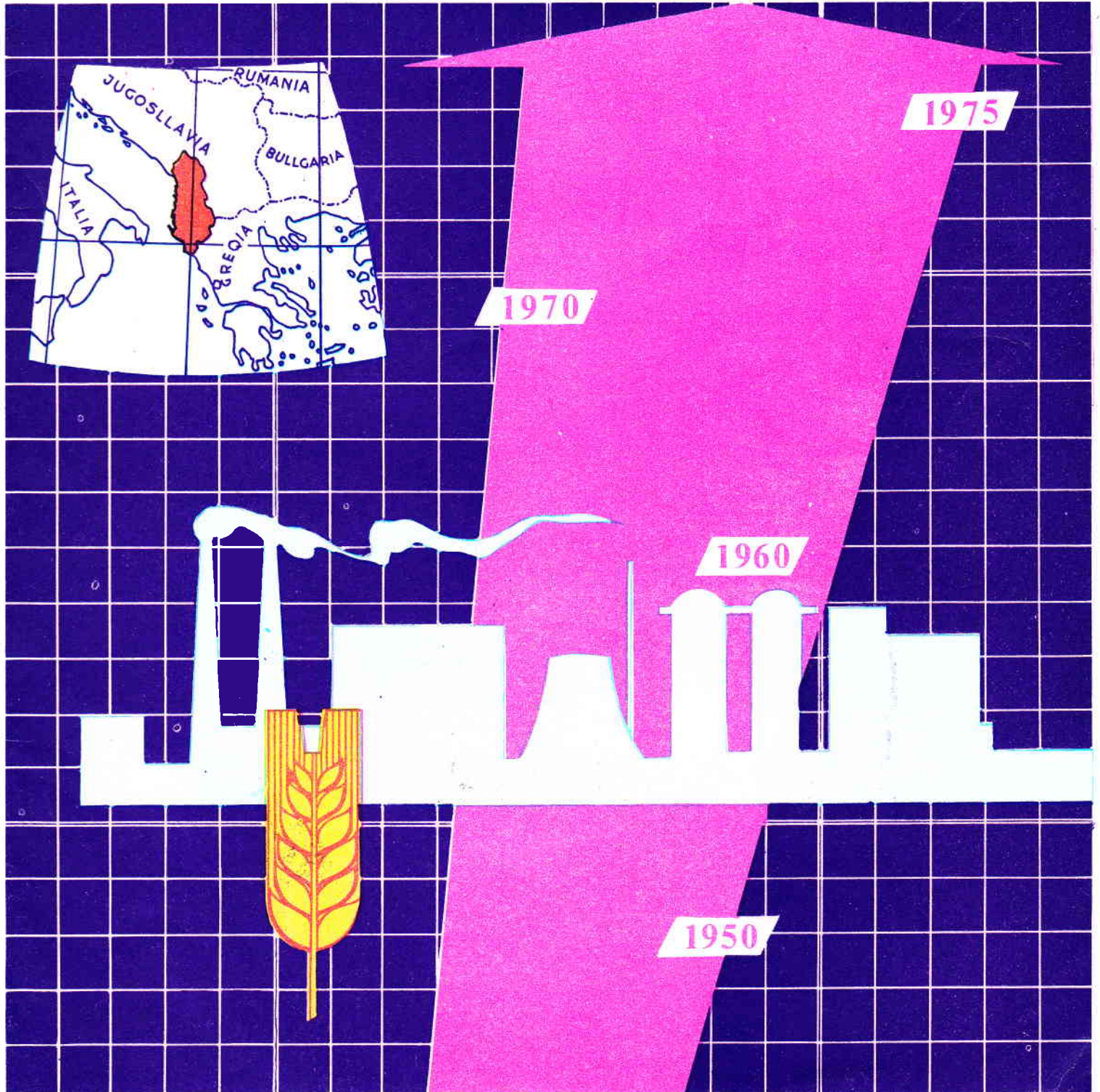


Albania today

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During the national liberation struggle, at their leisure time between one bold action and another, the partisans were taking care to increase their political and cultural knowledge. The painter Isuf Sulovari devotes his oil picture to the theme: «Partisan leisure».

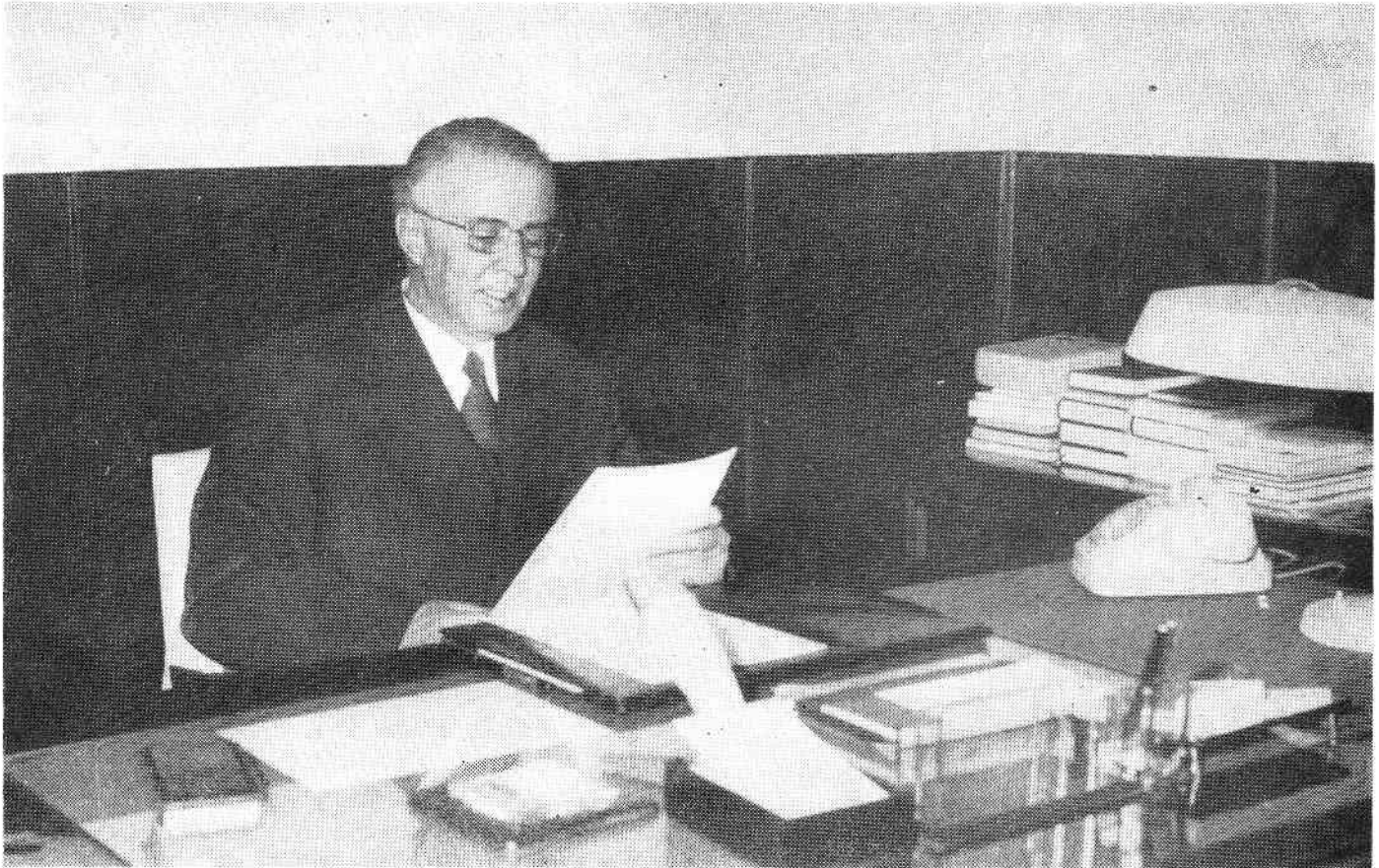


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**THE VETERANS
ARE
THE LIVING EMBODIMENT
OF PARTISAN
HEROISM,
OF BOUNDLESS
LOYALTY
TO THE CAUSE
OF
FREEDOM,
THE REVOLUTION
AND
SOCIALISM**

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S GREETING EXTENDED TO THE CONFERENCE



Our people have a profound respect and great admiration for the veterans because they are from among their best sons, who have devoted their youth, forces and energies, their lives for these happy days we are enjoying today, because with their struggle and work they have raised high the name and the glory of the Homeland

DEAR COMRADE VETERANS,

I am very happy and feel particular pleasure in extending to the 3rd Conference of the Veterans, on behalf of the Central Committee and on my own behalf most cordial and fraternal greetings.

I would like to take this opportunity to wish all the veterans of the democratic and progressive movement, the pioneer communists of our country, the brave men and heroes of the glorious National Libe-

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S GREETING

ration War, all those who, with the Party at the head, laid the first foundations of our people's power, who defended and defend the homeland and the gains of socialism, long life and perfect health, so that they may enjoy socialist Albania, their great dream and ideal, and wish them ever greater successes in work and in life.

Our people have a deep respect and great admiration for the veterans, because they are from among their best sons, who have given their youth, forces and energies, and their lives, for these happy days we are now experiencing, because they, through their struggle and work, have raised high the name and glory of the homeland.

Our veterans are the living embodiment of partisan heroism, of boundless devotion to the cause of freedom and independence, of our people's revolution. They are the bearers of our best patriotic, progressive and democratic traditions, and the lofty ideals of the National Liberation War, they are dauntless fighters for the Party line, for communism.

They are among the most valuable cadres of the Party and the people, who, right from the first call made to them by the homeland and the Party, risked their lives and raised the banner of the uprising for Albania's salvation from fascism, for the liquidation of the occupationists and traitors, for the triumph of socialism. The blood shed in this titanic struggle by our martyr comrades and brothers is also our blood. Together with the wounds caused by the bullets and shells which have left indelible scars on their bodies, they also bear the pain for the fallen, the memory of the sufferings and sacrifices made by our comrades-in-arms on the altar of freedom.

Under the leadership of the Party you, comrade veterans, were educated to be on the forefront of the struggle and to cope with the very great and heavy tasks it set before you. And you fulfilled them with honour, as true communists, ardent idealists, and devoted patriots. In the ranks of the National

Liberation Army and under the orders of its General Staff, you set the mountains of Albania ablaze, and, with the salvoes of your rifles, you showed the world that the Albanian people were determined to win their freedom and independence once and for all, that they were determined to build a new life, without foreign interference and without exploiters and exploited.

The Party educated the veterans as internationalists and they showed this in their deeds, because just as they wanted freedom and independence for our country and our people, they desired it as much for other peoples. In those difficult times of the second world war, their hearts were close to the antifascist fighters of the world, close to the Soviet people led by great Stalin, close to all those who were suffering and resisting the Nazi plague, close to those who had raised the banner of the struggle for national and social liberation. They also went beyond the boundaries of Albania and fought with bravery and selfdenial for the liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia, for the liberation of the Albanian brothers of Kossovo, Macedonia and Montenegro, so that they might live free on their ancient territories.

A characteristic of the veterans of Albania, both in ancient and modern times, has been deep popular patriotism, an undaunted militant spirit, courage to do their utmost and hatred for external and internal enemies. They have had a boundless love for our good traditions and national culture, just as they have been ardent supporters of the education and progress of the people. We are duty-bound to transmit these features, the heroic traditions of the Albanian fighters for freedom and independence, the high partisan heroism, the new socialist character which the Party has created with our men and women, purely and soundly to the coming generations, just as our forefathers bequeathed to us the Albanian character, the freedom-loving spirit, bravery and confidence in the happy future of the people. The memory of heroic times, acquaintance with and learning from the key

moments of national history, are a powerful weapon of education and revolutionary mobilization for the present and future generations.

This year it is thirty years since the country was liberated from the foreign invaders and the people's power, and the dictatorship of the proletariat was established. This historic jubilee is of great importance for all of us, because it is connected with the most glorious struggle of our people, with the rare bravery and unmatched courage of our heroic partisans, it is connected with the unprecedented sufferings and sacrifices made by our men and women at those critical moments, so that Albania might live for ever free, independent and socialist.

Our country has made excellent progress and we are entitled to be proud when we see that the great ideals of the liberation struggle, the communist ideals of our Party, its directives and instructions, are being ever better embodied in our socialist life, in the formation of our new, patriotic and militant man, determined to defend the gains of the people's revolution, to make the life of the people richer and more cultured.

The transformations which have been realized in our country are not measured in years, but in centuries. With their toil and sweat, our people have created a modern and powerful industry which enlivened the whole life of the country, from its roots, provided firm foundations for the freedom and independence of the homeland, and opened sure prospects for the socialist future. The transformations made in the countryside have greatly surpassed even the boldest expectations. That primitive and backward agriculture, that broken plough and those hungry oxen, that land flooded in winter and cracked by heat in summer, have remained only a memory of the past, a reference point to measure the colossal transformations and progress made in these post-liberation years.

We are a people few in number, but we have a great culture, with a deeply popular and socialist

content, and we have a democratic and revolutionary educational system. We can be proud of both our many talented artists and of that broad popular creativity, of all that great spiritual and artistic wealth created under the leadership of the Party. To our young people, all roads are opened for work and schooling, all possibilities exist for them to master the sciences and arts. There is no obstacle whatever to stop them growing up spiritually pure and physically healthy, they are far from and do not know those deformations and mutilations from which the young people in the bourgeois and revisionist countries are suffering today.

The international position of the People's Republic of Albania is strong, its international authority has grown, and its prestige in the world has increased. We have friends and well-wishers on all continents, we have the solidarity and support of the revolutionary forces and of the democratic and progressive men and women in all states. It is a great good fortune and honour for us that we have such great and powerful, sincere and loyal friends as People's China, the Communist Party of China, with comrade Mao Tse-tung at the head, with which we are bound by an unbreakable friendship and allround fraternal collaboration.

We have won our freedom and independence, we have successfully built the foundations of socialism, we have a steel-like people's army, and we are determined to march always ahead on the road opened to us by the Party. But we do not forget that we also have many enemies who do not wish us well; we do not forget that the US imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and other reactionaries continually plot against us to topple our people's power, to annihilate our great socialist gains. Therefore, the Party teaches us to work tirelessly in order to increase our victories, to strengthen the defence of the country, still more to powerfully oppose alien ideology, to cope with and crush the ideological aggression of the enemy, and every other kind of aggression.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S GREETING

History has taught and forced our small people to remain always with rifle in hand, vigilant and ready to cope with any danger. And we shall never lay down the rifle, just as we shall not lay down the pick, because the defence of the homeland ensures the successful construction of socialism, just as the strengthening of the economy, and the allround development of the country, strengthen freedom and independence.

The world today is full of many dangers. The imperialists and the social imperialists have prepared and continue to prepare against the peoples, against the interests and rights of the nations, many dark and predatory plans which they seek to camouflage with sophisticated pacifist demagogy, with a fog of lulling slogans, with the most diverse manoeuvres and schemes. In these conditions it is a duty of all to enhance their revolutionary vigilance continually to strengthen the unity of the people round the Party and to continually raise high the spirit of patriotism and of the hatred for the enemies.

Sister and brother veterans!

An important contribution to the great work which is being done for the flourishing and strengthening of our socialist homeland is being made by the veterans'

organisation, an active and respected member of our great Democratic Front. Its initiatives are praiseworthy. Your organization is not just any association, but strong and tempered steel, which is at the foundations of socialist Albania. And you, comrade veterans, can never be conquered by age, nor subdued by weariness. The Party has taught us that there is nothing nobler than to work for the people, to serve them. And our veterans have shown and continue to show this by their deeds. Just as, yesterday, they found their pleasure and happiness in the struggle for the liberation of the homeland, today they find them in the work for its progress, prosperity and strengthening.

Let us go all out, men and women comrades, wherever we are and wherever we work, to put into practice, as we have done so far, all the task set us by the Party, to make socialist Albanian flourish.

I wish the Veterans' Organisation new successes in all its activity for the fulfilment of the tasks to be set by its 3rd National Conference.

LONG LIVE THE VETERANS OF ALBANIA!

LONG LIVE THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE THE PARTY!

The Third National Conference Of The Albanian People's War Veterans

On March 20 and 21, the third national conference of the Albanian war veterans held its proceedings in the city of Korça, amid great enthusiasm.

The conference was attended by hundreds of delegates from all parts of the country. They represented tens of thousands of veterans who, with the Party at their head, laid the first foundations of the people's power in Albania, and defend the Homeland and the gains of socialism.

Great enthusiasm was aroused among the delegates and all

the war veterans by the greeting which the leader of the Party and of the Albanian people, comrade Enver Hoxha, extended to the conference.

Then the Conference heard the report delivered by the Chairman of the National Committee of the Albanian War Veterans, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Beqir Balluku. It set the future tasks and elected the new National Committee with Beqir Balluku as president.

NEW WORK BY OUR HEROIC YOUTH



The Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mehmet Shehu, handing over the Order of «Hero of Socialist Labour» to the Organisation of the Albanian Labour Youth Union

On March 10, the new 48-km long Elbasan-Prrenjas railway was opened in Prrenjas in the Librazhd region. The construction of this railway, was the work of the heroic youth of Albania, who have given so many important projects to the homeland.

Present at the inauguration ceremony were the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mehmet Shehu, the members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, Haki Toska, Rita Marko and Spiro Koleka, the President of the People's Assembly Iljaz Reka and others.

At the meeting organized on this occasion, the decision of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PR of Albania to award the title «Hero of Socialist Labour» to the Albanian Labour Youth Union was announced. Many brigades and young people who distinguished themselves in the work were also decorated.

