people and the other peoples of Indochina in their just struggle. Learning about the ever greater successes of the liberation struggle of the Cambodian brothers, our people rejoice over these successes and greet them wholeheartedly. They are convinced that under the leadership of the United National

Front, the Cambodian people will realize for certain their lofty aspirations.

The newspaper «LUFTËTARI», central organ of the Ministry of People's Defence, commenting on the victories of the Cambodian people, writes: «The people's warfare is ever more burning the enemies. The successes of the United National Front of Cambodia have brought about a period of deep crisis for the traitorous Pnom Penh clique and has created great troubles to the U.S. imperialists. It is only the U.S. bayonets that prolong the life-span of this puppet.»

■

«Hegemonistic objectives of the two superpowers at the Arabian Gulf», is the title of an article of the newspaper «ZËRI I POPULLIT» commenting on the successive visits of the Moscow and Washington emissaries to the capital cities of the Arabian Gulf countries. «The incursion of the imperialist-revisionist diplomacy to the Arabian Gulf countries, the newspaper writes, aims at the opposite of the demagogic statements and propaganda echoing this incursion. The camouflage of the real aims has become an art in itself of the diplomacy of the two imperialist superpowers. But it is in vain that they are tiring themselves in the White House, in the Kremlin and less in Downing Street (London's objectives in this area have been wellknown) to fabricate complicated formulas of justification, for the reality of the events and political experience

have created the conviction that the two imperialist superpowers do not pay in vain such an attention to that area.

After mentioning the ways and means used by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists to penetrate into the Arabian Gulf countries and seize the colossal riches, particularly the oil which is found in abundance in that area, the author of the article writes:

The penetration of the two «superpowers» into the Arabian Gulf area is proceeding not only in close collaboration between them in their efforts to hoodwink and subjugate the peoples of this area, but also on the road of contradictions, overt and covert. The struggle between the two imperialist superpowers for influence in this or that country is clearly reflected in the economic, political and military fields. Swelling the danger from one another, they seek to get concessions from the Arab countries. The truth is that some countries of this area, in which Washington and Moscow are interested, receive economic «aids» and military equipments from both sides, striking various contracts and agreements with them. Those countries which by their stand favour willynilly the penetration of the two imperialist superpowers, create to them proper grounds, actions which are in contrast with the interests of the security of these countries themselves. Mention must be made here of the border conflicts between North and South Yemen, between Iraq and Kuwait, the aggravated relations between Iran and Iraq, etc. The

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Arab public opinion itself is realizing it that behind these events stands the hand of Moscow and Washington, the from time to time visits of the emissaries of the Kremlin and of the White House to various countries of this area, who on the one hand smile to them on the other hand set them against one another according to the known imperialist policy of «divide and rule». These disputes bring grist to the mill of the two imperialist superpowers and are to the detriment of the so much needed Arab unity.

■

The newspaper «DRITA» carries an article entitled «The Pope – «saint» of reaction», by which it sheds light on the broad hostile activity of the Vatican against Albania.

The article reads in part: «Great and progressive men of many generations and countries have spoken and written about the Vatican and they have stigmatized it as a qualified centre of obscurantism and reaction. The history of the hostile activity of the Vatican against our country in the past and today is an evident proof and testimony of the entirely reactionary character of this centre.

In particular the religion of catholicism, the Vatican and the popes, the article continues, carry out a large-scale reactionary activity. This traitorous and sabotaging activity is of long standing. During the whole period of the Ottoman occupation the Roman catholic clergy had been appointed by the Vatican, they had been under

the protectorate of one or the other state and under the mask of religion and of the religious-educational activity they have carried out espionage political activity and the propaganda of foreign influence.

After the destruction of Austro-Hungary, in 1918, always according to the instructions and political interests of the Vatican, the catholic chieftains were orientated by the Italian political circles. The more Italian imperialism was becoming strong on the coast beyond the Adriatic, the greater its appetite and ambition for Albania's riches, the more it was sharpening its colonialist clutches. It extensively resorted to the preferred means: religious ideology, «religious» missionaries, language, etc. The priests themselves have admitted that the «Jesuit seminary and the archbishopric of Shkodra, during the years 1935-39 had become places where fascist ideology was openly dominating». Also the Vatican, with the entire network of its clergymen and tools, worked energetically and made preparations for April 7, 1939.

The Roman catholic clergymen, inspired and directly guided by the Vatican, worked and did their utmost to divide and italianize the people, to sabotage the national-liberation movement. «The catholic doves have come to rescue catholicism», Anton Harapi was saying about the fascist armies, while in the period of the German occupation, the same Anton Harapi declared: «By order of the Vatican, I took part in the regency», thus placing himself at the service and under the protection of German nazism.

The article further says: The popes have had and have a marked sensitiveness and affinity towards the most reactionary trends and forces of the times and we always find them on the forefront of reaction. The Vatican which blessed Mussolini putting the cross round his neck, which has blessed Hitler and their successors, is serving today with a great zeal the expansionist plans of U.S. imperialism. The Vatican, headed by the pope, is a great political organisation and a joint stock company with numerous branches, with large capitals, which engages in the economic, social and spiritual enslavement and exploitation of many peoples.

