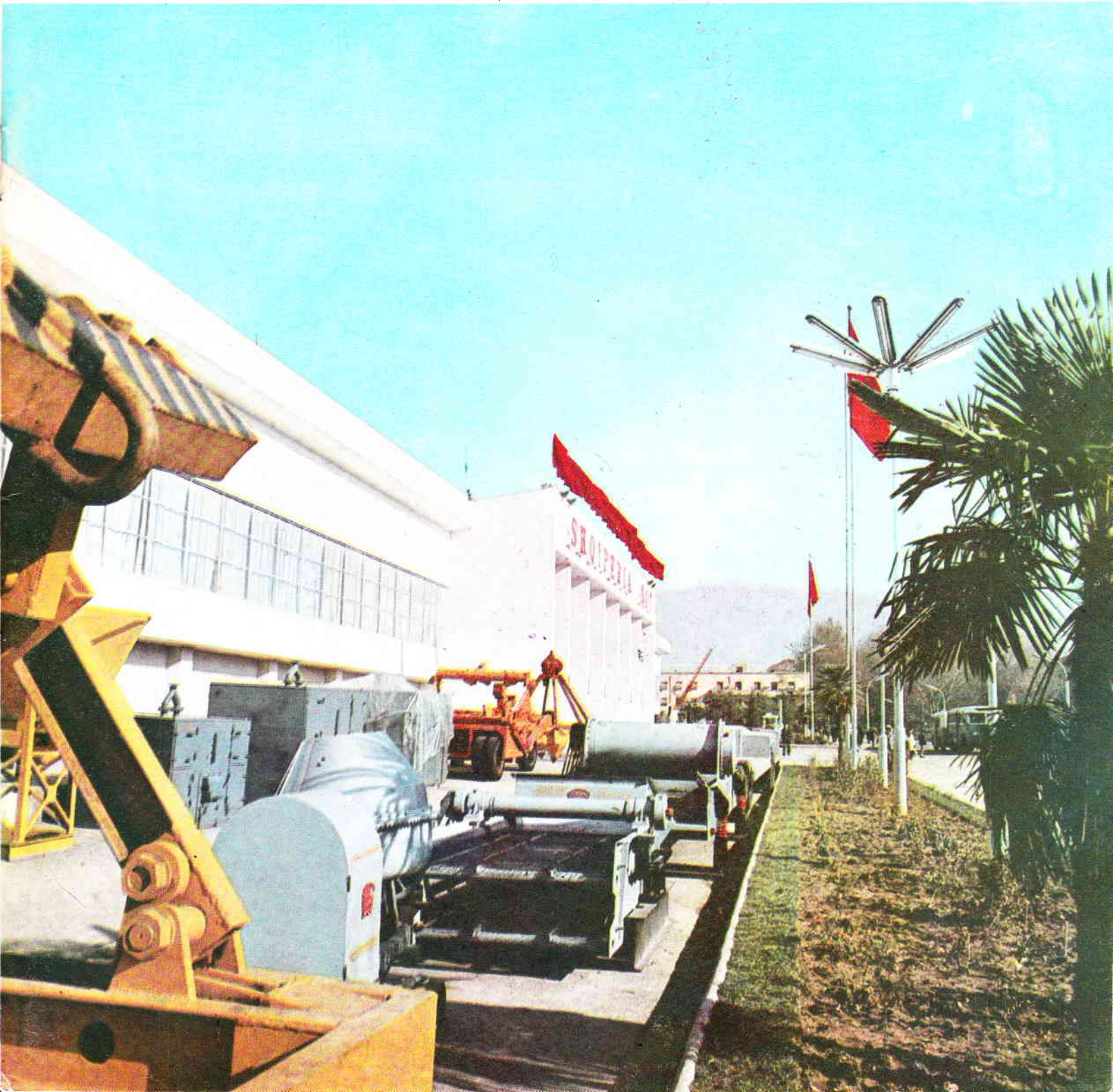


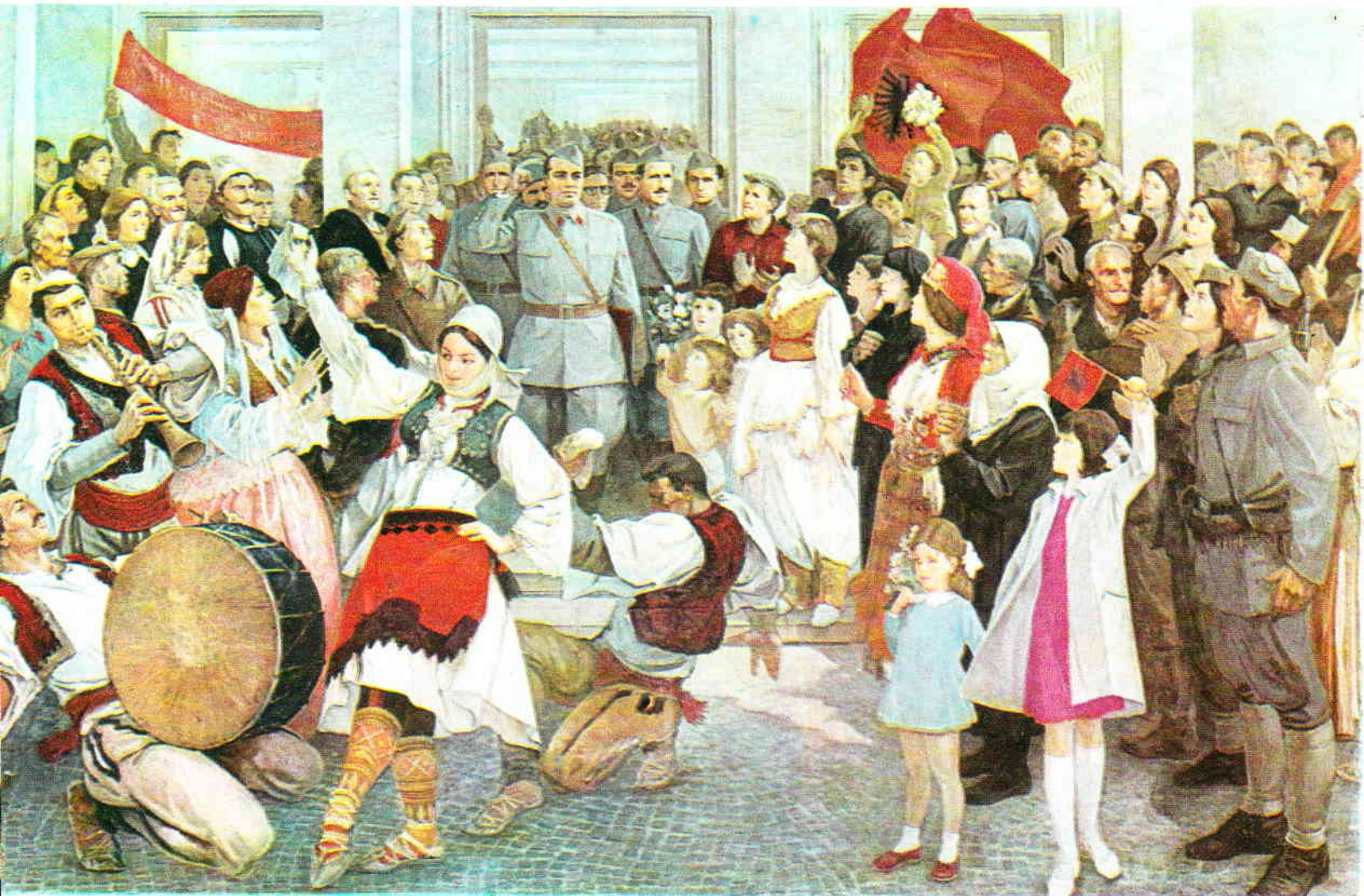
Albania today

POLITICAL AND INFORMATIVE REVIEW / TIRANA

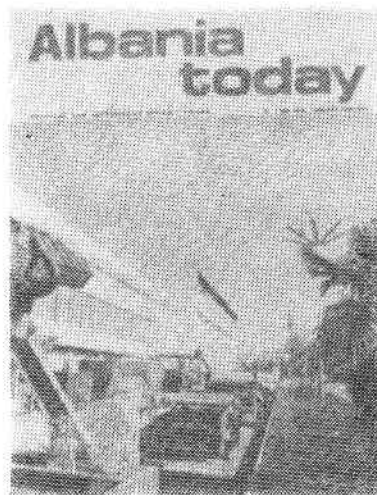
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On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution the «ALBANIA TODAY» exhibition opened in Tirana, reflecting the great successes which have been achieved by the Albanian people in all fields during the 30 years. The covers of the first and fourth pages are devoted to this exhibition.



«PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC», a picture by the known painter Fatmir Haxhiu devoted to January 11, 1946, the day of the proclamation of the Republic



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THE ANTI-FASCIS A GREAT PEOPLE LED BY THE COM

by **NEXHMIJE HOXHA**

**The National Liberation
War was not only a life-and-death
struggle against
the occupiers for the liberation
of the
country, but also a genuine people's
revolution which was
organized and led by the
Communist Party of Albania**

THE MORE TIME ELAPSES SINCE THE YEARS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR, THE MORE GLORIOUSLY THE EPIC OF THIS TITANIC CLASH, WHICH WAS CROWNED WITH THE GREATEST VICTORY OF ALL THE LIBERATION WARS EVER WAGED BY OUR PEOPLE, IS RAISED ON THE PEDESTAL OF THE CENTURIES - OLD HISTORY OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE. AND THIS IS SO BECAUSE THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR WAS NOT ONLY A LIFE-AND-DEATH STRUGGLE AGAINST THE OCCUPIERS FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY, BUT ALSO A GENUINE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION WHICH WAS ORGANIZED AND LED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA.

THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR LASTED OVER FIVE YEARS AND A HALF, FROM THE DAY THE FASCIST ITALIAN ARMY COMMITTED ITS ARMED AGGRESSION AGAINST ALBANIA (APRIL 1939) TO THE DAY THE NAZI GERMAN ARMY WAS COMPLETELY DRIVEN FROM ALBANIAN SOIL (NOVEMBER 1944). DURING THIS PERIOD THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE FOUGHT AND TRIUMPHED OVER TWO BIG FASCIST POWERS, ITALY AND GERMANY, WHICH HAD SUCCESSIVELY OCCUPIED OUR COUNTRY WITH THEIR TROOPS, AS WELL AS OVER THE REACTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS AND ARMED FORCES - THE TOOLS OF THE OCCUPIERS.

Though it is an epic in itself and took place in national and international circumstances quite unlike the previous liberation wars, the Anti-fascist National Liberation War cannot be separated from the centuries-long efforts of our people

NEXHMIJE HOXHA - Member of the CC of the PLA, director of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies under the CC of the PLA. Report delivered in the National Conference of Studies on the anti-fascist national liberation war of the Albanian people in Tirana on November 8, 1974.

T NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR - 'S REVOLUTION MUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA

for liberation, independence and progress. It is a link in the historic revolutionary process of national and social liberation which began in the last century with the National Revival, led to the proclamation of national independence in 1912, rose to a higher stage with the June 1924 Revolution and with the democratic and workers' movement of the thirties, and was finally crowned with the victory of November 29, 1944. The Anti-fascist National Liberation War was the highest and the most decisive stage of this process. It was transformed into a broad people's revolution unprecedented in the history of the country. This revolution had its roots deep in the centuries-long struggle of our people for freedom and social justice, and inherited brilliant patriotic and revolutionary traditions, a rich historical experience, from the heroic past.

As the highest stage of the popular and revolutionary movements of the country, the people's revolution differed from the previous revolutions not only in that it developed in new internal and external conditions, not only in that it was more organized and more conscious, having a more pronounced mass character, but also in that it had such a revolutionary leadership as the Communist Party of Albania, which represented the most progressive class of the country and was guided by Marxist-Leninist science through the complicated situations of the political and social events and phenomena of the Second World War. The Communist Party of Albania gave the Anti-fascist National Liberation War a clear programme, which responded to the interests of the broadest strata of the people, it employed revolutionary forms and methods of organization that ensured the revolutionary unity of thought and action of the insurgent people and, finally, by its word and example, it created among the masses that

unshakeable confidence in their own strength and in victory, so indispensable in the struggle of a small nation against far bigger and stronger enemy as the fascist occupiers were. As a result, unlike what had happened with all the people's movements of the past, during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War there took place such important political and social processes which turned this into an anti-imperialist and profoundly democratic people's revolution, and its triumph marked a radical turning point in the history of the country, not only because the national question was finally solved, but also because an overthrow was effected in the existing social relations and the road was opened for the transition to a new and much higher stage, the construction of the socialist society.

* * *

The Anti-fascist National Liberation War was transformed into a people's anti-imperialist democratic revolution. The anti-imperialist democratic content of the war was determined, first of all, by the objective social and political conditions themselves. In Albania there existed the oppressive political and economic order of the fascist occupation, and also the feudal-bourgeois social relations, which made up the base of support for the occupiers. In these conditions, two fundamental contradictions emerged: the contradiction between the people and the occupiers, and the contradiction between the masses of the people and the principal ruling and exploiting classes and strata - the big landowners, tribal chiefs, and reactionary bourgeoisie. Solving these contradictions was imperative in order to smash the shackles which prevented the

national, social, economic and cultural development of the country.

The objective conditions, both social, economic and political, had long since raised the issue of the fulfilment of the anti-imperialist and democratic tasks of the revolution. After the proclamation of independence and the creation of the Albanian national state in 1912, Albania did not achieve complete independence. It still remained a semi-feudal agrarian country at a time when Europe had long ago eliminated feudalism and the overwhelming majority of its countries had entered the higher stage of capitalist development.

The first attempt, on a national scale, to bring about a democratic and anti-imperialist change in Albania, was the June 1924 Revolution. This revolution, which was carried out under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie, could not find a final solution to the national and social problems, because the democratic-bourgeois regime which came to power was shortlived, mainly because of the intervention of international reaction, and the lack of a sound leadership and organization of the democratic revolutionary forces. Under the feudal-bourgeois regime of Zog, our country, far from achieving a greater degree of national independence, was turned into a semi-colony of Italy.

In these conditions, not only were the ruling classes of the country unable to lead the struggle against the imperialist threat, but, on the contrary, in many cases they themselves became the instruments of imperialist penetration. The feudals, tribal chiefs and most of the rich bourgeoisie, who had always served as instruments of the foreign enslavers, became tools of the new fascist occupiers. The bourgeoisie of the country, for its part, was weak, vacillating, and disorganized.

Thus, the fulfilment of the fundamental anti-imperialist democratic tasks remained always on the order of the day.

The communist groups strove to elaborate a programme to fulfil these tasks, but they could not achieve their aims, because they did not possess the maturity and energy necessary to elaborate and carry out a correct revolutionary political line on a scientific basis. The communist groups often made erroneous and contradictory assessments of the socio-economic situation of the country and the strategic tasks emerging from it. There were opinions of the effect that there was no working class and no bourgeoisie, and that, therefore, neither were there the conditions for a revolution, that the communists should carry out only a socialist revolution, that the peasantry «was not revolutionary», that the fascist danger threatening the country could not force the communists into seeking collaboration with the patriotic nationalists, etc. These opinions gave rise to differences on matters of principle, and strife and dissension among the groups, and did not permit the elaboration of a genuine, correct programme of struggle against the anti-popular regime of Zog and against imperialism and fascism. Erroneous assessments of the situation, and incorrect views on the po-

litical tasks of the movement were apparent also in the stand taken by the communist groups even after the occupation of the country, up to the founding of the Party.

The Italian occupation of Albania created conditions which made the need to fulfill the anti-imperialist democratic tasks more acute, urgent, clear. The Italian occupation emphasised and sharpened to the highest degree in particular the external contradiction between the Albanian people and Italian fascist imperialism, which now no longer represented an enemy which merely threatened our national independence and the Albanian national state, but an invading power which had totally stamped out Albanian national independence and sovereignty, and which threatened the Albanian people with extermination.

The contradiction between the people and invading Italian imperialism became the primary one. As a result, first of all, the political and socio-economic order of the occupation had to be liquidated, and the country had to be liberated; this was an indispensable prerequisite to opening the way for the solution of the other contradiction, i.e., the abolition of feudal-bourgeois relations.

The big landowners, the tribal chiefs and the reactionary bourgeoisie which had allowed Albania to be transformed into an Italian semi-colony, after the occupation of the country, became the social base, the tools of the fascist enslavers, who, for their part, became the support for feudal-bourgeois relations and the principal exploiting classes. However, this interconnection did not affect the order of priorities: «The main objective», comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized. «is the struggle against the occupier, and, parallel with this, the struggle against the traitors»¹.

The order of priorities in the solution of the fundamental contradictions in Albania was also affected by the anti-fascist world war, in the framework of which the anti-fascist liberation war of the Albanian people was being carried out. Even prior to the Second World War, fascism had become the chief enemy of the peoples. With the outbreak of the war, all the world faced a very great danger – fascist enslavement. Germany, Italy and Japan invaded most of the countries of Europe, North Africa, and part of Asia. Hitlerite Germany attacked the Soviet Union, the first socialist state. In these circumstances, for all the nations, including our people, the primary task was the struggle to annihilate fascism, the greatest common enemy of all mankind.

In accordance with these concrete internal and external conditions, the chief enemy of our people was the fascist occupier, against whom the main struggle had to be spearheaded. The struggle against the occupier concerned the broadest strata of the people, for fascism was the greatest oppressor not only of national freedom, but also of democratic freedoms, the supporter of the most reactionary feudal-bourgeois and clerical-medieval forces. These circumstances gave the National Liberation War its pronounced anti-imperialist and profoundly democratic character.

This determined also which classes and social strata were to become the motive forces of the National Liberation War.

In the first place, the national and social liberation of the country concerned the working class and the peasantry on which the burden of fascist oppression, misery, exploitation and slavery weighed heaviest. Therefore precisely these classes became the principal motive forces of the war. They set the tone for it, and put their seal upon it with their demands for work, for bread, for freedom and independence, for land and social justice. But the question of national liberation, which stood out as the most imperative task, was an aspiration and demand not only of the working class and the peasantry, but of all the patriotic and progressive forces of the country. Therefore, the issue was raised of the participation «of all the patriotic and anti-fascist forces»² of the country, «without distinction as to religion, region, class or political trend»³ in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War. Thus, together with the working class and the poor and middle peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie, the middle bourgeoisie of the cities, and the patriotic intellectuals of different strata also took part in the struggle. The participation of the young people and women of our country was on a particularly broad scale.

* * *

The character of the National Liberation War as a profoundly popular revolution, with a general anti-imperialist and democratic tendency, was reinforced especially by the fact that it was led by the Communist Party of Albania.

As is known, the triumph of the revolution does not depend only on the revolutionary situation brought about by the general crisis of the occupation, or by other political and economic circumstances. The triumph of the revolution also requires the subjective conditions – the readiness and high political consciousness of the masses, and their sound leadership and organization. These conditions never prepare themselves spontaneously. It was the Communist Party of Albania which prepared the subjective conditions for the revolution in Albania. In the circumstances of a profoundly revolutionary situation, the Party gave the anti-fascist resistance its organic cohesion, its clear program, its sound organization, its deeply revolutionary spirit, its mass character, its lofty consciousness and its unshakeable confidence in victory.

It was the Party, which, in accordance with all the above-mentioned conditions, knew how to work out the strategic objectives and tasks to be achieved by this war and knew how to link the question of national liberation closely with that of social liberation.

Right from its founding, the Party laid down in clear-cut terms the strategic objective of the war: «To fight for the national independence of the Albanian people and for

a people's democratic government, in an Albania free from fascism»⁴. In the calls it addressed to the people, this objective was expressed in the strategic slogans: «Fight for a free, independent, and people's democratic Albania».

The purpose of this definition of the strategic objective was to realize a radical revolutionary overthrow in connection with the national question and the political and social order, i.e., to show the way to the solution of precisely those fundamental contradictions we mentioned above.

«The question of state power,» Lenin says, «is the principal question of any revolution»⁵. Therefore, the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, too, as a people's revolution, could not fail to raise this question. But in the concrete circumstances in which our war was being waged, the principal question of the revolution could not be this alone, separated from the question of national liberation. Therefore, the strategic objective, too, of the National Liberation War always contained and presented these two major tasks, national liberation and a people's democratic government, closely linked with one another.

At a time when the solution of the national question presented itself as the first objective on which the carrying out of the other tasks depended, and when all the anti-fascist forces of the country without distinction of class or political allegiance had to take part in the struggle for the solution of this problem, the question of the class character of the political order could not be more accurately defined. The main thing at that stage was that the people's democratic government and people's democratic Albania would be a negation of any previous government and any previous political order, of the occupation or preoccupation years. To ensure the unity of all the people in a single national liberation front, without excluding from this struggle even those strata of the people who might have some monarchist tendencies or convictions, the Party considered that it should be left up to the people themselves to determine the form of the regime after liberation.

The wise and consistent stand on the question of letting the people decide for themselves about the form of the regime after the war (here is meant only the form of the regime, and not the type of state power), on the one hand, gave every patriot and anti-fascist regardless of his political opinions, the opportunity to throw himself into the war against the occupiers and traitors; on the other hand, it barred the way to all claims of Zog and his followers, who wanted to proclaim the monarchist Zogite regime as the only lawful regime in Albania, in opposition to the will of the people.

The main objective during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War was to ensure the triumph of the revolution in the political field. But this does not mean that the other objective, the solution of the socio-economic problems of the revolution, i.e., the destruction of the economic base of the old order, was left aside. Political revolution is not, and cannot be an aim in itself. The seizure of power is the first



and indispensable prerequisite for socio-economic transformations in the life of the country.

The profound revolutionary processes that took place during the National Liberation War, such as the emergence of the Communist Party of Albania as the leadership, and the mass participation of the workers, poor peasants, and other oppressed strata in the councils of the Front, in the organs of the state power and, in the partisan and volunteer units of the National Liberation Army, and on the other hand, the collaboration of the exploiting classes with the occupiers, made it possible, among other things, to implement as early as during the period of war, some measures that affected the economic base of foreign capital and the big landowners. But these measures were always taken in the framework of the war against the occupiers and traitors. The 2nd National Liberation Conference at Labinot decided on the confiscation of all property owned by Italian companies in Albania (factories, mines, farms, stores of machinery and building materials, dwelling houses, etc.) as well as the confiscation of the property owned by the people's enemies, the majority of whom were big landowners, tribal chiefs, and village notables. The confiscated property became the people's property and was put into the national liberation fund. The Anti-fascist Committee, i.e., the Provisional Revolutionary Government, which emerged from the Përmet Congress, issued orders that the land of the traitors should be given to the farmers who tilled it, together with the produce, livestock and farming tools going with it. The farmers were also allowed to work State owned property and to reap the benefit of the produce and other income. The Anti-fascist Committee also undertook the registration of land, as well as the compilation of statistics about the extent of arable land, livestock, the number of landless peasants or peasants with little land, as a first step towards the implementation of the land reform after the war.

These measures testify to the ever greater deepening of the revolutionary character of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, which, while always keeping national liberation as its central task, had made indispensable the destruction of the political rule of the big landowners and the bourgeoisie, together with the destruction of the rule of the occupiers, and



«A story from the National Liberation Struggle». This is how the painter Nexhmedin Zajmi has entitled this beautiful picture. It clearly expresses the close ties of the partisans with the people during the struggle for the liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution.

at the same time had prepared strong premises for the liquidation of the feudal and capitalist economic base, as well as the destruction of the economic base of foreign capital.

In the political and social circumstances of the National Liberation War, however precise and clear the strategic objective laid down by the Party might be, the fate of the people's revolution would also depend on its extension and depth, on the methods and ways through which this objectives would be attained, step by step, by the aroused masses. Assessing the problem in this way, in order to achieve national independence and establish democracy, the Communist Party laid down and fought for the fulfilment of three fundamental tasks: the uniting of the people in the National Liberation Front, the organization of the general armed uprising of the people and the creation of the regular National Liberation Army, the destruction of the old political power and the setting up of the new political power of the national liberation councils.

The Party considered these three tasks as three component parts of the revolution, organically linked with one another, as tasks that had to be carried out simultaneously and completely in the course of the war. Failing to fulfil any one of these tasks would mean that the strategic objective would not be achieved i.e., the revolution would not triumph.

«The Revolution», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «is the deed of the masses. Without their conviction, preparation, mobilization, and organization, no revolution can triumph»⁶. It took time for the masses to be convinced by their own experience of the correctness of the political line of the Party, and of its ability to lead them in the struggle through which the unity and the organization of the people would be achieved and their resistance transformed into an armed liberation war.

It is a merit acknowledged and confirmed by life that our Communist Party, led by the Central Committee with comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, knew how to utilise the concrete objective conditions, the situations that arose, the weaknesses of the enemy, and the demands and aspirations of the broad masses of the people.

It is no accident that only ten months after the founding of the Party, on its initiative, the Peza Conference (September 1942) was called together, at which, in fact, the minimum programme of the Party became the programme of the National Liberation War. While defining the fulfilment of the above mentioned tasks as an indispensable condition for the achievement of the strategic objective of the National Liberation War, at the same time, this conference laid the political and organizational foundations of the National Liberation Front, the people's state power, the national liberation councils, and the armed uprising.

The Party considered as the only correct solution of each separate task, that it should be carried out in a revolutionary way, on the basis of the uncompromising struggle against the principal enemy – the occupiers and their stooges inside the country – without yielding to the difficulties and obstacles that would inevitably emerge on the road of the revolution.

The Party insisted that the union of the people in the National Liberation Front should be realized through fighting, and only through fighting, against the occupiers and traitors, and only on the basis of the anti-fascist revolutionary programme adopted at the Peza Conference. Talks with representatives of different nationalist trends were not excluded, but these talks were aimed only at finding common ground for unity, always on the basis of the war and the programme of the National Liberation Front, i.e., of the revolutionary line of the Party.