The day before, the Albanian press published the following letter from comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved leader of the Party of Labour and the Albanian people, to all the volunteers who participated in the construction of the Elbasan-Prrenjas railway:

TO ALL THE VOLUNTEERS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ELBASAN - PRRENJAS RAILWAY

DEAR COMRADES,

I learned with great pleasure the welcome news of the successful conclusion of your great undertaking, the construction of the Elbasan-Prrenjas railway. This is another brilliant victory for our wonderful youth, our workers, construction engineers and technicians; it is another great achievement of our people's power. On this occasion, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers and the entire people, I congratulate you and extend to you my warmest revolutionary greetings.

The construction of the Elbasan-Prrenjas railway is a new manifestation of the ardent patriotism of our youth, who have placed all their mental and physical energies at the service of the socialist homeland, and of our heroic people. Such work, in rugged terrain, through a narrow river valley, where rocks have to be smashed and hills levelled, where difficult technical problems have to be solved, of a type rare even in other countries with plenty of technical equipment and a large labour force, became possible here in Albania too because a Marxist-Leninist Party leads, and because the entire people have risen and, with the sweat of their brow, are building their own happiness.

Your volunteer work, comrades, is a great contribution to the building of socialism, it is work honoured by society, it is communist work. To do volunteer work means to reinforce socialism, to build the communist future. And this future belongs, in the first place, to you young men and women; therefore build it with your clear minds and your skilled hands.

Mass undertakings have become second nature to our youth. The long series of actions includes in particular the railways, which constitute a very important element in national transport and are a powerful artery of it. These railways were built up by you, dear young comrades; they bear the seal of your enthusiasm, your revolutionary vigour and your high patriotism. Now you have finished the Elbasan-Prrenjas railway which is not only of great economic importance but also has political importance. It will bring the iron-nickel

to the giant metallurgic combine which is rising majestically in Elbasan, with the fraternal aid of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's great China. This railway will also play an important role in the allround progress of the Librazhd and Elbasan regions, where it will contribute to the further development of industry, agriculture, education and culture.

Much effort and toil and many sacrifices were needed to build this railway. But our brave youth consciously and willingly accepted all difficulties, and selflessly fought to overcome them. The beautiful Shkumbin valley and the Prrenjas plain, which have witnessed centuries of historic events, from the old Ignatian Road to the legendary battle of Domosdova, where the national hero Scanderbeg fought against the Turks, up to the glorious battles of the National Liberation War, have now witnessed the colossal work carried out in the construction of this railway; with its tunnels and bridges, its many feats of engineering, it will always remain a monumental accomplishment.

The Elbasan-Prrenjas railway became a great school of revolutionary education, for the powerful political, ideological and physical tempering of the 140,000 young men and women, workers, cooperativists, school pupils and students, who took part in its construction. They came from all parts of the country to this mass undertaking, thus depriving the economy of a great labour force. But this was not felt, because everywhere the work of the volunteers who went to the railway was replaced by that of other working people, who raised still higher the spirit of mobilization, organization and discipline in carrying out their tasks. This once more showed the high patriotism, spirit of self-denial and great readiness of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia to devote everything to the supreme interests of the people. It once more threw into relief the high qualities of communist morality in our new man, and the way the precepts and correct line of the Party were assimilated and put into practice.

RUCTION LWAY

Together with you, the young volunteers, there were also elderly people, men and women veterans and pensioners, working on this project. This was another brilliant proof of the steel-like unity of our people, who were tempered in the trenches of the National Liberation War and continue to temper themselves more today, in the forge of the struggle for the socialist construction of the country.

All the comrades who volunteered for the construction of Elbasan-Prrenjas railway, make up a whole army of social activists. Your high patriotic and revolutionary spirit has penetrated into schools, factories, villages and cultural institutions everywhere. You are making an outstanding contribution to the great struggle being waged by the Party for the revolutionisation of the entire life of the country. Our youth will always carry the red torch of the revolution forward under the leadership of the Party towards the high peaks of socialism.

The work and struggle of our youth are seen not only in the construction of great projects, but in all fields of social life and activity, that of ideology included. In this field our youth constitute a great shock force. Moulded with the party ideology, they continually fight against remnants of the old ideology and against the current influences of bourgeois-revisionist ideology. To the poisoned darts of our enemies our youth counterpose the revolutionary ideology of their Party of Labour.

While our country is in an excellent situation of revolutionary upsurge and constructive work, where the life of the working people becomes steadily happier and more prosperous, the capitalist world has been engulfed by numerous crises of the gravest kind, by great degeneration, fierce class conflicts, and general decline. This comparison would be sufficient to indicate the strength of socialism and the correctness of the line of our glorious Party, which leads the people on the sure road towards the brilliant future. Socialist Albania, although living and working in a savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement, is marching

constantly forward, and is raising the welfare of its people every day. Our enemies, the US imperialists, the Soviet social imperialists and their satellites everywhere, have broken and will always break their lances against our steel-like strength, against the monolithic unity of our people round their Party.

We build railways and a series of other projects, big and small, for industry, agriculture, the health service, education, culture, etc. But above all it is the new man who is forged in our country, with communist morality and qualities, capable of building socialism and defending his achievements to the end. At work, at school, in mass actions, in the construction of the projects of the five-year plans, you, the young men and women, are tempered like iron in the fire, and you become more conscious, so that under the leadership of the working class and the Party, you tirelessly struggle, for the prosperity and defence of our socialist homeland.

The Party and the government are now preparing the new five-year plan, and in its realisation a great role will belong to you. In the letter you sent me, you pledge that you will move on from one mass action to another. Well aware of your high patriotism and readiness, the Party and the government think that, in 1974, they will entrust to the glorious youth of socialist Albania the construction of the new Fier-Ballsh railway.

I express the full conviction of the Party and the people that you, as always, will carry out this undertaking successfully.

Today the train whistle resounds in Prrenjas, tomorrow let it sound in valiant Mallakstra!

Long live the Party! Long live our glorious youth!

**Yours:
ENVER HOXHA**

Tirana, March 8, 1974.

EDUCATION IN THE SERVICE OF SOCIALISM AND REVOLUTION

by **THOMA DELJANA**

The Albanian people have ushered in the jubilee year of liberation and the triumph of the people's revolution. They are now summing up their achievements over these last three decades, under the new people's democratic regime, in all fields of life. This is also being done in the field of national and socialist education.

The complete, radical solution of the problems our people inherited from the past in the sphere of education could be achieved only in the framework of the triumph of the revolution, and its continuation in the epoch of building socialism. The educational problems inherited from the past were many. Albania's population was over 83 per cent illiterate. This fact gravely accuses the pre-liberation feudal and bourgeois order. Albania had only a limited number of elementary schools and only 11 secondary schools. It had very little pre-school education, and higher education was non-existent.

Over the centuries the European states have experienced such stages of backwardness, and they very well know how much time was needed to overcome it. In just three decades, Albania carried out a complete overhaul in two fundamental directions: the democratization of education, and its ideological transformation.

The opening of the school doors to everybody was proclaimed in the party programme from the time of the National Liberation war, and the post-liberation years were characterized by allround work to implement this programme. We overcame such difficulties as the actual construction of school-build-

ings, the training of teachers, and the publication of texts. We also overcame difficulties of another kind but just as great: We had to break away from an entire semi-feudal and patriarchal mentality which hindered the children, particularly the girls, from attending school. But these difficulties had to be overcome, the more so when there was set down the task of implementing compulsory general education, first for seven years and later for eight years. What is the situation today? From a pre-liberation situation where school was attended by 5.4 people out of every 100 inhabitants, today it is attended by 30.5 people. In a population of a little over 2 million inhabitants, the number of Albanian pupils and students is more than 720,000.

Only after liberation did it become possible in Albania to create an educational system built on solid democratic and socialist foundations, a unified, mass-scale all-inclusive system which includes all grades and sectors of education.

We inherited 23 kindergartens all told, while today we have over 1,600. Thus, pre-school education is being steadily extended, particularly in the countryside. The educational preparation of children in the state pre-school system is of great importance, it means that they enter primary school better prepared, and thus their development can proceed more quickly.

8-year schooling begins from the age of 6. It was fully realized by 1969. For Albania, this presented not only the difficulties of providing buildings and teachers, and breaking with the old feudal and patriarchal ideas, but also those presented by the fact that, especially in Central and Northern Albania, the villages are very scattered families among which it is hard to gather the minimum number of pupils needed

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of our party**

to open a school. Despite this we took on the challenge, opening very small schools or gathering these pupils in village hostels.

You can scarcely find a country in Europe that has not had compulsory education in law for a certain number of years. But obviously, in many countries, because of economic or other social reasons, many of the children are unable to receive this compulsory education; they do not attend school at all, or they abandon it early. In Albania the right to learn becomes an obligation, between the ages of 6 and 16 years, and this is realized because the entire social atmosphere aims at this objective, thus the case of one single child who does not attend school regularly becomes the concern not just of the teacher and the family, but also of the state organs, the social organisations and social opinion in general. Where children are handicapped, such as the deaf-mutes or the blind, as well as those who are mentally defective, there are special educational institutions which prepare them for life in society.

The four-year secondary education, which is built on 8-year schooling, has already become complete and diverse. 30 years ago we had only 11 secondary schools, whereas today we have 155. At the first stage, precedence was given to general secondary schools, because there was a need for people with such an education either to begin work directly or to supply the higher schools with the necessary contingents of students. Later on these needs were entirely fulfilled, because the schools had increased so fast. On the other hand, the process of the dynamic development of industrialization in Albania, and the modernization of agriculture, as well as the equally rapid development of the social and cultural sectors, dictated the

necessity to give priority to the professional and vocational secondary schools. The number of pupils in these schools is now greater than that in the general secondary schools. The professional secondary schools train middle cadres and skilled workers in about 60 special fields, beginning with the economic sphere such as mechanics, electricians, metallurgists and specialists in agriculture, and ending with the social and cultural areas, such as assistant-doctors, workers in art and culture, teachers, etc.

Another category of education is also based on eight-year schooling, i.e. the two-year professional schools for training workers in a set field.

Higher education is an entirely new phenomenon for Albania. It was set up only after liberation. Today we have the University of Tirana and 7 institutes of higher learning on a level with it. We also have 10 branches of higher schools in various centres of Albania, in order to bring higher education closer to those who want it. The higher schools train specialists in more than 70 profiles, mainly broad ones. Within these few decades Albania has, from nothing, managed to be able to fulfill its own requirements for the highly trained specialists needed by the great development our economy and culture have assumed. We can give some figures to show this: During the 15 years (1924-1939) of its rule, the feudal-bourgeois regime of ex-King Zog trained abroad 380 specialists altogether. Albania now trains, in one year alone, over 6 times as many such specialists. This dynamic increase in itself shows what our social system has been able to do in this field of education.

We can draw some conclusions about Albanian experience in the development of national education. This is the expe-

rience of a country which, 30 years ago, was undeveloped and extremely backward, not just in the economy, but also in education especially.

First, the problems of education were solved under the conditions of the people's regime. It was not a question of a partial, incomplete, temporary solution, but a complete, allround, stable solution of the problems of education. Only the working class and the people in power were able to put into practice the slogan launched by our party as far back as during the National Liberation War, of "Education for everyone!"

Second, we could not follow closely what is called the "normal road" of developing education. Time was of the essence. We had to overcome, within the shortest possible period that backwardness which had been amassed over centuries. In fact, the campaign to eliminate illiteracy was carried out within a decade (1945-1955), and was successful. The rapid opening of new schools, immediately after liberation, could not wait for teachers to be trained and new school buildings, to be constructed. As teachers, we used people who had a minimum of cultural preparation, and some times no professional preparation whatsoever. These were charged with the task of serving as teachers and, at the same time, going on with their studies in special training colleges, in evening or correspondence courses. The same thing was done with the buildings. The first schools were frequently opened in the most suitable existing establishments, sometimes even in ordinary houses. This had to be done so as not to wait for the time needed to put up a new building. In doing all this, we set up a whole system of special schools for training teachers, which gave results later.

We did the same over textbooks. It was impossible to use the old school texts, which were naturally, riddled with bourgeois and fascist ideology, entirely unacceptable and hostile to us. We translated and adapted many texts on technical subjects and recruited the best teaching staff we had, to rapidly compile texts for social subjects.

We were well aware that teachers who lacked the proper cultural and professional training, texts prepared in great haste and, consequently, not free of shortcomings and failings and unsuitable school buildings, could not constitute a complete solution of the problem. But it was a necessary solution, in order to press on, it was both a bold solution and a correct one in those conditions. We considered it to be a temporary solution and, in fact, it was such.

Third, at the first stage of setting up our new school system, priority was to be given without fail to the quantitative development of education, and to its democratization. But we also bore in mind the need for a higher quality in training our younger generation, however at that time, we had neither the means nor the forces for such quality. Giving priority to the democratization of education and to its extension throughout Albania, we brought education to all children of school age and moreover adults too, thus we can say today that Albanian education has now reached virtually everyone. This is indicated by the large number of pupils and students we have. To carry this out within just three decades means that Albania has achieved a very great historic task in this field. For several years now, we have laid the emphasis on improving the quality of education, and we are doing this successfully. Hence the conclusion: for an undeveloped or developing country, the question arises:

either wait for a long time to provide all the conditions for opening schools (cadres, buildings, textbooks, equipment); or open them with obvious shortcomings, but thus gain time. We categorically rejected the first solution, because delays in the development of education create fatal delays in the development of the national economy and culture and thus they make difficult and compromise economic and political independence itself. The Albanian experience in this field does not consist in theories and guesses but in practical, concrete experience, which can be seen, touched and appraised.

Fourth, in the development of education we fully and continually relied on our own forces, and on the actual possibilities, of course striving to create these possibilities. We rejected those solutions which proposed importing teachers and pedagogues from abroad, schools being opened by other countries, or the adoption of foreign textbooks. This was not simply for practical reasons, but for reasons of principle, because only when you rely on your own forces can you create a truly national education and, in the case of Albania, a national and socialist education; only in this way will you be able to solve your problems by yourself, and not expect aid from others, which means not being dependent on others; only thus can you give education the shape and character demanded by the interests of the people and only thus will you raise the national culture and traditions to those heights which they deserve. Albania thus created an experience of its own in order to win complete independence in the field of education, the training of cadres and the raising of the general cultural, scientific and professional level of the entire people.

Fifth, in the quantitative development of education we have always adhered to the requirements for scientific planning of education. Following step by step the needs of production and culture, and the tendencies of their development, at every stage of our socialist construction, education has been in a position to meet these needs by creating correct relations between secondary and higher education, and between general and professional education. The planning of education has avoided spontaneity in training specialized cadres, and has avoided the negative effects arising when a marked shortage of specialists occurs in one economic branch and there are superfluous cadres in another. Thus, in Albania, we harmonize the desires of the young to follow a chosen profession in life with the actual demands and needs of the economic development of the country and so there is no chance of any occurrence of the disturbing situation which arises in the capitalist countries, where there are many "jobless graduates". The young Albanian specialist, whether from the higher school or the professional secondary school, has his job assigned even before he graduates.

Sixth, in developing education quantitatively we have borne in mind the demand for the educational and cultural progress of all regions of the country. Albania is a very small country in area. The existence of a university, 7 institutes of higher learning and 10 branches spread throughout the country, is a great burden on the state budget as it requires a great number of teachers, scientists and laboratories. But this is accepted, for the sake of creating the best possible conditions for those who pursue higher studies. Let us take another aspect of the problem: In recent years the number of secondary schools in the countryside has greatly increased.

At the same time we have arranged things so that in the professional secondary schools, on a country-wide scale, the pupils who come from the countryside outnumber those from the town. Here the objective is clear: gradually to overcome the existing discrepancies between the town and the countryside inherited from the past and to speed up the educational development of the countryside so as to wipe out its relative backwardness; thus, gradually, the town and the countryside will advance together towards the complete socialist society. Thus education has effectively become of everyone and for everyone. —

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There is no doubt that what defines, above all, the character of an education system, its features, and its aims, is its content, the essence of teaching and education, the question of what education teaches and educates people for which class it serves and which ideology permeates it. The education system in the capitalist countries is totally at the service of the bourgeois class in power, irrespective of whether this is publicly admitted or not. It trains the elite needed by the bourgeoisie in order to keep it going and to ensure the continuity of the social order in power. The revisionists too, as is natural, have turned their education system into an institution to serve their counterrevolutionary aims.

Since the early post-liberation years, the Albanian education system made the ideological transformation required, so that it gradually assumed and strengthened its own socialist features. Of course, it was not created from nothing. It appropriated those positive traditions which existed in the previous education system, created and kept alive by the people and many patriotic teachers, and running counter to the reactionary official education policy of the feudal-bourgeois social order in power. At the first stage of its development, Albanian education also used the experience of the only socialist education then existing, that of the Soviet Union, which was based on the work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on teaching and education. We used this experience of Soviet education, particularly in the first decade of setting up education here not applying it blindly, but adapting it to Albania's conditions.

The precepts of Marxism-Leninism, and those of our Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, on education, are a compass for our national and socialist education. In Albania we have set up an education system which fully serves the revolution and socialism, meets the interests of the working class and the broad working masses, and is permeated by the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our Party. The acquirement of completely socialist features has passed through various stages, parallel with our own socialist construction and the promotion of the revolution in all fields. The latest stage of our education is conditioned by the new stage which our development itself has entered. Albania has fully built the economic base of socialism, i.e. here the socialist relations of production are no longer simply the ruling relations, but they have become the sole existing relations. From this moment, the stage of the complete construction of our socialist society begins, demanding a younger generation with a higher socialist consciousness, a higher political and ideological level and a truly socialist

stand towards work, socialist property, and life itself. At the same time, we bear in mind that we are building socialism in a world where imperialism and revisionism exist, posing a constant and real danger to the cause of the revolution. Our party has drawn the proper lessons from the counterrevolutionary about-face that occurred in the Soviet Union and in a number of other countries where political power has been usurped by the revisionists. It has taken the necessary measures, so that revisionism should neither emerge within our society nor penetrate from abroad. In this whole context of the political and ideological class struggle between socialism on the one hand and imperialism and revisionism on the other hand, the problem of Albanian education was involved.