The article reads in conclusion: Our struggle against religion is a struggle against the reactionary ideological weapons of imperialism and modern revisionism. The Party teaches us that «behind foreign remnants, behind the religious beliefs and backward customs, behind any non-socialist concept preserved in somebody, stands the danger of degeneration, the reserve of the class enemy, of imperialism and revisionism.»

■

«ZËRI I POPULLIT», in an article entitled «Reconfirmation of the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism», comments on Kissinger's and Rogers' proposals for a «new North Atlantic charter». Within a few days, the article says, two of the main representatives of U.S. diplomacy, William Rogers and Henry Kissinger, in their speeches and statements again expressed

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themselves for the fundamental principles of the foreign policy of the USA. The report of the Secretary of the State Department, Rogers, on the U.S. foreign policy sent to the Congress, was followed by the speech of Henry Kissinger, president Nixon's special adviser. The next day Rogers spoke again at the New York press club.

The article further reads:

«A main place in Rogers' and Kissinger's speeches was held by the problems of the NATO bloc. It clearly follows from these admissions that the Nixon Administration is preoccupied by the present situation in the fold of this bloc, at a time when the inter-imperialist contradictions have sharpened and when Washington is no more in position to play as it did once its role of a plenipotentiary boss with regard to its Atlantic partners. At the same time, the extension of the counter-revolutionary collaboration between the USA and the Soviet Union, their secret plans for the division of the zones of influence and the domination of the world cannot fail to be seen with suspicion and even with dissatisfaction by the other Atlantic powers. In these circumstances the Nixon Administration had to manoeuvre, to trumpet its initiative for a «new Atlantic charter», advertising it as a constitution responding to actuality and which would place on more healthy bases the relations between the USA and its partners in Western Europe.

«The United States, — Kissinger declared, — proposes to its Atlantic partners that by the time of Nixon's visit to the

West European countries they should have drafted a new Atlantic charter, setting the aims for the future.»

Irrespective of the fact that they speak of a «new Atlantic charter», in reality the aggressive and counterrevolutionary character of the NATO bloc remains unchangeable just as the aims of U.S. imperialism to preserve in the future, too, its leading role in this aggressive bloc, adapting it in the best possible way, in the present conditions, to the needs of its global strategy.»



All the central organs of the Albanian press devote articles to May 9, the day of victory over Nazi Germany.

«ZËRI I POPULLIT», in its article devoted to this event, writes among other things: «The freedom-loving peoples and all the progressive and revolutionary forces of the world are commemorating the day of the victory over fascism at a time when the common imperialist-revisionist strategy is seeking to extinguish the revolutionary struggles and movements, the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Of late, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, parallel with the policy of war and aggression they are pursuing against the freedom and independence of the peoples, are trying to cultivate a pacifist atmosphere and a spirit of capitulation and reconciliation with the peoples. This dangerous tactic testifies to the failure of the policy of war and aggression against the

sovereign peoples and those fighting for freedom and independence, but at the same time it aims at extinguishing by «new means» every revolutionary movement hindering the realisation of the Soviet-U.S. hegemonistic plans and endangering the capitalist order. The two imperialist superpowers in this direction have unified their action and language. In Nixon's recent speeches and in that of the Kremlin chief, Brezhnev, on the occasion of Mayday, the architects of war and aggression again promised to work for peace at a time when they are working for war. This how Hitler and Mussolini and the other chieftains of the imperialist powers were also speaking before the second world war.»



The Albanian press has devoted many articles also to the Middle East events and in particular to the war and plots against the Palestinian people.

The newspaper «BASHKIMI», in an article devoted to the above problem, writes: «The liberation struggle of the martyr Palestinian people has been and remains an important factor of the Arab peoples' struggle against the Zionist aggression and its supporters.

The Palestinian fighters, arms in hand, have never stopped their courageous struggle against the Israeli aggressors. Precisely by its patriotic liberation struggle, the Palestinian resistance has increased its prestige, its vitality and has won the res-

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pect, love and the powerful support of all the revolutionary peoples of the world, the Arab people included in the first place».

«ZËRI I POPULLIT» on its part writes: «The recent offensive of the Lebanese reaction, and of the Arab reaction in general, against the Palestinian people is a component part of the offensive of the Israeli Zionists and of the plots of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism to liquidate the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian patriots. Each one of them sees in the heroic resistance and struggle of the Palestinian people for national liberation an obstacle the elimination of which would create the possibilities of the realisation of the imperialist-revisionist reactionary and aggressive aims. By its struggle against the Palestinian resistance the Arab reaction, including also the Lebanese reactionary circles, aims at hindering the unity between the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples, at sabotaging the common struggle against the Israeli occupationist aggressors and the anti-Arab plans and plots of the two imperialist superpowers. By these actions the Lebanese and Arab reaction reveal their fear of a military confrontation with the Israeli Zionists and their aims to come to terms with Israel through unprincipled talks and concessions at the expense of the Palestinian people and of the other Arab people. Some Arab governments, the Arab press and the Arab progressive public opinion have risen in these recent days and have forcefully condemned these dark, capitulationist, defeatist, anti-

Palestinian and anti-Arab plans of reaction.»