Through determined revolutionary struggle and work, it was possible to attain the steel unity of the anti-fascist democratic forces in the National Liberation Front around the Communist Party. The Party kept unaltered its strategic objective of the union of the people in the war regardless of class and political opinions, always considering the occupiers as the main enemy and directing the spearhead of the struggle against them, while fighting the «Balli Kombëtar», «Legaliteti» and the other reactionary trends as tools of the fascist occupiers, and not as exploiting classes. It was impossible to step beyond this framework, for otherwise the war and the triumph of the revolutionary forces gathered around the Communist Party would have been endangered.

The profoundly revolutionary solution of the problems of the people's revolution brought about the continued deepening of the class differentiation of the internal socio-political forces. In the Autumn of 1943, such a differentiation reached its climax. At that time, two groups, irreconcilable mortal enemies, stood face to face.

In the group of the revolutionary forces the working class, the poor peasantry and the other oppressed strata of town and countryside played the major role. In the opposite group, the major role was played by the big landowners and merchants, tribal chiefs, and rich peasants who bound themselves hand and foot with the invading enemy, and against the people»⁷ in order to defend the existing feudal-bourgeois order, and to guard their wealth, privileges, and political power, which were endangered by the victorious conclusion of the National Liberation War.

The union of the people in the National Liberation Front proved unbreakable in the face of the powerful blows of the enemy. It expanded continuously, admitting to its ranks even those people who had been deceived but who, faced with the triumphant march of the National Liberation War, recognized their error, abandoned the road of treason, and joined the anti-fascist revolutionary forces.

The continuous deepening of the revolutionary character of the National Liberation War and the union of the masses of the people in the Front did not change the broad basis of the political and social forces taking part in this revolution.

It should be pointed out that considering the conditions of our country, the Communist Party devoted particular attention to the peasantry and thus, in the process of the war,

it laid the foundations for the alliance of the peasantry with the working class. The peasantry became the broadest base of the National Liberation Front, the main striking force in the general armed uprising, and the great support of the people's democratic state power born from this struggle. Over the tidal wave of the anti-fascist revolutionary movement, it linked itself by steel bonds with the Communist Party, and through the Party, with the working class, and fought with determination for the implementation of the revolutionary political line of the Communist Party, thus bearing the main brunt of the war.

This did not happen by accident. The peasantry, which made up the overwhelming majority of the population, harboured in its bosom profoundly patriotic traditions and great revolutionary energies. Only in the programme of the Communist Party did it see and feel sure that its burning desires for freedom, land and progress would be fulfilled. That is why it became so resolute a fighter for the implementation of the programme of the Party in the National Liberation War; that is why, after the war too, it continued to march with determination on the road of the Party as a reliable supporter and fiery defender of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It should be emphasized that, although there was a broad base for the socio-political forces of the National Liberation War, and although the peasantry played a decisive role in this war, as its largest forces, the Party kept intact the leading role of the working class in this struggle.

The union of the people and their armed struggle created the necessary base and possibilities for the emergence and development of the power of the national liberation councils.

On the question of the state power, comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, «there cannot be any ambiguity: only the power of the councils, and no other power, should exist; there is no compromise or duality about this.»⁸ It is well known how strongly the ill-famed Mukje agreement and other deviations from this determined revolutionary stand were condemned. The proclamation of the councils, by the 2nd National Liberation Conference of Labinot in September 1943, as «the sole power of the people in Albania», was the logical result of the line defined by the Party regarding the question of the state power.

In struggle against the enemy, the power of the national liberation councils gained strength and rich experience in matters of government as the only state power of the people in Albania. This rapid progress made on the question of the state power, and the triumphant march of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War on all fronts, imposed the necessity of calling the Congress of Përmet, which was convened in May 1944. This Congress laid the foundations, according to the will of the people, of the new state of people's democracy; it created the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, as the first people's assembly, and the sole representative body of the sovereignty of the Albanian people and state, and the Anti-fascist Committee as a provisional government, which

was transformed into the Democratic Government of Albania at the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, held in Berat in October 1944.

Thus in the course of the war, and without waiting for its end, the old fascist and landowner-bourgeois state power was demolished and replaced with the new democratic power of the national liberation councils; moreover, when the necessary conditions had been created, the democratic government was formed and the new Albanian state of the people's democracy was set up according to the will of the people.

The struggle of the aroused Albanian people, which was being waged for the liberation of the country as well as for the destruction of the old political order and for the setting up of the new power, led also to the creation of a people's armed force organised as an army, ranging from the first guerrilla units and volunteer partisan detachments, up to the regular National Liberation Army.

Its fundamental feature, that which made it a new army of the people's revolution, lay in the fact that the CPA secured the political and military leadership in it. The fighters of the National Liberation Army, in which the workers, the most revolutionary section of the youth of towns, took part on a wide scale, as well as an overwhelming majority of the peasants, especially the poor peasants, were inspired by the Party with a fighting spirit. They were imbued with revolutionary feelings, tempered with the virtues of proletarian morality and the best national traditions, and made conscious of the necessity of dedicating themselves wholly and solely to serving the interests of the people and the homeland. Created on these foundations, the National Liberation Army assisted the people of the liberated areas to set up and defend the new political power, and took part, together with the people and their power, in solving problems of an economic, social and cultural character. These new features of the army of the insurgent people constituted the soundest guarantee that it would remain unswervingly loyal to the revolution and its objectives, as defined by the Party.

This was the kind of army with over 70,000 fighters, strongly supported by the people, led by the CPA and by the General Staff with comrade Enver at the head, which successfully carried out its historic mission. It drove the occupation forces from Albanian soil, destroyed the old political order, as well as the reactionary organizations and forces which had made common cause with the enemy, and became the reliable defender of the new state power that was being set up.

From one stage to another, the people's revolution was constantly deepened and tempered through innumerable tests and perils, such as the terror in the cities, the large-scale military operations carried out one after another in strength by the joint German-quisling forces, the brutal attempts of the Anglo-Americans at intervening in order to rescue the Zogist-Ballist reactionary forces and the landowner-bourgeois order from demise, as well as through many other political,

economic and military difficulties. The unity of the people in the National Liberation Front, the power of the national liberation councils, and the National Liberation Army, under the wise and bold leadership of the CPA, proved unbreakable and fully capable of ensuring the final victory over the internal and external enemies.

How did the CPA manage to emerge as the sole leader of the insurgent people in the National Liberation War?

To lead the masses of the people is the ardent desire of any party of the working class, since leadership by such a party, which ensures the hegemonous role of the working class in revolution, is a law for the victory of the revolution. But not every workers' party achieves this end.

Both objective and subjective factors played a part in ensuring the leading role of our Party in the war.

One important factor, which helped the CPA to become the leadership and to achieve this relatively quickly, was the revolutionary situation in Albania. The absence of other political parties in the country can be mentioned as a favourable circumstance. Owing to its weakness and incapability, the Albanian bourgeoisie was unable to create a political party of its own which could have played any significant role, and even less, a leading role in the war against fascism. But neither the general crisis of fascism and the revolutionary situation in the country, nor any other circumstances, made or could have made the CPA automatically the leader of the Anti-fascist War.

The Party became the leadership owing to its correct Marxist-Leninist political line and its ability to implement this line, basing itself on Marxist-Leninist theory, the objective conditions, and the revolutionary situation, on its own revolutionary experience and that of the masses of the people.

The Party, as comrade Enver says, "gave the insurgent people a clear programme of action and showed them the only correct way to put it into practice." 9. This programme responded very well to the general demand of the masses for the liberation of the homeland, to the burning desires of the common townspeople and peasants for freedom, bread, land, democracy and progress, to the interests of the people and of the revolution on a national and international scale.

However, to work out a correct line is only one aspect of the job. No matter how correct the political line of a party of the working class is, it remains lifeless unless the party is itself determined to implement it and is capable of implementing it.

The CPA was created as a party of action, to defend the interests of the people and of the homeland through war, and not as a party of idle talk and sterile debates in parliaments, clubs, or bat wordy newspapers. Our Party was not created by breaking away from some social-democrat party. Social-democratic traditions had been almost non-existent in the Albanian workers movement. Right from the beginning, the CPA was created as a revolutionary party of

the working class, as a party of the new type, built on Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational foundations, as a party free of the mentality and methods of parliamentarism and legal activity. It was born in the conditions of underground activity and fascist terror. "The role of the Party in this war", comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, "should be one of inspiration, and leadership, not with words and debates, but with concrete deeds, by merging with the masses, with their practical life." 10

It was precisely the revolutionary activity of the Party, the courage, justice, honesty, and example of the vanguard fighter, of the communist, that convinced the masses, through their own experience, of the correctness of the political line of the Party, so that they embraced this line and recognized the Party as their only rightful leadership.

But how was it possible for a new, small Party, without much revolutionary experience, to work out such a correct line and put it into practice with such determination?

First of all, it relied strongly on the ideology of the working class and on the revolutionary experience of its own people, and it remained loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and implemented them creatively.

In this an important role was played by its proletarian organization, and the revolutionary implementation, with unwavering strictness, of Leninist proletarian norms in its structure and entire inner life, especially the steel unity in the party ranks, both in working out and in implementing its revolutionary political line. Our Party had to fight between two fires, against both the external enemy and the enemy inside the Party, against any manifestation of sectarianism and opportunism.

This resolute, principled and all-sided struggle of the Party enabled its members, regardless of their social status, which was mainly peasant and petty-bourgeois (due to the objective social conditions of the country), to become tempered and imbued with a profound proletarian consciousness, to work and fight like genuine vanguard proletarians, very closely linked with the masses of the people, and to become ardent champions of the people's interests.

These were some of the circumstances and characteristics which made our Party, although very small in numbers (only 200 at its creation, and only 2,800 at the end of the war), such a mighty force as to be capable of organizing and leading an entire people in war against savage and powerful enemies, and of ensuring such decisive and vital victories within the space of three years.

* * *

An important role in transforming the Anti-fascist National Liberation War into a people's revolution was played by the revolutionary line followed by the Communist Party of Albania towards the great anti-fascist world coalition.

The Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people was a direct component of the Great Anti-fascist World War. As such, its fate was linked with the destruction of fascism on a world scale, as the common enemy of all peoples. Proceeding from this stand, the CPA determined its own strategic and tactical attitude towards the Anti-fascist World War and towards the participants in this war.

The Communist Party and the National Liberation Front, immediately after its creation, issued the call «we must link our National Liberation War as closely as possible with the just war of the Soviet Union, Britain, and the United States of America, as well as with the war of all peoples oppressed under the heel of fascism»¹¹ and in the first place, «with the heroic war of the Soviet Union, which is on the forefront of the liberation struggle against fascism»¹².

Even before this, the Albanian communists, democrats and patriots, fighting against the fascist danger which threatened Albania, had expressed their solidarity with the nations attacked by the fascists; with the Chinese people when Japan attacked China, with the people of Ethiopia when Italy invaded Abyssinia, with the Austrian and Czechoslovak peoples when Germany occupied these countries. The progressive and peace-loving forces of our country condemned the betrayal of the peoples by the «Western democracies», which reached its climax with the shameful Munich Agreement. The anti-fascist feelings of the Albanian revolutionaries and patriots were especially apparent in defence of the revolution of the Spanish Republic, which was attacked by Italy, Germany, and the Spanish fascists. Scores of Albanian volunteers, many of whom laid down their lives in the war against fascism, fought shoulder to shoulder with the Spanish people and the anti-fascists of the International Brigade.

After invading our country, fascist Italy tried in every way to drag the Albanian people in behind it against those countries on which it had declared war. But our people have never, on any occasion, reconciled themselves to invaders. On the contrary, they have risen even more fiercely against them and linked their liberation war more and more closely with the war of the oppressed peoples. They reacted particularly strongly when the Italian troops, starting from occupied Albanian territory, committed their aggression against the Greek people, as well as later on when the German and Italian armies attacked Yugoslavia. Our freedom-loving people foiled the plan of the Italian enslavers to transform Albania into a calm and secure bridgehead for the invasion of the other countries of the Balkans. Albania became a land on fire, its soil burning under the feet of the Italian aggressors.

The perfidious attack of Germany against the Soviet Union was not only received with great indignation in Albania, but it also gave fresh impetus to the liberation war of the Albanian people, who, as comrade Enver Hoxha says, now «felt that their blood would not be shed in vain»¹³.

The Communist Party and the National Liberation Front, making a very correct assessment of the anti-fascist coalition

of the people, and of the alliance of the Soviet Union with Great Britain and the United States of America, as a historical necessity which was dictated by the circumstances for saving the world from fascist bondage, worked with might and main, all through the war years, to strengthen the linking of our antifascist war with the Anti-fascist World War, and made the insurgent Albanian people one of the most active participants in the coalition of the Anti-fascist World War.

In proportion to its very small population and territory, insurgent Albania made a valuable contribution to the common victory over fascism, by fully engaging in this war 15 Italian and German divisions and inflicting heavy losses on the enemy. It did not permit the Italian and German occupiers to send even a single small detachment of Albanian mercenaries to fight on the Soviet Front or any other front outside the country. On the contrary, it sent thousands of fighters of its National Liberation Army to aid the valiant Yugoslav peoples and the Albanian brothers of Kosova, Macedonia, and Montenegro, in the heroic fight they were waging together against the German nazis

Twenty eight thousand martyrs laid down their lives for the liberation of the homeland and for the common cause of the war against fascism. The active role of the Albanian people in the great anti-fascist war is already recognized throughout the world. Only some bourgeois-fascist and revisionist politicians and historians, have for evil purposes sought to play down and deny this contribution, to obscure this truth.

Of course, the contribution made by our people, as participants of the anti-fascist coalition, is only one aspect of the links of our National Liberation War with the Anti-fascist World War. The other aspect is the great assistance which our insurgent people found in the common war of the great allies and the enslaved peoples against fascism. This war was a powerful support, both for all the other enslaved peoples and as for the insurgent Albanian people, because it hastened the inevitable doom of fascism and opened prospects for the final liberation of these peoples, including our own.

An especially important and decisive role in the destruction of fascism was played by the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people and by the Red Army led by J.V. Stalin, a role which the Pérmet Congress assessed as «the greatest aid ever given to our people throughout history»¹⁴.

The Albanian people have never denied and will never deny such assistance. Although the Red Army did not come to Albania, the Albanian people consider the victory of the Soviet Union over Hitlerite Germany as the decisive external factor of their historic victory, in the sense that, by bearing the brunt of the Second World War and playing the chief role in destroying fascism, the Soviet Union created the appropriate conditions for our people to wage such a heroic revolutionary war and to achieve the complete liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power, through their own struggle.

But it would be an ugly distortion to pretend that the war of the great allies in general, or the war of the Soviet Union in particular, constitutes the only principal factor in the liberation of Albania, and moreover in the victory of our people's revolution, as is being said in the present day social-imperialist Soviet Union, and elsewhere, by some politicians, military men, and others who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the common anti-fascist war, for which some millions of people laid down their lives.

Although it was linked with the destruction of fascism on a world scale, the fate of our Anti-fascist War was to be decided here, in Albania. We do not say this just today. The CPA, and the National Liberation General Council, calling on the people to unite and rise as one in war against the occupiers and traitors, pointed out to them that «our future depends on this war», «the fate of the country depends on the issue of the war we are waging, and the more fiercely it is waged against the occupier, the nearer the day of liberation»¹⁵.

The principle of self-reliance which had found its expression in the slogan «Freedom is won through bloodshed and war and does not come as a gift», ran through the entire policy activity of the CPA, the National Liberation Front and the National Liberation Army, throughout the people's uprising. It was precisely the consistent and determined implementation of this principle which ensured that Albania would achieve its liberation and such a profound revolutionary victory through its own efforts, without the need for the Red Army or any other friendly army to set foot on its territory.

The implementation of the principle of self-reliance was of vital importance not only for the liberation of the country from the occupiers, but in the first place for the fate of the people's revolution, for the future of Albania, as a fully independent and sovereign country, for the destruction of the landowner-bourgeois order, and for the construction of a new democratic order.

However, the British and U.S. imperialist circles did not want to understand that «the old times had gone for good, that history would not be repeated, as they wished, that Albania would no longer be a chattel to be bargained over.»¹⁶ The imperialist great powers have always used, and still try to use, the small countries as tools predestined to serve their predatory interests exclusively. This logic runs through their entire policy and activity towards Albania in the period of the Second World War and after. While reading the British-U.S. documents of the war years concerning Albania, one finds nothing but continued efforts on their part to establish complete control over the National Liberation War and the entire political, social, and economic life of our country, to prevent the war from taking a turn to the «left» and the Communist Party from emerging at the head of the war as the leader of the insurgent people. Their main concern was to bring into the leadership the landowners, tribal chieftains, and the reactionary bourgeoisie with the organizations representing

them, the «Legaliteti» and «Balli Kombëtar», to save these organizations (even though they were closely collaborating with the fascist enemy) from the danger of defeat and death, to stop Albania, from entering the zone of «Soviet influence», and to bring it within the zone of «British influence». The British and the Americans thought that the Albanians could do nothing without the aid of the allies, and that «after the war Albania will not be in a situation to stand on its own feet. It will have to consent British or American tutelage»¹⁷.

This accounts for the tense and very difficult relations existing between the General Council and the General Staff on the one hand and the British and American military missions and the Mediterranean High Command on the other. The Communist Party, the General Council of the Front, and the General Staff, did not accept orders, control, or the imposition of strategy from abroad, but carried out only their own orders, policy, and strategy. They did not tolerate any interference in the internal affairs of the National Liberation War, were not embarrassed by the lack of supplies from the British and Americans, or their failure to recognize the Democratic Government, and did not interrupt, even for a moment, their revolutionary war and work for the complete liberation of the country, and the establishment and consolidation of the people's power. They regarded the presence of the Anglo-American troops in Albania as quite unnecessary and did not permit it. Comrade Enver Hoxha and the General Staff of our Army refused the request of the Anglo-Americans to land their forces in Albania allegedly to aid us in the war against the Germans, because they were clear about the latter's imperialist aims, and were convinced that the National Liberation Army and the freedom-loving Albanian people were entirely capable of liberating their own country.

All these things show that self-reliance ensures the victory of the revolution. This does not imply that the support given by external revolutionary forces should be disregarded. Any negation or undervaluation of the support by external revolutionary forces does great harm to the revolution. But overestimation of external support, and failure to carry out fully and with determination the principle of self-reliance, inevitably leads the liberation war and the revolution to catastrophe, as has happened in a series of countries.

* * *

It emerges from the aforesaid that the Albanian Anti-fascist National Liberation War, as a people's revolution, assumes a more profound significance than that generally given previously to a people's democratic revolution, and differs in content and in its outcome from many other anti-imperialist democratic revolutions.

Our people's revolution not only embraced the overwhelming majority of the people, among which the poor of town and countryside occupied the main place, but, while solving anti-

imperialist democratic tasks, while never going beyond the national liberation framework, was carried out under the sole leadership of the Communist Party, that is, of the working class; it was carried out by profoundly revolutionary methods and means, planted and nurtured in its bosom the seed of the socialist revolution, led to the complete victory of national independence and the establishment of the people's power, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, detached Albania from the world capitalist system and put it on the road of socialist development. As such it became an inseparable part of the world proletarian revolution.

Because of this significance and this content of the people's revolution in our country, the word "people's" was retained even after liberation; the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat was named "The People's Republic of Albania", and our proletarian state power is usually called "the people's power". In both cases the word "people's" implies the broad basing of the proletarian, socialist character of the power and the state, on the masses of the people - on the working class, the labouring peasantry, and the socialist intelligentsia, under the leadership of the party of the working class.

By completing all its strategic anti-imperialist and democratic tasks, the Anti-fascist National Liberation War prepared all the conditions for the uninterrupted development of the revolution, for the defence and further development of the victory achieved in this war, and for its transition to the socialist stage.

Unlike what had happened formerly with the national liberation and democratic movements in 1912, 1920, and even in 1924, when, although they fought and shed their blood, after the victory the masses of the people were forced to lay down their weapons, while the power remained in the hands of the ruling and exploiting classes, and unlike what happened in many European countries after the victory over fascism, this time the insurgent people in Albania, led by the Communist Party, retained their weapons so as to ensure not only national liberation but also social emancipation. The war was not yet over, when in May 1944 the 1st Plenum of the CC instructed: "We should do away with the idea that, with the departure of the Germans, we have done the whole job, and are only waiting for this to lay down our arms and go home. We should make it clear to the comrades of the army that we are never going to lay down our arms until our country and the Albanian people have won full freedom"¹⁸.

Immediately after liberation, the state of people's democracy, emerging from the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, was proclaimed a People's Republic by the Constituent Assembly according to the will of the people. This was a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time all-sided measures were taken for the defence, consolidation, and improvement of the people's power.

Thirty years have passed since the day of liberation and the triumph of the people's revolution. This has been the period of a triumphant march in all fields of the country's

life. The revolution which triumphed in the political field on November 29, 1944, continuing without interruption, triumphed in the economic field too with the building of the economic base of socialism both in the town and in the countryside. Now this revolution has entered the new stage of the building of the complete socialist society, in which, along with the strengthening and improvement of the political superstructure and the economic and material-technical base, and the improvement of the relations of production, the aim is to achieve victory in the ideological field as well.

Albania, formerly the most backward country in Europe from the social, economic, and cultural aspect, has succeeded in establishing the most advanced political and socio-economic order, socialism, which is inevitably the future of the entire world society. On this foundation, an unparalleled development has been ensured in the economy and culture, in the material-technical base, and in raising the wellbeing of the people.

The colossal revolutionary advances and transformations accomplished in the last 30 years in Albania speak of the historic importance of the victory achieved on November 29, 1944, bear out the correctness of the political line of the Party, and the ever fresh, transforming and mobilizing vitality of Marxism-Leninism, and demonstrate the inexhaustible energy, creative ability and invincible strength to be found in a people which is led by the revolutionary party of the working class.

The PLA has never believed that the revolution is won once and forever. The persistent continuation of the struggle to climb all the lofty steps of the revolution, to achieve victory in all its fields and at the same time to defend these victories, is more important and more decisive than any of the partial battles to ensure the victory on one or the other front at this or that stage of the revolution.

Just as the revolution can be won, it can also be destroyed. It can be destroyed by direct armed intervention by the internal and external enemies, but it can be also wiped out by peaceful means, when, in the face of the strong pressure of international imperialism and bourgeois reaction, added to the internal bourgeois pressure, its leadership capitulates and betrays Marxism-Leninism and the revolution. This is what happened in Yugoslavia, this is what happened in the Soviet Union and in some other former socialist countries, where, as is known, the revolution had once triumphed.

Now the October Revolution in the Soviet Union and the victories of the socialist revolution in the other countries where the revisionist cliques hold sway are used only as masks to cover the betrayal of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism, to hide from the masses the deviation from the road of revolution and socialism, to hide the re-establishment of capitalism under a "socialist" cloak.

Both the attempts at armed intervention and counterrevolution, by the external enemies, the imperialists and revisionists, and by the internal enemies, the landowners, tribal chiefs, and

the bourgeoisie, and the attempts at annihilating the revolution by peaceful means, have failed in Albania. This means that the dangers with which the revolution and socialism are threatened can be avoided. What happened in the Soviet Union and in some other formerly socialist countries by no means shows of the weakness of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, as the bourgeois ideologists try to present the matter, but it shows where to deviation from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialism leads. From this bitter experience our Party has drawn conclusions of great value and has adopted a series of measures to ensure the uninterrupted continuation of the revolution and of socialist construction, and to achieve the complete and final victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road of development.

The thirty years that have elapsed since the victory of November 29, 1944 indicate that any country, even a small one like Albania, can march triumphantly ahead on its own feet along the road of revolution and socialism. The internal and external enemies, however savage, big and powerful, are not in a position to crush the revolution when it is led by a party of the working class which stands loyal to the people, socialism, Marxism-Leninism, and proletarian internationalism, when this leadership preserves and strengthens steel links with the masses of the people, and makes its political line and the revolution itself the concern of these masses, on the basis of profound revolutionary political and ideological convictions.

Comrades,

It is a great honour to me to present the report at the opening of this Conference today, on a day beloved and dear to all us communists and citizens of our People's Republic, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Albania.

November 8, 1941 brought about November 29, 1944, the liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution.

The steel-like foundations of the achievements of these 30 years we are commemorating in these festive days were laid during those three glorious years of the National liberation War, dating from when, on November 8, 1941, our heroic Party was born.

They were foundations laid on the blood and bodies of our comrades who gave their lives for freedom and the happy days we are enjoying now, they were laid through the struggle and sacrifices of an entire nation under the wise and courageous leadership of the Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, therefore our revolution has made great progress and is constantly forging ahead, powerful and invincible. Having always our freedom-loving, hardworking and revolutionary people standing by its side, our Party, and its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha and his comrade-in-arms at the head, just as in the fiery days of the great Anti-fascist National liberation War, so today too are holding aloft, unworered and unsullied the glorious banner of the people's re-

volution, as they did yesterday before the bitter and powerful enemies, the Italian and German fascists, and as they do today before the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, as well as before all their stooges and agents, the traitors whom our people have at any time rejected with disgust and thrown onto the rubbish heap.