So as to meet the present and future requirements of our socialist development, correctly appraising the internal and external conditions of this development, our party and our people's power are further revolutionizing education. The essence of this revolutionisation is that the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our party should permeate learning and education still better, and that the whole work of the school should be built on the basis not of study alone, as is traditionally the case, but of the three components — study, productive work, and physical and military education. The objectives of the new reform are that the school give absolute priority to the class and revolutionary education of the pupils and students, and to their revolutionary strengthening and moulding. On the basis of this, the pupils should be better prepared from the cultural, scientific and professional viewpoint to meet the demands of the technical and scientific revolution.

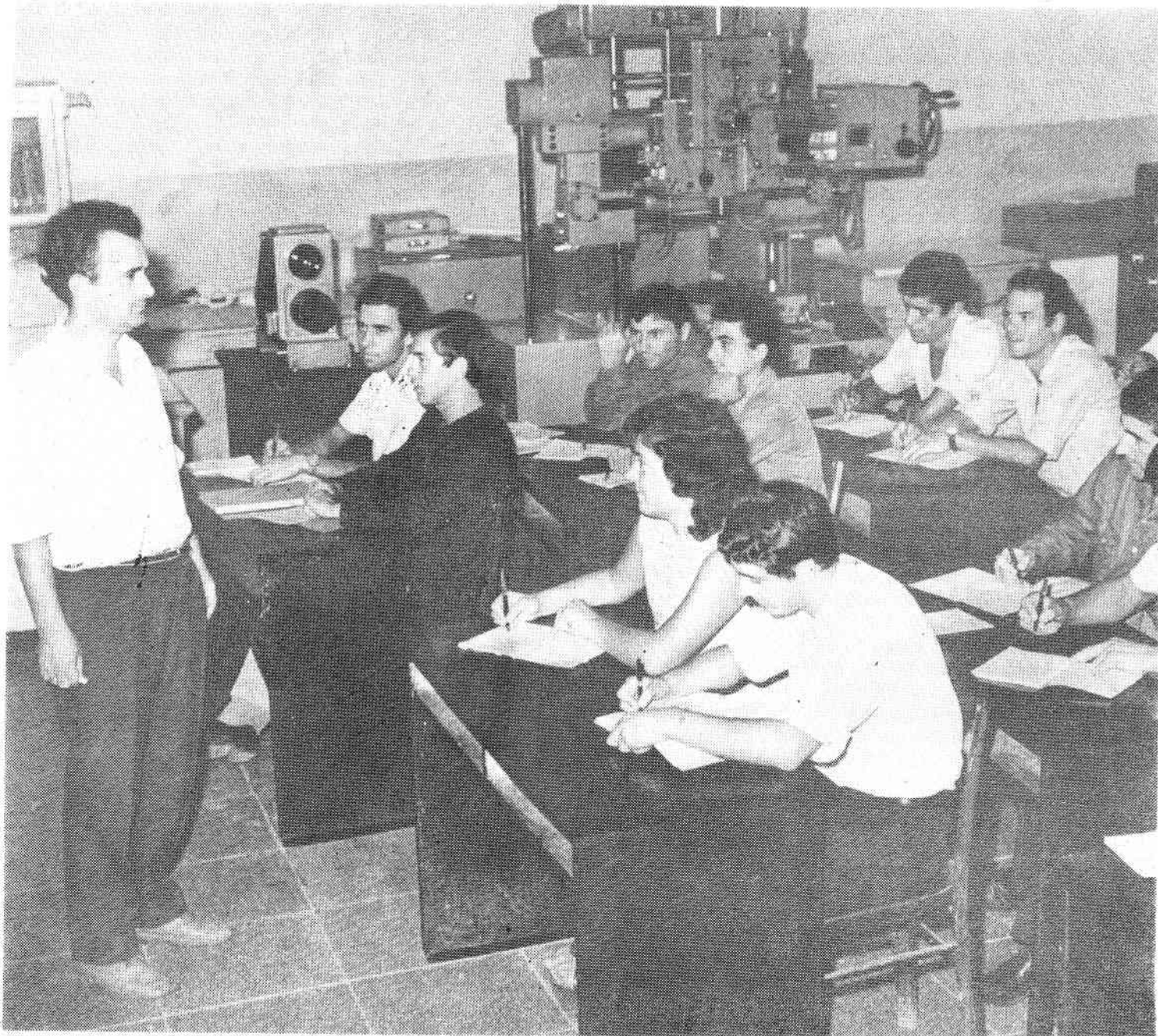
Education cannot fail to be the main objective of every school. The Albanian school has built up its work in such a way as to prepare, not an elite, but the whole youth, thus the whole people, to be able and conscious, not only to build socialism completely but also to promote the revolution. This revolutionary education is reached through the actual Marxist-Leninist subjects taught in school, through the class tendency in all subjects and through the participation of youth in the revolutionary practice of life. Recently, especially last year and this year, allround efforts are being made to further increase the educative role of the school, so as to obtain these objectives better. The emphasis has been placed on those aspects in which education was not being carried out with the required efficacy and effectiveness in the ideological, esthetic, moral and civic education of pupils and students.

The general result is that, in these years of the existence of socialist education, our schools have educated a truly revolutionary generation. In asserting this fact the schools and the entire society do not allow themselves to become complacent. The situation today is such that it constantly demands the increase of the educative role of the schools. Albania is building socialism in the conditions of the hostile imperialist-revisionist encirclement. Alien ideology is exerting continuous pressure on our men and women, especially our youth. The mass media are used as channels to infect us with bourgeois and revisionist ideology. It is only natural that we should defend our youth from such alien influences. In this respect, our schools are entrusted with a great task, because through their programmes, textbooks and teachers, they not only directly educate the pupils and students but also prepare them to be capable of self-education.

The entire teaching process has been built on the basis of these aims. Study is the component which occupies the major part of the school-year. This helps to give the main place to theory as compared with practice; it not only ensures the necessary cultural and scientific training, but also constitutes the principal way to ensure the education of youth.

The preparation of youth through study alone, whether oral or written, would be a one-sided incomplete preparation. In the educational system of the Albanian school, we have introduced, as a component element, the participation of the pupils and students in productive work, giving just a few of

the rudiments of production to those in the 8-year school, and extending this in the secondary and higher school. This is the fifth year we have done this, and we may say that it has already proved to be a correct measure, with a perceptible educational effect. The productive work is done either at school, near the productive bases of the schools themselves, or partly at school and partly in enterprises, or entirely in enterprises or mass undertakings, such as, in recent years, the construction of the railways, or in agriculture. The principal objective is the educative one, that the youth should combine mental work with manual labour so as to appro-



ALBANIA TODAY

priate the features of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, to love work, and to have respect for the working class. Productive work also helps the pupils and students to apply in social production the scientific laws which they learn about theoretically in the classroom, to acquire from production new knowledge, and a culture which will be an integral part of their cultural formation, so that they are helped by their experience to making a better choice of their profession, and, at the same time, to get their bearings in production and become skilled in a given job or speciality. These aims are also served by the probation period of one year

*The state University of Tirana trains skilled high cadres of different profiles.
In the photo: A seminary in one of the laboratories of the engineering faculty*



for pupils who graduate from secondary school and want to go on with their studies, as well as those who have finished their higher studies and are going further or preparing their diplomas.

Physical and military education is a third, integral part of education. This, too, is carried out with a given programme (for military training) at the secondary and higherschools, and aims to educate the pupil and the student so as to make them conscious and prepare them militarily, and make them capable of defending their socialist fatherland.

The establishment of these three components was done after a broad popular debate of about one year which took place in Albania five years ago, and after a long course of pedagogical studies, researches and experiments. The experience of these last four years, while the new reform has been applied, fully justifies the new educational system and the even sounder content of Albanian education. The school is in fact preparing a formed younger generation, capable of using the book, the pick and the rifle, a conscious youth, able to take up and carry forward the torch of the socialist revolution in Albania.

In this mission, the school does not act on its own. We strongly hold to the opinion that the education of youth can in no way be the sphere of the teacher and the school alone. The responsibility for this education belongs to the entire society. The party itself considers it to be one of its own most important problems and makes sure that it is considered to be a problem of the state, the family, the social organisations, the economic enterprises where the pupils do their productive work, and the military units where they get their military training, — a problem of our entire society.

Not only that. We attach great importance to the fact that the school and student youth themselves, with the experience of life they have should be convinced of the value of self-education. At school, they are considered by the teachers and professors to be a living, active and decisive force, not only in organizing school life but also in directing it. It is the very spirit of our social order that gives the youth this place

in society, and thus at school too. In fact, the representatives of the youth, elected by it, are effective members of the joint school organisations, such as the pedagogical councils in the 8-year and secondary schools, and the councils in the higher schools, too. The youth are not only entitled but encouraged to discuss and help to work out teaching programmes and plans, compile the textbooks and set all the school regulations, as well as discuss the very teaching and educating process, and the activity of everyone, including the teachers and professors. This results in socialist democracy in the schools being a living reality, fully harmonized with the requirements of discipline, which the teachers, the students, and the entire society concerned with.

All this gives Albanian education great solidity and effectiveness in its role and mission. The unity of thought and action among teachers, pupils and parents constitutes a great active force in successfully carrying out the programme of the party at the present stage, for the further revolutionisation of education, its qualitative consolidation and strengthening, the increase of its educative role and, in general, its productivity in all directions.

Thirty years is a short time in the history of a country's education system. But for the new Albanian education, these have been years full of intensive work, rich, successful years. In these three decades, we have made strides which could have taken entire centuries. Socialist education in Albania is one of the most brilliant realities that have been created in our country, in these years of the people's regime. It is a historic deed of the party, the government and our entire people. Its successes, its vitality, its increasingly greater maturity, its increasingly evident, complete, characteristically socialist features, give us great encouragement to continue the work for the education of the new Albanian, as a socialist and revolutionary, which constitutes the greatest victory and achievement of these three decades since liberation. The new Albanian education enters its fourth decade with confidence, sure that the future will be still greater and more brilliant. —

ALEKO HAXHI

RATES OF DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA

**Confrontation
with the
gloomy reality of the
imperialist-
revisionist world.**

**In the
capitalist and
revisionist countries,**

the whole structure and superstructure are in the grip of a deep and destructive crisis, but little Albania, with bravery and great proletarian heroism, is building socialism successfully. Irrespective of the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement, the rate of economic development in Albania is extremely high. The economy of socialist Albania has never known stagnation, cyclic development or other phenomena of this kind, which are common in the experience of the capitalist and revisionist countries

LITTLE ALBANIA HAS BECOME A GREAT EXAMPLE. THIS IS NEITHER SENTIMENTAL IDEALIZATION NOR NATIONAL SELF-PRIDE, AS THE IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST PROPAGANDISTS WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE, BUT A LIVING REALITY, AND AN HISTORIC TRUTH; IT IS AN EXAMPLE OF THE GREAT PROLETARIAN BRAVERY AND HEROISM OF A SMALL COUNTRY, WHICH, HEEDLESS OF THE STORMS OF THE TIME, HAS ALWAYS KEPT ALOFT AND PURE THE BANNER OF REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM-LENINISM, IT IS SUCCESSFULLY BUILDING SOCIALISM IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE SAVAGE IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST ENCIRCLEMENT, CONSISTENTLY UPHOLDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLE OF SELF-RELIANCE; IT IS A GREAT EXAMPLE OF THE VIGOROUS, IRRESISTIBLE, AND ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY, AND DEMONSTRATES ITS INDISPUTABLE SUPERIORITY TO THE CAPITALIST-REVISIONIST ONE.

Our great achievements in the field of economic and social development are the clearest testimony to this

brilliant example of triumphant socialism. Firmly proceeding on the road of planned development, creatively implementing the principles of Leninist management, in conformity with the specific conditions of our country, and having the internationalist

aid of great People's China, we have created a diversified economy, standing firmly on two legs - on complex industry and advanced agriculture - which distinguishes itself for its rapid development, stability, self-motivation and vitality. In this framework, it is significant that the whole structure and superstructure of the imperialist-revisionist world are in the grip of a deep and destructive crisis, and we have been surrounded by its hostile encirclement, which threatens us with savage pressures and blockades, yet our economy, thanks to the correct and farsighted policy of the Party and of the intensive, tireless, selfless work of our people, fully conscious of their mission, has successfully defeated them and has

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developed at the fastest rates ever known. During the last two decades, the annual average increase in total industrial output has been about 15 per cent, an indication of high economic efficiency. Within this same period, agricultural production has multiplied 2,7 times. These rates clearly show the dynamic development which is a general characteristic of our economy, it has never known stagnation, cyclic development or the other ills which are so common in the capitalist and revisionist countries.

The crises of over production, depression, anarchy, disintegration and stagnation are inseparable fellow travelers of the economies of these countries; they are diseases which plague them more all the time. A typical crisis is that which has recently seized the U.S. and the Soviet economy, and the other countries languishing under their domination. The depression of the U.S. economy in 1970-1971 (when industrial production fell by 4.1 per cent), the effect of which is still being felt, is one of the heaviest blows it has suffered, together with the rest of the capitalist world, thanks to its chain reaction and the diversive policy crisis which gripped the Soviet economy last year. In order to compensate for the deficits appearing as a result of this crisis, the Soviet Union purchased 28 million tons of wheat from the United States alone. This crisis was worse and more extensive than any other in the present century. The course of capitalist degeneration and integration has plunged the Soviet economy into a morass of crises and failures.

Our economy does not know crises or their cataclysmic effects. All its components have developed and continue to develop steadily and harmoniously, in a permanent upward spiral. This is the trend in Albanian industrial and agricultural production, the total social product and national income, and in accumulation and consumer funds.

Our socialist order has shown its superiority and vitality not only in the field of production, but also in that of distribution and consumption. The revolutionary social policy implemented by our party is a monumental one demonstrating to the whole world what such a little country can achieve. These are the miraculous results of this policy. The social panorama of little Albania not only is incomparably better than the past, but it also presents magnificent achievements which

have rarely been reached by anyone else. It belongs among the first countries to have been fully electrified. Albania has one of the highest birth rates, lowest death rates and highest rate of average life expectancy in Europe. Our country is the only one in the world to have abolished levies and taxes, which, in the capitalist and revisionist countries, are a heavy burden on the working masses, and account for 10-20 percent of their incomes. In number of students per capita, we rank among the most advanced countries, and we maintain a comparatively high level of expenditure on social consumption, which includes free medical care for the whole population. Our party, is concerned with the development and social progress of the entire people, excluding the bourgeoisification of individual elements and the creation of privileged strata, which are incompatible with our social order, and which laid the ground for the birth of the new bourgeoisie in the revisionist countries; it has therefore unreservedly taken every opportunity to make their life as prosperous, happy, and joyful as possible.

Our achievements in increasing the individual consumption fund and the real incomes of our labouring masses are an integral part of this lofty objective of our party and government. Albania has removed, once and for all, the evil of unemployment, that permanent illness which mercilessly attacks the living standards of the working masses in the capitalist countries. These countries can number 100 million unemployed persons. In the United States of America, at the beginning of January 1974, the number of unemployed amounted to 4,9 per cent, and is likely to rise to 6 per cent. Unemployment is also growing in the countries ruled by the modern revisionists. With full employment, as is the case in our country, with this indisputable superiority of socialism, the income of the population in our country keeps increasing. This is best of all shown, for example, by the fact that over the last two decades the individual consumption fund has approximately quadrupled.

The working people in our country are sure of the value of their incomes. This security is firmly based in the socialist nature of our economy, which develops in a planned way even excluding antagonistic contradictions between production and consumption, and ensures a permanently solvent budget; this has created all the conditions to ensure that the two factors on

which the value of these incomes depends—wages and prices—should move only in such directions (wages increasing, prices falling) that they lead to steady growth in the real incomes of the population, thus guaranteeing them a large measure of material and cultural wealth. The numerous measures adopted in our country by the party and the government to raise low wages, and reduce retail prices of mass consumer goods, service charges, etc, are wellknown. All these and other beneficial measures have given the people in the fourth five year plan alone, real benefits worth 700 million leks. We do not know what price rises are; we do not know what it means to buy bread, meat, butter, milk and other products today at a higher price than we bought them yesterday. We know only the contrary: buying them at cheaper prices. Everything is being done to increase the wellbeing of our people constantly. By reinforcing our economy, improving the quantitative and qualitative indices of production, reducing its cost and increasing socialist accumulation, as well as making the masses conscious of this necessity, we are preparing, step by step, all the necessary premises towards this aim.

Quite the opposite is happening in the imperialist-revisionist world. There, the poor become poorer and the rich become richer. The process of class polarization is rapidly deepening. In the United States of America, for example, the citadel of imperialism, according to official figures, the number of poor people, those with incomes below the poverty line, reached 25,5 million in 1973 which is 1.5 million more than two years ago. Another fact: twenty

*A couple of young specialists
who have graduated the faculty
of architecture in Tirana
working together on a new project*



per cent of the population receive 40 per cent of the annual income, while 20 per cent receive only 6 per cent of the income.

The chronic infection of the general crisis, the increasingly more powerful blows the economy receives from it and all the consequences resulting from them, in the final account, weigh most heavily on the oppressed and exploited masses. Rampant inflation acts as a catalyst in this tragic social process. The capitalist world has today been invaded by a rate of inflation unprecedented in recent decades. This is natural because, in this period, as a result of the aggressive and expansionist policy which the imperialist states feverishly implement, the enormous sums they spend for military purposes, their budget and balance of payments deficits have reached record levels, these are covered through inflation, setting the money producing machine to work and putting superfluous currency into circulation which inevitably leads to devaluation. By using inflation, which is in fact an indirect, disguised form of taxation, the ruling classes, in addition to direct exploitation, rob the labouring masses of part of their income, and thus impoverish them.