In an article entitled «A new imperialist alliance in Europe», the newspaper «ZËRI I POPULLIT» extensively comments on Brezhnev's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany.

For the third time within less than three years, the general secretary of the CP of the Soviet Union is meeting the head of the German Federal Government, the article says among other things. For both sides this meeting which both in Moscow and Bonn is called, neither more nor less than «historic», is very important. It crowns a whole period of bargainings, compromises and coordination of actions; it sanctions the creation of a new imperialist alliance in Europe and the beginning of a new policy of both these great powers of Europe with regard to their neighbours. The article further reads. Nothing has brought to the foreign policy of Western Germany so great advantages as the bargainings with the leaders of the Soviet Union. We all have lived the «German crises», the sabotages of the Yalta and Potsdam decisions by the western powers, the revanchist claims of Adenauer, the rabid threats of Strauss, etc. We all remember the «savage cold war» about the German problem, which Bonn and its allies, for more than two decades, developed without interruption day and night. But now the times have changed. The concessions made

by the Soviet Union have greatly surpassed even the forecasts of the most optimist revanchists.

A key problem of the post-war period in Europe has been the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. This treaty should without fail include, among other things, the de facto and de jure recognition of the German Democratic Republic, the recognition of West Berlin as a special entity completely independent of Bonn, the renunciation to the claims and threats towards the historic rights of Poland, Czechoslovakia and other countries, the elimination of German militarism, the creation of necessary guarantees to avoid a stage back of revanchism. All these demands which once constituted also the main objectives of the Soviet stand towards the German question, have been abandoned by the present leaders of the Kremlin.

What other concessions Moscow will now be asked to make to the detriment of the interests of the German Democratic Republic, of Czechoslovakia or Poland?

The interests of the German bourgeoisie and those of the Soviet revisionists have now greatly approached, and they have what to talk about and on what to come to terms.

Unlike the two previous meetings that had to do more with the East, the present meeting between Brezhnev and Brandt, according to all data, will have to do with the West. After the concessions they made to Bonn and after the special relations established with it, the Soviet leaders want now to begin to reap the fruits of this policy.

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They seek to use the relations with Federal Germany for political and economic expansion in Western Europe and to profit by the new contradictions that have emerged between the European partners of the Common Market and between them and the United States of America.

After mentioning the immediate interests which push the two imperialist states to approach with one another, the article says: The Kremlin leaders, as it seems, have set themselves the aim of transforming the Soviet-West German rapprochement, their economic and political collaboration, into a new factor of force in Europe. They consider Bonn as the main European interlocutor of the Soviet Union.

A contribution to the efforts to make Federal Germany the main economic and military power of Western Europe was made by the United States. Whereas now, thanks to the support of the Soviet revisionists, it is being transformed also into a first rate political power in Europe, which is seeking to politically and economically weaken its western allies, to arouse again in them the known fear of the German power. This is seen in particular in Bonn's stands toward France

which has objected to the political, economic and military hegemony of the United States of America and of any other power in Western Europe.

In these recent times, as well the United States of America as the Soviet Union have greatly activated their policies and diplomacies with regard to Europe. The United States wants to conclude a «new Atlantic charter», while the Soviets have the problem of European security, and the Americans and the Soviets together have the problem of the reduction of troops in Central Europe, etc. But it is characteristic that concerning these problems both Nixon as well as Brezhnev have chosen Brandt as the main interlocutor, while the other leaders of Western Europe have been relegated to the background. Immediately after his return from Washington, Brandt is meeting with Brezhnev, and thus they close the iron triangle in which the U.S. president, the German chancellor and the Soviet general secretary seek to include Western Europe. The history of Europe, the article continues, is replete with tragic events and with endless memories of the sufferings, destructions and miseries that German militarism has inflicted on the European peoples. Can they

forget this and can they remain indifferent in face of the revival of the militarist-nazi ghosts of the past? We believe to the end that the peoples of Europe well know what a reinforcement and a stage back of German militarism means for them, what danger might pose to them a come back of Prussian revanchism. They know both the policy and the expansionist claims of the Soviet social-imperialists.

Real peace and security in Europe can be established neither by the U.S. imperialists nor by the Soviet revisionists or German militarists. They are questions belonging only to the European peoples who must take them in their own hands and fight with determination and through to the end against any imperialism, irrespective of the label and colour it bears. The absence of vigilance towards the plots being hatched up now at their expense, may have very grave consequences in the future. The greatest lesson of the history of the last century in Europe, to mention only this, is very categorical: Indifference and passivity are paid for very dear. The dangerous plots being framed up now between Bonn and Moscow should be hit and exposed right now, in order to avoid their becoming dangerous tomorrow.

PHOTOS:

P. 2,6,31,36,37 ATSH; 14,43 N. Pici; 15,28,54 A. Kurti; 22,26 R. Berisha.



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