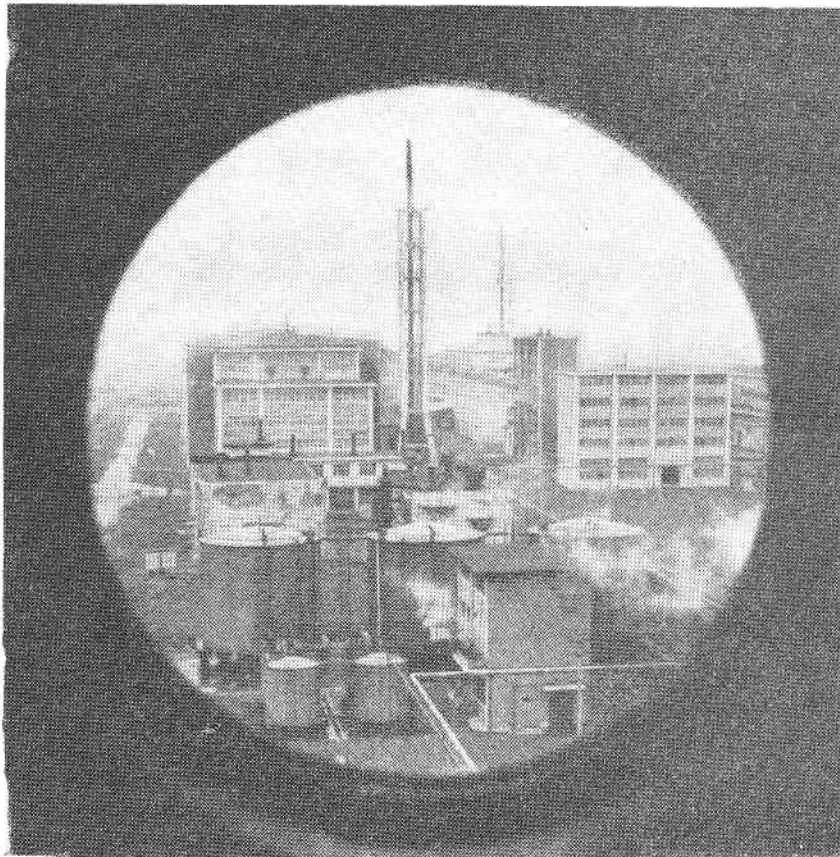
LONG LIVE THE HEROIC PARTY OF LABOUR AND ITS WISE LEADERSHIP LOYAL TO THE PEOPLE, THE GUARD AND FORGER OF THE VICTORIES OF THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR AND OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

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- 1) *Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 1, p. 443 (Alb.ed.).*
 - 2) *Resolution of the Meeting of the Communist Groups. PLA, Principal Doc., vol. 1, p. 26.*
 - 3) *Resolution of the Peza Conference. Documents of the Revolutionary Nat. Lib. Supreme Org. of Power, p. 12.*
 - 4) *PLA Principal Documents, vol. 1, p. 26.*
 - 5) *V.I. Lenin, Works, vol. 25, p. 432 (Alb.ed.).*
 - 6) *Enver Hoxha, Report at the 6th Congress of the PLA. The 6th Congress of the PLA, 1-7 November 1971. Tirana, 1972, p. 235 (Alb.ed.).*
 - 7) *Enver Hoxha, Report at the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front. Reports and Speeches 1967-1968, p. 165 (Alb.ed.).*
 - 8) *Enver Hoxha, Letter to all regional party committees, October 1, 1943. Works, vol. 1, p. 427 (Alb.ed.).*
 - 9) *Enver Hoxha, Speech on the 25th anniversary of Liberation. Speeches 1969-1970, p. 82, (Alb.ed.).*
 - 10) *Enver Hoxha, Report at the Meeting of the CC of the CPA, February 1943. Works, vol. 1, p. 230, (Alb.ed.).*
 - 11) *The PLA. Principal documents, vol. 1, p. 85.*
 - 12) *Idem, p. 31.*
 - 13) *Speech at the Meeting of the Presidium of the National Liberation General Council, April 15, 1944. Central Party Archives.*
 - 14) *Declaration of the Përmet Congress, May 1944. Documents of the Supreme Organs of the Power... p. 155.*
 - 15) *Call of the CC of the CPA, April 1943. PLA, Principal Documents, vol. 1, p. 149 (Alb.ed.).*
 - 16) *Enver Hoxha, Speech at Përmet on the 20th anniversary of the Përmet Congress. "Zëri i Popullit" May 27, 1964.*
 - 17) *Secret Document of the Foreign Office, N° R 1753/39/90, June 1943. Public Record Office.*
 - 18) *Enver Hoxha, Report to the 1st Plenum of the CC, May 1944. Works, vol. 2, p. 204 (Alb. ed.).*

«Today, from thirty years distance, we can see in all its magnificence and clarity the correct course adopted by the Party from the beginning... the correctness of the economic policy it worked out and implemented and the vitality of the principle of self-reliance»

ENVER HOXHA



Dozens of industrial projects go up in socialist Albania every year. There where before liberation a village

plunged in poverty existed is now situated industrial Lag, an aspect of which is shown in the photo.

ALBANIA'S EXAMPLE IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

by ARISTOTEL PANO

Factors in allround socio-economic construction.
The creation of a sound, diversified economy which strengthens and extends continually. Stable high rates are the most distinctive feature of development in Albania. Everything is done for the wellbeing of the people. The people are building and enjoying for themselves the happy socialist life

THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE HAVE A HISTORY GOING BACK THOUSANDS OF YEARS, BUT IN ALL THEIR LONG EFFORTS AND STRUGGLE, THE 30 YEARS PERIOD OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER (NOVEMBER 29,1944-NOVEMBER 29,1974) IS INCOMPARABLY DISTINGUISHED. HOWEVER MUCH THE PAST MAY BE STUDIED, NO OTHER PERIOD WILL BE FOUND DURING WHICH ALBANIA HAS UNDERGONE SO MANY DEEP TRANSFORMATIONS, SO MANY BRILLIANT SUCCESSES, ACHIEVED IN THE ECONOMIC AND OTHER FIELDS, AS DURING THESE 30 YEARS OF PEOPLE'S POWER. WHAT HAS BEEN REALIZED IN ALBANIA, DURING THESE 30 YEARS OF PEOPLE'S POWER, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR WITH COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE HEAD CANNOT FAIL TO AMAZE EVEN THE MOST OPTIMISTIC STUDENT, CANNOT FAIL TO MOVE EVEN THE MOST APATHETIC MAN, CANNOT FAIL TO CONVINCЕ EVEN THE GREATEST SCEPTIC OF THE SUPERIORITY OF SOCIALISM. -

ARISTOTEL PANO - economist and journalist, lecturer at the University of Tirana.

Our magnificent successes during these 30 years of people's power have their basis in the first place in two principal factors; the deep socio-economic transformations carried out under the leadership of the Party, headed by comrade Enver Hoxha, during the building of socialism, and the concrete and creative application of the Marxist-Leninist principle of relying primarily on one's own forces.

Before liberation, Albania was a country where the most reactionary feudal and bourgeois relations were prevalent; the economy was for the most part in the hands of foreign capitalists, the land was held by landlords, and the working masses suffered from oppression, poverty and hunger.

Our Party of Labour, immediately after having seized power, realized that the country could not be led towards progress without destroying the old feudo-bourgeois relations, without carrying out deep socio-economic transformations and without establishing socialist relations in all the economic sectors.

The country had still not been completely liberated, when the first National Liberation Antifascist Congress, held in Permet in May 24,1944 decided to cancel all the political and economic agreements concluded by King Zog's government with foreign countries. On the economic front, this was the first step taken by new Albania towards its independence, a step which liberated it once and for all from economic subjugation and plunder by the imperialist powers.

Later, when the major part of Albania had been liberated, the National Liberation Antifascist Committee took the decision to confiscate the personal property and real estate of the traitors to the country. This decision meant the economic disarming of the local traitors, who had collaborated with the fascist invaders.

With the complete liberation of Albania, on November 29,1944, and with the establishment of the people's power, the Party began at once to mobilize the masses for the reconstruction of the war-ravaged country, and the implementation of the great socio-economic reforms. In December 1944, state control over production and distribution, was established throughout the country; this was both a form of the worker control, and represented the first step towards nationalizing the means of production. In January 1945, the people's power issued the law on the extraordinary taxation on war profits, by which a progressive tariff was imposed on all the merchants and manufacturers who had realized colossal profits at the expense of the people during the war. By means of this measure not only were the financial means, needed by the new regime of the workers and peasants for the reconstruction of the country, accumulated but also the local bourgeoisie was bereft of the large financial capital it possessed.

In continuation of these measures, the nationalisation of the mines and the property of political emigrés was effected, and the law on the confiscation of the property of Italian and German citizens in Albania was issued, through which the National Bank, the other banks and the assets of 111 joint stock companies of foreign capitalists became the property of the entire Albanian people.

In August 1945, the law on the land reform was issued, by its implementation, the old agrarian relations were liquidated, and the peasantry was given free the land they had dreamt for centuries of owning. By means of this reform the landlord class was economically eliminated, and 70,221 families of poor and middle peasants received free of charge 172,659 hectares of land, 474,227 olive trees and 5,923 draught animals.

During the year 1946, the nationalization of all the principal means of production that still remained in the hands of the capitalists, was carried out. All these initial revolutionary transformations resulted in the creation of the socialist sector of the economy, where entirely new socialist relations of production prevailed, without exploitation of man by man. From now on the whole attention of the Party was directed to extending and strengthening this socialist sector of the economy, which would constitute the reliable economic base of the new political superstructure.

The complete construction of the economic base of socialism in our country could not have been achieved fully without two of the main economic problems being solved: the industrialisation of the country and the complete collectivisation of agriculture. Therefore, after the reconstruction of the country was concluded and our Party had taken the first steps of development, it worked out the strategy and tactics of industrialisation. Albania inherited a very backward industry, which in 1938 contributed only 4,5 per cent to the country's national income. Therefore, without the country's national industrialisation, the building of socialism would have been impossible. The strategy and tactics of industrialisation, planned and realized by our Party, represents a further embodiment and elaboration of the Marxist-Leninist theory of industrialisation in the conditions of a small and backward country.

The mobilisation of all the internal resources for the development of the entire industry, at very fast rates, giving priority to heavy industry, for which conditions existed in our country, and to increasing production of the means of production, in the first place tools and equipment, creating new, modern branches of industry, and harmonising industrial development with the totality of the economy, without underestimating any of the other branches. This has been the line realized in this field by our Party, during these 30 years of people's power.

Besides the industrialisation of the country, one of the most important processes of socialist transformations realized by our Party was the collectivisation of agriculture. The co-operativist movement began in Albania immediately after liberation. As far back as 1945, the first cooperatives were set up, initially in trade and handicrafts, and later on in agriculture. In 1946 the first agricultural cooperative was set up in Krutje, in the Myzeqe area. After this, during the 1947-1955 period, the founding of other cooperatives continued, but the year 1957 represents the radical turning-point in the collectivisation of agriculture. Towards the end of 1959 the collectivisation of agriculture had virtually been completed, because the collectivized area had reached 83 per cent of agricultural land.

In this way, after the mass conclusion of the collectivisation of agriculture, socialist relations were built both in town and countryside. Therefore, at the 4th Congress of the P.L.A.,

held in February 1961, it was declared that the economic base of socialism had been built in Albania, and that the transition to a new stage could begin—the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society.

Deep socio-economic transformations were implemented in fierce class struggle, during which our new man was educated, with sound socialist features, willing to place the interests of the homeland and socialism above narrow individual interests, everywhere and always.

On the other hand, carrying out these transformations, and establishing socialist relations of production, brought about great changes in all fields of life: in the political superstructure, in social life, in the family, etc.

Our vigorous socio-economic development has its foundation, among other things, in the consistent implementation of the great Marxist-Leninist principle of relying primarily on one's own forces.

During its previous history, Albania had served as an object of barter which the feudo-bourgeois chieftains had sold to the foreign imperialists. Zog's anti-popular government, had by means of so-called concessions, credits and «aid» it received from foreign imperialists, particularly from the Italian fascists, prepared the military occupation of the country, on April 7, 1939.

Our Party and people could never forget the bitter experience of the past, and that is why they have never allowed our country to be dependent on the imperialist-revisionist powers, which, through the «aid» and credits offered to us, were seeking to occupy us again.

The Party convincingly showed our people that independent socialist Albania can develop at very rapid rates only by relying mainly on its own forces: on its natural riches, on its men and women, and their knowledge and abilities, on its own income. We never made economic concessions and never accepted the so-called «aid» and credits offered from time to time by the imperialists and the revisionists.

Today, in new socialist Albania, one finds only enterprises of Albanian make, erected with the sweat and sacrifices of our people, and we are very proud of this. However, our Party and people have also known how to appraise correctly the real internationalist, disinterested aid, with no aims of subjugation, given to them by other peoples, and in the first place by the People's Republic of China. —

The most distinguishing feature of our development

Socialism in Albania could triumph within a short period of time not only by carrying out deep transformations in the relations of production, but also by ensuring on this basis a rapid (and we might say unprecedented) development of the productive forces.

True, the socialist relations of production and the planned development of the economy create the objective conditions for high rates of growth. But so that these objective possibilities could become reality, our Party worked out and implemented a wise policy of mobilizing all material, monetary and human resources, in the interests of our dynamic development.

Dynamic development means, in the first place, intensive construction work and investments, which require large funds. That is why our Party, from the beginning of the socialist construction, formulated and applied the policy of high accumulation norms in the national income, without, of course, affecting the living standards of the labouring masses.

We began under the first five-year plan (1951-1955) with the accumulation norm of 25.6 per cent of the national income, under the second five-year plan (1956-1960) it was 27 per cent, under the third (1961-1966) 28.8 per cent, under the fourth (1966-1970) 33.9 per cent, and we are continuing now (1971-1975) with 34.9 per cent. The major part of this accumulation fund is made up of investments, in the first place productive investments.

These percentages of the accumulation fund amount to billions of leks worth of investments, which gave unprecedented impetus to the economy. We began with the modest figure of 907 million leks worth of investments in 1946-1950, we continued with 2,250 million leks under the first five-year plan, 4,266 million leks in the second five-year plan, 6,029 million leks in the third, 9,406 million leks in the fourth, and we envisage 16,460 million leks in the fifth five-year plan (1971-1975) which we are currently realizing. As can be seen, from the initial stage of 1946-1950, up to the fifth five-year plan, investment funds have increased 24 times over. These billions, spent so effectively, turned Albania into a giant, permanent construction site. In the early years, of course our projects were modest, but now we are building up giant projects of high technical and technological standard, e.g. the Fierza hydropower station, the metallurgical combine, with annual processing capacity of 800,000 tons of ore, and the intensive oil processing plant in Ballsh, with an annual processing capacity of 1 million tons of oil.

This farsighted economic policy of the Party, combined with the self-denial and mobilisation of all the labouring masses, has within these thirty years yielded the most brilliant economic results achieved during the entire history of the country, results which can proudly be compared with those in many other countries. In fact we are meeting the 30th anniversary of our liberation with a rich balance sheet of economic achievements rarely seen in any other country.

Here are the main figures of these results: By 1973, as against 1938, total social production had increased 15 times, the national income 11 times, total industrial production 86 times, total agricultural production 3.5 times, volume of investments 227 times, goods of transport 391 times, retail goods turnover 13 times, the number of highly trained cadres 56 times, the number of beds in hospitals 14 times, the number of doctors and dentists 21 times, etc. The conversion of these indices into average annual rates of increase gives figures rarely seen in the international annuals of statistics.

Some people claim that our high rates and indices of development originate from our low base in the past. We have never concealed our initial base in the past. We understand very well that 2 can be made 4 more easily than 200 can be made 400, although in both cases the increase is 2 times.

But an attentive study of the facts shows that our high rates of development do not originate only from our low base in

the past (although this has exerted its own influence), but from the superiority of our socialist system, from the farsighted policy implemented by our Party and comrade Enver Hoxha and from the mobilisation and self-denial of our people. This can be proved by many facts, whether from history or from the reality, of our own time. Here are just three of them:

1) Several centuries ago, all the countries of Western Europe and America had a low level of economic development which allowed them to secure high development rates. But in the first period of its birth and development, not to mention the later periods, capitalism never achieved such high rates of development.

Let us take more concretely the example of Britain, which was the first country to begin the road of capitalist development. Within almost three centuries, national income per capita in Britain rose by less than 3.4 times.¹⁾ Within 30 years alone Albania has increased per capita national income by 4.8 times, that is in one tenth the period of time, we achieved a result 41 per cent higher.²⁾

2) Even if we do not refer to history and make our analysis on the basis of the present results, we shall again arrive at the same conclusions. In the early years we had a low base, but we cannot say this about recent years, when thanks to vigorous development our base has been 10-15 times as great. Nevertheless, we continue to develop at very high rates, which not only surpass the average world rates, but are only rarely found in other individual countries.

We shall again base ourselves on the index of increase in national income, and we shall draw comparisons with the world average, and its various regions.

Thus for the 1965-1970 period for which we have recent statistics compiled by the United Nations,³⁾ it emerges that the average annual rate of increase in national income has been:

Region or country	Average annual rate of increase in national income per capita
I The World	5.4 %
II Africa	4.9 %
III North America	3.5 %
IV Caribbean Islands	
Latin America	5.8 %
V Asia: Middle East	7.5 %
VI East and South-East Asia ⁴⁾	5.6 %
VII Europe	4.8 %
VIII Albania	9.1 %

As follows from the above data, the average annual rate of increase in national income per capita in Albania, during this period was 70 per cent higher than the World average, 90 per cent higher than that of Europe, and much higher than the average rates for most other regions of the world.

3) Finally, in order to prove that our high development rates do not originate mainly from our low level in the past, but constitute a superiority of our socialist system, we may draw another comparison. We are not the only ones that have had a low base of development, there are many other countries, and in the first place all the capitalist countries inclu-

ded in the «developing countries» group; nevertheless our successes in development rates are much higher than the rates in these countries. Thus, the data for the 1965-1970 period show that the average annual rate of increase in Albania's national income was 60 per cent higher than the average for the developing countries⁵).

Even these few facts and comparisons are sufficient to show convincingly that the main characteristic of our economic development, its high rates of growth, stems from our socialist relations of production, from the correct policy of our Party, and from the mobilisation and selfless work of our labouring masses.

Vigorous development of all branches of the economy

Anyone who studies the background and the situation of our economy today cannot fail to admit that we have achieved great successes, not just in two or three branches, but in absolutely all the branches of our people's economy.

During the years of people's power a diversified modern industry was set up, which plays the leading role in our people's economy, agriculture was transformed into a developed branch with modern technical equipment, playing the role of the basic branch of the economy, and constantly becoming more intensified, a construction industry was set up capable of erecting big industrial, agricultural, socio-cultural and other projects, all types of transport (motor, rail, sea) underwent enormous development, dense trade network was set up which extends even to the most distant corners of the country and which fulfills all the needs of the labouring masses, etc.

Our heritage in the field of industry consisted only of 300 small factories and workshops, and a very small number of mines, where about 7,500 workers all told were employed. Indeed, even these few factories and mines had been gravely damaged by the war. In order to understand how insignificant the volume of our industrial production was before liberation, suffice it to mention that this volume of production is realized today by our industry within just 4 days.

To overcome this backward situation in the field of industry, our Party worked out and implemented a farsighted industrialization programme. Our state has directed almost 50 per cent of the entire investment fund toward realizing this programme during the five-year plans. And we are now reaping the great results of the industrialisation of the country: In 1973 we had a modern diversified industry, accounting for 56.1 per cent of the total social production of the country and 45.2 per cent of the national income, and which employs 161,000 people, or almost 35 per cent of the total number of workers in the state sector.

After 1960 the modern revisionists did their utmost to stop our industrial march, but they were unable to attain their aim, and they will never attain it, because here the people are in power and they are led by an eagle-eyed Marxist-Leninist Party, they are led by Enver Hoxha's Party.

During the 1961-1973 period we scored great successes in the industrial sector, and set up big, modern industrial enterprises which our country had never seen before. Suffice it to mention that by 1973, as compared with 1960, the volume of total industrial production had increased 3.5 times over.

One of the distinguishing features of our policy of industrial development is giving priority to the most decisive branches of industry, in this case electric power production and the mining, engineering, chemical and other industries. Thus, while by 1973, as against 1960, total industrial production had increased 3.5 times, electric power and fuel production had increased 6.9 times, engineering 11.8 times (the production of work implements alone increased 119 times), chemicals 22.5 times, mining 5.4 times, etc. The farsighted policy of our Party in rapidly developing the power and fuel industries meant that our country has not suffered from the consequences of the energy crisis which has gripped the developed capitalist and revisionist countries.

Industry continues to have priority in the economic policy of our Party, and is growing at rapid rates. In order to prove this, we may draw some comparisons with the average world rates in the increase of industrial production.

Thus, according to the statistics of the United Nations Organisation, the indices of increase of industrial production in general, and according to the main sub-divisions, for the main regions of the world and for Albania, are as follows:

INDICES OF INCREASES IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION BY 1970 AS AGAINST 1965⁶)

Groups of countries	Total industrial production	Extracting industry	Processing industry	Power industry
I. World in general	36 %	30 %	39 %	51 %
II. Developed Capitalist countries	30 %	15 %	46 %	46 %
III. Developing (Capitalist) countries	41 %	51 %	36 %	72 %
IV. Revisionist countries	51 %	33 %	53 %	59 %
V. Albania	82 %	66 %	81 %	161 %

As seen from the above figures, the indices of industrial production of our country, both in general and in the main areas, are well ahead, in comparison both with the world's average and with the average of the main groups of countries. This shows that our rates of increase in industrial production are 20-30 per cent higher than the averages of the main groups for all categories of these countries. Our industrial development is continuing at the same high rates in the current five-year plan. Thus, in 1971, our industrial production increased by 11,7 per cent, in 1972 by about 10 per cent and in 1973 by about 9.8 per cent.

Our industrial march has been accompanied with satisfactory development of agriculture. Albanian agriculture is proceeding steadily towards intensification. The area of cultivated land is extending, mechanical equipment and the supply of fertilizers are increasing, the irrigated area is being extended, crop yields and livestock productivity increase at fast

rates, and on this basis agricultural production in general grows.

In order to give an idea of the successes of our country in the agricultural branch during these 30 years, here are some of the main indices of this branch. Thus by 1973, as against 1938 the increases in various areas have been as follows:

	1973 against 1938	
1. Total agricultural production	3.5 times	greater
2. Cultivated area	2.2 "	"
3. Irrigation capacity	10.6 "	"
4. Number of tractors (15 HP)	442.6 "	"
5. Wheat yield	2.9 "	"
6. Maize yield	1.8 "	"
7. Milk taken on the average from one cow	4 "	"
8. Total consumption of chemical fertilizers (1973 as against 1950)	40 "	"

As is seen, in all the economic indices of agriculture over these 30 years of the people's power, we have great increases which are rarely found in other countries.

Particularly in these last ten years, quite a large rise in development rates has been noticed in our agriculture, as a result of intensification. The average annual rates of increase in agricultural production in these recent years are much higher than in the previous periods, and they even surpass many of the averages for various regions of the world.

Thus, if we compare the indices of the total agricultural production of the 1960-1970 period in Albania, and in the other regions of the world we see the following results:⁷⁾

Regions	1970, index against 1960
1. World in general	127
2. Western Europe	124
3. Eastern Europe and the USSR	134
4. Africa	125
5. North America	112
6. Latin America	132
7. Near East	133
8. Far East	133
9. Albania	180

In our country, during these 30 years of the people's power the other economic branches too, such as construction, transport, and trade, have grown rapidly. Very great improvements and important qualitative leaps have also been made in education, culture, health, communal services, etc. -

Everything for the wellbeing of the people

All the socio-economic transformations and all the magnificent successes during these 30 years of the people's power have been achieved solely in the interests of our labouring

masses, so as to raise their wellbeing, which is the supreme aim of our Party. Our Party has solemnly declared that increasing the wellbeing of the people is the supreme aim of its activity.

With the establishment of the people's power and socialist relations of production, exploitation of man by man was eliminated once and for all in Albania; unemployment, which was a serious evil in the past, and the economic crises still corroding the capitalist and revisionist world, and inflicting misery on millions of men and women were also eliminated.

From a country of misery and hunger Albania has become today a country of wellbeing, a country where all able-bodied people work, where crises and inflation never occur, where the people are exempt from levies and taxes, where a whole system of social insurance, a free health service and education for everybody exist, and where electric light illumines every corner of the country.

The changes that have occurred in the wellbeing of the people, during these 30 years of the people's regime, are so great that it is difficult to express them in figures. Suffice it to give some of the main facts: By 1973, as against 1950 (not drawing comparisons with the pre-war period, when the situation was too difficult) the consumption fund per capita had increased 2.3 times over. This means that our people now live 2.3 times better than in 1950, and much better than in the pre-war period. Their food, clothing and housing are improving with every passing day. During the years of the people's power, 243,000 new houses or apartments were built, and as a result, more than half of the population lives in post-war housing. «This is socialism, which the people are building by themselves and are enjoying themselves», as comrade Enver Hoxha said in his speech at the meeting with his electors of zone Nr. 209, on October 3, 1974.

Every day, our people can see for themselves that the realisation of the magnificent programmes for the construction of new Albania brings about a continuous improvement in their living standards. Therefore they work with still greater energy, in full unity round their Party, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, for a still happier future.

1) See Collin Clark: *National Income and Outlay*, Macmillan, London.

2) *Yearbook National Accounts Statistics 1972 volume II International Tables United Nations* pp. 99-110. As an index of national incomes for the different areas we have taken «Gross domestic product».