One concrete manifestation of the inflation that has swept the whole capitalist world is the irresistible rise of prices. Price indices are rising exceptionally fast for all types of goods, and, in particular, for foodstuffs, which move up even faster. To quote just a few facts; in the developed capitalist countries, prices in the third quarter of 1973 increased by an average of 8.5 per cent, whereas the increase in the second quarter was only 7.5 per cent. As for mass consumer goods, the increase in the second quarter was 7.4 per cent, while in the third quarter it was 10.3 per cent. Sour facts were registered by the United States of America, where, in August last year, compared with July, food prices increased by 6.1 per cent. This was due to large increases for meat, milk and other essential foods. This price increase was the largest ever known in the United States, in the post-war period. Prices have increased very rapidly in Japan, Italy, West Germany, Britain, Switzerland, Holland, India and elsewhere. In India, with its massive poverty, as a result of the continuous price increases the level of income per capita is now lower than that in 1968. The energy crisis which has engulfed the entire capitalist world like a cy-

clone has brought about an enormous rise in the price of oil, oil by-products and of other fuels. Never before, in the post-war period, has the wave of price rises been so great or so widespread. Never before in this period has the cost of living increased so fast.

The capitalist economy has lost its equilibrium for ever and one cannot speak of any kind of stability. The presidents of the United States have, one after another, solemnly promised in their policy speeches that they will eliminate unemployment and inflation, and stabilize the US economy. With similar promises president Nixon, too, took his seat in the White House; to achieve these aims on August 15th 1971 he announced his emergency measures, including the price freeze. The results show the falsity of these promises and programmes, and their demagogic character. In fact, only wages have been frozen, whereas prices were left free, and now indeed price rises are stimulated, since they are considered to be the only way to enliven the US economy, which is in the doldrums. However, this is clearly not a real enlivening of the U.S. economy, but merely a question of increasing monopoly profits by increasing the exploitation of the working class.

Inflation and rising prices have resulted in the immense growth of monopoly profits. According to official data, the profits of the US monopolies in the first quarter of 1973, in comparison with those in the same period of the previous year, increased by 30 per cent. The opposite has occurred with the living standards of the mass of workers, which has been badly eroded by inflation. The real wages of American workers in the second quarter of 1973, in comparison with the beginning of the year, showed a reduction of 4 per cent. President Nixon himself, before he announced his wage freeze policy had publicly admitted the decline in living standards. The same thing is happening with the British working class, the Italian working class, and that of other capitalist countries, where the cost of living keeps increasing. The picture becomes clearer if we remember that, in the structure of the family incomes of the capitalist countries, 60 per cent goes to pay taxes, housing costs, power bills insurance, medical charges and transport costs, all these have risen even faster than goods prices. In our country, expenditure of this kind represents less than 10 per cent of a family's income.

The consumer society, which the apologists of imperialism extol, and which has also been embraced by the modern revisionists, can bring nothing but diminished consumption by the working class. This reality cannot be disguised by temporary, episodic growth of production, as during the past year, which indicated a further decline in the capitalist economies. Even if it showed some short-term growth, this was only possible thanks to artificial shots in the arm for consumption by stimulating credit buying. As a consequence, private debt has skyrocketed: for example in the USA, it has reached the astronomical figure of over 160 billion dollars. However, you can't live on credit forever. You think you own something, but tomorrow it is repossessed. The anxiety and uncertainty, the worry of losing even the little you have, based on declining standards in the capitalist countries, and the inflated economy - this is the gloomy reality of the social situation of the working people, the reality behind the «miracle» of the consumer society.

Anyone who embraces the capitalist way of life and production suffers the same fate. The countries ruled by the revisionists have now become an area in which all the cankers of the consumer society are cultivated, and act with increasingly greater and more destructive force.

As soon as Khrushchev usurped power in the Soviet Union, he announced, with great fanfare, his plan to raise the wellbeing of the Soviet people, his illfamed «Gulash» programme. But it is now known that this suffered complete fiasco. Khrushchev's successors, the Brezhnev clique, after the change of cabinets, undertook to make amends for this failure and promised that they would «flood the market with goods». They changed the relations of development, giving priority to the sphere of production of the means of consumption, and indeed soliciting credit aid from the western world for this purpose. But whatever the political programmes of the Khrushchevite revisionists, the Soviet economy degenerated and became integrated into the system of the development of state capitalism of the revisionist type; thus it cannot avoid its historical destiny. The Soviet economy, and those of the other countries ruled by revisionists, as its appendages, have been caught up in a series of production crises; they meet insurmountable difficulties, they suffer great failures, and are heading towards bank-

ruptcy. The programmes for «general wellbeing» drawn up by the revisionist cliques all fail in the same way.

The agricultural crisis in the Soviet Union seriously affected the entire Soviet economy, and in particular those branches of the consumer goods industry connected with agriculture. The general decline in the rates of development was associated with a still greater decline in these particular industrial branches. Last year the production of consumer goods, especially foodstuffs, fell below the 1971 level.

In these conditions, the free play of market forces which gives the tone to Soviet economic life, had its effect. The promises Brezhnev made at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU to bring price reductions remained so much hot air. Instead there was a decline in living standards. In the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries today, the phenomenon of price rises is operating with full force. Since the 23rd Congress, the prices of many articles of mass consumption have risen by from 20 to 100 percent, not to mention the fluctuations in prices caused by the managers of the Soviet firms so as to make the greatest possible profits. For example, the price of meat and its byproducts in the Soviet Union has increased by 30 percent. But the price index is rising in all the revisionist countries. Yugoslavia presents the most typical example of the incessant rise of prices. During the first six months of the past year alone, they rose by 21,5 per cent, and they have since been followed by further monthly rise of from 3 to 5 percent. In November, as against the previous month, the prices of agricultural products increased by 6.7 per cent, those of industrial products by 3.9 per cent. Over recent years in Bulgaria, the prices of bread, meat, cheese and vegetables rose by 150 per cent, whereas in Hungary, in 1973 alone, the price of butter and cheese rose by 20-30 per cent. Prices on the private market, which has assumed large proportions, have risen still higher and continue to rise. In order to have an idea of these proportions, we cite only the fact that in the Soviet Union, the greater part of the vegetables, eggs and cheese sold, as well as 40 per cent of meat and milk, come from the private market. The same thing could be said about Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, which have gone further in this direction. The rise in prices has resulted in the purchasing power of the currencies of

these countries falling sharply. Rising prices, and reduced currency purchasing power, these inflationary processes which corrode the «Gulash» and «Pepsi Cola» society in the «socialist community», atrophy and undermine the living standards of the broad working masses, and create insecurity. What one gains today with toil and sweat, the market laws suddenly wipe out the next day through an upward move in prices.

The economy of the countries of the «socialist community» has been fully geared to the free play of market forces, and is suffering all the consequences of this policy. One direct consequence is the insecurity of the new bourgeoisie which has been created in these countries, on the one hand, and the exploitation and impoverishment of the broad working masses, on the other. Class polarization is assuming increasingly uglier shapes, those of a social tragedy. One of the aspects of this tragedy is the bitter fact that while millions of men and women suffer from difficult housing conditions, the revisionist bourgeoisie is adding to its comforts, building private villas and dachas on the outskirts of Moscow or Prague, or on the hills around Lake Balaton. The revisionist cliques can never bring wellbeing to the masses which they oppress and exploit. They have done everything to increase the wellbeing of the class they represent. Their acts are the direct opposite of their preachings.

Little Albania has really become a great example. It is the example of a small country, firmly led with wisdom and unprecedented farsightedness along the revolutionary road of socialist construction by a valiant and intrepid party, which has never separated its deeds from the great Marxist-Leninist truths; it has raised this country to the lofty heights of great economic and social development. Albania sets the example of a small country which develops its economy without crises, despite the difficult conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, and where the people enjoy the greatest social justice. It is a great example of the only country in Europe where socialism is triumphant. As such, Albania has at the same time become a great challenge to our imperialist and social imperialist enemies, to their aggressive and expansionist objectives of oppressing and exploiting the peoples and to their hegemonistic policy of world domination. That is why it is such a thorn in their flesh.

«The ideal of socialism is to emancipate the working people not only from the social and economic yoke, but also from the spiritual slavery of alien ideologies. Socialism is the only order which creates all the conditions for this allround emancipation of man, and which is able to realize it.»

ENVER HOXHA

FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE

by **HULUSI HAKO**

What the bourgeoisie really means by «freedom of conscience». Its historic development. «Freedom of conscience» as an effective means used by the bourgeoisie to deceive and subjugate the masses. Sound Marxist-Leninist concepts and revisionist attempts to corrupt this concept

AS THE NEW BOURGEOISIE GREW AND DEVELOPED, AND ROSE IN THE PAST CENTURIES IN STRUGGLE AGAINST FEUDALISM, THE ABSOLUTE DOMINATION OF THE CHURCH, AND RELIGION, IT LAUNCHED THE SLOGAN OF «FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE» AS A POLITICAL DEMAND OF ITS OWN AND AS A POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL WEAPON. THE ESSENCE OF THIS DEMAND WAS THE RENUNCIATION OF THE USE OF VIOLENCE, OF STATE COERCION, TO

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mould the feelings and thoughts of men. In particular, it stressed leaving people free to decide on their stand towards religion, for themselves, to be free to believe or not to believe in any kind of religion, and to renounce it freely, without any legal, moral or other imposition or sanction.

The feudal states maintained religion as an official, state, political institution. They did not allow the least violation of this ideology and they savagely persecuted any spark of science, any free expression of thought or human conscience, independent of religious dog-

ma; this persecution culminated in the barbarous acts of the inquisition, the most terrible weapon of feudal absolutism. The tortures and crimes of the inquisition in Europe and other countries show the savagery and cunning of the religious obscurantists.

Engels wrote, «The Middle Ages, had attached to theology all the other forms of ideology – philosophy, politics, jurisprudence, and made them sub-divisions of theology».

Religion was not just the privileged and favourite ideology, but also the only dominating ideology, almost absolute. It

sive world culture, who made a scientific criticism of the absurdity and harmfulness of the religious dogmas; they stigmatized the Vatican, the church and the whole of clerical activity as «perhaps the most terrible combination that has ever been set up against freedom, reason and the happiness of mankind» (Anatole France), or «at once the shame, terror and misery of catholic Europe» (Voltaire). Indeed they indignantly sent out the call: «Crush this outrage!» («Ecrasez l'infame!»), etc.

This ideological struggle seriously worried the entire clerical apparatus, and set it in motion, particularly the Vatican, the organized international centre of reaction and obscurantism. These dark clerical forces started a deceptive and demagogic campaign to present religion as an «essential freedom of man», a «sacred right», «the foundation of morality and education», «the essence of culture and art», a «factor of progress», etc. etc. Indeed the present pope has gone so far as to assert, quite shamelessly that scientific studies confirm «divine truths», that there is no conflict between religion and science, and that the arguments between them have stemmed from the «weakness of human judgements».

But what has worried clericalism most, and continues to preoccupy it, is the question of establishing beneficial relations with the dominant policy; the clergy has been extremely active in this direction, and has made great efforts to suit religion to the spirit and requirements of the most reactionary policy of every epoch.

After having seized power and established its rule, the bourgeoisie clearly saw that religion could and must serve it with the same reactionary essence and social functions as those with which it had served feudalism.

Of course, the maintenance and support of religion by the previous orders has not come about purely because of political considerations. The deepest social roots of religion lie, as Lenin stressed, «in the domination of capital in all its forms». Marx said, «Religion is the conscience of man who has not yet found or has again lost himself; an inverted society gave birth to religion, to an inverted world outlook, for it is an inverted world. Religion is the

cry of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of a soulless system. Religion is opium for the people».

Thus obviously, the dominant policy could not go beyond or rise above the economic order. That is why the slogan of «freedom of conscience» remained merely a democratic illusion, to which the bourgeoisie did not remain loyal; it was unable to guarantee or respect it, although it likes to proclaim and advertise it formally in constitutions and laws. At best, the bourgeoisie rose against the feudal concept of god but not against god in general.

Under earlier feudal-bourgeois exploiting regimes, it was a very difficult and serious matter, fraught with danger, not to believe in religion or openly to oppose it. This occurred because religion was imposed by the social climate and opinion, where the tone is set by the state of the ruling class. Not to believe, or to oppose, religion, meant bearing moral, political and juridical responsibility. Backward social opinion would condemn you morally. Political consequences, too, such as persecution, and legal punishments, were not lacking. «He who departed from religion, ceased to be a citizen, and for this alone he was considered to be an enemy, whereas he who gave his life for religion was considered to have fallen for the fatherland» (Spinoza). «He who does not love and adore the king, has no religion either»; «Whoever is opposed to authority is opposed to God», «The state and religion are twins», «Whoever is opposed to God is opposed to the government» these ideas were current in religious writing; they were preached and maintained as entirely usual and natural under earlier orders.

Foreign invaders spread religious beliefs in our country by force, and used them for their reactionary interests, to divide and rule. The clergy of all religions were the most zealous servants of the foreign invaders and the reactionary ruling classes, without distinction.

The connection of the Church with the state, the clergy with the exploiting classes, and religion with reactionary politics, in the capitalist countries, is today a fact, and a vital necessity for both sides. For

was the ideological bulwark and the weapon of domination used by feudalism. Some ideologists of the early bourgeoisie have stigmatized the feudal monarchy and the church as identical enemies of freedom and human reason. «The main secret of monarchic government, and its greatest interest», wrote Spinoza, 300 years ago, «consists in keeping men hoodwinked, and the fear by which they curb them is concealed with the loud name of religion».

In its revolutionary struggle against feudalism and its ideological bases, the bourgeoisie gave rise to outstanding atheistic thinkers, representatives of progres-

instance, the U.S. Congress has proclaimed the expression «In God we trust» as a national motto, and the oath says that the nation is under the power of God. It has become a custom for the American House of Representatives to begin sittings with prayers by the clergy. «The grandeur of America, its strength and its genius – one president said, «is based above all on the religious spirit of its people. The recognition of the Supreme Being is the first and most important expression of Americanism. Without belief in God there can exist neither the American form of government nor American way of life». The American state emblem mentions God, while the British national anthem is «God save the king». While the pope prays to God to maintain the capitalist world in peace and tranquillity, Nixon thanks God in church for the ceasefire in Vietnam. These are very sophisticated methods of justification and exculpation, so as to shift on to «the will of God» any aggression or international banditry.

The Italian constitution grants the citizens only the right to carry out religious activity. In Greece orthodoxy has been proclaimed the dominant religion, and proselytism is forbidden. In Catholic Spain Protestantism is persecuted even today, while in Portugal criticism of the Roman Catholic church is forbidden. The Vatican has its own special gendarmerie. In many countries those conducting propaganda against religion are sentenced to fines and imprisonment. Workers who do not go to church are fined. In many plants, a mass is broadcast over the radio before work starts. In hotel rooms clients find a bible by the bed. In the armies of the capitalist countries, religion is organized and extensively preached. The soldier is not allowed to be an unbeliever; he must without fail be a believer, ready to endure sacrifices and be killed, thereby carrying out «the will of God». Any misbehaviour during church services is punishable by a military court.

Religious toleration, that is coexistence of different beliefs, and the avoidance of divisions and conflicts on a religious basis, constitutes an indispensable premise and an initial step towards guaranteeing freedom of conscience. But history shows that this initial step has not been taken

by the orders with exploiting classes. Religions themselves, with their intolerant character and essence, do not tolerate one another. Every religion, always and everywhere, has said that men are, either with God or against him, and woe to him who dares to come out openly against. Every religion knows only either followers, blind believers, or opponents and enemies, destined for the severest punishment. Every religion remains tendentious and intolerant towards science, progress and atheism, and towards other religions and all sorts of heresy. Religion cannot tolerate or allow questioning or violation of the authority and force of God.

Mankind has paid dearly for religious dogmas, and victims are still being caused. As we can see from the criminal deeds committed by the clergy and the fanatics, God outdoes even that «... disgusting pagan idol which would drink nectar only out of the skulls of those sacrificed (Marx).

The history of many countries bears witness to the hideous deeds and events, persecutions, clashes and bloody massacres which have been nourished and instigated on a large scale by religious fanaticism. The victims continue to this day. This religious fanaticism is manipulated according to the policy and interests of the ruling classes, or occupationist and colonialist powers.

These and many other facts show that the church and religion are part of the imperialist state apparatus, an important element of the reactionary ideological and political arsenal.

Then, in what does freedom consist in the so-called «free world?» As pointed out by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, so-called bourgeois democracy represents nothing but freedom to preach whatever is to the benefit of the bourgeoisie, that is, to preach the most reactionary ideas of religious obscurantism, in order to protect the exploiters. Bourgeois freedom of conscience is only a toleration of all kinds of religious conscience.

In the past social consciousness had been seized to a considerable extent by religious ideology. Thus, the entire problem of freedom of conscience has been reduced to and, concentrated on the question

of religion, this favourite child of the ruling classes. Articles of constitutions, laws, agreements and concordats have been drafted; pressure is exerted and demands made by the clerical forces; their feverish, multifarious demands, their insatiable ambitions and absurd and reactionary claims, have not been fulfilled yet. Things have gone so far that the imperialist bourgeoisie and, in its spirit and under its influence, the modern revisionists too have put on a par and almost identify «freedom of conscience» with «freedom of religion». In these conditions, if a critical stand is adopted or religion is violated in the least, the reactionary forces shout that «the laws are being trampled under foot», «freedom of conscience and the natural rights of man are being violated», «an attempt is being made to destroy freedom and civilization», and so on.

The exploiting class imposes itself on society with its own ideology, and with its religion. Definite social strata and groups are compelled to accept the «sweetened», «sugared» deception of this religious opiate. The working class, led by the party and its Marxist-Leninist ideology, takes up the banner of the struggle for democratic rights, and freedom of conscience.

In the conditions of the capitalist society, where the conscience of the working masses is violated by the ruling class and clericalism, the working class party sets forth as a programmatic requirement the struggle for the freedom of conscience, for the democratic right that everyone must be able to decide whether he wants to believe or be an atheist, without it being necessary for police to poke their nose into the matter; the state must treat religion as a purely «private question».

The working class party does not remain neutral towards religion; it does not flirt with it and is not tolerant towards efforts to «renovate religion», or unite it with socialism, as the parties of the II International did and as the revisionist parties are doing today. «Religion is opium for the people». This expression of Marx, as Lenin points out, constitutes the corner stone of the entire world outlook of Marxism in the matter of religion. All the present-day religions and churches, all sorts of religious commu-

nities and organisations, are always considered by Marxism to be organs of bourgeois reaction, which defend exploitation and befuddle the working class».

But how does the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class realize, and put in to practice, its programme? Certainly, not through ideological bargainings and empty words, as in so-called «dialogues» between the Catholics and modern revisionists, which have become the fashion in many capitalist countries. The party does not indulge in preliminary academic discussions and never brings the question to the fore, nor does it proceed from religious divisions instead of class political divisions. It clearly realizes that the yoke of religion on the masses is a product and reflection of the social, economic yoke, and that the deepest social roots of religion lie in the «rule of capital in all forms»; that is why it unites all the working people, irrespective of their religious belief, in the concrete struggle against the exploiters, and launches political slogans so as not to impair class unity in this struggle.

In both the capitalist society and the socialist order, the existence, exercise and domination of religious ideology constitutes the greatest violation of the human conscience, a grave offence and a humiliation to human reason and dignity, paralyzing the inexhaustible energies of the creative forces of man. The reasonings of the Khrushchevite revisionists, who claim to have guaranteed the «freedom of atheism» and the «freedom of religion», are a flagrant violation not only of the principles of Marxism-Leninism but also of the most elementary democratic rights; this is an entirely demagogic deception. To judge and act in this way is tantamount to releasing lambs to graze in the meadow where several hungry and insatiable wolves are roaming. The freedom of the lambs is quite limited; they graze in order to become a little fatter for the wolves.

The word «atheism» is needed by the Khrushchevite revisionists to camouflage their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, to disorientate social opinion and to give the clerical forces an opportunity to spread religious obscurantism. As Lenin pointed out, the existence and exercise of religion does not show freedom of conscience and

thought, but «lack of conscience, ignorance, and obscurantism».

Freedom of conscience» does not have «two aspects» but one sole aspect and direction; through socialist socio-economic transformations, educational and cultural uplift, and atheistic and scientific work, to direct and speed up as much as possible the process of the continuous weakening of the force and influence of religious ideology in the life of society. We see the complete triumph of the democratic principle of freedom of conscience in our socialist society only through the progress made in freeing the conscience of the labouring masses from religious rubbish and remnants. The classics of Marxism-Leninism and our Party have written very clearly about this. This is one of the objectives of our society on the road of socialism. New Albania emerged from revolution and develops through revolution. «The freedom secured by revolution is the greatest freedom ever seen on this planet, for this is freedom for the millions».

Our socialist state, our laws, guaranteeing the freedom of conscience, can by no means defend religious obscurantism. In our country no action, by law or state decree, was taken against the religious institutions or the clergy, as the Vatican and the other reactionaries like to claim. In its development, our society created and is creating objective conditions for men to throw off the spiritual chains of religion, it lays concrete, sound foundations and opens boundless horizons of knowledge, science, socialist art and culture, for the elevation and allround education of every individual.

In no country and under no social order is there absolute, boundless freedom. The society imposes itself on man, on every individual, in economic relations, the system of education, political ideas and juridical laws, the norms of morality, and even in the simplest customs and habits. The individual grows up and is formed in society and through it. The question is what the society offers the individual, what it feeds his conscience on, and how it does this. Does it impose on him religious fog, mysticism and idealism, pessimism and uncertainty, or does it help him towards harmonious development with scientific knowledge and revolutionary cul-

ture? The first road is characteristic of the exploiting orders. Present-day idealist philosophers, lackeys of the imperialist bourgeoisie, assert for example that the philosophic stimulus must be developed not through inquiry but through revelation.

The second road is characteristic of our socialist order. The Marxist-Leninist concept of «freedom of conscience» extends to the complete emancipation of the human conscience from the chains of religious ideology and other bourgeois-revisionist ideologies. Of course, in our society, too, a correct relation is preserved between the freedom of the individual and the requirements of the social order. The upsetting of this relationship, in one direction or another, would lead us to degenerating bourgeois liberalism or to bureaucratic centralism, which would both equally undermine our socialist achievements.



*Youth are dancing happily to celebrate
the conclusion of their mass undertaking.
They are prepared to engage themselves
in other mass undertakings of greater importance*

THE COUNTER- REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE

by **OMER HASHORVA**

**In the great confrontations on a world scale,
where many class, political,
economic and military forces are facing
one another,
the counterrevolutionary alliance
between the revisionists and the social
democrats plays an extremely negative role.**

**This collaboration
has its roots in the open treachery
of the modern revisionists
towards Marxism-Leninism, the revolution
and socialism, the fundamental
interests of the proletariat
and of all the peoples of the world**

IT WAS POINTED OUT AT THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY THAT IN OUR TIME, GREAT CONTRADICTIONS AND CONFRONTATIONS EXIST ON A WORLD SCALE; GREAT CLASS, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY FORCES AROUND THE WORLD HAVE ACCUMULATED AS NEVER BEFORE, AND ARE NOW FACE TO FACE. ON ONE SIDE OF THE BARRICADE THERE ARE THE FORCES OF IMPERIALISM, REVISIONISM AND REACTION; ON THE OTHER SIDE, THE FORCES OF SOCIALISM, AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT LED BY THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS. ONE OF THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY FORCES OF OUR TIME IS THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE MODERN REVISIONISTS AND THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. THIS ALLIANCE, WHICH IS ACTIVELY OPERATING IN THE PRESENT-DAY INTERNATIONAL ARENA AS A REGRESSIVE AND COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY FORCE, IS NOT FORTUITOUS. COMRADE ENVER HOXHA SAID: «Revisionism emerged as an opportunist and anti-Marxist trend in the fold of the communist movement, and as a result of the logical development of treachery, it has now been transformed into a bourgeois trend in the labour movement, a trend which is identical with social democracy». This results from the revisionist betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism, the fundamental interests of the proletariat and of all the peoples of the world. Today

nothing essential distinguishes the revisionist opportunists from the social democrats; on the contrary, in the main aspects of the fight against Marxism, the revolution and socialism, and the defence and consolidation of the capitalist order, everything unites them.

Social democracy and modern revisionism not only have a common anti-communist ideological front, but are now sharing in the administration of the bourgeois state power in many capitalist and revisionist countries. The revisionists are in power in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries. The social democrats, too, as a result of the confidence they have won as «defenders of the bourgeois order», have from time to time managed to lead bourgeois governments or take part in government coalitions in many capitalist countries. For instance, there is the significant fact that the Vienna Congress of the Socialist International, which was held last year, was attended by two chancellors, five prime ministers and over one-hundred «socialist» ministers, representatives of the social democratic parties in the bourgeois governments of the capitalist countries.

The present-day counterrevolutionary collaboration between the modern revisionists and the social democrats is not limited to the exchange of visits and opinions, nor to conferring mutual benefits. This collaboration, as the revisionists say, is no longer just an «object of theoretical discussion», but also a «practical question». The modern revisionists point out that the social democrats are their «class brothers», therefore they consider them to be fellow fighters in the struggle for «socialism». «We are prepared to collaborate with the social democratic parties not only in the struggle for democracy, but also in the struggle for socialism», Brezhnev declared at the 24th Congress of the Soviet revisionist party. This declaration expresses the truth about the relations existing between the revisionists and the social democrats. Today, revisionist-social democratic collaboration in the joint struggle for «socialism» has taken on concrete shape, based on «common programmes of action» in some capitalist countries. As the modern revisionists themselves admit, this became possible as a result of the revisionist parties viewing the problems of the transition to socialism in a «new» way. The social democrats have long placed so-called «demo-

cratic socialism» at the centre of their reformist programme, at present the same reformist thesis is at the centre of the programmes of the revisionist parties and it is labelled «peaceful transition» to socialism through the «parliamentary road». The theses about «peaceful transition» and «democratic socialism» are an open denial of the proletarian revolution and of scientific socialism; therefore they constitute the ideological basis of the joint anti-communist and opportunist activity of the revisionists and social democrats.

«Democratic socialism» and «peaceful transition» have the same essence and common aims. «Democratic socialism» is based on the idea that destroying present-day capitalist society is not the way to change it. Therefore the social democrats long ago definitely excluded class struggle as a «method for achieving socialism», instead they advocate reforms, and the «democratic transformation» of the class character of the capitalist state, turning it into an «instrument of socialism». The false and deceptive character of «democratic socialism» is clearly shown by the opposition of the working class and the labouring masses to it. Neither «Swedish socialism», which has been presented as a classical example of «democratic socialism», nor any other form of «democratic socialism» in the other capitalist countries, have eliminated class struggle, or replaced it with so-called «class peace». The capitalist order has not liquidated oppression and exploitation by giving itself the label of «democratic socialism», but has merely camouflaged them and made them more sophisticated. This is precisely, why the working masses have been forced to rise in struggle against the capitalist order, presented as «democratic socialism», thereby breaking the social democratic myth about «class peace».

The transition to socialism through the «peaceful: parliamentary road», as advocated by the modern revisionists, is in essence a copy of «democratic socialism». The true nature of this kind of socialism was clearly shown by the «Chilean road to socialism», which was presented by the modern revisionists as a concrete, classical example of the practical application of the 20th congress's thesis about the «peaceful transition» to socialism through the «parliamentary road», and the utopian reformist programmes of the Togliattist type, respecting the legality of the bourgeois constitution, and definitely exclud-

ing revolutionary violence in the form of civil war and armed uprising.

Irrespective of the changes in phraseology which are used, the important fact is that «democratic socialism» and «peaceful transition» have identical content and aims. The social democrats and the revisionists alike, by feeding the working class and the labouring masses with the poisonous ideology of their reformist programmes, aim at disorientating them ideologically, and diverting them from the true revolutionary struggle, in order to instil illusions and vain hopes and, consequently, lead them to inevitable defeat. The tragic events of Chile are just one consequence of the treacherous activity of the modern revisionists, who, by encouraging the masses in their illusions about victory through the parliamentary road, disorientated and paralyzed their revolutionary vigour, which gave the reactionary forces the opportunity to organize the military coup and establish the fascist dictatorship in Chile.

The extent of the revisionist-social democratic collaboration differs from country to country. It is conditioned by a series of varying causes and factors. The social democratic parties, particularly in the West European countries, are now a greater force than the modern revisionists there, for they have in their ranks five times more members than the revisionist parties. Likewise, in the parliamentary elections which take place in the capitalist countries, they get several times as many votes as the revisionist parties. In many countries such as France, Britain, Austria, the German Federal Republic, Belgium, and the Scandinavian countries, the social democratic parties have led or are now leading bourgeois governments, or are included in them. For all these reasons, the revisionist parties in these countries are more prepared to join forces with the social democratic parties on a common front, in the struggle to win bourgeois power, and to deceive and subjugate the working class. Moreover the social democratic parties, which years ago were opposed to any collaboration and unity of action with the communists, have now changed their stand. Indeed, the Bureau of the Socialist International, at its Amsterdam meeting in April 1972, officially decided to allow bipartite collaboration between the socialist and the revisionist parties. Of course, such a «concession» by the social democrats is related to the attitude of the revisionists, who declare

that they no longer base their collaboration with the social democratic parties on the struggle for their destruction, but on long, mutual collaboration in both the struggle for democracy, and the struggle for «socialism».

In some capitalist countries «unity of action» has been reached between the social democrats and the modern revisionists, a «unity» which is also based on a «common government programme», as, for instance, in France and Finland. The content of these programmes clearly shows the common aims of revisionist-social democratic collaboration. Mitterand, the head of the French socialists and the main ally of the revisionists, declares: «Our aim is concerned with the common desire for the building of socialism». As to how it will be reached, and what kind of socialism it is, this is explained by the head of the revisionists, Waldeck Rochet, who states that «our peaceful road» to socialism aims at the establishment of the «power of advanced democracy» through parliamentary elections, «respecting French legality and the constitution», and avoiding «revolutionary violence». The common revisionist-social democratic programmes, as the revisionists themselves declare, are «compromise programmes» in the struggle «for the seizure of power and the building of socialism». But in reality, they are normal bourgeois coalition programmes of parties which are striving to get their hands on the joint administration of bourgeois power in the capitalist countries. The label which the revisionists and the social democrats attach to their collaboration, as «leftist forces», in fact mirrors a coalition which is as rightist in its attitude to the working class and the labouring masses as the coalitions of the other bourgeois parties. The revisionists and the social democrats use the word «leftwing» to preserve their influence on the working class and the labouring masses, with a view to securing their votes in parliamentary elections, as well as to turn the revolutionary movement of the working people in their country or in any other into the road of the reformist movement, within the framework of the capitalist order. For this purpose, alongside the collaboration of the revisionist and social democratic parties, and as a result of it, collaboration between the chieftains of the revisionist and social democratic trade unions is also being deepened and strengthened today.

The collaboration and alliance between the modern revisionists and the social democrats is thus expressed not only in their views but also in their identical actions and stands. This alliance representing one of the counterrevolutionary forces of our time, constitutes one of the most dangerous enemies of the revolution and socialism, the working class and the peoples. Many visible and invisible threads connect the revisionists and the social democrats. They are not merely ideological enemies of the proletariat, but also scabs, saboteurs and direct suppressors of the revolutionary movements of the proletariat and the other working people. Their hands are red with the blood of the proletarians and working people, who revolted against oppression by the capitalist order, because when it has been necessary to defend the capitalist order, whenever they have been in power, they have not hesitated to order the army and police to suppress the revolt of the working people with violence. There was the bloody suppression of the revolt of the Polish workers by the modern revisionists, just like all repressive measures taken over the years by the social democrats in various capitalist countries. Wherever indignation and revolt against the oppression and violence of the bourgeoisie have broken out always, directly or indirectly, the role or the undermining and counterrevolutionary stand of the revisionists and social democrats, has also appeared.

In these last two decades, when the counterrevolutionary alliance between the revisionist opportunists and social democrats has begun, gradually formed and become organized, their stand as saboteurs and suppressors of the liberation struggle of the peoples has become clearer too. The Socialist International and its social democratic parties, with which the modern revisionists closely collaborate, have always adopted an openly pro-imperialist attitude towards the struggle of the Vietnamese people. The same hostile common stand of the revisionists and social democrats can be seen with regard to the just struggle of the Arab people. Many social democratic parties have openly given full support to the Israeli aggressors in their war against the Arab people. The social democrats have always honoured their «socialist» colleague, the Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir, seating her in the presidiums of their congresses and meetings, and they have

applauded and approved her warmongering speeches. The Soviet revisionists and their followers, too, although appearing in the guise of «friends» of the Arabs, in reality have always undermined the just struggle of the Arab people, in order to preserve their own imperialist interests in the Middle East, so rich in oil and strategically important. The Soviet revisionists have become the main suppliers of manpower to the Israeli aggressors, giving them vital aid, just as U.S. imperialism does. In the recent Middle East events, and especially with the measures adopted by the Arabs to impose an oil embargo, European social democrats, whether in power or not, as well as the Italian, French and other modern revisionists, as servants of the bourgeoisie, called on the working class of their respective countries not to rise against the anti-Arab policy of the capitalist governments and their efforts to shift the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the rank-and-file workers.

The alliance and counterrevolutionary collaboration between the revisionists and the social democrats also find concrete and clear expression in the imperialist alliance between the government of the social democratic chancellor of the Federal German Republic, Willi Brandt, and the modern revisionists, particularly the Soviet revisionists. The numerous imperialist treaties and agreements signed between Bonn and Moscow, and between Bonn and other revisionist countries, show the high level that has been reached in the alliance between the revisionists and the social democrats, and at the same time they are documents which sanction common imperialist, counterrevolutionary aims.

The modern revisionists and social democrats are the most fiery partisans and the most active supporters of so-called «European security». Their identical stand towards this problem is based on the identical nature of the revisionists and social democrats. Both these opportunist and counterrevolutionary forces are striving to use «European security», among other things as a means to attain «calm» and «class peace», not only on a national scale but also throughout the European continent, allegedly to prove the «correctness» of the reformist and «peaceful» theses of the transition to socialism, to sabotage and destroy the revolutionary movement, to consolidate the capitalist-

revisionist order in their countries, and to destroy socialism wherever it exists.

The modern revisionists and the social democrats have united in a sole front in their efforts to spread pacifist capitulation, the spirit of compromise and demobilization, the opinion that «the relaxation of tension» has become a reality, etc. Thus they have become zealous purveyors of the ideological aggression of imperialism, which aims to prepare the peoples ideologically to accept the arrogance and the domination of the two superpowers. «The present day ideological diversion of the bourgeoisie and revisionism against socialism», stated the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, is characterized by a united front of the main counterrevolutionary trends, from bourgeois ideology of an openly anti-communist kind, and the old traditional op-

portunism, to the modern revisionists the present-day opportunist, «leftist» trends.

The fact that modern revisionism and social democracy together make up a unified bourgeois trend in the working class, and a common counterrevolutionary force, makes it all the more necessary to struggle against them, both for the further ideological exposure of their common anti-communist front, and for the struggle against them as a scab force, oppressing and exploiting the labouring masses and the peoples. While concentrating the struggle against the biggest and most dangerous alliance of our time, the Soviet-U.S. alliance, we must also expose and fight against the counterrevolutionary alliance, between the modern revisionists and social democracy. Without this struggle the victory of the revolution and socialism is impossible.