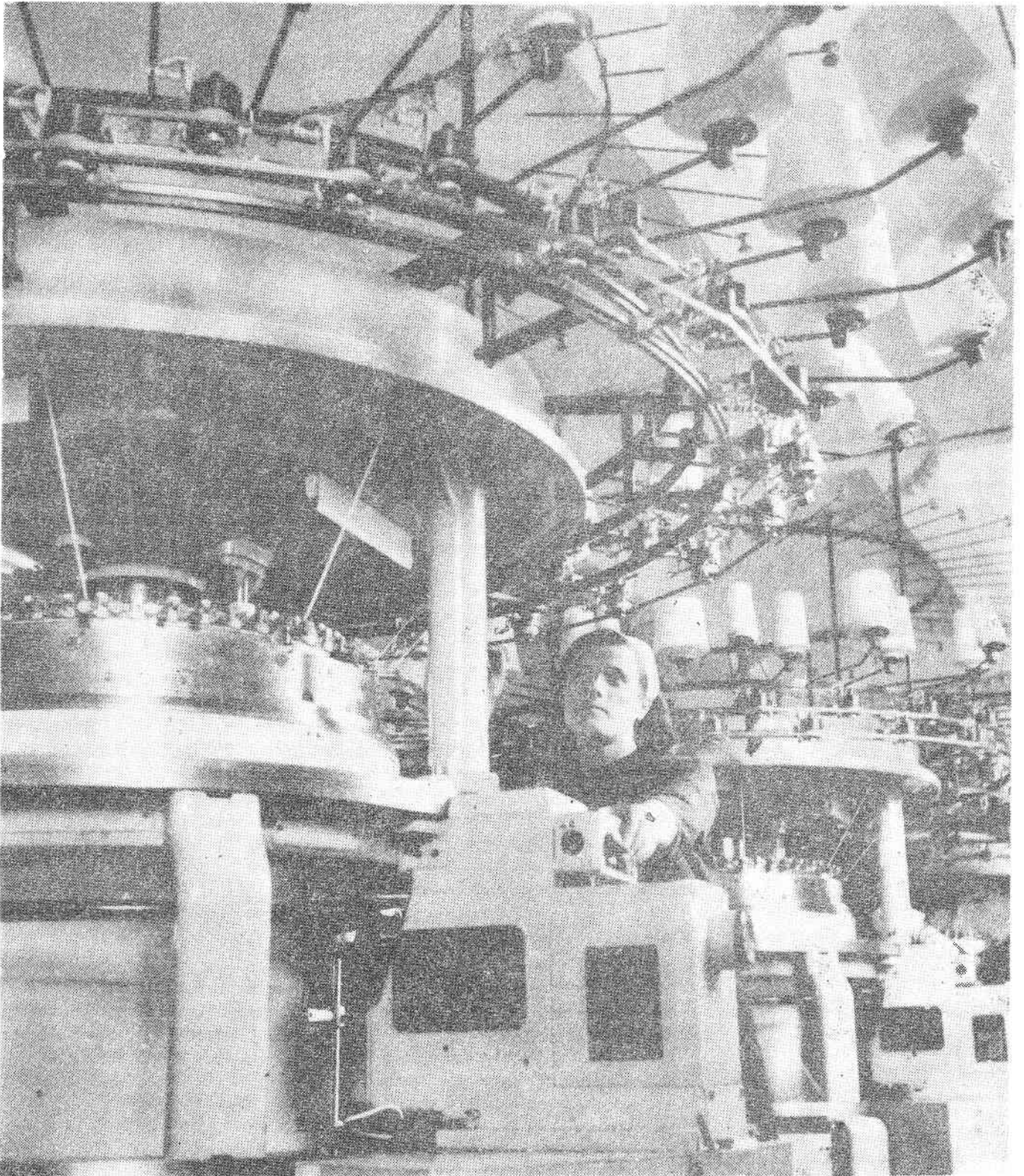
3) *National Yearbook of statistics, 1972, Volume II - International Tables (United Nations)* pp. 99-110. The index of national income for various regions is taken as the «Gross Domestic Product».

4) Excluding China, Mongolia, North Korea, North Vietnam and Japan.

5) The comparison has been made with the group of countries which, in the above international statistics, are included in the «Developing Market Economies».

6) *Statistical Yearbook 1971* pp. 22-23 United Nations. The world data exclude China.

7) The data about other countries has been taken from *Statistical Yearbook, United Nations, 1971, p. 19*. These exclude China.



The workers of the knit goods combine in Korça began their work for the year 1975 with a new vigour to fulfill the annual and five-year plans ahead of schedule

DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES IN AGRICULTURE

by **VANGJUSH GAMBETA**

HUNGER IS A PERMANENT FEATURE OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES DIED OF HUNGER EVEN WHEN THE GREAT PRODUCERS OF WHEAT WERE OPENING THE SHIPS' HOLDS AND THROWING GRAIN INTO THE SEA, SO AS TO AVOID REDUCING ITS PRICE. HUNGER HAS DRIVEN PEOPLE TO SELL THEIR CHILDREN, BECAUSE THEY COULD NOT SECURE THEIR DAILY BREAD. THE STRUGGLE FOR FOOD HAS INVOLVED MANY PEOPLE IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES, IT WILL REMAIN SO, BECAUSE HUNGER IS ELIMINATED NOT BY CULTIVATING THIS OR THAT SEED, NOR BY CULTIVATING THE LAND IN THIS OR THAT WAY: HUNGER IS FULLY AND DEFINITELY ELIMINATED ONLY BY THE SOCIALIST SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

As a permanent feature of the capitalist system, hunger has at the same time become an object of political speculation and is dealt with by sophisticated bourgeois propaganda, which aims to conceal the true reasons of hunger. This is where the myth of the «green revolution» comes from. Moreover, the great imperialist powers, as part of their economic blackmail to hinder the independent development of the countries which have not submitted to their political pressure, have also used hunger as a weapon, including grain in the lists of strategic materials for «recalcitrant» countries and peoples. This is the way the USA has acted in many cases. The Soviet social imperialists tried to act in the same way against our country.

This year completes 30 years without hunger for the Albanian people. In the early post-liberation years, when we were compelled to cope with great privations

because of the difficult political and economic situation, and later on the savage imperialist and revisionist blockades, we struggled, under the leadership of the Party, and we have always been successful; our people have never gone without bread. This has happened not because science has allegedly worked wonders with the «green revolution», but because here wonders really were worked by the triumph of our socialist revolution. Thus, it is a question of two roads for the development of agriculture, the capitalist road and the socialist road and the latter is the only correct one for the vigorous progress of this branch which is the basis of our economy.

But what has occurred in many capitalist countries during this period? Sensational news in the bourgeois propaganda is aimed at befuddling the minds of the masses, and diverting them from the essential social problems, from the class struggle. Over the years of the second

VANGJUSH GAMBETA - Teacher, journalist, specialist in economic problems.

The «green revolution» noisily trumpeted by bourgeois propaganda is nothing but a social speculation with the word «revolution» in order to divert the attention of the hungry masses of the world from the real causes of their hunger. In the society with antagonistic classes, the great social problems cannot be solved and hunger cannot be eliminated through «green revolution»

world war, the rapid consumption of the world's main energy resources gave rise to the fear of «energy hunger». In the early post-war years, sociologists, economists and scribblers of the bourgeoisie, after having created a «science» which they called «futurology», predicted a world «energy famine» after 20 or 30 years. (That which really occurred at the beginning of the 60's, i.e. the beginning of the energy crisis, and which shook the capitalist world recently, was due to entirely different reasons. That was not «famine», but a crisis of the capitalist system). A little later, with the discovery of how to produce atomic power, a new term was introduced by the bourgeois propaganda machine the «energy revolution». But when instead the world became a witness to the energy crisis, the sensation about the «revolution» was soon over. What was to be done? In the interests of the bourgeois propaganda, another «revolution» had to be invented, in order to cope with and conceal another difficulty of the capitalist system: the shortage of food products, and the hunger for daily bread, which was causing innumerable victims. And the «green revolution» was invented. It began as follows:

As far back as in 1943, an American scientist of German origin, Norman Borlaug, had a great desire to save Mexico

from starvation. The country imported at that time half the grain it consumed. It produced, in irrigated lands, only 7.5 quintals of wheat per hectare. The land was impoverished, and chemical fertilizers were entirely unknown to it. The lack of sufficient means for grain imports gave rise to hunger which overtook the whole country. Then Dr. Norman Borlaug set about his work in Mexico. We do not by any means want to reduce his merit as a scientist, and a renowned breeder of seed, but he was just that, nothing more. He did not unleash a «green revolution» nor was he able to eliminate hunger. Proceeding from some partial successes in Mexican agriculture (the increase of wheat yields from 7.5 quintals per hectare in 1943 to 16.8 quintals in 1961) the western press began to trumpet the «green revolution», and Mexican wheat seeds became immediately a very advantageous export item. Advertisement is the soul of trade: India began by importing 250 tons of such seeds, while one year later it imported 18,000 tons. It was followed also by other hungry countries. We should not forget that these seeds are called Mexican, but the greatest exporter of them, as well as of maize hybrids, is the USA. Thus, the seeds were sold at prices 3,4 or even 10 times higher than those of ordinary seeds. The Me-

xican investments proved their great efficiency. Certainly, the «author» of the «green revolution» did not go unrewarded: Borlaug was awarded the Nobel prize. Now they waited, with the use of the new seeds, for the results of this «revolution». But what did the facts show?

In Mexico, by 1972, as against 1961, the wheat yield had increased by 62 per cent. In our country, by 1973, as against 1960, it had increased by 172 per cent. But in Mexico the maize yield is a little more than half and that of rice perhaps five-sixths of the relative yields in Albania. (The USA and Canada, which are known in the world as great exporters of grain, have high yields from maize, while from wheat they have lower yields than Mexico. In 1972, for example, Canada got 16.8 quintals of wheat per hectare, while the USA got 22 quintals of grain per hectare.¹)

In India the situation is worse. After having purchased the Mexican seeds, Indian agriculture continued to mark time, and in 1972 the Indians managed to get 13.8 quintals of wheat per hectare all told. India is a traditional grower and great consumer of rice, but the yield of this crop is not even as much as half the yield of rice in our country, whereas maize is still worse. The only result of the «green re-

volution» in that country, which was so much trumpeted in the western press, is the fierce struggle of the hungry peasants, their recurring demonstrations, and the answer the police gives them: bullets instead of bread.

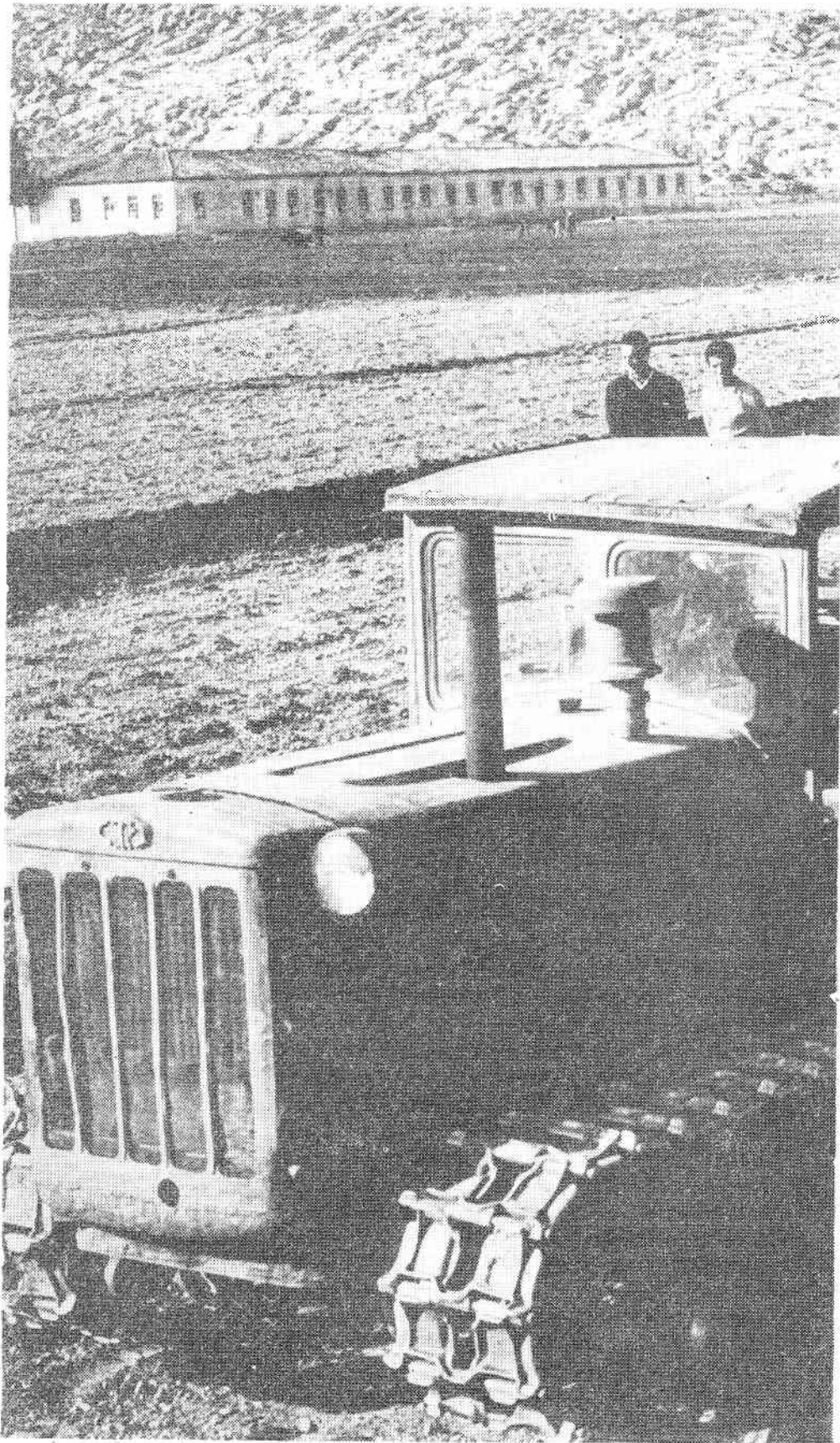
Such are the results, with few differences, in other countries where the «green revolution» has sought to penetrate. Just recently, scientists of various countries have begun to write that the Mexican seeds are degenerating, that they will not last long, that other ways must be sought. What did remain of the «green revolution»?

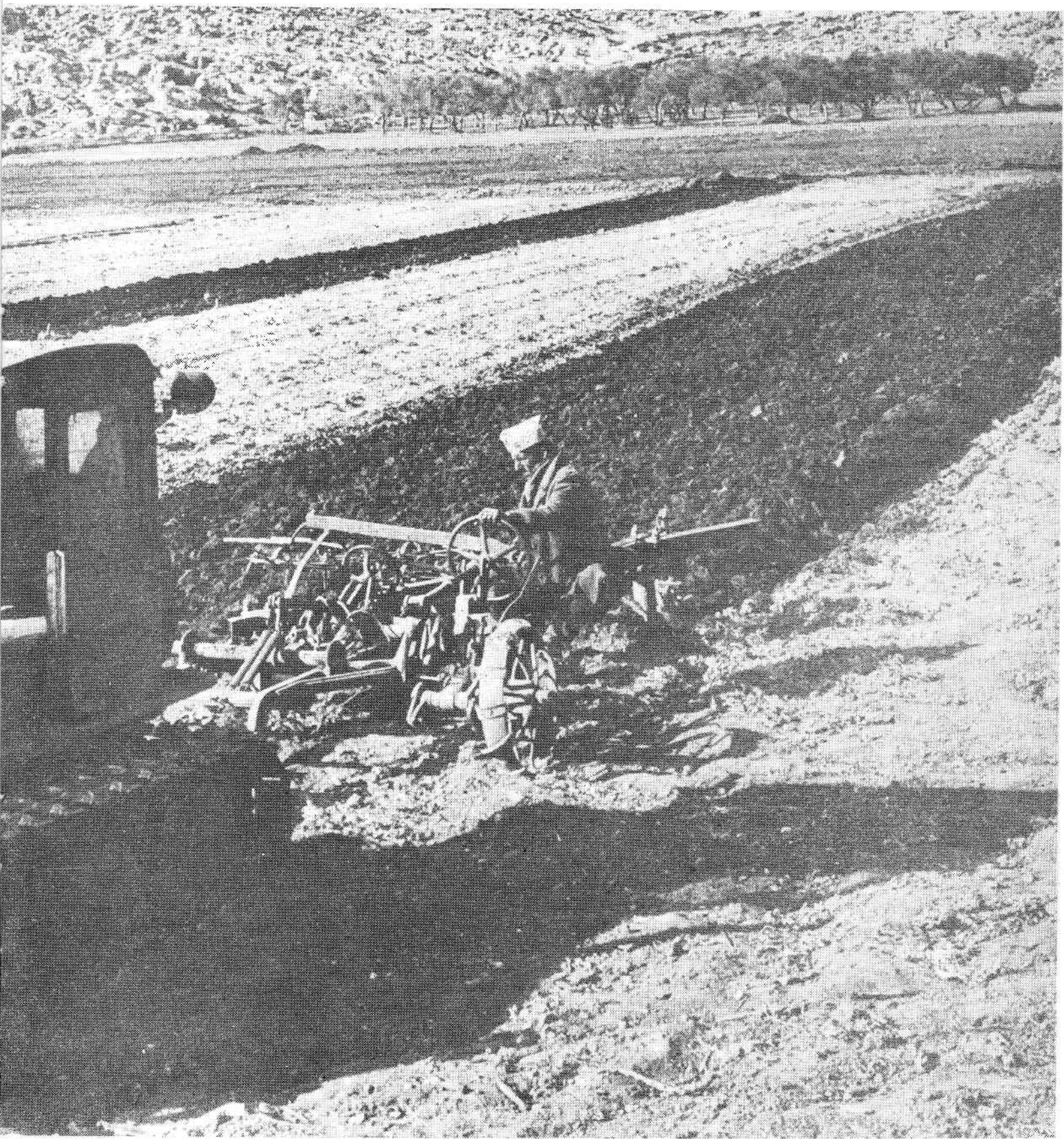
Dr. Borlaug, however, does not retreat. He is now said to have arrived at the conclusion that the blame lies with the increase of population. After being compelled to admit that today 50 per cent of the people in the capitalist world suffer from starvation, he writes in black and white that it is necessary to combat «the monstrous» capacity of the human race to increase, otherwise any success in the question of supplying people with food-stuffs will be ineffective». Malthus could seek no more loyal disciples than those among all the «green revolutionaries».

Such is the truth about the myth of the «green revolution»: it is a social speculation with the term «revolution» in order to divert the attention of the hungry masses of the capitalist world from the real causes of backwardness and hunger.

The situation in our country is quite different. Not poverty in the countryside and its exploitation by the capitalist town, not wellbeing for a handful of capitalists and hunger for the millions, but actual wellbeing for the labouring masses in the broadest meaning of this word, in the meaning of allround political, econo-

The winter season is not a period of rest for the agricultural workers. During, this period, particularly the tractor drivers work with many-fold increased forces to prepare the lands for spring sowing.





mic and social development. Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 6th Congress of the PLA: «Our whole economic, political and social development has always had, as its objective, serving the interests of the people, to ensure them a happy and prosperous, free, democratic and independent life».

In this 30th year of the epoch of the Party, we are proud of the Marxist-Leninist correctness of the line of our Party in the field of agriculture, too, we are proud of all the successes of our cooperativist peasantry, our new socio-economic relations, and the new life of our cooperativists, which is steadily improving on a revolutionary basis. It is in this wide framework that we view the victories achieved in the field of the development of the productive forces in agriculture. And they are really great. Here, alongside grains, other agricultural crops, such as industrial plants, vegetables and fruit, have developed rapidly, since all of them have to do with the feeding and wellbeing of the people. By 1973, as against 1938, total agricultural production increased 3.5 times over, while the population had increased 2.2 times. The production of food grains has increased 3.1 times, potatoes – 22.6 times, rice – 23.5 times, vegetables and melons – 8 times, etc.

The anarchic development of production in the capitalist countries, as for instance in India, and parallel with it the monocultural development of agriculture, as for instance in Brazil, have always been a source of starvation for the labouring masses, and especially for the peasantry, as well as a convenient means for their exploitation by the imperialist countries. Such was the history of our country too, before liberation.

In the society with antagonistic classes, the great social problems cannot be solved, and hunger cannot be eliminated through «green revolutions». Thirty years in Albania have proved that our successes, as everywhere, so in agriculture too, are not a source but a consequence of the revolutionary changes, and new socio-economic relations. Only the people's revolution, under the leadership of the Party, could create the necessary condi-

tions for a harmonious, diversified development of the people's economy, and, on this basis, of agriculture too. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «The strong reliance of the national economy both on industry and agriculture is a permanent principle, and an indispensable condition for its rapid and harmonious development, and to increase the level of its independence. For this reason, the policy of the Party for the development of agriculture has always aimed at deepening the socialist revolution in the countryside, so that it can lead to the development of the productive forces in agriculture».

One of the wonderful achievements of our countryside is the triumph of the cooperativist system, after the land reform, which opened the way to the socialist development of agriculture. The socialist industrialisation of the country created and strengthened the material and technical base of our agriculture, which was lamentable before liberation. These, and the great work of our patriotic peasantry, conscious and determined to march on the Party road – these are the factors of our successes.

The propagandists of the «green revolution» in the West have created illusions about yields of wheat and maize. Instead of results in general, they play on the high yields (40-45 quintals of wheat and 50-100 quintals of maize per hectare) which individual peasants have got, thanks to these hybrids, in separate plots of land.

We do not underrate the importance of hybrids, but we by no means fetishize them and consider them as saviours. Proceeding from our conditions, and from the tasks laid down by the Party and the Government concerning the increase of food grains, a lot of work is being done here for the selection of seeds, since this is one of the requirements of agricultural technique. In Shkodër, for example, the Central Maize Station has been set up to produce maize hybrids, and it is increasing this production from year to year in order to fulfill, in the near future, all the country's needs for them. They have been extensively introduced in production, and are yielding good results. In 1973, for example, the yield of 50

or more quintals of maize per hectare was obtained not by some «separate individuals», but by 38 brigades in the Fieri district, 16 brigades in the Elbasan district, 21 brigades in the Durrës district, etc. The Cakrani cooperative in the Fieri area, got 52 quintals of maize per hectare not from «some separate plots» but from the entire area sown in this crop, while Naxhije Pashai's Brigade in this cooperative got 110 quintals per hectare. The list of such impressive figures is long, and is sufficient to bear out our conviction that even in the field of propagating advanced experience, the cooperativist order is superior, in the planned socialist economy, which creates all the conditions for the large-scale scientific application of all the requirements of agricultural technology.

It must be pointed out that since 1960, when the Soviet revisionist threatened us with starvation, things have gone still better. Over these last 13 years alone, the irrigated land area here has increased twofold, the material and technical basis of agriculture has been greatly strengthened, the use of fertilizers has been increased five-fold, etc. These and the other measures that have been implemented, have increased the yields of agricultural crops. In comparison with those of 1960, wheat yields have increased 3 times, maize about 2.5 times, rice 2 times, etc.

This brilliant road has incomparably developed our new countryside. The new life in our countryside, and the general wellbeing beyond comparison with the past, which grows from year to year; the electric light in every village house, the pensions for the cooperativists, the many schools and other socio-cultural institutions, the free medical treatment and, above all, the increase in number and quality of skilled, educated people and the creation of the new cooperativists, with a new mentality and psychology, who continually revolutionizes himself, will lead our countryside from year to year, under the brilliant leadership of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, towards prosperity, towards ever greater victories. –

1) The data about foreign countries have been taken from: *Annuaire de la production*. Vol. 26. FAO. 1972 – Tome.

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

SECOND SESSION OF THE 8TH LEGISLATURE OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

The 2nd session of the 8th Legislature of the People's Assembly of the PRA held its proceedings in Tirana on January 27 and 28.

The Assembly heard the report of the Council of Ministers "On the fulfilment of the State plan and budget for 1974 and on the draft plan for the development of the people's economy and culture and the draft State budget for 1975", delivered by the vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Planning Commission, Abdyl Këllezi, as well as the report of the People's Assembly Commission for the plan and budget, delivered by the Commission's Chairman Pali Miska.

Many discussions were made about the two reports. At the end, the draft-law on the State plan of the economy and culture of the PRA and that on the 1975 budget were put in vote and unanimously approved.

The People's Assembly approved also the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly in the period between the two sessions.

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

A REFLECTION OF GREAT VICTORIES

The «Albania Today» exhibition opened in Tirana on the eve of the November 1974 festival.

The exhibition clearly reflects the magnificent successes achieved by socialist Albania during thirty years of liberation, in all the fields of life.

Albania today, young, beautiful and powerful, small in area and population, but with big achievements, reviews in this exhibition the thirty most brilliant pages of its history, inscribed with blood and sacrifices, with selfless work and toil. We shall never forget that «Albania Today» has emerged from the barrel of the rifle, that our people have fought to win freedom and socialism, and have blazed a path through history sword in hand. Two photos have been placed just in front of the exhibition, on the right, reminding us of the National Liberation War and the triumphant march of the partisans into the capital, while the following words appear in big letters on the left: «Keep high the revolutionary spirit!» Briefly but very clearly, it expresses the idea that, in our legendary struggle, in our just and principled struggle for socialism and communism, under the leadership of the Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, we shall always keep the revolutionary spirit high, and always march ahead triumphantly.

The Party has entrusted to our geologists the high and noble task of leading socialist industrialization through their work, and they have carried out this lofty task and vanguard role. A beautiful map, covered with little light, in various colours, tells us about their work. For the pre-liberation period, very few lights show. At that time, even the little research done had been carried out by foreigners, and our underground riches were exploited by foreigners. «That's enough!», the Party and the people said, so our geologists set to work, in struggle with the difficulties of growth, in a fierce, blow for blow struggle against the modern revisionists. They overcame the cen-

turies of backwardness and gave the homeland many deposits of useful minerals. Before liberation we knew only oil, bitumen, copper and coal, whereas today the map displays lights indicating deposits of these, and of chromium or iron-nickel ore, but also shows minerals which we did not know existed here before liberation, such as phosphorite, bauxite, dolomite, asbestos, pyrophyllite, manganese, nickel-silicate, titanomagnetite, polymetals, residues of heavy metals, etc.