*Military training
is one of the main three components
for the school education of the younger generation.*

*In the photo: A group of students
of the faculty of literature
of the State University of Tirana in training*



THE REAL NATURE OF THE THEATRE OF THE ABSURD

by **ARGILE SEMINI**

**The theatre of the absurd as a typical expression
of the degeneration of cultural
life in bourgeois countries.**

**Ideological roots and social environment
favouring such developments.**

**The bourgeoisie's
aim to drug intellectuals**

The fundamental characteristic of various decadent trends current in bourgeois art and literature is their common philosophical pivot, the reactionary doctrine of subjective idealism. Such trends influence or follow one another and differ only in their artistic form and their style. The theatre of the absurd is one such trend, it has antecedents which have influenced it either indirectly or directly.

ARGILE SEMINI - journalist and writer.

The theatre of the absurd is a product of the regressive development of bourgeois society in the imperialist epoch. It reflects the most complex aspect of bourgeois reality, - the ideological, philosophical, spiritual and artistic crisis of bourgeois society in our time.

The class consciousness of the imperialist bourgeoisie is characterized by an unrestrained aggressiveness which was instilled by the great social and political shocks and upheavals it has experienced.

By the use of all the mass media at its command, the bourgeoisie loudly proclaims the virtues of «the mass consumer society» and tries hard to enslave the masses in spirit by means of the «power of things». Proceeding from the results of the technical-scientific revolution, which have brought about some changes of the material base of the capitalist society, the bourgeois ideologists and sociologists invented the favorite theme of man's relation «to technology», where they make unprecedented speculations and perfect their literary style. In their opinion, the working class, is being deproletarianized and is disappearing and social strata such as the intelligentsia or more accurately, the technocrats, are coming to the fore while doing their best to eliminate the idea of classes, they also want to do away with the opposing ideologies of antagonistic classes.

Posing as being «against ideologies», they deny the transforming role of revolutionary ideology, but willingly become the bearers of reactionary bourgeois ideology.

The disgust or rather the fear which apologists for the theatre of the absurd profess to feel at «ideology» gives the impression that they remain outside the political life of bourgeois society, but this is not true. In many capitalist countries, especially in certain circumstances, it is clear that many people, particularly the petty-bourgeoisie and some of the artistic and technical intelligentsia, give way to political indifference and apoliticism. Although this may be a temporary situation, it is to the advantage of the bourgeois ruling class, and therefore the latter encourages and promotes it by all the media at its disposal. With their apoliticism the absurdist dramatists also serve the bourgeoisie, because through their plays in which political indifference or neutrality is advocated on the stage, they are doing the bourgeoisie's propaganda work for it.

We can find many of the philosophical and practical views of the theatre of the absurd in existentialism which is the most direct precursor of this kind of drama. In Camus, the absurdist theme appears in novel after novel, in the essays and in the plays, while Sartre's contempt for literature becomes more clearly stated in Ionesco. Existentialism has directly influenced absurdist theatres; this can best be seen in the ideas and themes treated by these two literary trends which are si-

milar in the problems they raise. Only the form and the way these themes are treated, differ from one trend to the other. It is not a question of literary genre. As the ideas, themes and problems common to a trend are elaborated, the influences one trend has on another, or one writer on another, are merely more easily assimilated; therefore in essence the main themes, etc., need not change at all, or very little. Samuel Beckett in his works takes one into a surprising universe more distant than the one explored by Camus, but with the same themes. Bourgeois criticism tries to explain that the «new literature», to the extent that it is devoted to examining the language and is not interested in moral questions, no longer finds its inspiration in Sartre or Camus, but rather in Beckett, who organizes language to suggest its meaninglessness and who, as far back as 1951, rejected the existentialist concept of the absurd. The features of the «new literature» which are expressed in the examination of language and in the lack of interest in moral questions, are the fundamental features of the theatre of the absurd. Therefore, it is quite appropriate that this French «new literature» should find, (or rather, a few years ago, found) the source of its aesthetic and philosophical inspiration in one of the proponents of absurdist theatre, which belongs to a later literary epoch than existentialism. Consequently, it follows that the theatre of the absurd found its inspiration in existentialism, which directly influenced it, since every influence becomes automatically a source of inspiration. Absurdist theatre's refusal to accept the existentialist concept of the absurd does not alter the fact that the same ideas inspire these two literary currents, because the essence of the idea of the «absurd» remains the same even though the way it is conceived differs, when the philosophy on which the idea is based remains unchanged.

The problem of the theatre of the absurd imitating an idea or theme is interesting, because every imitation creates a new contradiction which precipitates a new urge to deepen the imitated idea or theme, making it clearer or more complicated according to the predisposition of the author. Ionesco is noted for this. It is probable that he first got the idea of man's metamorphosis into an animal from Sartre. In Sartre's play «Le séquestré d'Attona» monstrous scorpions fill the ceiling of the room where the main character, Frantz, is

It leads a jittery existence, perpetually in a fever and sick with anxiety at the prospect of its own death throes. In this situation, the imperialist bourgeoisie strives to extend its insidious control to every aspect of life, and in particular, to people's thinking. In connection with this comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «With the degeneration of people's spirit and thinking, the bourgeoisie thinks that it has found a new means of further oppressing mankind and averting proletarian revolution»

incarcerated, just as the animal shouts appear in Ionesco's «Rhinosceros», while he deals with Camu's ideas on totalitarianism in this same play, and in the interview he gave about it, in which he generalized the idea of totalitarianism, equating the Nazi dictatorship and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this way, he takes up a clear, unambiguous political position, which is an entirely reactionary one.

Bourgeois criticism has described Samuel Beckett as the representative of the mainstream of absurdist drama, which is epitomised in the special universe created in his works. Of course, in this first creative efforts, Beckett chose the form of the novel. Some bourgeois critics consider imagination to be what turned Beckett towards the theatre, while others explain this as the desire to find a new language in which to communicate with his readers.

Both these explanations appear to have some justification but we think that the real reason behind Beckett's involvement with the theatre should be sought elsewhere, in the bourgeois authors' crazed search for new forms to express the same content; here, too, lies the origin of the concept of an artist's «originality», which is a kind of advertising gimmick to attract an audience. The frantic search for new forms and styles has become a chronic disease in bourgeois literature and art, but it is also used as a tacit justification for the failure to reflect reality or the great social problems of our time. The search for new artistic forms becomes an aim in itself, and thus shows up the real sterility of the ideas, the content of literary works, for such a content always provides the opportunity to play games, but at its own expense.

It is said that Ionesco in fact detested the theatre, and became a playwright only by accident. He bought a manual of French-English conversations, with which he began to learn English, but instead of learning and repeating sentences by heart, he learned «surprising truths, for instance, that a week has seven days, something which he knew». Similar things have happened to other writers or artists, and we are not taking issue with this fact, but with the way it is interpreted in an idealistic and to a certain extent mystic spirit; this is inadmissible, for the truth should not be sought in chance accidents. Ionesco's discovery of «surprising truths» clearly indicates the spiritual situation of a man who lives apart from social rea-

lity, as if in a dream, and suddenly awakes to discover the banal fact that the week has seven days: Ionesco's sense of surprise occupies an important place in his plays; it is the surprise of this sudden anxiety, faced by the idea of death, which constitutes the essence of his dramas.

«I do not teach, I witness, I do not explain, I strive to explain myself» – Ionesco writes in his theoretical work «Diary with crumbs», and in his other theoretical writings he has laid particular stress on his favorite idea that «drama can be merely drama; we should not confound it either with morality or with education, with politics or propaganda»; here he makes a direct allusion to Brecht's plays. What is of value for Ionesco is not the ideas, but the way they are embodied. Here is one of the key points about Ionesco's art: hiding behind speculations about how to express ideas, in reality he hides the reactionary elements in his political stand.

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In the new conditions which were created after the second world war with the development and spread of the mass media, the imperialist bourgeoisie paid special attention to the development of drama as an effective way to bring people under control. This is why «the post-war years were fertile years for the theatre» in France and in other western countries. The new, essential fact was the capitalist take over of the theatrical sector. From this move by the capitalists we can understand the importance assumed by the theatre and what the political objectives were. If the plays of the absurdist are read inattentively, or worse, if they are acted before an unprepared audience, they create the impression that they deal with important problems of the time, of society. There is some truth in this, but it has been turned topsy-turvy. The absurdist dramatists have a wrong view of man (as an individual), because through the detached, isolated individual alone, they see the entire society, mankind, the world and fail to take into consideration social classes opposed, antagonistic political system, and other valid factors. Thus they take it upon themselves to make generalisations, proceeding from their

«individual» men, and in so doing activate our irony and sarcasm.

The characters of the theatre of the absurd have lost all hope in life they do not believe the great truth which has its synthesis in the law of the inevitable overthrow of bourgeois society, which the shaken petty-bourgeois consciousness sees as the overthrow of his whole world. Such characters are placed somewhere outside the world we know, in a milieu created by the imagination of their authors— and why not assume that it is a diseased imagination? The truth as a fatalist and nihilist sees it is «an agony which has no end» in the face of the permanent presence of the idea of death.

The fundamental characteristic of the theatre of the absurd is the way it deviates from concrete reality, from life itself. Bourgeois criticism has felt impelled to admit this fact when it writes: «In its forms, the theatre of the absurd is characterized primarily by a resolute refusal to accept realism. Moments do occur in the plays which may appear realistic, but realism is never a basic principle» (literature in France since 1945, French edition, of 1970).

The main conflict of absurdist drama, in our opinion should be sought:

First, in the fact that it was born in the conditions of the general decline of bourgeois society in the imperialist stage. The plays reflect the anxieties and the agony of a society deprived of every hope for the future.

Secondly (this is a corollary of the first fact), in the ideological disarming of the individual, which has led to the lack of purpose in the individual life.

The social situation of the characters in absurdist drama is typical of the nature of this theatre; they are intellectuals, petty-bourgeois, members of parasitic classes, hooligans, paralytics, people with physical or mental handicaps, murderers, common criminals, brigands, homosexuals, prostitutes, or scheming servants. Such characters do not typify anything their individuality has been weakly depicted and is supposed to represent merely the human condition in general. One aspect which could be overlooked must be stressed here: the question of the significance of characters who are seen thus, in the framework of the human condition. These «typifications» have a purely representational value, defining the physiology and occupation of a character. «The human

conditions» is a new, disguised formulation that presupposes the «full freedom» of man, or the «pure individual», entirely separate from society. Thus, the lack of intrigue and its replacing with situation becomes one of the main features of absurdist drama. Dramatic intrigue requires characters with definite features which would bring them in to actual relations with each other, thus the necessity would arise for action and resolution, which would constitute the pivot of the drama. But all these interconnected factors do not comply with the principles of absurdist drama the characters of which are merely a means of transmitting the central idea of absurdism.

Under the conditions of presentday bourgeois reality, the classical meaning of the typical, and its relation to the individuality of the characters, has changed a great deal. We think that finding «typical» characters has now become easier, while their «individuality» has become more difficult for the artist to bring out. Through individuality certain aspects of the typical can be discovered, but not its essence. Displaying individuality mainly consists in the discovery of the inner world and the psychology of the characters, and its relation to the class or social stratum to which they belong. Therefore, the individuality of the characters in bourgeois literature frequently becomes the basis for separating the individual from society, when the relation between it and the typical is treated from a metaphysical position. Displaying typicality mainly consists in showing the relations between the various social classes and strata. Thus, the denial of typicality, and the exaggeration of the role of individuality, leads without fail to a position of subjective idealism. Proceeding from these positions, the absurdist dramatists have denied the role of the typical in their works while they have used the individuality of the characters to represent the human condition.

One of the distinctive features of the theatre of the absurd is its ridiculous aspect, the essence of which consists in bitter derision. Derision as a historical concept has taken on new forms in bourgeois society, mainly in France. According to bourgeois thought, derision embodies a right of the «freedom» of the individual, indeed, it is conceived of as an important means to criticize society; however in reality, it is nothing but a caricature, sneeringly expressing sterile re-

volt, and has done no harm at all to bourgeois society; on the contrary, derision has taught the individual laughingly to accept the shortcomings and ills of bourgeois society and tempers the individual psychologically to react to bourgeois violence with indifference. Here is what Ionesco has to say concerning this problem: «I could say that my plays are drama of derision. It is not a given form of society which seems to me ridiculous. It is man». (Op. cit., page 520). Ionesco's view here is very close to that of Freud, who saw the source of the world's ills in man and not in (bourgeois) society, which, in his time, had entered its great crisis period.

The special nature and role assumed by the characters in absurdist drama also required another kind of language, different from that used by the characters of traditional theatre.

Here it is appropriate to stress a fact which emerges from a brief look at the theories behind the absurdist drama. It is a question of the basis of speculations in the field of reasoning. It is obvious that the basis from which the reasoning proceeds is vitally important. Thus for example, the problem of to what extent the development of science and technology influences the minds of men can be viewed from two different bases: the one metaphysical, the other dialectical; these give diametrically opposed explanations. The first view has a variants (just for illustration) which sees the fundamental human dramas connected with language; for example Jean Paulhan writes: «I believe language holds the key to all the problems that preoccupy us» (Op. cit. p. 455). Blanchot: «The fundamental human drama is closely connected with language» (Op. cit., p. 465). In the theatre of the absurd, the problem of the language is taken further in this direction. Thus, the metaphysical outlook is the basis of stylistic and philosophic speculations. Reasonings in the field of metaphysics are distinguished by the ease with which word games, and speculations about language are undertaken. These games and speculations stay closed in a vicious circle, and have an extremely strong, disorienting attraction for some people. In dialectics, the opposite occurs: There reasoning and objectivity are developed in order to be used in life and in social reality. Therefore, the method of reasoning on the basis of Marxist-Leninist dialectics is the way to develop progressive and revolutionary thought.

Proceeding from metaphysical ideas has given rise to one of the fundamental problems of absurdist theatre; the problem of communication between men. Beckett constantly asks: How do men communicate with each other? For Ionesco communication is a difficult problem. In a disguised way, the absurdist dramatists use the problem of language, of communication between men, to assent the truth of the thesis of class reconciliation, in a society where antagonistic classes exists.

The relation between the theatre and the audience should also be seen in this light. When the absurdist make efforts to present their plays as effectively, and attractively as possible, they want to find loopholes of communication with the audience. But in theatre-audience relations many factors intervene: the class background of the spectators, his ideas, his political and aesthetic concepts, his cultural standard, the political and economic situation, his psychological make-up etc. The absurdist take care not to reveal to the spectator their political positions and their ideological views too clearly, because they claim merely to set the problem out on the stage, and it is up to the spectator to find out the aim and the ideological content of the drama. But obviously the spiritual situation and the political, ideological and philosophical views of the author are reflected in the play being staged and find an echo in the audience, among the snobs, and those who hold approximately the same views as the author, or else in the desperate who have been broken by life, and who seek comfort in theater in order to forget reality, just as the author himself find comfort in his work. Here we must look for one of the reasons behind the temporary success of the theatre of the absurd in the western world, without forgetting the main reason, i.e. that such plays were advertised and backed by the direct apologists of the bourgeoisie and by its political power.

As the deformed offspring of the spiritual word of the bourgeoisie the theatre of the absurd expresses and reflects the crisis of bourgeois society, its desperate spiritual situation, its vain efforts to find a temporary way out through absurdist philosophical and artistic speculations, its uncertainty about the present and the future, and finally, its intellectual impotence to create something solid and worthwhile which could speak to an audience with the persuasive and moving language of true art.

SAVAGE ENEMY OF THE REVOLUTION, SOCIALISM AND THE PEOPLES OF THE WHOLE WORLD

Editorial from «ZËRI I POPULLIT»

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS MORE THAN ONCE POINTED OUT THAT THE RESTORATION OF CAPITALISM AND THE CREATION OF A BOURGEOIS BUREAUCRATIC RULING CLASS IN THE SOVIET UNION COULD NOT HELP HAVING THE CONSEQUENCE OF TRANSFORMING IT INTO A GREAT CHAUVINIST AND IMPERIALIST POWER. UNDER NEW CIRCUMSTANCES, IN MUCH GREATER PROPORTIONS, AND WITH DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCES, THERE WAS A RECURRENCE OF THE PHENOMENON LENIN HAD ANALYZED IN THE YEARS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR: THE TRANSFORMATION OF OPPORTUNISM INTO SOCIAL IMPERIALISM WHICH, ACCORDING TO LENIN, MEANS SOCIALISM IN WORD AND IMPERIALISM IN DEED. THE ONLY ESSENTIAL CHANGE IS THAT WHILE, IN LENIN'S TIME, THIS COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY PROCESS OCCURRED WITH THE OPPORTUNIST LEADERS OF THE FORMER PARTIES OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL, WHO DID NOT HOLD STATE POWER, AND THEREFORE BECAME THE LACKEYS OF THE imperialist bourgeoisie, in our time it hap- visionist clique has usurped state power. As a consequence, the Soviet state, with

its great economic, political and military potential, was transformed, within a relatively short period of time, into a new imperialist superpower, thirsty for expansion, a brutal and aggressive power, like every new imperialism, which today, in rivalry and collaboration with U.S. imperialism, wants to realize the crazy dream of world domination.

Political and military expansion, coupled with economic expansion, constitutes,

chieftains have so far concentrated more than 1 million heavily armed troops. But the tendency towards aggression and the imperialist desire for expansion, does not end there. There are the public threats against the People's Republic of Albania and some other countries, as well as the attempts of Soviet social imperialism to get its clutches on various areas and continents of the world.

The Kremlin revisionist chieftains have invented a number of different theories which raise the social-imperialist policies of Moscow to a «principle», in an attempt to legalize them. Thus, in order to legalize Moscow's rights over the satellite countries, there came into circulation the Brezhnevian theories on «limited sovereignty», «international proletarian dictatorship», «defence of the socialist community», etc. Under the cynical pretext of «protecting» the countries of the «socialist community», and using as their instrument the Warsaw Treaty, which they have transformed into an aggressive and oppressive pact of the NATO type, the Soviet social imperialists give themselves the unlimited right to dictate to their partners the foreign and internal policies they should follow, and to make the armies of those countries dependent, under the Warsaw Treaty; in other words, under the Soviet command, on the excuse of «joint manoeuvres», they introduce Soviet troops into their partners' territories whenever they like, in order to realize «peaceful» occupation, or else perpetrate armed aggression, as in Czechoslovakia. Indeed the Soviets have now demanded of the Warsaw Treaty member countries that, apart from the «coordination of foreign policies», they should «jointly discuss» the laws to be passed in those countries «in advance», i.e. they should obtain prior Soviet approval.

as Lenin proved, one of the most characteristic features of imperialism. This also runs through the entire international activity of contemporary Soviet social imperialism.

The facts proving this are many. For instance, there was the fascist type aggression against Czechoslovakia, which marked the open transformation of Khrushchevite revisionism into social imperialism. This shameful act against an «allied» country was followed by the armed provocations against the People's Republic of China, a socialist country, along the borders of which the Moscow

The facts are revealing ever more clearly, that as comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 6th Congress of the PLA, «the theory of limited sovereignty» is a theory of great power chauvinism and expansionism, by which the new Soviet imperialists want to crush the sovereignty of other peoples, and give themselves the «sovereign right» to interfere wherever and whenever they like. By denying others their sovereignty, they want to deny nations and states that which they cherish most dearly, freedom and independence; to deny their national individuality, the undeniable right

of self-determination and independent development, the right of equality in international life, and active participation in world relations. Through «limited sovereignty», they want to legalize the right of the strongest to strangle the weakest, of the biggest to gobble up the smallest. Such a theory justifies imperialist aggression. Moscow's logic about the right to interfere, allegedly to defend the «socialist community», is the same criminal logic as U.S imperialism uses to interfere everywhere, under the pretext of defending «freedom» and «western civilization» from the «danger of communism».

But the revisionist satellite countries do not constitute the only target of the political and military expansion of Soviet social imperialism. The new Kremlin czars exhumed, and put the Soviet label on, the theory of the old czars about «Russian interests in the world». According to their typical imperialist logic, the Soviet union, as a big world power, cannot remain passive in the face of events, anywhere in the world, which allegedly affect its security or that of its friends, no matter how far away such events may be taking place. In compliance with this theory, the Kremlin is availing itself of the temporary difficulties of the Arab countries, who are victims of the Israeli aggression, it is trying to make them dependent on it, by selling them arms, and to establish Soviet military bases on their territories. In order to settle into the Indian sub-continent, and to encircle People's China, the Soviet revisionists incited India to its aggression against Pakistan, and organized the coup d'état in Afghanistan. Soviet expansionist aims also serve Brezhnev's plan to set up what he calls a collective security system in Asia. For imperialist purposes, Soviet warships roam the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and other seas, seriously threatening the security of the states and peoples of these areas, while Soviet aircraft, loaded with bombs and missiles, brutally violate the air space of sovereign and independent countries.

In the light of these publicly known facts, the peoples are not deceived by Brezhnev's fine words claiming that the Soviet leadership upholds the principles of the «non-use of force, or threats to use force, in relations between states, non-interference in one another's internal affairs», etc. They see Soviet social imperialism to be as dangerous an enemy to their

freedom and independence as U.S. imperialism.

The expansionist aims and acts of Soviet social imperialism are meeting with steadily growing resistance from the freedom-loving peoples and progressive forces. First and foremost, they have met with the determined opposition of great People's China and socialist Albania, which consistently follow an internationalist foreign policy, a policy of tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism and social imperialism, against oppression and reaction, a policy of powerful support for the peoples fighting for freedom, independence and their sovereign rights.

In his analysis of imperialism, Lenin pointed out that this stage of the development of capitalism is accompanied by a savage competitive struggle among the imperialist monopolies and states for markets, sources of raw materials, and spheres for the export of capital. In this struggle to redivide markets and spheres of influence, a new competitor is taking intensive part - Soviet social imperialism, which has definitely become a neo-colonialist power.

The present Soviet policy of economic expansion and neocolonialism can be clearly seen in the economic relations of the Soviet Union with the other C.M.E.A. member countries. Khrushchev's chauvinist course, designed to subjugate these countries economically has further deepened under Brezhnev's rule, intensifying the process of their being economically swallowed up by the Soviet social imperialist metropolis.

The ideologists of Soviet social imperialism, wanting to justify and camouflage this policy, have come up with, and are noisily advertising, their theories about «international socialist division of labour» «specialization and cooperation in production», «economic integration», etc. Moreover, they try to present all this as an implementation of Lenin's idea of the future world communist economy!

But what has the application of these well advertised theories in fact brought to the revisionist satellite countries of the Soviet Union? The only results were the one-sided development of the economy of these countries, which now depends for everything, from supplies of raw materials, technology, and fuels, to markets for their goods on the Soviet metropolis, which exploits them to make profits; stronger Soviet control over the main course of eco-

nomical development in those countries, thus adapting their economic structure to the needs of the development of the Soviet economy, the national economies of those countries being set on the road to gradual integration with the Soviet economy and thus, the complete devouring of their economies by the Soviet metropolis.

The grave consequences incurred in the economies of the C.M.E.A. member countries by giving up independent development and becoming dependent on the Soviets are now appearing with particular force, since the capitalist and revisionist systems are undergoing a sharp economic crisis. In their own interests, the Soviet social imperialists are trying to get out of supplying such countries as Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, etc., with fuels and raw materials in the quantities envisaged by the plan, likewise, they are refusing to accept, for example from Czechoslovakia, the machines and other goods produced in accordance with «coordinated plans». That is why, the plenums of the central committees of the respective revisionist parties have begun to convene, one after another, in an attempt to get out of the grave situation created by the Soviet social imperialist bosses.

As a superpower, Soviet social imperialism is also trying to bring the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America into its orbit of expansion and control. Here, too, Soviet neo-colonialists are striving to put into practice their favourite theory about the «international division of labour», they aim to penetrate these countries, so as to turn them into sources of raw materials and cheap agricultural and livestock produce, into auxiliary processing workshops, into spheres for capital export and into markets for surplus goods, thus making them serve the Soviet capitalist metropolis.

India is a typical case. There, through so-called «aid» and «international division of labour», according to data from the Indian press itself, the Soviet social-imperialists control 30 per cent of the iron and steel industry, 35 per cent of the oil refining industry, 20 per cent of the electric power industry, 85 per cent of the engineering industry, etc. On the basis of imposed, enslaving agreements, India is forced to export many of its products to the Soviet union at prices lower than the average international prices, or else it is compelled to set up factories and enter-

prises aimed especially at meeting the needs of the Soviet economy.

The arms trade is one of the principal means of Soviet neo-colonialist policy. In 1972 alone, the Soviet Union sold arms to the value of 2 billion, 200 million dollars. For the Soviet neo-colonialists, this is not only a source of colossal profits, but also a means of penetrating various countries, turning them into spheres of Soviet influence and military bases of Soviet social imperialism, and plundering their riches. This fact clearly shows that even the Soviet proposal in the UNO to reduce the military budgets of the permanent Security Council members by 10 percent, and use part of the money saved to «grant aid» to the developing countries, is nothing but a cynical mockery of the peoples of those countries.

The present day Soviet Union, which has been turned into a social imperialist country, and follows an aggressive, neo-colonialist policy, has also become the saboteur of the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the workers and the whole people. In words, the Soviet ruling clique swears that it supports just struggles; but all its activity proves the contrary.

The renegade Brezhnev group, following in the wake of Khrushchev, continues to sabotage the cause of the revolution everywhere in the world, through spreading the dangerous opportunist theories about the so-called «peaceful, parliamentary road of transition to socialism», the «non-capitalist road of development», etc. In order to extinguish the revolutionary movement in the former colonial countries, and draw them into the sphere of Soviet neocolonialist domination, this group spreads the illusion that it is sufficient for these countries to ally themselves with the Soviet Union and to receive «aids» from it, for their transition to socialism to be allegedly ensured! Every real revolutionary action and struggle is proclaimed by the Soviet revisionists to be «adventurism».

The consequences of such advice are obvious. It not only amounts to virtually giving up the real struggle for socialism, but also inflicts incalculable losses on the revolutionary movement. Those who have fallen victim to these illusions include thousands upon thousands of Iraqi, Indonesian and other communists massacred in the past, as well as thousands of Chilean patriots, revolutionaries and progressives massacred by the fascist group of

the reactionary forces and Yankee imperialism.

In order to strangle the revolution and liberation movements of the peoples violently, or to extinguish them through «peaceful means» the Soviet social imperialists have begun their criminal collaboration with U.S. imperialism. The two superpowers are spreading the concept that the solution of international problems depends, in the final account, on the stands of the United States of America and the Soviet Union; these two bear a «special responsibility» for the destiny of the world and, consequently, they also have an «exclusive position and special rights» in international relations. Thus, they give themselves the «right» to interfere, jointly or separately, wherever liberation struggles break out, if their interests are impaired or their hegemonistic domination is at stake. In this spirit, in agreement with U.S. imperialism and coming to its assistance, the Soviet social imperialists do their utmost to undermine the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples, the just struggle of the Arab people against the Israeli aggressors, etc. According to the concepts of Soviet social imperialism, the freedom-loving peoples should sacrifice their freedom and independence, and submit quietly for the sake of good relations between the superpowers. Such brutal imperialist interference, which constitutes a flagrant violation of the most elementary norms of international law, is presented by Soviet-U.S. propaganda as not just a «right» of two superpowers, but also an «accomplishment of their international duty», which exacts the gratitude of the peoples and all mankind!

On the basis of the «responsibility and exclusive rights» they have accorded themselves, the Soviet social imperialists and the U.S. imperialists have made a system of secret diplomacy, i.e. talks and coordination of actions between them on all international problems, behind the backs of other states and without consulting even their closest allies. The bargainings of the two superpowers in the United Nations, the SALT talks, the tête-à-tête Brezhnev-Nixon talks in Moscow and Washington, the latest practice of annual meetings between the secretary-general of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the U.S. president, the coordination of stands towards the Middle East events, etc., all clearly testify to the common plots of the two imperialist super-

powers, at the expense of various peoples and countries, as component part of their crazy strategy for world domination.

Close, permanent, secure collaboration with the United States of America in the economic field and in many other fields constitutes one of the most desired objectives of the foreign policy of the Soviet revisionists. This collaboration has now assumed unprecedented proportions and the whole chorus of Soviet propaganda has been zealously mobilized to justify and advertise the «innumerable blessings» it will allegedly bring to the Soviet and American peoples, as well as to the whole of mankind.

«Today», Brezhnev declared at the 'peace congress' in Moscow, «it is unprofitable and unreasonable to limit economic collaboration to trade, alone. Moving with the times and rising to meet the demands and possibilities of the technical and scientific revolution, is possible only by relying on a broad international division of labour. Today this is axiomatic». This economic collaboration includes the granting of credits by the U.S.A. and other imperialist countries, capital investments by them to set up great economic projects inside the Soviet Union to exploit its natural riches, cooperation in the field of production, etc. Thus, with U.S. credits, an automobile plant is being built in Kama, which will cost 1,600,000,000 dollars, a sum 16 times larger than the entire value of U.S. exports to the Soviet Union in 1970. In June 1973 the U.S. capitalist companies «Occidental Petroleum» and «El Pazo Gas Company», signed an agreement in Moscow according to which they will build a 3,000 km. long gas pipeline in Siberia; this will cost 2 billion dollars, and will be supplied with gas from Soviet Yakutia over the next 25 years.

The evolution of the Soviet revisionist leadership as concept of the so-called «international division of labour» shows its complete departure from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and testifies to the complete restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. At the beginning a «socialist international division of labour» was talked about among the revisionist countries; later on it was the «international division of labour» between the Soviet Union, the other revisionist countries, and the backward countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are trying to ensure their economic independence from imperialism;

now, it is a «division of labour with the whole capitalist world», including first and foremost the great imperialist countries, especially the United States of America. Thus, the Soviet revisionist concept of relations with the capitalist and imperialist world has evolved from «peaceful coexistence» and the Khrushchevite «peaceful competition» to the Brezhnevian theory of «allround and stable collaboration» and the «international division of labour» with the U.S.A. and the capitalist world.

Analyzing, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the changes that took place in the world after the second world war, in «Economic problems of socialism in the USSR», Stalin stressed that «We must consider the most important economic result of the second world war to be the division of the unified, universal world market. This circumstance defined the further deepening of the general crisis of the world capitalist system». Now we see that the Soviet ruling clique has eliminated the former division into two world markets, capitalist and socialist, this great victory of socialism, in the area under its control, and is advancing full speed ahead towards the complete integration of the Soviet economy into the world capitalist economy.

But the counterrevolutionary economic, political and military collaboration of Soviet social imperialism with U.S. imperialism is only one side of the coin. The other shows us that this is a temporary collaboration between two imperialist superpowers in irreconcilable rivalry with one another in over their plans for world hegemony. There is no doubt that the rivalry and contradictions between them will be aggravated endangering the peoples by new conflicts.

That is why it is such an important task for the peoples and all the progressive and peace-loving forces to maintain vigilance, and struggle against the policy of rivalry and collaboration between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism.

Through their entire counterrevolutionary line and activity, the Soviet revisionists have done incalculable damage to the cause of socialism in the world. The liquidation of the socialist order in the Soviet Union, and in a series of other countries, the destruction of the great socialist camp, the splitting and undermining of the international communist movement and the sowing of great confusion in the world revolutionary movement are first

*Our children are properly brought up and
educated in the numerous kindergartens which are included
in the pre-school education system.
In the photo: Children of the Nr. 33 kindergarten of Tirana, drawing.*



and foremost the consequences of the treachery of the Khrushchevite revisionists.

But the social imperialist policy followed by them, to the detriment of the peoples and the revolutionary and liberation struggle, also has grave consequences for the Soviet people themselves. The transformation of the Soviet Union into a social imperialist power results from the process of the complete restoration of capitalism in that country, which has led to the continuous intensification of the exploitation and oppression of the broad working masses. The pursuance of a neo-imperialist policy of economic, political and military expansion, the competitive struggle for spheres of influence and domination in the world, the increasingly closer connection of the Soviet economy with the world capitalist economy, and the doors opened for the penetration of foreign imperialist capital, — all this has caused serious difficulties and crises in the Soviet economy, which weigh most heavily on the working masses, increasing their discontent and protest and daily worsening the contradictions between the working class and the labouring masses, and the new Soviet bourgeoisie, in power, which, in order to preserve its domination, is resorting to the most brutal, fascist violence.

The propaganda of the Soviet ruling clique is trying through demagoguery, to hide all this, and to present the situation in the Soviet Union in rosy colours. But life is proving the contrary, through many facts. It is proving that there is increasing resistance by the Soviet people to the domination of the Brezhnev revisionist clique, and against its counterrevolutionary neo-capitalist and social imperialist internal and foreign policies.

A few years ago, the Soviet bolchevik revolutionaries distributed programmatic leaflet in which they appealed to the Soviet working class and to all the Soviet people to rise in struggle to overthrow the revisionist clique. Various news that leaks out of the Soviet Union from time to time, shows that, especially during the

last five-year plan, there have been numerous strikes and demonstrations by the workers in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Kharkov, Novocheerkassk, Zhitomir, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Uzbekistan, etc. During these strikes and demonstrations, the workers have faced the policy, the KGB and the army, sent in by the Brezhnev clique to suppress them brutally.

The worker demonstrations in Moscow, Leningrad, Novosibirsk and elsewhere in 1968, in protest against the Soviet aggression in Czechoslovakia, found a great response in the people and working class of the Soviet Union. In May 1969, the workers at the Kiev electric power station went on strike, and began a fierce conflict with the authorities over housing. By the end of 1970, the workers at Kaliningrad and Kiev had gone out on strike in solidarity with the great revolt of the Polish working class against the Gomulka revisionist regime. On June 25-26, 1972, in the city of Dnepropetrovsk, in the Ukraine, thousands of workers staged a big demonstration. They occupied the offices of the security service and destroyed their files. More demonstrations were also held there in September. The workers encircled the city party committee headquarters and demanded that their living conditions be improved. In February 1973, the workers at a plant in Byelorussia went on strike demanding a rise in pay.

Alongside these struggles of the working class in the Soviet Union, the discontent and protests of various nationalities against the oppression of the chauvinistic, «great Russian» bourgeoisie have increased. They have broken out in various forms in Georgia and the Ukraine, Latvia and Estonia, as well as in almost all the Soviet Republics with non-Russian nationalities and national minorities. The fierce repressive measures and the purging operations of cadres in the Ukraine, Georgia and elsewhere, which the Brezhnev chauvinistic clique has undertaken, and continues to undertake from time to time, will never be able to quench the fire of protest that

has flared up and is spreading to all the regions of the Soviet Union.

In the conditions of this mass struggle and the uprising against the domination and policy of the Brezhnev revisionist clique in various centres and regions of the Soviet Union, the genuine revolutionary elements are being organized into Marxist-Leninist cells, groups and circles, which set themselves the task of arousing the working class and the other oppressed masses in struggle and revolution, to restore the dictatorship of the proletariat and to return the country to the road of socialism. The Soviet ruling clique is trying to raise a wall of silence against the activity of the genuine revolutionaries, fighting against its domination from the position of Marxism-Leninism. There are no public trials against them, and the Soviet press is silent. They are arrested, imprisoned, deported to Siberia and savagely persecuted all in silence.