The geologists are followed by our heroic miners. Here are two beautiful models, that of the «Todo Manço» chromium mine, one of the oldest in our country, and the youngest, most powerful coal mine, that of Valias. The data about the increases in production clearly show the great leap made by our country in this major economic branch. It also clearly displays that of the plans of the Soviet revisionists against our Party and our people, as everywhere, so in this branch too, only their shame is left, after the year 1960, our advances in this field, both from the quantitative and qualitative viewpoint, are still more rapid. In these last fourteen years the economic effectiveness of our mining industry has greatly increased, through the development of the mineral processing and enriching sectors.

The model of an oil well recalls to us the heroic struggle of our oil men against the Soviet revisionists and the powerful increases in both the extracting and the processing of oil, particularly after the 60's. It reminds us of the construction, with our own forces, of the big oil processing plant at Fieri. It also recalls the correct and farsighted policy of the Party for the development of this important branch of industry, and its principled struggle against numerous enemies, so that our economy will never lack this powerful source of energy.

Further on, we see chemical products, photos of projects and data about the birth and development of our chemical industry, the new plants, with a high tech-

nical level, such the phosphate and nitrate fertilizer, sulphuric acid, calcinated and caustic soda plants. Remember, before liberation, chemical fertilizers were unknown in Albanian farming. These projects too have been built since 1960.

The engineering industry. Only the blacksmith, who made a few axes or horseshoes, was known before liberation. There were very few mechanics to repair any kind of machine. Today there are dozens of engineering plants, thousands of spare parts and items of equipment are produced, and scores of machines are built by the talented workers of this industrial branch, the backbone of the people's economy. In order to stress feature of this industrial hall, because they serve all branches. The tasks assigned to the workers of the engineering industry by the Party are really very great, and they have set to work in order to accomplish them properly. We read here the following appeal: «Carry out the historic decisions of the Party's 6th Congress». In fact there are so many machines, there is no room for all of them in the exhibition hall, as a large number are on display in the grounds outside. They include geological drills for a depth of up to 300 metres, devices for closing oil wells at pressures up to 210 atmospheres, electro-hydraulic controls, «X»-ray apparatus, anaesthetizing equipment, apparatus to treat cases of poisoning, analogue computers, 60-ton excentric press, automatic nail-making machines, precision lathes, various sowing machines, trailers and fertilizer spreaders, various powerful pumps for agriculture and the oil industry, cultivators, a fine machine for digging ditches, which can do the work of 300 people, and many others. These and other wonderful things are produced by the talented workers of our engineering industry. The not distant future will bring even greater achievements in this field to be proud of. The model of the metallurgical combine at Elbasan clearly tells us about this. Ferrous metallurgy is the basis for the development of all the branches of the economy. It will further reinforce the process of the industrialization of the country, a fundamental factor for the complete construction of the socialist society. And along with it, goes

the model of another wonderful project, the intensive oil processing plant.

The hydropower stations continue the parade; even their names express the correctness of the policy of the Party for the electrification of the country: «Lenin», «Karl Marx», «F. Engels», «J. V. Stalin», «Mao Tse-tung». Another powerful energy project is now under construction, the Fierza hydropower station. «The electrification of the entire country – a great deed of the Party». Albania is among the few countries in the world to have electricity in all its villages. This became possible because our Party gave priority to the development of the power industry. By 1960 the increase in the production of electric power, as against 1938, was over 19 times, and by 1973 it was 171 times, while total industrial output had increased 86 times over. A great deal of work was carried out for the electrification of the countryside. 21,000 km. of high and low tension lines were put up, more than half the length of the Earth's equator, and 386,000 power poles were installed.

The allround development of the people's economy has demanded that we should take big steps also in developing transport. Formerly we had only a few roads, now we have many more. We were the only country in Europe without a rail system, now we have one and we are adding to it from one five-year plan to the next. The great work of our heroic youth is steadily linking more and more towns and villages by rail. We had only a few small boats for our sea transport, whereas now we have a merchant marine for costal and overseas transport. Ships flying the Albanian flag sail all the seas and oceans. We are producing our own navigation equipment too, on a small scale for the time being, but we shall build bigger items in the future, models of those produced today can be seen at the exhibition.

Our radio station, «The voice of Albania – the voice of the truth» now broadcasts programmes for 18 hours, as against a few hours of broadcasting at intervals by Radio Tirana in 1944. Now Radio Tirana broadcasts in 16 foreign languages. 6,500-7000 letters a month from our own listeners and television viewers, and 600 monthly from foreign friends, are sent to Al-

banian radiotelevision. The voice of Albania is the voice of truth, the voice of the Party, and Albania's many friends abroad want to listen to it because «the People's Republic of Albania does not lower its banner before blackmail and fear, nor before the ruble and the dollar».

Now we come to the light industrial and food processing pavilions. What a wide assortment of textiles, knit goods, foot-wear, household utensils, and food products from our new combines and factories! We are producing today four fifths of the mass consumer goods we use, while before liberation the overwhelming majority were imported from abroad. This has resulted in the life of our people becoming increasingly better supplied, increasingly more prosperous. Here is a very significant figure indicating this great truth: Before liberation the average life expectancy was 38 years, today it is 69 years. The new life of our people, – this is the most brilliant victory of our homeland over these 30 years, under the leadership of the Party.

The wellbeing of our people, and their constantly rising living standards, is shown at this exhibition by the great successes of our socialist agriculture which is the basis of our people's economy. The transformations in the countryside have surpassed even the boldest predictions. The figures shown are totally convincing. While the population, over the last 30 years has risen 2.2 times, total agricultural production has grown 3.5 times. The fine models displaying the draining of swamps, and irrigation, projects clearly show how our land has been improved and been made more fertile, and the hills and mountains, too, have been terraced in order to make them fertile like the plains. This great development was preceded by the land reform, and the collectivization of agriculture, which was the second revolution and the most radical turning-point in the socio-economic relations of the countryside. Here, too, the comparison of today's figures with those of 1938 and 1960 clearly displays the great development of agriculture. By 1973 the area sown in wheat had doubled in comparison with 1960, while the per hectare yield had tripled. So what remains of the hue and cry by the Soviet revisionists, who speak



**Comrade Enver Hoxha
and other Party
and State leaders
visiting
the exhibitions**



FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

about backwardness of Albanian agriculture and who pity the rider because his legs hang down!

The successes of our agriculture are great in all its branches. The structure and variety of our crops has changed, for example today we produce maize hybrids, and we have increased the production of meat, milk, eggs, vegetables, fruits, etc. All this is done for our new man, for his wellbeing.

We build for this purpose too, constructing many economic and socio cultural

projects, roads, and housing. In just one year, 1973 we had built 111 times more than was built in 1938.

The «Albania Today» exhibition inspires and fills with legitimate pride the hearts of all the working people at the magnificent victories achieved, increases revolutionary optimism in them, and gives them new energies to forge always ahead in the complete construction of the socialist society, under the leadership of the Party, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

AN ART REFLECTING THE MILITANT SPIRIT OF OUR REVOLUTIONARY REALITY

The new gallery of figurative arts is being visited by hundreds of men and women from all over Albania. This is significant, in that it shows how highly the people evaluate the work of our painters, sculptors, and artists, who firmly adhere to the new art of socialist realism. The national exhibition of figurative arts, opened in the framework of the glorious jubilee of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution so magnificently celebrated, is really a great and important success, a new gift from our artists to our Party and our art-loving people on this memorable occasion.

Like our entire people, the artists too greeted this anniversary with many successes; their work displayed all the force and vitality of our revolutionary art, powerfully based on the method of socialist realism, and reflecting with great, strong feeling the militant optimistic, spirit of our people, who are led with wisdom and farsightedness by the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, the inspirers of all our achievements in all fields of life.

Mobilizing all their energies to put into practice the valuable instructions of the Party, and in particular those of the historic 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA,

to intensify the ideological struggle against alien manifestations and liberal stands towards them, our artists, like our writers and other cultural workers, set about their great work, and, with the responsibility of militants to whom the fate of the homeland and the ideals of the revolution are dear, in uncompromising struggle against alien manifestations and influences, all decadent «fads», the pressures of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, the empty theorisations and traps set by external and internal enemies of every hue, and the political ruffians F. Paçrami and T. Lubonja, reaped brilliant victories in solving a wide range of problems and carrying out the tasks facing our figurative arts. They understood the Party, adopted its guiding instructions, and once more showed the correctness of its teachings.

The abundant creativity observable in our country— over 2,000 works created during the jubilee year, 28 collective and individual exhibitions opened, hundreds of monuments and commemorative plaques erected, successes in all the genres of figurative, monumental, decorative, ornamental and applied art, created by experienced artists, young talents, people with higher or secondary education, professionals or amateurs, all together, to a

man, bears witness to an unprecedented mobilization and engagement which resulted in an entry for the great literary-artistic contest of 1,100 of the best works created by over 400 people (almost triple the number handed in five years ago). Of these, 480 works by 200 authors were displayed in the new Gallery of Figurative Arts in fitting conditions. This prosperous creativity best of all displays our strengths and creative possibilities; it shows the inspiration given to our artists by life and our wonderful reality, and the encouragement and favourable conditions created by the Party and the Government for all our artists, militating on the ideo-artistic front.

The direct contact with life, the inspiration brought about by directly knowing the work, defence, and sacrifices of the people, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, our People's Army, etc., inspired and aroused our artists, urging them to mobilize all their abilities and talents, to create many beautiful works. The glorious past of our people, in the struggles for independence, freedom, democracy, and social rights, was the theme for some. As for the National Liberation War, this exhibition included, as always, many fine works, full of love and inspiration, and at a very good artistic level.

Thus, this jubilee exhibition was more diversified and more complete than ever before in reflecting the heroic deeds of our people throughout the centuries. These heroic feats are always an inexhaustible source of inspiration for us. The heroic spirit, bravery and high moral virtues are relevant today and have been handed down as a banner to our time, to the men and women of our day. Nevertheless, the core of the exhibition consists of works depicting the present time.

But the number of works, and the wide, varied themes, are only one aspect of their success. Proletarian partisanship, the fundamental principle of our art, and sound socialist content, harmonized with a profound national spirit, are distinguishable in every work, in a really organic sense. It is precisely for this reason that these works are welcomed; they enrich the noble ideals and feelings of men and women, and show the new degree of soundness and of ideological and artistic

maturity among our militant artists. Outside the ideals of the Party and the people, art today, withers, falls into decadence and assists the enemies. But when art embodies the ideals of the revolution, it has eternal youth.

The successful realization of many motifs expressing the consciousness of our people at the most important historical moments and events we have lived and are living through, is a major success of this exhibition.

The national and popular spirit, and the Albanian feelings permeating the works in this exhibition, originate from knowing the Albanian world and psychology, from correctly understanding the import of events and phenomena, from grasping and solving those problems characteristic of our country, which defends, with revolutionary vigilance the gains of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Pictures representing the artist in his studio, surrounded by friends and well-wishers have been conceived by many painters in the history of art, but those surrounding him have been artists, critics, experts or his colleagues, and never the working class, judging the work of art. A representative of the working class may have been introduced in them as a model, in the pose set by the artist, but not as a force that directs, speaks and judges, in the realm of literature and arts, too, checking and setting on it the seal of its ideology. Hence the new, innovating spirit, based on the new content dictated by the present concrete conditions, by individual features, by the colours, which characterize those events and phenomena treated in this exhibition. Since this content is given a clear, understandable, realistic form, which is developed by the content itself, far from formalist abstractions and elaborations, there is complete unity among many works at the exhibition. The way difficult pictures are dealt with, their handling from a correct revolutionary position, and the efforts to create in them real current situations, constitute an important qualitative leap which is clearly reflected in the works of this exhibition. These noble works are at the opposite pole to those formalistic works which were a barrier

between art and the people, and were justified by self-styled theoreticians with all sorts of «arguments», absolutizing form, and ignoring the decisive importance of ideology, politics, and content. We stand for a real, innovating art, not for a false, grafted innovationism, fed by the cult of empty content; we are for true innovation, primarily with regard to content, for innovation which merges our Marxist-Leninist ideology and our national characteristics into a single whole, presented in simple, pure beautiful art.

The veracity of typical characteristics and the way they are set in concrete, accurate circumstances, strengthen the idea and content of this art and its ideological and emotional power.

We see in this exhibition the Albanian, the new, conscious heroic person who works, studies, defends. This person accompanies you as your companion, your contemporary. He or she is both the object and the subject of art. This new person, whom you would like to follow, to imitate, has nothing in common with the heroes of modernist art, the murderers, prostitutes, or deranged: he is the complete negation of the primitive man placed at the centre of reactionary art.

Our method of socialist realism opens endless vistas of creative possibilities. It does not narrow and curb our artists, as claimed by the apologists of the bourgeoisie and modern revisionism, but on the contrary, it creates space for them, it opens horizons and gives them the key to grasp the essence of the phenomena around them.

The display of many works in all the genres of figurative arts – painting, sculpture, monumental, decorative, ornamental and applied art, drawings, graphics, posters, cartoons and caricatures, wood carving, cut glass, copper mosaics, inlaid work, textile designs, ceramics, and so on – show that all categories of figurative art have been greatly enlivened and appraised; they aim to educate Albanians with the sound proletarian taste which our new people, educated by our Party of Labour, ought to have. The evaluation of popular art has been and remains a major focus of attention. Viewed from all its aspects, it deserves the greatest attention in the future.

FOREIGN ESSAYS ON THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR IN ALBANIA

by **STEFANAQ POLLO**

**Foreign reminiscences
about the Antifascist
National Liberation War
in Albania do not
make any contribution
to explaining
the fundamental problems
of this war, but by their
bias and subjectivism
in general, they distort
the facts
or interpret them
in a totally
one-sided manner**

FOREIGN REMINISCENCES ABOUT THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR ARE OF INTEREST BOTH FOR THE FACTS THEY GIVE, ALTHOUGH THEIR ACCURACY IS OFTEN DISPUTABLE, AND ALSO FOR THEIR AUTHORS' CONCEPTS ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF OUR NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR, CONCEPTS WHICH ARE DEFINED BY THEIR WORLD OUTLOOK AND POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. AMONG PUBLISHED MEMORIES, THE MOST IMPORTANT ONES, WHICH WE HAVE EXAMINED HERE, ARE THOSE BY J. AMERY, E. DAVIS, AND P. CAMP (ALL BRITISH), NEUBACHER (GERMAN), THE YUGOSLAVS S. VUKMANOVICH-TEMPO AND, D. MUGOSHA AND THE ITALIAN F. JACOMONI(!). THEIR VALUE AS HISTORICAL SOURCE MATERIAL VARIES, BUT ALL THE AUTHORS, AS REPRESENTATIVES OF HIGHLY DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, SUFFER FROM A LARGE DOSE OF ARROGANCE AND FEELINGS OF SUPERIORITY TOWARDS THE ALBANIANS.

Although they claim to know the Albanian reality profoundly and be objective, a class and political bias can be seen in them, some times open some times hidden, and their earnest desire to inflate their own importance, to make themselves almost a pivotal factor in events, to attribute to themselves or to the State they represent non-existent merits, and in the case of the Italian and German fascist authors, to pose as «friends» of the Albanian people and of their freedom and independence. Another common feature of these recollections is that in many cases their published estimations of a series of problems of our National Liberation War differ from the secret reports they gave to

their superiors, in which they were compelled to be more objective.

The British envoys in particular, as representatives of a great empire and of its aristocracy, and as bearers of a colonialist policy, express their contempt for backward Albania and its people, few in numbers, by painting the country and the people in the darkest colours, denying that they have any noble aspiration, any progressive ideal. As representatives of the British reactionary circles, and of their imperialist policy in Albania, they freely sling mud at the Albanian partisans and their heroic war, and with the same aim, they invent combat actions and patriotic objectives on the part of the traitorous organisations of «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti».

With this attitude, they do their utmost to present the partisans and their leaders

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selves in the mountains near Berat, and thanks to British support, they were able to pick up again after the defeats they had suffered» (J. Amery); etc., etc. This twisting of the facts, this exaggeration, is used just as extensively when they speak of the role Britain played, and the material aid it gave at the beginning of the Albanian antifascist resistance and as it developed. According to J. Amery, and others too, Britain was the initiator of the Albanian resistance, with the organization, in winter 1940-41, of the so-called «United Front of the Albanian Resistance against Italy», a «front conceived more as Balkan in its function, pro-British and pro-Yugoslav, than as Albanian, and not, as one of its inspirers, J. Amery, says, as «an independent force, with a set programme concerning Albania».

This front's very character as an agency, composed of three Albanian reactionary chieftains recruited by the British Intelligence Service, who had not presented any political conditions, and who left it up to the British to decide on the political future of Albania (J. Amery), as well as its direction, which was entirely alien to the interests of the Albanian people, and had no connection with them, determined its complete failure from the outset. The historically contradictory, statements about the role of British become still more absurd in the work of P. Camp, who writes that it was British initiative, and the arms and money from Britain, which gave rise to the Albanian armed resistance in 1943. It is unnecessary for us to engage in proving the falsity of such statements, because the British envoys themselves, in their secret reports sent to headquarters from Albania in 1943, declared that «the actions of the Albanian guerrillas against the Italian troops are constant and considerable, and could be greatly extended; coordination and supplies are lacking» («Nendori» 1973, Nr. 3, p. 130).

More or less in this spirit too are the memoirs by the Yugoslavs S. Vukmanovich-Tempo and D. Mugosha. The positive considerations of Albanian historiography are well known, that is the importance and role of the Albanian-Yugoslav collaboration in the struggle against the common enemy, the fascist invaders, as well as the positive appraisal of the activity of the representative of the Yugoslav Communist Party under our Party, the internationalist communist Miladin Popovich. But the memories of S. Vukmanovich-Tempo and D. Mugosha concerning Albania are

riddled with the idea, as false as it is vain, that every good and positive thing, every important military or political action during our National Liberation War, was carried out on their initiative.

Thus, the demonstration of October 28, 1941, and later on the founding of the Communist Party of Albania, and the Peza Conference, are supposed to be the deeds of the Yugoslav representatives; it was Vukmanovich-Tempo who gave the Albanians the idea of the necessity of moving from territorial units to the organizing of large detachments, which was implemented with the creation of the First Shock Brigade; it was Mugosha who set up the Party organisations, who destroyed the Vlora faction, who created the first Vlora-Gjirokastra operative zone, who uncovered the Mukje treachery, who proposed the formation of the first Division and its setting out for the North, etc.

Unlike the British envoys, these two Yugoslav authors speak correctly in general about the character, vigour, mass scale and heroism of our national liberation movement, but in view of the organizing and leading role they unjustly attribute to themselves, in the fundamental events of the Albanian antifascist resistance, it seems that these statements are intended to demonstrate their own personal merits, rather than to reflect the Albanian reality correctly, and also to prove that the Albanian Communist Party was allegedly unable to carry out any important project without the aid of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

Albanian historiography has refuted these tendencies and views as incompatible with historical truth and as leading to the biased negation of the leading role of the Communist Party of Albania in the National Liberation War. Irrespective of their differences with the British authors, the logic of both sides is one and the same, it is the logic of disregard and negation, on the part of the representatives of larger states, of the decisive contribution made by a small country, and a people few in numbers, to their own history, a negation which, on the political plane, takes on an anti-Albanian character.

Of particular interest are the views of J. Amery, an author who attempts to theoreticize and generalize about the causes, and that of the traitorous organisations of Balli Kombëtar, and Legallëtetit. As a matter of fact, the concepts for-

as incapable, as men who could not be trusted in operations against the enemy (E. Davis), who did not know how to exploit the favourable natural conditions (P. Camp), etc. And of course, parallel with this, self aggrandisement is a constant theme, the figure of the British officer is raised high, as «intelligent and brave», and «determined», in actions against the fascists, undertaken on his own initiative, while the partisans avoided them out of fear (E. Davis). With equally fervent zeal, they attribute to themselves the role of the main organizers of the war, and of the saviours of difficult situation, a role which is calculated to appeal to the British home market, but which would be ludicrous to even the simplest partisan who knew them and their work at first hand. Thus, to cite just few of their statements, «with the aid of the British and communist agents, the operations of the guerrillas took the form of a general uprising» (J. Amery), and «the Nazi operation of winter 1943-44 was undertaken against the areas which were known or believed to harbour the British missions, or those of their allies» (P. Camp); as if the latter, and not the National Liberation Army, were the danger, and hence the main objective for the German forces, then further after this operation, «the partisans reorganizer them-

mulated and the conclusions drawn by him in his book are those of all the British missions, jointly worked out during their observations in Albania.

What characterizes them is the metaphysical discussion of problems, the mechanical application to the Albanian reality of the conclusions drawn from their espionage experience in Palestine and Abyssinia, or from that of the chief British agent in the Arab countries, Lawrence, and above all the subjecting of their «scientific» analyses to the political line and objectives of Britain with regard to our country. They proceed from the premise that «the Albanians are a distinct people not perhaps a nation», whose independence has not been the crowning of their own efforts, a people in whom «anarchy», «the thirst for gold and plunder», «a mercenary outlook», etc., are fundamental characteristics (J. Amery); and on this basis, they formulate their «theories» on the National Liberation War. Thus, dealing with the causes of the Albanian resistance, J. Amery; «... the characteristic poverty of the Albanian was such that, there was less to be feared than was to be gained and they welcomed disorder wherever it provided them with a chance to plunder». Consequently, «... the interference of the carabinieri in their day to day life, to reinforce order, against a people who are accustomed to anarchy, had for this reason become antipopular». It is not difficult to discover, in this analysis of the factors which led to the National Liberation War, not so much ignorance of the situation, as the bias of a bourgeois aristocrat and the contempt of a colonialist for a people with brilliant, patriotic and revolutionary traditions, with a strong feeling of nationality and patriotism, with high national ideals and profound democratic aspirations.

The British authors also strive to analyze the social conditions which defined the character, rates of development and distinctive features of the National Liberation Movement, the Balli Kombëtar and the Zogist Legaliteti movement, and, in conformity with this, the most appropriate forms of war. J. Amery proceeds from the «theory» according to which, unlike a regular war, an uprising has no front line; it becomes the cause of reprisals by the enemy against the families and possessions of the insurgents, and viewing the matter in this light, it is only natural that the

uprising is more successful where it involves young people with no family responsibilities, and the poor, who have nothing to lose. Implementing this «theory» in Albania's conditions, he writes: «The Partisans had started as a small communist cell, destitute of resources, and had slowly recruited their forces from among the landless peasants and the youth of the towns. By joining an avowedly movement these recruits had become outlaws; there could be no turning back; and, since they lacked personal wealth or the backing of a tribe, they were easily subjected to the discipline of a movement on which they depended for their daily bread. With no resources of their own, the Partisans had to fight if they would eat, and thus were driven from one raid to another by sheer necessity». According to another absurd statement by P. Camp, «unlike the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti, the National Liberation Movement had no villages of its own, and so was not worried about them being burnt. The conditions of the movement in the North, in their opinion, were different, because the Ghegs leaders were the representatives of the existing social order, and their force had its roots in the tribal system. They enjoyed the support of the persons with influence in the villages. Having the power of this society behind them, they were at the same time more exposed to reprisals, which threatened their relatives, property and lands (J. Amery), and as P. Camp says, the Ballist villages situated along the main roads.

In conformity with these social conditions, the movement in the South developed as an uninterrupted guerrilla movement, which kept on growing, whereas in Central and Northern Albania, the natural form of the offensive war of the Ballists and Zoghists should be the general uprising, in order to reach the objective in the shortest possible period of time, on the eve of the capitulation or departure of the foreign invaders, and end it with a sure, quick victory, thus giving the enemy no opportunity for reprisals.

In this «theory» of the British authors, there is the obvious tendency to simplify and vulgarize the character of the National Liberation Movement, and to deny it what was most sacred — the ideal for the complete liberation of the country and the establishment of a democratic regime, on behalf of which thousands of partisans and

patriots laid down their lives. To explain away the combat actions of the partisans by the necessity of ensuring their daily bread, especially when you, yourself have seen them in action and thus to reduce the war against the foreign fascist invaders to a war of plunder, means brazenly to slander the Albanian people and openly to express your profound class hatred as an aristocrat, of them. On the other hand, for a definite purpose, these writers, reduce participation in the National Liberation Movement to the town youth and landless peasants, alone, this contradicts the facts, which reveal the participation of the broadest sections of the Albanian people, the small and medium bourgeoisie included. Behind this willful error lies the aim of purposely presenting the National Liberation Antifascist Movement as a purely communist movement. The British authors seek to kill two birds with one stone, even when, by a «theoretical» argument which is in no way convincing, they draw the conclusion about the necessity for a general uprising in Central and Northern Albania only on the eve of the capitulation of Hitlerite Germany. On the one hand, they want to justify the complete failure of their mission to push the Ballists and Zoghists into the war, and to conceal the collaboration of these organisations with the enemy; and on the other hand, to justify the aid in arms, ammunition and money which the British gave them, in order to use them as reserves in the war against the National Liberation Army and the people's power, led by the Communist Party of Albania.

The British and Yugoslav memoirs, and to a lesser extent, the German ones, devote special attention to the problem of the traitorous organisations of «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti», and to the «civil war» in Albania. Almost all the authors are of the same opinion, when it is a matter of the social constitution of these organisations. In their opinion, these organisations represent the interests of the land owners, merchants, bayraktars²⁾ and reactionary intelligentsia. «Balli Kombëtar» and a republican orientation, and «Legaliteti» had a Zogist, monarchist orientation. But when it is a matter of their political activity, and the character of the relations of the National Liberation Movement with them, here they are divided. For S. Vukmanovich-Tempo and D. Mugosha, these were traitor, collabo-

rationist organisations. But Tempo, in his writing, poses as an experienced leader and teacher, and in order to present himself as the saviour of the situation, he denigrates our National Liberation War and distorts the truth. The essence of his attacks is as follows: The partisans did not undertake combat actions against the occupiers, because both sides allowed each other to act freely in their respective areas. From this line, there had arisen the orientation to reach, at all costs, an agreement with the Balli Kombëtar, and for the sake of this orientation, they did not set up large military detachments, and did not organize the state power in the rear areas. These charges, which were refuted at the time by the Central Committee of our Party, but are presented in these realisations even after almost 30 years, show that the megalomania of the author, and his anti-Albania political views, have remained unchanged.