But neither the fascist persecutions nor the silence will ever be able to wipe out the revolutionaries, because they emerge from the struggle of the masses and are the first signs of that revolutionary storm which will, inevitably burst forth and wipe the Soviet revisionist ruling clique from the face of the earth.

The overthrow of revisionism and social imperialism in the Soviet Union, the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the country's return to the road of socialism, are an irresistible process. But it will not happen by itself. The Soviet people have a historic responsibility to the cause of socialism in the Soviet Union, as well as to the world revolutionary movement and the peoples who are the victims of the aggression and interference of Soviet social imperialism; they must therefore discard any illusions as soon as possible, rise to overthrow the new Kremlin czars, take back the state power usurped by the Soviet bourgeoisie and turn the Soviet Union back to the road of the October Revolution, to the glorious road of Lenin and Stalin.

PRESS REVIEW

US «AID» FOR AFRICA IN THE SERVICE OF WASHINGTON'S NEOCOLONIALIST POLICY

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The US bourgeois propaganda loudly advertises US «aid» and investments, describing them as the sole alternative on which the new African countries should rely at the present stage of their development. In fact, US «aid» is a component part of Washington's aggression to enslave these countries economically and even politically and militarily. Suffice it to mention that over the last ten years alone there have been more than 30 coups d'état in Africa, most of which have involved the imperialist powers, and in the first place the US imperialists.

Washington aims to prevent the all-round development of the economies of the African countries by investing mainly in the mining industry or in one-crop agriculture. In these conditions, the US makes use of unequal agreements and treaties which recognize colonialist trade privileges, the restriction or abolition of customs duties and other such measures, and strives to secure hegemonistic positions for itself and to dictate in the life of these countries. The US imperialists stipulate that their aid must be used in those branches of industry when will supply raw material to the capitalist monopolies, mainly to buy American commodities in the US itself. While in the 60's the quantity of commodities which the Afri-

can countries purchased from the US with the «aid» given them represented 40 per cent of the total volume purchased from foreign countries in 1971 it amounted to over 90 per cent. Thus, in becoming the first trading partner of these countries, Washington returns to its pocket the aid it has given, but, of course, at high interest rates. US aid to Africa, the French newspaper «Le Monde» writes, in fact helps those who give it, and not the recipient countries.

But what is more important is the great danger the investment of foreign capital poses to the national independence of the African countries. Now the main tendency in the «aid» tactics of the US is that it is striving to achieve the merger of local capital with its own, in order to guarantee US capital against just measures for independent national development, such as nationalisations. The US imperialists, with a view to benefiting as much as possible from their capital investments, make use of unequal exchange the manipulation of prices, loans and various forms camouflaged under the label of aid. At the same time, it is known that the enterprises that are set up and operate with foreign investments, besides manpower, also require trained cadres, specialists and engineers,

who come from the metropolis and who, as life has shown, constitute at any time a silent weapon for the neocolonialist interests of the US.

Washington gives special treatment to the racist regimes of South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies which it openly describes as the «southern flanks» of the aggressive NATO bloc and a bastion of imperialism against the liberation movements of the peoples, not only in their own countries, but also in the other countries of the African continent. Part of this framework is the systematic provocation of the South African racists against Tanzania, of Rhodesia against Zambia, etc.

But these efforts have met with the resistance of the freedom-loving African peoples, who are increasingly realizing that the words «friendship» and «aid» on the lips of the US imperialists mean in fact oppression, plunder and aggression. The peoples of Africa, in their struggle to strengthen their political and economic independence, defend their rights and riches, and preserve their territorial integrity, are becoming increasingly conscious of their inexhaustible forces. They are strengthening their conviction that their fate is not decided by the «aid» the imperialists offer them,

PRESS REVIEW

but by further strengthening their anti-imperialist unity in the resolute struggle against the foreign yoke, against the imperialists and colonialists and their tools, the

racist and reactionary regimes. The blows struck at the privileges and ruling positions of the imperialists, old and new, and the rejection of their "aid", are

legitimate and necessary actions by the African people for economic and political independence, to build their future according to their own will.



«THE YOUTH OF THE CAPITALIST WORLD IN THE GRIP OF UNEMPLOYMENT»

«ZËRI I RINISË» - organ of the CC of the AWYU -

Unemployment, this permanent wound of capitalism, has worsened as never before in our days, as a result of the deepening of the financial and energy crisis. The branches most affected or which are expected to be still more heavily hit as a result of the oil shortage, are the chemical, plastic and synthetic fibre industries which are directly dependent on oil. Also heavily affected is the automobile industry. The epidemic of unemployment particularly affects the younger generation who have not yet assured their place in society and who do not have the proper education and qualifications. Young people are the first to be thrown into the street and the last to be employed. This is why 14.5 per cent of the young people in the US are in the army of the unemployed. It emerges from Danish press reports that more than one quarter of those unemployed in the Common Market are under 25 years of age, while in Canada, out of half a million unemployed, 45 per cent are young people up to 24 years of age.

According to data from the Italian Ministry of Labour, the number of young people unemployed in Italy is comparatively higher than in all other Common Market countries. Over 700,000 young people aged between 14 to 29, the Ministry admits in a report, are jobless because they are not able to study and gain qualifications. Every year, according to data from the French press, 300,000 people leave school. The only prospect for them is to do unskilled work. They do not receive vocational training and even when they do get a diploma or certificate for technical ability, they are employed in jobs which do not correspond to their qualifications, and have reduced wages. The diplomas they receive do not ensure them a job.

It is characteristic that while there is an increase in the ranks of the unemployed in general, and the ranks of youth in particular, in all the capitalist countries there is an increasing tendency to include children in the mechanism of capitalist production. According to reports of the International Labour Organisa-

tion, in capitalist countries over 43 million children, under the age of 15, are compelled to work to earn their daily bread.

This facts exposes the ugly, criminal features of capitalism, and its efforts to gain the greatest possible profits by any means, not stopping at any crime, and «trampling under foot all human laws», as Karl Marx has said.

The ruling circles in western countries shed crocodile tears and are unsparing of plans and projects full of promises to eliminate unemployment. This tiresome refrain is repeated from year to year, generation after generation, feeding the masses with stones instead of bread. Doubtless, this is being done to deceive the working people who bear the heavy burden of unemployment, and to conceal the main causes of this epidemic which is corroding the capitalist system. But however much the apologists of capitalism may rave, the working masses are more clearly understanding, from their own experience, the source of their misfortunes; they have therefore

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risen in struggle for their rights. The class battles launched by the proletariat against the system of oppression and exploitation are also joined by the progressive youth who bear the heaviest

weight of the burden of difficulties caused by the present crisis of capitalism.

EXPANSION OF THE TWO IMPERIALIST POWERS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

«Zëri i Popullit», organ of the CC of the PLA -

The Indian Ocean is an area of great strategic importance, which is of special interest to the two imperialist superpowers. Therefore, despite the repeated defeats suffered by the US imperialists on the Asian continent and the increasingly greater exposure of their expansionist activity, despite the failure of the efforts of the Soviet revisionists to implement their plot for a so-called «collective security system» in Asia, the two superpowers are doing everything in their power in order to reach their imperialist objectives. They look upon the Indian Ocean as one of the bases from which they can act to bring the whole of the Asian continent into their grasp. If we keep in mind the broad movement and great concentration of their naval fleets in the Mediterranean, particularly following the recent developments in the Middle East, we see clearly that every movement of the US and Soviet fleets in the Indian Ocean is coordinated with other movements in the Mediterranean. Coordinating the actions of their fleets and bases in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists aim to gain full control of points of great strategic importance, such as the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and the Arabian Gulf. In this

way they bring pressure to bear on the Arab countries in order to impose on them the political, military and economic presence of the USA and the Soviet Union in that region, as well as to extend their tentacles to other areas.

Thus, their entire activity in the Indian Ocean sheds light on the truth hidden behind the flattering smiles and pacifist statements of the two superpowers, the truth which indicates the aggressive and expansionist policy of the US imperialists and Soviet social imperialists and their interference and military engagement on the Asian continent, as in other parts of the world. The growing presence of the naval fleets and warships of the two superpowers in the Indian Ocean, parallel with the heightening of the continuing armaments race and the holding of military exercises, are part and parcel of the global strategy of the US imperialists and Soviet social imperialists, which does not aim for peace and security on the continent, but the encirclement and isolation of the People's Republic of China, of determined fighters for real security in Asia, and obstacles in the way of the realisation of their aggressive plans, as well as the quenching of the national liberation struggles of the Asian

peoples and the subjugation and enslavement of these peoples. In the face of this activity, the peoples and many progressive political figures on the Asian continent have spoken out against the hegemonistic policy of the two superpowers and have forcefully demanded the withdrawal of their bases and naval fleets from the Indian Ocean. In particular, a new powerful wave of anger has burst out recently against the decision of the USA to extend its military presence in the Indian Ocean, transforming Diego Garcia island into a powerful naval and missile base. Thus, the Sri Lanka newspaper «Janavegaja», in a recent commentary, condemning the expansionist rivalry between the two superpowers, wrote: «The movement of the warships of the two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, constitutes a threat to the security of the countries of this region». The Asian peoples are seeing ever better the real nature of the aggressive policy of the US imperialists and Soviet social imperialists; they are realizing that the supreme interests of the defence of freedom and national independence require them to oppose and fight right to the end the hegemonistic plans of the two superpowers.

PRESS REVIEW

«ANOTHER STRIDE IN STRENGTHENING THE SOLIDARITY AND UNITY OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES»

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The summit conference of Islamic countries was recently held in Lahore, Pakistan. Representatives of 38 countries took part.

An important place in this meeting was occupied by discussion on the Middle East problem. The participants once again forcefully condemned the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries and reconfirmed the right of the Arab peoples, and in the first place of the Palestinian people, to retake the occupied territories. The resolution on the Middle East and the Palestinian question said that «the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people is a fundamental preliminary condition for the re-establishment of a just and permanent peace», and reaffirmed that «the Palestine Liberation Organisation is the only representative of the Palestinian people in their legitimate struggle.»

The Lahore conference forcefully condemned Israel's colonialist policy towards the occupied Arab territories. The resolution denounced the measures adopted by the Israeli Zionists to change the demographic, social, cultural and economic character of these zones, including the measures for the annexation and Israelization of Jerusalem. Reaffirming Arab sovereignty over this city, the participants condemned the efforts to «internationalise» it; this has become the object not only of the Israeli Zionists, but also of the Vatican and the

two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, which, under the guise of «internationalization», are striving to put this city under their control.

The experience of the events during and after the October 6 war clearly showed that oil in the hands of the Arab people, used with courage, determination and consistency by all in coordination with armed struggle, becomes an irreplaceable effective weapon against the aggressors and their supporters.

The efforts of the developing countries to strengthen their sovereignty and economic and political independence against the hegemonistic and neocolonialist tendencies of the imperialist powers, and especially against the two superpowers, were again evident at this conference. Various speakers expressed concern over the backwardness of many countries, the lack of bread, schools and hospitals, as a result of exploitation and plunder by the old and new imperialists. The idea that these poor states should be helped not in word but in deed, was openly expressed. The Algerian president Houari Boumedienne, expressing support for these countries, proposed that the conference fix a sum of money to assist the developing countries. «If some states are facing difficulties, — he said, — we must see this and help them not with words but with money».

The conference once more reaffirmed the unity of the participating countries with the African peoples and countries in their struggle against the common enemies, imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism, on that continent, and expressed support for the liberation struggle of those peoples. At the same time they highly appraised the correct stand of many African countries which severed diplomatic relations with Israel in support of the just struggle of the Arab people.

The holding of the Lahore conference once more shows that the developing countries are making further strides towards strengthening their solidarity, unity and support for liberation struggle. It showed that the developing countries are against the hegemonism of the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists who are striving at all costs to keep these countries under their neocolonialist rule, to transform them into sources of raw material and to bleed them white.

Today more than ever it has become clear to all the peoples of the world and all the developing countries that their economic and political independence can be achieved only through determined struggle against the hegemonistic and neocolonialist aims of the two imperialist superpowers, relying on their unity and their own forces».

PRESS REVIEW

FOREIGN WORKERS — VICTIMS OF CAPITALIST OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION

«PUNA», organ of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania

Unemployment and gloomy prospects in their own countries compel hundreds and thousands of Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and African workers to leave their homeland and families and go to foreign countries, to other capitalist countries, where they sell their labour force at a cheap price to earn their daily bread.

In Western Europe alone, this great mass of foreign labour has reached about 12 million. Thus in West Germany, one out of every 18 people has a foreign passport; in France there are more than 3,700,000 foreigners, in Belgium 750,000, in Holland about 250,000 and in Britain more than 1,500,000.

The situation of these «new slaves» has greatly worsened, especially now as a result of the crisis that has gripped the capitalist world and which the monopoly bourgeoisie is striving to shift onto the shoulders of the broad working masses. Rising prices taxes and numerous dismissals from work are reported everywhere. And this wave is affecting, in the first place, the emigrant workers who are the most defenceless mass from the legal point of view, and have fewer rights. The bourgeoisie of the countries where they find themselves, after having exploited them for year is now compelling these workers to leave and

go to their own countries, where poverty and unemployment lie in store for them. Thus, for example, according to foreign press reports, more than 190,000 emigrant workers from Italy, Turkey and other countries, will be compelled to leave West Germany, in search of work in some other country. Similar consequences are also affecting foreign workers in France, Belgium and elsewhere. In Belgium a few days ago, several hundred demonstrators came out in the streets of the small town of Molenbeek, in the Brussels suburbs, to protest against measures taken by local authorities against foreign workers. The Belgian police have recently undertaken a number of operations against foreign workers who have come to work in Belgium, and have used violence against them. News agencies report that the Belgian authorities have recently established a number of new, strict regulations to limit the stay of foreign workers in the country...

An analysis of these facts clearly shows how groundless is the fuss of bourgeois propaganda about the so-called «freedom to work in any country». This «freedom to work» is nothing but freedom for the bourgeoisie to act as it pleases with foreign manpower, to dismiss it whenever it likes and to exploit as

much as possible the workers who remain, who are not only under the continuous threat of unemployment, but do the most difficult work and enjoy almost no rights at all.

The capitalist proprietors consider them as productive machines. By a frequent turnover of emigrants, the capitalists hope to reduce «social» expenditure, i. e; expenditures for hospitals, schools, the construction of houses, etc to a minimum. The emigrant workers live in very bad conditions, in shanty towns and barracks.

The difficult working and living conditions have increased the indignation and revolt of the emigrants. They are extending their struggle together with the local workers against layoffs, price rises, and intensified work, demanding a better life. They are making new strides forward, under the leadership of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, to put an end once and for all to the exploitation of man by man. And they are convinced that they will achieve this through a determined revolutionary struggle, overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing in its stead people's power, socialism, which liberates the working class from any kind of oppression and exploitation.

PRESS REVIEW

THE CHILEAN PEOPLE RESIST OPPRESSION AND TERROR

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Although more than six months have elapsed since the fascist generals came to power, the tense situation in Chile has not changed at all. The state of emergency remains in force throughout the country. Terror is at the level of the days after September 11. Everywhere there are house searches and arrests, and the military courts pass death sentences every day. The military junta has again trotted out the terrorist fascist organisations such as «Patria e Libertad», «Rolando Matus», etc. The members of these organisations are the right hand of the generals just as they were the whip of the reaction at the time of the Popular Unity government. The task entrusted to them by the junta now is to arouse panic and persecute the progressive forces of the country. They fulfil the role of spies, organize assassinations on street corners, and arrest and torture innocent people. But on the other side, the popular revolt is becoming stronger. The workers have risen in strikes, and shots fired by the weapons of the resistance groups against the fascist dictatorship are now being frequently heard in Chile.

It is clear that the fascist generals would not be able to remain in power even for a single day with their policy of

terror, without the allround aid of US imperialism and its puppets in Latin America. US imperialism carefully prepared the military coup d'état. Now the US imperialists give their puppet, the dictatorial Pinochet regime, constant financial aid to strengthen the oppressive bureaucracy and continually supply it with armaments, in order to make the army as effective as possible in suppressing the struggle of the people for real national freedom. Dealing with the aid that Washington grants to the fascist regime of Santiago, the review «Economic News» writes that since the first month following the coup d'état, the American banks «Manufacturers Hanover Trust», «Bankers Trust Corp»; «Irving Trust», First National City Bank», etc., have hurried to give considerable financial aid to this pro-US regime.

In reality Chile is now quickly heading towards a return to being an economic colony of the United States of America. Their previous privileges are being returned one by one to the US companies.

The barbarous crimes of the fascist Pinochet band and the economic chaos as a result of the policy of submission to imperialism, have aroused hatred in the broad working masses, and the contradictions between the oppressors

and the oppressed have increased. A clear testimony to this is the workers' strikes which are expanding throughout the country, the attacks by the resistance groups, the struggle of the students and pupils.

The events in Chile once more expose US imperialism as a strangler of the freedom and independence of the peoples, and bring out the hypocrisy and deception of the so-called «new policy» of the Nixon Administration towards the Latin American countries. They are also further exposing the Moscow social imperialists who, parallel with pacifist slogans about the «peaceful transition» from capitalism to socialism and the disguise of the «non-export of revolution», are uninterruptedly strengthening their counterrevolutionary collaboration with the USA and do not hesitate to give support and aid to the dictatorial regimes of that area.

The freedom-loving Chilean people draw the proper lessons from their bitter experience. The sparks of the mounting armed resistance indicate that the Chilean people will rise entirely, cast away the weight of oppression and exploitation, and realize, at last, their aspirations to real national independence and social progress.



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A little school pupil from the miners' centre at Memaliaj, South Albania.

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