The course of inventing things, but in another direction, has been followed by the British authors too, in their recollections. They do their utmost to give the Balli and Legaliteti organisations, the appearance of being patriotic, nationalist and antifascist.

The climax of such inventions is reached by J. Amery, when he says that the Ballists wrote pamphlets expressing a more or less critical stand towards the Italian administration, and «this resistance movement certainly played a considerable role in the uprisings against the Italians, which brought about the decline of the Italian forces».

But they find it difficult to state that the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti fought against the German invaders, or to conceal the open collaboration of these organisations with the Nazis. J. Amery finds a completely ridiculous justification for this: «Abaz Kupi (head of the Zogist movement. - S.P.), he writes, was well aware of the fact that the Germans had lost the war, and his nature had not been accustomed to hate and persecute those whom he did not fear»³⁾.

The British authors have formulated an «original» thesis about the «civil war» in Albania, too, a thesis which deforms the character of the National Liberation War. The essence of this thesis is as follows: The Communist Party of Albania set up its military formations, not to fight against the Italians or the Germans, but to ensure control over the whole of Al-

bania, and to eliminate its political rivals. The British envoys had managed to organize the Zogist and nationalist forces, which, in June 1944, were on the threshold of the general uprising against the Germans. If this was not achieved, they say, the fault lies with the National Liberation Movement, which, with its communist character, i.e. with the aim of changing the existing social order, intimidated the Balli and Legaliteti, as confirmed representatives of the existing landlord-bourgeois order, and drove them into the arms of the Germans (J. Amery and P. Camp). The thesis that the National Liberation Army was interested in eliminating its political rivals, rather than in fighting against the Italian and German invaders or, taking this in a wider sense, that the National Liberation Movements in the Balkans were mainly civil wars, rather than part of the antifascist war, has become considerably widespread not by accident in bourgeois historiography. In our case, J. Amery attributes to the National Liberation Movement those aims of the traitorous organisations, which, as the British authors themselves admit, were worried only by the problem of state power, and the existence of the landlord-bourgeois order, and would collaborate with the National Liberation Movement, if the latter would divest itself of its popular democratic character; they strove to achieve this with the Mukje agreement, in August 1943. The entire documentation on our National Liberation Antifascist War, and the very course of events, refute these inventions. It is true that Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti came into being as a landlord-bourgeois reaction to the National Liberation Antifascist Movement, even the British authors admit this. But these organisations, from their very formation, in order to preserve the existing order and destroy the National Liberation Movement, took, as their political line, not the struggle against the foreign invaders, but collaboration with them, at the beginning secretly, and later openly, this spontaneously led, together with the destruction and expulsion of the invaders from our country, to their own military destruction, and their liquidation as political forces.

In conclusion, we can say that foreign recollections of the National Liberation Antifascist War in Albania, with the exception of those cases where they are

concerned with the actual activity of the authors in Albania, and their concepts, do not make any contribution to the efforts to elucidate the fundamental problems of this war, but in fact by their bias and subjectivism in general they distort the facts, or interpret them in an entirely one-sided way. -

1) J. Amery. *Sons of the Eagle*, London Macmillan 1948; E. Davis, «Illyrian Venture» 1952; P. Camp, «No Colours No Crest» London 1958. A summary: Proceedings of the Conference on Britain and European Resistance organised by St. Antony's College (Britain and Albania) Oxford 1962; H. Neubacher, Sonderauftrag Suedost 1940-1945, Berlin, Frankfurt, Gottingen 1956; S. Vukmanovich-Tempo: Revoluciju koja tece Beograd 1971; D. Mugosha: Kad sambio u Albaniju, in «Nin» 1971-1972 Nr. 1090-1105; F. Jacomoni de San Savio: La politica italiana in Albania, 1965.

2) *Chiets of clans*.

3) *On the relations of Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti with the foreign invaders, there are also some correct, realistic statements by some British authors, who, at given moments, forget politics, as do some German authors. Thus, General Davis says in his memoirs: «Abaz Kupi was an old fox. In my opinion, he did not intend to fight and weaken his flank, but intended to stand on the fence until he was forced by events to act, hoping the partisans would be weakened by fighting against the Germans to the point where he could defeat them. He would come up with any reason to avoid fighting. I had no confidence that the Zogists or the Balli would fight against the Germans». The German Neubacher, for his part, writes: «The men of Balli Kombëtar never fought against our troops», and says about Abaz Kupi: «We left him in peace, and he left us in peace».*

REFORMIST AND REVISIONIST TRADE UNIONS IN THE SERVICE OF THE BOURGEOISIE

by **FILIP KOTA**

The reformist and revisionist trends, as a product of the pressure of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the working class and the trade union movement, serve the bourgeoisie directly, because they aim to perpetuate capitalist enslavement of the working class by disarming it politically and ideologically

HISTORICALLY, THE ORGANISATION OF THE WORKING CLASS INTO TRADE UNIONS CAME ABOUT AS A RESULT OF THE DETERMINED AND CONSISTENT STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE TO WIN ITS RIGHTS. THIS CONSTITUTED A GREAT VICTORY FOR THE PROLETARIAT, IN AS MUCH AS THE WORKERS, FROM INDIVIDUALS, UNITED INTO AN IMPORTANT ORGANIZED FORCE IN STRUGGLE AGAINST THEIR COMMON ENEMY, THE BOURGEOISIE.

Of course, the bourgeoisie never reconciled itself to this reality. It resorted to all the means of violence, including the most savage ones, to stop this process. It was only due to the fierce class struggle of the proletariat, the growth of its consciousness, and its insistence on organizing itself, that the bourgeoisie was compelled at last to accept the trade unions as representatives of the working class, but without giving up for a single moment its aims and practices either to destroy or to weaken them, to deprive them of their militant spirit, and to render them harmless to its class interests. Precisely in such conditions, the

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bourgeoisie began to use, on an increasingly wider scale, along with its usual methods of violence, the methods of ideological diversion in the trade union movement, so as to introduce opportunist, reformist and pacifist views and practices in it, to render it harmless to its fundamental interests and to check and manipulate it, turning it into a tool which would help to conserve and strengthen its system of exploitation. The monopoly bourgeoisie has seen that the methods of diversion in the trade union movement are the most effective, particularly in the present conditions, when the general crisis of capitalism is deepening with every passing day, when the serious economic crises, the continuous inflation, the in-

crease of unemployment, the rise in prices and other phenomena of this kind are shaking the rotten capitalist system to its foundations, the working class struggle is intensifying, and the class conflicts between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat have greatly sharpened.

The sources and development of opportunist and reformism, as regressive and reactionary trends in the ranks of the working class, are defined by a series of socio-economic conditions, and they must be sought in the ideological pressure and influence of the bourgeoisie on a part of the proletariat, in those economic circumstances when capitalism develops in relative «peace» in the heterogenous composition of the working class, etc. Such factors created opportunist views and reformist illusions in a part of the working class, and contributed thereby to the extension of opportunist and reformist trends which extended to the trade union movement too.

Defenders of the political domination of the monopoly bourgeoisie

This spirit has permeated the activity of the reformist trade union centres. The fundamental function of the most powerful trade union centre of the USA, the American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) in accordance with its constitution, is «the defence and preservation of the existing order, and its development and improvement». Class collaboration is sanctioned in the programme of the British Trade Unions as follows: «Consultations are held every day between the Trade Unions Congress and the Government departments, frequently at industrial level, about all the aspects of working life, as well as about other national and international problems». In Federal Germany, the trade unions at the grass-roots are replaced by a kind of internal commission on which workers and bosses are represented together. In Switzerland the reformist trade union chieftains have concluded an agreement with the employers, according to which the trade unions pledge to stop any direct struggle against the bourgeoisie. In Canada, Australia and in other capitalist countries the trade union chieftains agree to labour conflicts being «settled by law, through the organs and institutions set up by the local bourgeois government, such as industrial courts, conciliation commissions, etc». The Italian revisionist trade union chieftains go even farther. «We want the same things the bourgeoisie wants, and we do not want to change the system», the secretary-general of the Italian General Confederation of Labour has stated.

The reformist and revisionist trade union centres base their activity on class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and the capitalist state, on the inviolability of the bourgeois order and private ownership and on diverting and separating the trade union movement from the general political movement of the proletariat for national and social liberation. The trade unions, in their opinion, must remain a narrow reformist social movement, fighting not to eliminate exploitation and the capitalist order, but to «improve» it, confining themselves only to immediate economic demands, within the framework of the «legality» of the bourgeois system. The reformist and revisionist trade union centres, by their platform and activity, have now become defenders of the political domination of the monopoly bourgeoisie, purveyors of the bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the workers, and a social basis for reformism and revisionism in the trade union movement.

Another important aspect of reformism and revisionism at trade union level is the limitation of the trade union movement only to narrow activity for the immediate economic demands of the working class, for demands in the area of pay increases, the reduction of working hours, social insurances, etc.

But by waging a purely economic struggle, as Lenin pointed out, the working class loses its political independence, and it becomes an appendage of other parties, bourgeois parties, betraying the great instruction: «The liberation of the workers must be the deed of the workers themselves». It is a fact that the reformists and revisionists, by placing above everything the struggle for some immediate economic demands only, purposely

strive to hinder the growth of the consciousness of the working class up to the level of consciousness for political demands; thus they abandon and sidetrack the political struggle and actions of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, they deprive the trade union movement of its class character, and they divert it from the general political movement of the proletariat, from the struggle for the solution of the great political and social problems posed by the time.

In order to calm and deceive the working class and the trade union movement, and to divert them from the revolutionary struggle, the bourgeoisie itself is compelled to make some «concessions» to them, often temporary, or to realize some reforms, to an extent which does not affect its class interests. It wants the trade unions to be purely an instrument of the economic struggle of the working class, and remain a narrow organisation whose principal aim would be agreement from above with the employers on the conditions for the selling of labour power.

These reformist principles have been adopted by the World Federation of Trade Unions too, whose chieftains are tools serving the Soviet modern revisionists. One of its documents reads: «To stress rather the trade union character of the WFTU, means to devote more attention to professional questions, claims, and activities justifying the existence of trade unions...» This is a typical tradeunionist stand, and shows that the WFTU has fallen deeply into the position of reformist tradeunionism.

Certainly, the economic struggle, as one of the known forms of the class struggle, has its own place in the arsenal of the forms of struggle used by the proletariat in its clash with the bourgeoisie. But it has been and remains one of the lowest forms, which must be combined and increasingly more connected with various other actions and forms of the struggle for social and political rights, the starting point to lead without fail to battles of a higher level, to political, final battles, the seizure of political power, and liberation from oppression and wanton exploitation by the bourgeoisie.

Another thesis of the reformist and revisionist trade union bosses who serve the bourgeoisie is the demand that the trade unions keep aloof from «ideology». Their preachings about the «neutrality» or «autonomy» of the trade union movement from the political party of the

working class, etc., originate from this. This deception aims to divorce the working class and the trade union movement from their headquarters, the Marxist-Leninist proletarian political party, which is their guiding, leading, organizing and inspiring force.

The history of the labour and trade union movement bears witness to the fact that there can be no social movement deprived of ideology, that every social movement or organisation has its own political views by which its practical activity is guided. The same with the trade unions: they cannot be excluded from the policy and ideology of the class to which they belong and which they serve. The problem is, which ideology is to be dominant – the bourgeois, reformist, revisionist ideology, or the proletarian, revolutionary, class ideology.

The great noise which the reformist and revisionist chieftains make about so-called trade union «autonomy» is merely deception and demagogy to divert the working class and the tradeunion movement from the revolutionary class struggle, confining the action of the working class and tradeunion movement to an area within bourgeois legality, without impairing the capitalist system. In fact, by acting in this way, they make a set political choice convenient to the bourgeoisie.

Bearers of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the working class

The bourgeois ideologists, supported by the reformists and revisionists, are intensifying their efforts to get all their ideological baggage into the trade union movement, to propagate and spread their views and «theories» about the ideological moulding of the working class and the tradeunion movement, so as to deceive them and lead them astray. They are trying to show that radical changes are allegedly occurring today in the entire structure of the capitalist society, that capitalism has changed and is gradually losing its exploiting class character, that the working class is ceasing to be proletarian, that it is being bourgeoisified and integrated within capitalism, that the class differentiations between it and the capitalists continue to narrow etc. These

theses were revived in the ranks of the tradeunion movement, particularly in these last 15-20 years, as a result of revisionist treachery.

The reformist and revisionist trade union chieftains are spreading in the tradeunion movement the «theory» of structural reforms, according to which the ratio of forces and the structure of capitalist society allegedly offer the possibility of change within the framework of the bourgeois system, without a class struggle, through the legal roads of «nationalisation», «public control» over all investments, the «economic programme» of the country, «participation of workers in administering and running» capitalist enterprises, etc. Thus, in their opinion, through one reform after another, capitalism is allegedly being transformed into socialism. «Action for reforms constitutes a strategy of struggle, and as a result, it changes the ratio of forces between classes», the theses of the 7th Congress of the Italian General Confederation of Labour say.

Reality shows quite the opposite – that reforms do not change the ratio of forces between classes in the capitalist system, that they are not decisive, and as such, they do not solve the fundamental problems of the working class. Therefore, a realistic and critical stand must be adopted towards them, exposing their thoroughly bourgeois content and essence in order to eliminate any illusions that may arise, and to deepen the class character of the labour movement.

Many new theories and theses are being propagated by bourgeois sociologists to show that, as a result of the great phenomena and changes in the world, the modern capitalist society is allegedly being «renovated», that classes are disappearing, that monopoly capitalism is allegedly losing its exploiting and oppressive character, that in the «consumer society» we are faced with a qualitative change of the social and economic position of the working class, «its gradual disappearance», its «deproletarianization» and «integration» in capitalism, etc. As a result of the technical and scientific revolution, the reformist and revisionist tradeunion chieftains declare, in the capitalist society, technical progress is gradually transformed into social progress, which allegedly brings about more material goods for the workers and creates new relations eliminating class differences.

All these bourgeois-revisionist preachings aim on the one hand to create the impression that the oppressive and exploitative nature of the capitalist society is changing, that class differences are disappearing, therefore there is no more need for class struggle, and on the other to negate the revolutionary character and the historical leading role of the working class, with a view to curbing and slackening its militant vigour and spirit. These theses are being increasingly more included in the practice of the reformist and revisionist trade unions, which demand that the role of the trade unions be one of collaboration with capitalism and the solution of contradictions through agreements from above, in the framework of the bourgeois constitution.

Another thesis of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the working class is that of social «partnership», loudly propagated by the reformist and revisionist chieftains of the trade unions, according to which all the conditions have allegedly now been created for the workers so that they can not only produce but also take a direct part in administering the capitalist enterprise, in planning production and distributing its income, i.e. the workers can administer and manage the capitalist enterprises jointly with the owners. A resolution by the reformist trade unions of West Germany says, «Today the demand for economic joint administration is the concern of all the trade unions in all the developed western countries. The reformist trade union chieftains even go so far as to say that «the workers can place capital under their direct control», through shares they themselves buy.

This whole set of «theories» and theses to defend monopoly capitalism, in open conflict with working class interests, is being propagated and spread by the reformist and revisionist trade union centres which, by their activity, have become the bearers of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the working class.

Social basis of reformist and revisionist trade union leadership

The working class aristocracy and trade union bureaucracy have always been a major social basis for spreading reform-

mist and revisionist views in the trade union movement.

The bourgeoisie and the monopolies, as in the past so at present too, are striving to corrupt and win over the most wavering part of the working class, which is mainly represented by qualified workers, by the so-called «working class aristocracy», and transform it into an opportunist and reformist petty bourgeoisie which fears the revolution. As Stalin described it, this «... is the higher stratum of the working class, the most secure part of the proletariat, which tends to effect compromise with the bourgeoisie, and reconcile itself with and submit to the more powerful, aiming thereby to enter their ranks».

This worker «élite» gradually divorces itself from the mass of the working class, embarks on the road of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and differs little from the bourgeoisie with regard to its economic situation, concepts, and way of thinking. It becomes the exponent of the interests and world outlook of the bourgeoisie. According to the interests it defends, it counterposes itself to the working class, and strives to curb their revolutionary spirit, displaying this tendency in practice in all the various strikes and actions by the working class.

By supporting, sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly, the antipopular measures and policy of the bourgeoisie, the worker aristocracy in fact plays the role of an agent of the bourgeoisie, as a fifth column and bearer of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the working class; without this aid the bourgeoisie would be unable to dominate the working class.

The stratum of the worker aristocracy strives to preserve its position and privileges at any cost, zealously serving the bourgeoisie. It is as much concerned to preserve capitalism as the bourgeoisie itself. Therefore, the bourgeoisie in fact sees to it that as its profits, increase it swells the ranks of the working class aristocracy, leading to marked differentiations of wages among the various strata of workers, technicians or employees, differences which in some cases amount to three or four times the usual wage.

In the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries, with the transformation of socialist ownership into a special form of capitalist ownership, and with the

restoration of capitalist relations of production, just as in the capitalist countries, a new privileged stratum was born and is developing from the ranks of the working class, directly linked with the sphere of production. Due to the economic treatment and privileges it enjoys, this new stratum has divorced itself from the working class in both the material and ideological aspects. This stratum, which includes workers of high categories, heads of sections and departments of production, etc., belongs to the new Soviet bourgeoisie, and is the main support of revisionism.

Besides the working class aristocracy, a powerful backing and another important lever for the present monopoly bourgeoisie is provided by the tradeunion bureaucracy, which includes officials of central and grass-roots trade unions, workers of the press, educational and cultural institutions dependent on them, etc. It is this very bulk of tradeunion bureaucracy, steadily growing, out of the control of rank and file members, which effectively directs the entire internal and external activity of these trade unions.

The stratum of tradeunion bureaucracy, which has emerged from the midst of the working class, although speaking on the latter's behalf, has in fact betrayed the interests of the working class. It is conscious that it can preserve its privileged positions only if it is not opposed to the desires and demands of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is keen to see that, along with the growth of the working class, the numbers in the tradeunion worker bureaucracy increase, with a view to influencing and controlling the working class better. According to official data, certainly minimized, in the USA there is one paid trade union official for every 300 trade union members, while in Sweden the proportion is 1 to 1,700, and in Britain 1 to about 2,000 trade union members.

The trade union leaders gain very high incomes. The trade union and bourgeois press itself is compelled to admit that in many cases, the salaries of trade union leaders surpass those of the heads of capitalist corporations and trusts. Thus, for instance, the former president of the West German trade unions, Ludwig Rosenberg, received about 400,000 marks annually; Tonny Boyle, former president of the United Mine workers Union in the USA, received 50,000 dollars a year. Tradeunionism in Western Europe and

the USA has become «big business», for its leaders. The example of this business tradeunionism are many. «The theory of business trade unionism, J. Daner, writes, «creates incredible corruption in the personal life of the main leaders. The leaders of the trade unions live like lords, with salaries amounting to 30,000-75,000 dollars a year. Luxurious cars are part of their personal property. This way of living incites greed further».

Besides the high salaries they receive from the trade unions they direct, many trade union officials at the same time get large incomes from important functions they perform in the bourgeois state, as congressmen, members of parliament, directors or functionaries of such institutions as pensions funds, social insurances funds, working men's banks, etc. This is the reason why a fierce struggle for power takes place among trade union leaders to manage the trade union organizations. They resort to every means in order to prolong their stay in the trade union leadership - from deception and threats to intrigues and murders. As a result of an enquiry conducted by a senate commission in the USA, though it was very limited, many cases of corruption and crime came to light. It says, «methods such as crime and violence in all their forms, deception, blackmail, falsification of credentials and general corruption, have been considered useful means of seizing power by some local sections of the trade unions». An eloquent example in this respect was the assassination, in December 1968, of the leader of the United Mine workers Union in the USA, J. Jablonsky and his family. In the USA, we are faced in fact with a trade union Mafia, the strings of which lead to the CIA.

Trade Union bureaucracy does not act only within the trade unions. It has also emerged from them, becoming increasingly the zealous accomplice and a tool of the capitalist state and monopolies. This trade union stratum takes an active part in all the organs set up by the capitalist state and the employers. Thus, in capitalist countries there is an interweaving of the function of trade union leaders and that of state leader. Frequently, trade union leaders are entrusted with important functions in the state apparatus, or in capitalist companies or trusts. Even when the trade union leaders leave their trade union functions, they are given high posts in the State administration or the mono-

polies. Thus, for example, Arthur Goldberg, former representative of the AFL-CIO in Indonesia, was appointed as permanent representative of the USA to the United Nations Organisation. When Walter Citrine resigned as general secretary of the British Trade Unions Congress, he became a member of the National Coal Board, and later on director of the Electricity Council. In capitalist countries, it is very easy for the opportunist trade union leaders to move from trade union posts to state or monopoly posts, or vice versa. In these conditions it is difficult to distinguish between the trade union boss, the businessman and the state official.

A bureaucratic caste has also been created in the ranks of the revisionist trade unions in the capitalist countries, today enjoying many privileges and rights which have been legalized. «The Workers Constitution» in Italy, approved in June 1970, gives the trade-union bosses the right not to be dismissed and transferred from work except with the permission of their tradeunion centres. They enjoy the right to paid leave, absence from work for tradeunion meetings, etc. According to the above mentioned constitution, the freedom and organization of the working class are restrained. This right remains legally a monopoly of the reformist, revisionist and fascist trade union centres.

With the restoration of capitalist relations of production in the Soviet Union and in other revisionist countries, the new bourgeoisie which has been created includes the trade union officials, who constitute a privileged and bureaucratized «élite». The swollen apparatus of the trade unions in these countries has replaced lively trade union social work with the limited and closed work of the bureaucratic trade union apparatus, which decides on everything.

But the working class aristocracy and trade union bureaucracy should in no way be identified with the working class, because they constitute a very small section, and opposing interests and contradictions exist between them and the working class; these are often manifested in a practical way, during various strikes and actions.

* * *

It is a fact that the trade union bosses of a reformist or revisionist type, and

their entire apparatus in capitalist countries, have no essential differences of principle between them, only tactical, short-term differences. They have all embraced the line of capitulation and class collaboration with the monopoly bourgeoisie, and have transformed themselves into a fire brigade aiming to curb the revolutionary actions of the working class. They have not only adapted their tradeunion activity to the bourgeois order, but have also become its collaborators and partners, an integral part of its structure, the spokesmen of big monopolies, of the capitalist state, which often subsidizes them.

The reformist and revisionist trends, as a product of the pressure of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the working class and trade union movement, serve the bourgeoisie directly, because they aim to perpetuate capitalist enslavement of the working class by disarming it politically and ideologically. Therefore, uncompromising struggle against these trends in the trade union movement constitutes an urgent, major task.

Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 6th Congress of the PLA that «... the awakening of the working class, and its coming to the forefront of the revolutionary struggle, cannot be achieved without waging a determined struggle also in the heart of the reformist trade unions themselves against the line and stands of their bourgeois bosses, so as to expose and isolate them from the masses of the workers». And in fact life is confirming that, as a result of the determined struggle being waged by the working class in the ranks of the reformist and revisionist trade unions, a deep crisis is observable in these trade unions and a large gap separates the workers and the tradeunion bosses who are being exposed by the rank-and-file members demanding essential changes.

The working class itself, led by the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, liberated from the influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and various petty-bourgeois trends, and armed with its own scientific ideology, Marxism-Leninism, through action and struggle, will blaze new trails to promote the revolutionary struggle, smash the exploiting capitalist system, seize political power, and construct the new socialist and communist society.

THE WORKING CLASS IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY TODAY

by HARILLA PAPAORGJI

THE WORKING CLASS IS THE MAIN FORCE IN THE PRODUCTION OF MATERIAL GOODS. LED BY ITS MARXIST PARTY, IT IS THE MOST PROGRESSIVE AND THE MOST REVOLUTIONARY CLASS OF SOCIETY; ITS HISTORICAL MISSION IS THE OVERTHROW AND DESTRUCTION OF CAPITALISM AND, JOINTLY WITH IT, THE LIQUIDATION OF ANY KIND OF EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN, AND THE BUILDING OF THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST SOCIETY. BUT PRECISELY BECAUSE THIS IS SO, AND DUE TO THE FACT THAT THE PROBLEM OF THE POSITION AND ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN SOCIETY IS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE, BOTH THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL, AT THE PRESENT TIME, EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD, A GREAT DEBATE AND AN IRRECONCILABLE STRUGGLE ARE BEING CARRIED OUT ABOUT THIS QUESTION BETWEEN THE MARXIST IDEOLOGISTS ON THE ONE SIDE AND THE BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST IDEOLOGISTS ON THE OTHER.

The idea of the world historical mission of the proletariat as grave digger of capitalism and bearer of the new socialist and communist social order has been described by Lenin as «the principal feature of Marx's doctrine», and a great revolutionary discovery. The more correctly the boundary dividing the working class from the other classes and strata of society is set, the more accurate are the conclusions reached by the Marxist-Leninist parties on the development of the revolutionary process, and the more just is the scientific content of the decisions adopted and the studies carried out in this field. The teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, of our party and of comrade Enver Hoxha are a guide in adopting a correct revolutionary stand in this great debate and irreconcilable struggle.

HARRILLA PAPAORGJI — *economist*.

Of course, the social changes taking place at the present time, and the technical and scientific revolution which is being carried out today in most of the capitalist and revisionist countries, have also exercised an influence, as regards the development of the working class, the increase of its ranks with new groups and strata of workers and the change in the character of work, its mechanization and automation, which has made it necessary to raise the education level and technical and professional skill of some of the workers.

But precisely through a profound scientific analysis of these changes that have occurred, we also prove the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the working class has been and remains the main productive force of society, the main force for the overthrow of the bourgeois-

In opposition to the erroneous view of the bourgeois and revisionist sociologists and economists, who negate or undervalue the leading, vanguard role of the working class, this class has been and remains the main productive force of society, the main leading force for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie through the proletarian revolution, and the fundamental factor for the construction of socialism

sie through the proletarian revolution and the main factor for the building of socialism.

The bourgeois and revisionist sociologists, philosophers, historians and economists, interpreting these changes in the fold of the working class in a one-sided, idealistic, subjectivist manner, and with set counterrevolutionary aims, are trying to «argue» the opposite. In one way or another, by all kinds of falsifications, they try to negate the historical role and mission of the working class, as the most progressive and the most revolutionary class history has ever known. They speculate with some new phenomena of present-day capitalism, particularly on the development of the technical and scientific revolution, state monopoly capitalism, etc.

But the essence of the preachings and aims followed by the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists in this field is not new. The enemies of Marxism-Leninism have always tried to negate the decisive place and role of the working class in life and society, its revolutionary character, and its hegemony in the revolution. Lenin in his time had to wage a great struggle to defend the Marxist concept about the world historical mission of the proletariat from the distortions of Russian and international reformists and opportunists. In this struggle, he created a complete doctrine about the position and hegemony of the proletariat, which became a startingpoint in working out correct strategy and tactics for the communist movement and led this movement to great historic victories. The present day bourgeois and revisionist «theories», united in chorus, are a continuation in other forms and ways of the distortions of the old reformists and opportunists about the role of the working class and its historical mission.

In these conditions, defending the precepts of Marxism-Leninism about the social position of the working class and its role and hegemony in society, in close connection with reality and revolutionary practice, is both an important and urgent duty. The scientific analysis of facts and reality fully confirms, even in the current conditions, the correctness of the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism in this field, and shows the complete falsity of the theories of the bourgeois and revisionist sociologists and ideologists.

1.

Considering the worker only as someone engaged in heavy manual work, which requires neither education nor particular skill, many bourgeois and revisionist ideologists are trying to «argue» that allegedly in the current conditions of the great development of the technical and scientific revolution, as the importance of manual work in production gradually diminishes, the working class loses its position and role in production and in social life; this position and role is thus assumed by the intelligentsia, particularly the technical and scientific intelligentsia in production. The technical and scientific revolution which is being carried out in the world today, they say, is allegedly leading to the «deproletarianisation» of capitalist society and to the elimination of the working class, or «blue collar» men, as they call the workers, in favour of the «gray collar» men (technicians) and the «white collar» men (intelligentsia). Thus, as the number of «white collars» grows, and, under the influence of the technical and scientific revolution, the number of workers engaged in manual work relatively diminishes, they draw the conclusion about the reduction of the importance of the working class. Thus, Gailbraith, a bourgeois ideologist, writes that allegedly «the industrial society has relatively, and very likely absolutely too, decreased the demand for workers»; while another bourgeois ideologist, Marcuse, proceeding, from the same consideration, repeats the banal statement of many bourgeois economists and sociologists that Marxism has allegedly become «obsolete», and arrives at the conclusion that «the situation of the working class in the conditions of the technical and scientific revolution makes Marx's proletariat a mythological category». Thus, Marx's conclusion that the proletariat is a class which grows parallel with the very development of capitalism allegedly does not hold water.

Such statements are thoroughly erroneous both from the viewpoint of the anti-scientific basis from which their advocates proceed in conceiving capital in general, and the proletariat in particular and consequently also in their analysis of the situation and the wrong and reactionary conclusions they arrive at. Reality itself refutes their statements.

True, the technical and scientific revolution and the ever greater transformation of science into a direct productive force is bringing about changes in the social structure of capitalist society. In the major part of the developed capitalist countries there is a perceptible increase in the number of men employed as technicians, and in the intelligentsia, especially technical and scientific. In its economic aspect, this is based on the increase of labour productivity in the sphere of material production, through the intensification of the work of machine operators, at a time when in the non-productive sphere, labour productivity remains low. Moreover the application on a broader scale of the achievements of science and technology, to increase the profits of the capitalists, has brought about as a natural consequence the numerical growth of the technical and scientific intelligentsia. These changes, however, by no means show the «deproletarianisation» of the capitalist society.

In the first place, capital cannot exist without its opposite, the proletariat. «Proletarian» in the economic sense, «Marx has said», must imply merely the wage earner who produces and increases «capital», and who is fired as soon as he becomes superfluous to the requirements of the increased value of capital» (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, vol. 23, page 628).

It is a fact that today in the capitalist world, the number of wage earners as a proportion of the total working population is steadily rising. In the 1960-1972 period, the number of wage earners in the capitalist world increased by 21 per cent (from 190 million to 230 million persons); and the industrial proletariat was about 116 million persons, or 51.7 per cent of all wage earners. This process is developing at a faster rate in the USA, Canada and Japan. Today the general tendency is an increase in the number of wage earners and low salaried employees. These two categories account now for 70-95 per cent of the active population in the main capitalist countries. The process of the polarisation of capitalist society is deepening steadily. From the 50's up to the beginning of the 70's, this process was accompanied by the mass ruin of the labouring peasantry, the small producers and some of the middle-sized producers, both rural and urban. In bour-

geois society today this occurs not only through the expropriation of small owners, but also through their being reduced to the socio-economic position of proletarians, and through the rising number of specialists and technicians who work directly in production, and men and women who work in the sphere of services. Thus, in the conditions of the technical and scientific revolution, the proletariat is not eliminated, but its social composition becomes more complex, with more numerous strata.

Secondly, it is entirely naive, simplistic, anti-scientific and reactionary to conceive, as do the bourgeois ideologists, that the working class is a class allegedly made up of only those workers who engage in purely manual work. In this respect, some of them are trying to distort Marxism too, as the American philosopher Marcuse does when he alleges that Marx sees the proletarian as above all someone engaged in manual work, who in the process of work consumes his physical energy. They need this distortion in order to create illusions that the conclusion they draw (i.e. in the conditions of the development of the technical and scientific revolution today, and the mechanisation and automation of production, the working class has allegedly almost disappeared or is disappearing) should be accepted by the Marxists, too.

However Marxism-Leninism has never identified the proletarian with the man engaged in purely manual work. Today in particular such a narrow anti-Marxist concept cannot be taken as a basis, because the boundary between manual work and mental work, in the process of the development of the technical and scientific revolution, is being constantly blurred. Today we see a general trend toward the intellectualisation of manual work, together with the demand for an increased educational level and qualifications among workers. It is a fact that with the development of the productive forces, there is taking place both the quantitative and qualitative growth of the working class, which not only refutes the conclusion of the bourgeois ideologists that the working class is allegedly disappearing, but also shows its increased importance as the main productive force of society.

In dealing with this question, attention should also be paid to the fact that the

changes in the level of culture and qualification are not class changes and are not determining features for class membership. The fundamental features determining the concept of «worker» are those given by Lenin in his article «Great Initiative», on the definition of the concept of «class». He points out that «Classes are large groups of men, distinguished by the place they occupy in an historically given system of social production and by the relations they have with the means of production (relations to which, in most cases legal form and power is given), by their role in the social organization of labour and, consequently, by the way in which they receive that part of the social property they possess and the quantity of it they receive. Classes are such groups of men, that one group can appropriate the work of another group, due to the different places they occupy in a given system of social economy».

On the basis of this Leninist definition, in order to determine the place to which this or that man belongs, one must not judge from his education, culture and special skills, but in the first place from the place he occupies in the system of social production, from his relations with the means of production, from the role he plays in the social organisation of labour and, consequently, from the quantity of the income he receives and the way he receives it. It follows from this that in the conditions of capitalist society, workers (proletarians) are all those working people who are deprived of ownership of the means of production, who sell their labour power to the capitalist, who directly take part in productive work or in the sphere of circulation and service, and who create surplus value for the capitalist. In this sense, whether someone belongs to the working class does not depend on the degree of his skill, or on the tools of work with which he works and produces, whether simple or modern tools, up to entirely mechanized, automated plants. Nor can the determining criterion be merely the proportion of mental work in relation to manual work.

It is only natural, with the development of technology, the means of production, the widespread development of the technical and scientific revolution, and the mechanisation and automation of the production processes, that the re-

lation between manual work and mental work, and the level of qualification of the workers, should change, as well as the proportion of mental work to manual work. Looking at the question from this angle, we would say that a part of the production technicians those who directly produce by themselves and are not engaged in managerial and organising work, cannot fail to be considered a part of the working class; although for the time being this category of workers, even in the most developed capitalist countries, is in the minority. Thus, for instance, in France it does not constitute more than 2,1 per cent of the active population. Its rapid growth, particularly in some branches of industry with advanced, complex technological production processes, represents the future of the working class, which will have higher mass qualifications.

2.

There is no basis for another «theory», extensively propagated by the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, according to which present-day capitalist society has entered a stage in which the process of «deproletarianisation» is taking place, because any development allegedly leads to the transformation of the working class into «co-proprietors» and «co-managers», thus to a «community of interests». Hence there are no more proletarians and capitalists, while production is being allegedly placed at the service of the «collective good». In inventing and propagating this «theory», they go by, among other things, some phenomena which have developed especially since the second world war, such as the development of state monopoly capitalism, etc.

First and foremost it must be said that the extension of state monopoly capitalism since the second world war is an indisputable phenomenon, which has occurred and is occurring in all the developed capitalist states. A series of important sectors of the economy have become the property of the capitalist state in the USA, Britain, the Federal German Republic, France, Italy and some other countries. The capitalist state tries to play an active role in the solution of various economic and financial problems, aiming to mitigate the fundamental contradiction of

the capitalist order the contradiction between labour and capital, or the contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist character of appropriation. But do these phenomena indicate what the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists claim, that today capitalist society, through state monopoly capitalism, has essentially changed and has assumed features which are almost socialist or which allow it to be transformed naturally into socialism, or that it is allegedly creating general well-being?

Engels in his time refuted the ideas of the opportunists, according to which the passage of individual sectors of production into the hands of the capitalist state must be considered as a socialist measure. Ironically examining such views, he says: «If the state monopoly of tobacco is socialism, then Napoleon and Metternich must undoubtedly be included among the founders of socialism» (Engels, «Anti-Durhing»). And he continues further: «The present day state, whatever its form, is by its very nature a capitalist machine, a state of the capitalists, the ideal collective capitalist. The more productive forces it takes under its ownership, the more complete will be its transformation into a collective capitalist, and it will exploit a greater number of citizens. The workers remain wage earners, proletarians». (Op. cit).

The reality of the capitalist countries today refutes the statements of the bourgeois economists. The working class in these countries, even today, just as previously, remains deprived of ownership over the means of production, because the socio-economic conditions have remained unchanged. Suffice it to mention that today in the USA, a mere 3 per cent of worker families buy and sell shares. All in all these constitute only 0.2 per cent of the total value of shares. 72 per cent of the workers who own shares gain from both their work and their shares incomes that are below the minimum level needed for a livelihood. Comrade Enver Hoxha, generalizing the current phenomena of capitalism, at the 6th Congress of the PLA, pointed out that, «the working class, despite the changes the capitalist world has undergone, is deprived of any kind of ownership over the means of production, or control of its management, organisation and aims. The so-called «con-

sumer society» has not been created to fulfill the needs of the working people, but to intensify their exploitation and to increase the profits of the capitalists».

The distortions concerning the nature of the capitalist order have gone so far that some bourgeois ideologists, claim even the capitalists are no longer capitalists; because they no longer manage the enterprises; this management has now passed into the hands of technocratic administrators, and is allegedly done in the interests of society. On this basis, they speak of a «managerial revolution».

In fact there can be no question at all of a revolution in this direction. Irrespective of who administers the enterprises, the means of production are the private property of the capitalists, and the profits go into their pockets. The «managers» are merely representatives of the capitalists and carry out their will. They themselves are usually large shareholders, ensure great privileges and high incomes from their posts, and appropriate a part of the surplus value created by the workers. The separation of functioning capital from owner capital by no means changes the essence of the capitalist order, as an order based on the exploitation of man by man.

In these conditions, in the capitalist countries, there is a constantly deepening process of the concentration of ownership over capital in the hands of a diminishing group of owners, and the main place is held by the financial oligarchy. In the USA 500 monopoly companies produce almost 50 per cent of goods and services.

The strengthening of the monopolies, the concentration and centralisation of capital in their hands, and the wide scale exploitation of budget finances and the state sector to increase monopoly profits, refute both the theory of «co-ownership» and that of «democratisation of management» in the conditions of the capitalist mode of production; consequently, they also refute the claims about the «deproletarianisation» of the capitalist society. Present-day capitalism, irrespective of the forms bourgeois ownership assumes, is a socio-economic order based on the divorce of the worker from the means of production, an order expressing diametrically opposed economic and political interests on the part of workers and bourgeoisie.

3.

Another variant of the claims of the bourgeois ideologists, which pursues the same aims; and is becoming a dominant theory in the capitalist world, is the technocratic and intellectualist theory according to which the technical and scientific revolution is leading to such growth in the weight and role of the technical and scientific intelligentsia that the latter is being transformed into a «new class» which is allegedly displacing the role of the working class, as well as that of the bourgeoisie, and is taking in hand the running of the country. Thus, in their opinion, presentday capitalism is undergoing a qualitative change: old-style capitalism is now being replaced by the «new industrial» or «post industrial society», the «computer – electronic society», or more briefly, the «computer society». In this society, they say, it is no longer the financial plutocracy who will dominate, but the wise scientists, skilled in intellectual technology. Allegedly a new type of relations of production is being created, characterized by the intellectualism of all social connections. The overwhelming majority of the population will be employed in service sectors and in those places of work which employ intellectuals; consequently, the working class will disappear. This chorus is joined by some of the revisionist sociologists. They openly state that the bearer of the present-day class consciousness is the so-called «new working class» which is made up of highly skilled engineers, technicians, workers and employees (See the review «Problems of peace and socialism», Russian edition, 1969, Nr. 2, p. 49).

All the «new» definitions we mentioned above do not use the term, «capitalism». The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists fetishize so much the technical and scientific revolution, in the field of its social, political and ideological consequences too, that some of them, like the Italian U. Spirito, openly state that «...science and technology have actually led to an unprecedented union. Technology has attained victory over parties and politics, with its inner logic and its inevitable consequences». Many social-democratic ideologists openly state that «Marxism has become obsolete», and that at the present time a «new epoch» has begun in the

history of mankind, in which classes are disappearing. In their opinion, there is no longer a place for class struggle in the modern technocratic society, because now it is no longer a question of exploiters and exploited, but only of «consumers» of material goods. Similar ideas are advocated, along with others, by the ideologists of West German imperialism. Thus according to the German Christian-Democratic leader, L. Erhard, West German society, in the present conditions of the technical and scientific revolution, has allegedly overcome class contradictions and «...is no longer composed of classes and groups. In its essence, it is cooperativist, i.e. it is based on the interests and the collaboration of all groups». L. Erhard calls this society a «formed society».

It is not difficult to see the absurdity of these views of the bourgeois and revisionist socialologists about the disappearance of classes and the class struggle, the role of the working class being taken by the technical and scientific intelligentsia; and the transformation of the intelligentsia into a main productive force, and the sole bearer of social progress, into an independent and principal motive force in the development of current society. Despite this, the extension of these views among the working masses, and in the ranks of the intelligentsia, does a great deal of harm to the labour and revolutionary movement. The view that the intelligentsia and the students are independent and principal forces in the revolution, comrade Enver Hoxha said in his report at the 6th Party Congress, creates confusion in some untempered militants and in various sections of the population, especially among the student youth and young intellectuals. Therefore, the Marxist-Leninist parties and the Marxist sociologists rightfully expose these views, and reveal their anti-scientific and counterrevolutionary character.

In fact, despite the important consequences the technical and scientific revolution brings about in social relations, in the situation of the classes and social strata, in the political superstructure, and in the ideology of the society, these changes have not led nor can they lead to an automatic transformation of the capitalist society into something qualitatively different. They are changes that take place within the framework of the bourgeois order, and which do not affect

the foundations of the economic and political domination of the bourgeoisie.

It is true that the technical and scientific revolution brings about the growth of the weight and role of the intelligentsia. This is connected with the fact that science today has become a directly productive force, and not only industrial production, but all the other sectors of the economy and culture, cannot advance without being based on science. The struggle for maximum profits and competition compel the capitalists and their state to make investments for the development of science and technology. The number of people who, prior to starting work in production, must have training, differentiated according to the needs of the capitalists, is increasing.

But such a reality by no means shows a «deproletarianisation» of capitalist society in favour of a «new class» of intelligentsia. The basis of capitalist production continues to be represented by the wage earners; in capitalist countries today, they consist of more than 230 million persons, the overwhelming majority of whom are semi-skilled or unskilled. The class features of the presentday capitalist world are entirely different from those presented by the propagators of the so-called modern technocratic society, in which classes allegedly disappear and it is a question merely of «consumers» of material goods. Precisely at the time when the West German L. Erhard, whom we mentioned above, speaking about a «formed society», in the Federal German Republic there existed the following class structure: the working class constituted 75 per cent of the country's population, the high bourgeoisie 5.8 per cent, the middle bourgeoisie 13.5 per cent and the intelligentsia 6.5 per cent. While it was claimed that in the Federal German Republic «there are no more classes», there existed in that country 11,163 millionaires whose estates were valued at 38 billion marks.

Thus, the capitalist reality clearly shows that the technical and scientific revolution and the other new phenomena that have appeared in the capitalist economy have by no means changed the nature of the capitalist order, which even today is in essence the same as that analyzed by Marx and Lenin. The economic basis of capitalism, i.e. private ownership over the means of production, has remained

intact. The exploitation of man by man has not been touched, either; indeed the scale of this exploitation has been still more extended. Profit is the motive force of capitalist production. The concentration of production and the reinforcement of the monopolies, the enrichment of the bourgeoisie and the worsening of the situation of the proletariat, competition and anarchy in production, economic crises and chronic unemployment, are all phenomena characteristic of capitalism today. Also, the political basis of the capitalist order has remained intact. The state power continues to be a dictatorship in the hands of the bourgeoisie, particularly of the big monopoly bourgeoisie, which uses it to oppress the working class and its revolutionary movement. The fundamental criteria in judging and defining the nature of a socio-economic order is precisely its economic and political basis, not technique and technology.

On the basis of the scientific analysis of this reality of the capitalists world, comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that «the ideologists of the monopoly bourgeoisie are trying to convince the working people that the technical and scientific revolution which is taking place today in the world is allegedly eliminating the evils of capitalism, reforming it, eliminating classes and class antagonism, and replacing the capitalist owners with technocratic administrators. On this basis, they announce that the old capitalist system of exploitation, the class struggle and the necessity for proletarian revolution, are overcome. In reality, behind the so-called «industrial society» or «technocratic society» there lies the savage oppression of the working people by the capitalist monopolies and by state-monopoly capitalism», (Enver Hoxha, «Report and speeches», 1969-1970, p. 193). Therefore, not only can there be no question of the «deproletarianisation» of the present-day capitalist society, but its proletarianisation is being steadily intensified. —

4.

Many bourgeois and reformist sociologists, feeling that it is difficult to deny the existence of the working class, claim that it has allegedly been bourgeoisified and integrated into the capitalist system,

consequently, it no longer constitutes a revolutionary class.

Denying the revolutionary, progressive role of the working class, the American bourgeois ideologist Marcuse says that in the present-day totalitarian industrial society one can see no internal force whatever to overcome it, that the proletariat has lost its class and revolutionary features, has been definitely integrated into the system, and adopts a negative stand towards the need for radical transformation.

Other European bourgeois and opportunist ideologists seek to pose as original in assessing the role of the working class and the capitalist order existing in Western Europe. In their opinion, the problems of present-day capitalism can be solved by the bourgeois state and the other bourgeois institutions. The Marxist-Leninist theory about the proletarian revolution, as the only guide for the solution of social contradictions, is declared by them to be inapplicable in our time. According to the French sociologists, R. Aron, the increase in labour productivity, the rationalisation of machinery, and the perfecting of the organisation of production, «automatically» wipe out the class distinctions in «western industrial society». Hence he draws the conclusion that the «revolution of which Marx spoke has been left behind us».

A common slogan used by these bourgeois theoreticians is «technological determinism», or the direct dependence of social changes on changes in technology. Social systems, in their opinion, play a subjugated, second-rate role, in relation to technical systems: technology is an «independent variable», while the social system is a «dependent variable». In order to argue this «technological determinism», the bourgeois ideologists frequently cite, in a vulgarized manner, the Marxist thesis that the change in productive forces and above all in the means of production represents the main basis of social development. «In the West», — Aron says, «many persons are accepting one of the Marxist ideas, the idea of the primacy of productive forces». Therefore, in his opinion, the working class has given up revolutionary transformations, because it can achieve its aims within the framework of the capitalist order.

It is a known fact that, in the conditions of the development of productive

forces and of the great intensification of the labour of the workers, as a result of the struggle of the working class and of the other labouring masses for better working and living conditions, in some developed capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie has made some concessions to the working people in the field of wellbeing, in order to exploit them more intensively in the future, and to make them slaves of the bourgeois way of thinking and living. Nevertheless, this does not mean, as the bourgeois ideologists preach, that allegedly the material interests of the working class and of the other working people in the capitalist countries have been fulfilled, and that there is no more need for concern in this field.

Today, even in the most developed capitalist countries, the USA included, many categories of working people live in poverty, in the most basic meaning of the term; they have bad housing, they have not enough food and clothing, and they do not receive medical assistance. The American government itself has admitted that 45 million Americans, i.e. about one quarter of the whole population are poor. Of these, 30 million persons «have been afflicted by terrible poverty». And here it is not simply a question of the blacks and the other non-white working people. Of these 30 million, two-thirds are white (Data from «Economic Notes», June 1968). About 8 million men, women and children are so poor that they live purely on charity. Thus, even in the most developed capitalist country, poverty is a mass phenomenon. And this contradiction appears still more clearly in the framework of the entire capitalist system of the world economy. In spite of the achievements of present day science and technology, over two-thirds of the population of the capitalist world, mainly those in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, uses in general primitive work tools, and suffers from hunger, endemic disease and illiteracy. The very nature of capitalism is such that it promotes the growth of discrepancies between the new demands of the proletariat and the impossibility of having them fulfilled. The growth of this tendency is one of the expressions or forms of the worsening situation of the working class, and this worsening cannot fail to be accompanied by a revolutionary outburst.

But here we must clarify another ques-

tion of principled importance. Marxism-Leninism, when dealing with the revolutionary character of the working class, has not linked this only with their material situation, the degree of poverty, and the low level of working and living conditions. The revolutionary character of the proletariat is conditioned by many other no less important conditions and circumstances.

The birth of the working class is connected, firstly, with its liberation from feudal obligations, i.e. with the acquirement of the right to freely sell its manpower, and secondly, with its being deprived of the right of ownership over the means of production, i.e. with removing from its hands these means, and compelling it to work for wages in the private property of the capitalists. Marx has said that «the working class belongs to the capitalist, in the same way as the dead work tool does». Therefore, it is interested more than any other class in overthrowing these relations of oppression and exploitation. But the working class can do this only when it has political power in its own hands. However, the question of power is one of the most acute political questions. In this sense, as well as for many other reasons, the existence and growth of the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, up to powerful revolutionary outbursts, can come about not just from purely economic factors, such as poverty, misery, and deep economic crisis, but also from political and social factors, such as the antipopular and aggressive policy of the bourgeois ruling circles, the danger of fascism, the elimination or limitation of national sovereignty and independence, the loss of or threat to democratic freedoms and rights, the danger of moral degeneration, etc.

The working class, with its party at the head, is the only class that can realize the leading role in the struggle for socialism.

From the moment of its birth the working class carries out, in various forms, a class struggle against the bourgeoisie and, through this struggle, it comes closer together as a class in itself, and recognizes its fundamental interests, i.e. it transforms itself, in the words of Marx and Engels, from a «class in itself» into a «class for itself». Of course, its elevation to such a high level of consciousness

cannot be achieved spontaneously, but only through class clashes. In this, the role of the subjective factor is very great. The working class urgently needs its vanguard detachment, its genuine Marxist-Leninist party, as elaborator of the revolutionary theory, strategy and tactics of the struggle of the working class, and as bearer of Marxist-Leninist theory in the consciousness of the class. Only by arming itself with revolutionary theory can the working class, under the leadership of its vanguard, the communist party, act in the proletarian revolution as leader of all the other labouring masses, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and, at the head of the other working masses, engage in the road of socialist construction. «The great, historic merit of Marx and Engels», Lenin has said, «consists in the fact that they showed the proletarians of all countries their role and mission the first to rise in the revolutionary struggle against capital, and rally round them in this struggle all the working people and the exploited» (V.I. Lenin, complete Works, vol. 37).

Reality is the best witness of these precepts of Marxism-Leninism, and the most convincing argument in refuting all the «theories» of the bourgeois and reformist ideologists, who seek to prove that allegedly the revolutionary spirit of the working class in the capitalist countries has steadily declined and is heading for extinction.

The strike movement, the demonstrations of the working class, and the numbers taking part in them, in the capitalist world, are always on the rise. These movements are now including, in addition to the working class, other sections of the population. In 1973 alone, over 40 million people took part in strikes. Alongside economic, social or cultural demands, the strikes and demonstrations, are increasingly taking on a more accentuated political character, because the labouring masses, and in the first place the working class, are realizing that the capitalist state stands for the bourgeoisie and its interests. These struggles are based primarily on the contradictions between labour and capital, and these contradictions are deepening everywhere. As comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 6th Congress of the Party, «Even in those countries presented by bourgeois propaganda as areas of eternal «class

peace», powerful battles are taking place between the workers and capital. There too, the social-democrat myth of «social evolution», for the creation of general wellbeing under the capitalist system has been shattered» (Enver Hoxha, Report at the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 211).

The bourgeois theories about the reduction of the revolutionary role and spirit of the working class are joined by the anti-Marxist views of the Soviet modern revisionists, and the revisionists in the capitalist countries. They need such views in order to justify the opportunist programmes worked out by their revisionist parties about the transition to socialism through the «peaceful road», «parliamentary socialism» or «democratic socialism».

The Soviet modern revisionists, and those following them, embracing the theory on productive forces long since exposed by Maxim-Leninism, deny the role of the conscious factor, the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party, in the struggle for socialism. They say that the changes occurring today in the world, as a result of the technical and scientific revolution, and the spontaneous and objective push towards socialism due to the change in the balance of power in its favour, have allegedly changed or are changing the nature of capitalism, and strengthening the «socialist elements» in it. In this way, they arrive at the conclusion that the socialist transformation of society can be achieved through the peaceful road, by means of reforms, without the need for proletarian revolution, while the struggle for socialism can allegedly be led by other non-proletarian classes and forces, and by non-Marxist-Leninist parties.

These entirely anti-Marxist views do great harm to the world revolutionary movement, because they create pacifist illusions and ideological confusion in the ranks of the working class and the other labouring masses, particularly where the revisionist parties still exert an important influence on considerable sections of the working class. Therefore, the exposure in particular of the anti-Marxist views of these parties constitutes one of the main, most important tasks of the Marxist-Leninist forces, in the service of the cause of the working class and socialist revolution.

THE KREMLIN NEOCOLONIALISTS OPPRESS AND PLUNDER THE PEOPLES

**Article from
"ZËRI I POPULLIT"**

U.S. IMPERIALISM AND SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM ARE TODAY THE MOST SAVAGE ENEMIES OF THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE PEOPLES AND THE GREATEST OPPRESSORS AND EXPLOITERS. A LONG TIME AGO, ALONGSIDE THE USA, ANOTHER NEOCOLONIALIST POWER, THE SOVIET UNION, APPEARED IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA. THE SOCIALIST MASKS AND THE DECEITFUL SLOGANS OF «AID AND COLLABORATION» CANNOT DECEIVE THE PEOPLES, WHO CLEARLY SEE THAT SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM IS AS DANGEROUS AND CUNNING AN ENEMY AS US IMPERIALISM. «THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE SOVIET UNION», COMRADE ENVER HOXHA POINTED OUT IN HIS SPEECH ON OCTOBER 3, TO HIS ELECTORS, «ARE AGGRESSIVE IMPERIALIST POWERS. THEY ARE DIVIDING THE WORLD INTO SPHERES OF INFLUENCE, AND ARE PROCEEDING TO DIVIDE AND OCCUPY WORLD MARKETS. THEIR ULTIMATE AIM IS TO DOMINATE THE ENTIRE WORLD, ALL THE PEOPLES AND ALL THE STATES»;

The methods used by the new Soviet colonialists are very diverse, but their essence is one and the same—oppression and exploitation of other peoples and countries, the brutal plundering of the natural resources and labour power of other countries and the exploitation of their strategic positions for expansionist aims. This oppressive, predatory policy is being pursued by the Kremlin chieftains both towards the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, and towards those of the developing countries.

In the Soviet Union itself, with regard to the non-Russian nationalities, the Brezh-

nev clique is applying the same policy applied by Catherine II or Nikolai Romanov. The peoples of the Baltic Republics, Central Asia, etc., are denied their national rights. A systematic plan for their russification is being carried out there, by sending in Russian settlers, ignoring the national language and culture, replacing it with Russian culture, etc. The Russian metropolis is turning these republics into sources of raw materials, fuels and agricultural products for the industry of the Russian Federation. From these republics, labour power is recruited and sent to the most distant regions of Russia, to erect

The methods used by the new Soviet colonialist are very diverse, but their essence is one and the same—oppression and exploitation of other peoples and countries, the brutal plundering of the natural resources and labour power of other countries and the exploitation of their strategic positions for expansionist aims

new industrial projects there. With the creation of so-called «economic regions», which do not conform with the borders of the non-Russian republics, these have been deprived of the right to manage their own economies. This is done by the managers of the «regions», which are under the direct control of the Russian centre; they are super-republican organs which have seriously violated the autonomous rights previously belonging to the leading organs of these republics. The official Soviet statistics show that in these republics, the native population is steadily declining as a percentage of the total population; this is a distinctive sign of their russification. For example, in 1970, as compared with 1959, according to the review «vaproši Ekonomiki», the native population had perceptibly diminished in all the non-Russian Republics. In Uzbekistan, Gruzija, Moldavia, Turkmenistan and Esthonia, the autochthonous population now represents less than 70 per cent, in Tadzikistan and Latvia less than 60 per cent, in Khirgizia less than 50 per cent, and in Kazakistan less than 33 per cent. In Khirgizia there are now more Russians

than Khirgiz or Kazaks. Such a policy of denationalisation is justified by the Moscow chieftains from the «theoretical» viewpoint; claiming that «in the framework of the Soviet Union, national borders are steadily losing their previous importance».

The new Kremlin czars are implementing their colonialist policy with savagery and violence in the countries they call «fraternal» countries, in some East European countries, and in Mongolia. By including these countries in the Warsaw Treaty, COMECON and other forms of agreements and treaties, the Soviet revisionists have turned them into provinces of their own. They have occupied these countries, and have created military bases there. These countries cannot act in any important question of foreign or internal policy without Moscow's approval. The ill-famed Brezhnevian theory of «limited sovereignty» is applied toward them. Their economy in fact is managed according to plans worked out in Moscow, according to the needs of the Soviet economy and market. By means of bipartite or multipartite contracts, the So-

viet Union compels these countries to place at its disposal their productive capacities, natural resources, the technical abilities of their workers and their labour power. The Soviet Union compels these countries to develop those branches which produce goods the metropolis is interested in and to build up those projects which will process Soviet raw materials. This has resulted in the economies of these countries taking on a one-sided development, and this has caused great damage to the peoples of these countries.

With the markets of these countries, as well as their productive branches, under its control, the Soviet Union compels them to purchase Soviet raw materials at high prices, and sell their goods to it at low prices. By means of these price «scissors», the Soviet Union gets billions upon billions of rubles profit from these countries. Within 15 years alone, it has in this way ensured from these countries over 15 billion rubles. According to the official statistics, the Soviet Union sells iron ore to its satellite countries at a price 80-100 per cent higher than to

the German Federal Republic. It sells oil to them for 25-36 per cent more than to Japan and Italy, and for up to 100 per cent more than to the German Federal Republic, Switzerland, France, Spain, etc.

The Soviet Union exploits the productive capacities of some of these countries to process Soviet raw materials, and equip its economic branches with the most up-to-date machinery and equipment. This is done with regard to the steel industry in Czechoslovakia, the engineering plants and the shipyards of the German Democratic Republic and Poland, etc. In five years alone, Poland was obliged to build for the Soviet Union ships with a total tonnage of over 260,000 tons. During three years, over 230 ships of various kinds went to the Soviet Union from the GDR. Thus, a large number of ships in the Soviet merchant fleet is built in the shipyards of satellite countries, while the Soviet shipyards are building warships. The Czechoslovak uranium industry and the Hungarian aluminium industry are in the hands of the Soviet social imperialist bosses.

The most eloquent example of Moscow's neocolonialist policy towards the «community» countries is seen in Mongolia, to which the Soviet revisionists have assigned the task of supplying Soviet tables with meat and some other agricultural and livestock products. The share of industry in the creation of Mongolia's national income has hardly reached 20 per cent. Even those industrial units that have been erected are in fact in the hands of the Soviet revisionists, and work for them. There are some factories producing animal feed, but after being fattened, the animals are sent almost without exception to the Soviet Union. The copper and molybdenum deposits are ostensibly controlled by the joint Soviet-Mongolian company «Erdenet», and the production of some other non-ferrous metals by the «Mongolsovcvetmet» joint company, but in fact they are controlled by the Soviets, who take 100 per cent of the products of these enterprises.

The Soviet Union, as a neocolonialist

power, draws cheap labour from the satellite countries. Today, tens of thousands of workers from satellite countries are working on various projects in distant regions of the Soviet Union, e.g. near Archangel, in the Komi Autonomous Republic, on building the metallurgic combine in Kursk, etc. For example, in the «Turkmenneftstroi» enterprise in Nebit-Dag, one-third of all the construction workers are Bulgarians, who are building houses, hospitals and other buildings for the Moscow chieftains.

The developing countries are an important object of the neocolonialist aims and actions of the Soviet social imperialists. Under the guise of aid, trade development, granting credits, technical scientific and cultural cooperation, the creation of joint enterprises, and in many other ways, Moscow is striving to penetrate the regions of the Middle East, Southern Asia, Africa and Latin America. The entire activity of the Kremlin chieftains in this direction has been directed toward plundering the raw material and fuel resources of the developing countries, and exploiting their geographical positions for further expansion.

In order to realize their aim of neocolonialist penetration more easily the Moscow revisionists are collaborating with the darkest forces in these countries, jointly with them, they participate in exploiting the workers and natural resources of the broad regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They are making every effort to liquidate the liberation struggles in these countries (in the Philippines, Brazil, Indonesia, Burma and elsewhere), which they consider as an obstacle in their neocolonialist path. For this reason they claim that «in these countries there are no material and social conditions for a liberation struggle», that in these countries the centre of the struggle has shifted to the economic field, and that this struggle can be won only if those countries attach themselves to «their natural ally», as the Moscow revisionists call themselves.

They exploit these countries through unequal trade, the manipulation of pri-

ces and the rate of exchange etc. They seek to shift on to them the burden of the current great economic difficulties. According to the official data, in 1972 the Soviet revisionists fulfilled about three quarters of their import needs for agricultural products and raw materials from the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In ten years they have taken from these countries goods of this type cotton, natural rubber, non-ferrous metals, food articles, etc., to the value of about 7 billion dollars. A spokesman for the Soviet revisionists has admitted that «the foreign currency incomes resulting from the settlement of the loans granted to developing countries are growing with every passing year, and this is an important contribution to balancing Soviet overseas income and expenditure». Precisely from this export of capital, and from unequal exchange, the Soviet leaders realize large profits, with these they improve their adverse balance with the main capitalist countries. According to official data, in 1972 they caused the developing countries a deficit of 702 million rubles, at a time when they themselves had an adverse balance of 912 million rubles with western countries. In 1973 the Soviet shifted a deficit of about 1 billion dollars which they incurred in their trade with the USA alone, almost onto the shoulders of the developing countries.

Let us see, through some concrete facts, how the Soviet social imperialists behave with the riches of the peoples in the developing countries, and how they implement their colonialist laws and customs there. Moscow frequently boasts about the unsparing «aid» it has given to India. The facts show that this is not aid, but wanton plunder. According to figures in the Indian press, India's debt to the Soviet Union stands at over 10 billion 200 million rupees. For every 100 rupees it receives as «aid» and «loans» from the Soviet Union, India has to repay 160 rupees in the same year. The Soviet Union has lowered the purchase prices of goods imported from India to 20-30 per cent below the world market prices and has raised the prices of its

exports to India to 20-30 per cent more than world prices. «The Times of India» points out that «Soviet exploitation is merciless».

Thus, under the cloak of friendship and aid, the Soviet revisionists get their clutches into other countries and peoples, using so-called aid to suck the blood and plunder the riches of other countries, so as to lord it over these countries. The Malaysian newspaper «Sihau Daily News» has written in this connection: «The Soviet Union's common practice, and unchangeable principle, is now this: first, friendly contacts with a neighbour country, then entering into alliance with it and finally turning it into a slave and a colony».

The Soviet Union resells to the western world, at up to three times the original prices the oil, cotton and other goods it has bought cheaply from the Arab countries. The Arab press has written that the Soviet Union enters the markets of third countries, and competes with the Arab countries in selling the same goods, previously imported from them. The Soviet Union got oil from Iraq for a sum of 6 million pounds sterling and sold it for 18 million pounds sterling or three times as much. It bought natural gas from Iran, as repayment for «aid» given to construct a gas pipeline, at a price of 30.7 cents a cubic metre, but it resold the gas to western countries for up to 5 times as much. The Soviet Union sold its ammonium nitrate to Iran, at the beginning of the year, for 75 dollars a ton, but now it gets 240 dollars, or over 3 times as much, it sent rails for 6 dollars a piece, but they are now 23 dollars; formerly it exported timber for 50 dollars a cubic metre, now it is 230 dollars. The Kremlin chieftain; are implementing a similar policy towards the other countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Some time ago the Guinean president Sekou Toure, in a radio speech, said that the Soviet Union had raised the price of the oil it supplies to Guinea by 350 per cent. According to his statements, Guinea now has to spend 4.8 million pounds sterling more annually to pay for the needed quantity of oil it receives from the Soviet

Union. At the same time in 1969 the Soviet Union used to get two tons of cocoa beans for a truck, but two years later it was 6 tons, while at present it gets still more. In 1965 it used to give 6.39 tons of paper for one ton of natural rubber, but in 1972 it gave 2.13 tons only a third as much.

The Soviet Union is effecting unrestrained neocolonialist expansion with regard to the seas and oceans. Together with the USA and other colonialist powers, it is opposed to every effort made by independent countries to preserve their sea riches, and have their state sovereignty respected. The Caracas conference quite clearly showed that the Soviet neocolonialists now speak the same language as the US imperialists, and that they have both rushed to plunder the fish resources and other sea products around the shores of other countries, far from the borders of the Soviet Union. Their warships, fishing trawlers, spy ships and other vessels have spread far and wide across the seas of the world, flying the flag of neocolonialism.

The implementation of neocolonialist plans is also served by so-called scientific and technical assistance, cultural relations, etc. The Moscow chieftains have sent to many countries of the world a large army of agents, passing as specialists, advisers, instructors, etc., who, on the example of American «peace corps» members, engage in espionage and subversion, deception and sabotage, with the sole purpose of blazing the trail for the neocolonialists.

Thus, as shown by the facts, the Kremlin chieftains, do not lag behind their overseas partners in exploiting other countries or in their neocolonialist and expansionist aims. But this policy has exposed them still more in the eyes of the peoples. In various international forums, they often find themselves in the dock, together with the US imperialists and other reactionary forces. The peoples are steadily becoming better acquainted with their real nature, and are exposing and opposing them more resolutely, as dangerous enemies of freedom and independence. —

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THE TIME WORKS FOR THE PEOPLES, FOR THE REVOLUTION, AGAINST THE HEGEMONISM OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT» Organ of the CC of the PLA

The events of the just elapsed year once more showed that great social, political and economic events are taking place everywhere in the world, because the revolution and the struggle for the liberation of the nations have become a general aspirations of the peoples, because the revolutionary movement of the working class in the conditions of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism is marking a new rise, it is taking on a more accentuated political character and is involving in its ranks a larger number of working people than in the previous years. «The revolution, the struggle for political and economic independence, constitute a continuous historical process, — comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out in his October 3 speech. — The present conditions of social development of the world push them forward with an increasingly greater force and make them indispensable. This constitutes also a sure guarantee for their victory».

On the glorious road of socialism, revolution and liberation of the peoples firmly stand Mao Tse-tung's great China and socialist Albania. The people's Republic of China in the year of the glorious jubilee, the 25th anniversary of its found-

ing, realized a series of new colossal achievements in all fields. Relying on its own forces, it has steadily marched ahead in the developing and strengthening of its socialist economy and the defence of its country. These victories were achieved at a time when the great Chinese people, after the smashing of the renegade Liu Shao Chi clique, successfully exposed and destroyed also the counterrevolutionary plot of the traitor, careerist and agents of the Soviet revisionists Lin Piao and the reactionary ideas of Confucius. Great People's China has been transformed into a powerful socialist State, with a high international prestige and authority. All the peoples of the world see in it a consistent fighter against imperialism and social imperialism, for freedom, independence and social progress. The determined political stands of the People's Republic of China in the international arena, the concrete and allround moral, political and economic aid it renders to the peoples of the world, are a valuable contribution to this common struggle.

The People's Republic of Albania, shoulder to shoulder with great People's China and with all the progressive democratic forces in the world, stands on

the forefront of the revolutionary struggle for the cause of socialism, freedom, progress and real democracy throughout the world. It has pursued and continues to pursue a consistent policy of proletarian principles, an open and above board policy, stating the truth to all and everybody's face. This stems from the fact that our Party and Government have elaborated and apply a foreign policy which draws inspiration from and remains true to the everlasting Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Thanks to such a policy, our people and Party have always honourably performed their national and internationalist duties, they have successfully coped with the difficult situations created by our external and internal enemies, they have smashed their criminal plots, they have torn off the mask of the imperialists, with the US imperialists at the head, of the revisionists, with the Soviet social imperialists at the head, and of the world reaction. It is precisely the revolutionary courage of our Party, the sincerity, consistence and frankness of our foreign policy that have increased the authority and prestige of our country in the international arena, that have greatly increa-

sed the number of its friends throughout the world.

The Marxist-Leninist movement during the past year grew and became stronger in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and revisionism, for the defence of the interests of the revolution and the triumph of the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The new Marxist-Leninist parties not only have grown and strengthened ideologically and organisationally, but they are ever better playing their vanguard role in the revolutionary movement of the working class against the bourgeoisie and its domination, as well as against the tradeunion, revisionist scabs.

The great class struggles between the exploited and the exploiters, the antagonistic contradictions between labour and capital, as one of the fundamental features of the socio-political life of the capitalist-revisionist world, kept aggravating during the past year. The working class in the big capitalist countries, in clashes and battles, is becoming increasingly more conscious of its historic mission and role in the great struggle to win its rights and for the triumph of the revolution and socialism. In the 1974 class battles it once more showed its fighting features as the most revolutionary class of society, its determination, persistence and unity against blood-thirsty monopoly capital. Now the workers are more powerfully rising

against the economic oppression by capital, against the strengthening of the violence apparatus of the bourgeoisie, against the fascistization of the life of the country, the militarization of the economy and the policy of aggression and imperialist expansion. That which drew one's attention during the past year is also the fact that the working class, in its revolutionary struggle against the power of the bourgeoisie, has had on its side and has led on a wider scale also the broad working masses of the town and the countryside, oppressed and exploited by the capitalist monopolies. Millions of US, British, West German, French, Italian and other working people went on strikes and staged demonstrations against unemployment, reduction of wages, the rise of prices and the cost of living, etc.

During the past year the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America rose to a new still higher level. The peoples have risen in struggle against old and new colonialism. Indochina continues to remain a centre of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples against US imperialism and its lackeys in that region. The Cambodian and Vietnamese peoples, during the past year, successfully carrying out continuous fighting operations, have struck the enemy on all fronts, inflicting increasingly greater

loses on them. The course of events showed that the flames of the liberation war of these peoples are inextinguishable, that the plans and plots of US imperialism and its puppets in that region have failed and will fail with shame, that the future belongs to the peoples.

The developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have become an important force and are playing an increasingly more active role in the international arena. The peoples of these countries are determined and strengthen their sovereign rights, they are forcefully opposed to the neocolonialist practices of oppression and exploitation by the two superpowers, they are courageously coping with the imperialist pressure and blackmail. The 6th special session of the UN General Assembly devoted to the problems of development and raw materials, the Caracas Conference on sea problems, as well as the Bucharest Conference on the problems of population were a new expression of the determined efforts of many countries, and particularly of the developing ones, to become the sole masters of their national economies and natural resources, to solve by themselves the problems of the increase of the material and cultural wellbeing of their peoples and reject any and all imperialist interference and control. The developing countries are

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becoming ever more conscious that their struggle will be protracted and difficult one, but they have all the forces and means to realize their national aspirations.

During the past year the allround crisis which has gripped the capitalist-revisionist world appeared in all its characteristic features. «Corroded by its internal contradictions, gripped by the grave and allround crises, being under the continuous attacks of the forces of the revolution, of national liberation, democracy and social progress», comrade Enver Hoxha said in his October 3 speech, «the capitalist-revisionist world is heading towards an increasingly greater degeneration and decomposition». Politics, economy, finances, culture, etc. in capitalist and revisionist countries are in a crisis. Such phenomena as the decline in production, the unprecedented acceleration of inflation rates, the rise in prices and the cost of living, unemployment etc. took on broad proportions during 1974.

In the conditions of the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism the political crisis too, manifested itself with a particular force. Watergate, the most shameful scandal which shook America, the government crises in the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Britain, Italy, etc., bear witness to the continuous process of political and moral degeneration, of permanent disputes and back-

stages among various political groupings of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Signs are showing that the allround crisis of the capitalist-revisionist world will deepen and aggravate still more. All this once more proves that the capitalist order is unable to heal the wounds and solve its contradictions. These wounds and these contradictions can be eliminated only through the destruction to its foundations of the bourgeois-revisionist exploiting order and with the triumph of the revolution and socialism.

In conditions of the allround crisis and great difficulties of the capitalist-revisionist world there was a still further aggravation in the contradictions between the various political groupings of the bourgeoisie, between the capitalist and revisionist countries themselves, between these and the two superpowers, as well as between US imperialism itself and Soviet social imperialism. During the past year the aggressive, expansionist and hegemonist policy of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism was further intensified.

The two superpowers, in order to conceal their aggressive policy and plans, capitalize on the slogans about «peace», «general détente», on conferences, talks and agreements between them. The conferences on the so-called European security, the reduction of troops in Europe, the SALT talks, the agreements

on armaments, etc., aim to lull the peoples, undermine their vigilance and pave the way to the realisation of the imperialist dominating objectives of the two superpowers. But also the running of events during the past year, life itself, tore off the mask of the pacifist demagogy of the two imperialist superpowers. Reality openly shows that the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists, while speaking of peace, make preparations for war.

All the aggressions, crises and tensions occurring in the world today, the tense relations, the unsolved problems which preoccupy the peoples bear the seal of the hegemonistic policy of the two imperialist superpowers and of their secret diplomacy. The expansionist and aggressive policy pursued by US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, the efforts they are making to exercise their control and dictate in international life, are the essence of their imperialist systems themselves.

The entire course of events in the past year best of all showed that the time works today against imperialism and revisionism, against the two superpowers; it works for the peoples, for the revolution, the victory of which is inevitable. And «this revolution», comrade Enver Hoxha said in his October 3 speech, «is not of yes-men and slaves, of people bending their backs and wallowing in the mud, but a

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powerful strike, the continuation of the Great October Revolution, it is the Great Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it is the liberation struggles of the peoples». The peoples of the world are becoming increasingly more conscious of the necessity for the struggle against

imperialism, social imperialism and reaction. The working class movements, the national liberation struggles, all the progressive movements, developed also in the past year, for freedom, independence and social progress bear witness to this. The struggle and efforts of the peo-

ples of the world have resulted in imperialism and social imperialism being ever more plunged into a deep political, economic and social crisis which forebodes their inevitable collapse, defeat, and the victory of the free and sovereign peoples of the world.

■

THE THREATS OF THE ISRAELI ZIONISTS IN THE SERVICE OF THE POLICY OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

«BASHKIMI», central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania

In recent times the Israeli Zionist chieftains as well as the Israeli press have openly threatened with a 5th Israeli-Arab war and for this the Israeli Zionists are making feverish preparations. The Zionist army as well as hundreds of thousands of reservists have carried out numerous military manoeuvres. Zionist jets of US make fly up to over Beirut. But their main target remains the camps of Palestinian refugees, which are savagely bombed. Inside the Israeli territory a campaign of genocide has broken out against the Palestinians. The Zionist chieftains propose stringent measures, up to the creation of secret services which will have as their task the extermination of the Palestinians wherever they may be. In the framework of this entire hysteria full of threats in words and intensive preparations with arms, the Israeli president Kacir and following him

Rabin, staged the threat with atomic weapons against the Arab people.

The threats of the Zionists for war against the Arab people stem from the allround support the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists give them.

It is not fortuitous that the warmongering hysteria in Israel has been increased after the Brezhnev-Ford meeting in Vladivostok and after Allon's visit to Washington. Everything clearly shows that the war psychosis incited by the Zionists serves the policy and aims of the two superpowers.

But at the same time it must be pointed out that this brandishing of arms expresses the great rage of the Zionists caused by the continuous defeats they have suffered as a result of the just struggle of the Arab people and the Palestinian people.

During the October war the

Arab people, in militant unity destroyed in the battlefield the myth of Israel's invincibility and inflicted great losses on it. Even today, despite the billions given to them by their American bosses, the Zionists have not picked up again; inflation is rampant, the balance of payments is closed this year with a record deficit of 3,6 billion dollars.

A permanent blow to the aggressors remains the courageous struggle of the Palestinian fighters, who are ever more frequently acting within Israel, carrying out bold actions against the military objects and detachments of the enemy.

The Israeli Zionists fume with rage because their continuous aggression and threats as well as their disruptive plots have been unable to break the unity of the 120 million strong Arab nation. On the contrary, this

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unity, born in the joint struggle, is further strengthened. At the Rabat conference the leaders of the Arab countries and of the Palestinian people set new targets to strengthen unity in their common struggle against the Zionist enemy. This unity, which has as its pivot the support through to the end of the just cause of the Palestinian people, is expressed in joint actions, in the aid for one another and in the unanimous stand for the defence of the Arab cause and of the Palestinian people in the international arena.

The just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian peoples has now

acquired the admiration and powerful support of all the revolutionary peoples and freedom-loving countries of the world, who have condemned and are politically isolating the aggressor state of Israel. In the United Nations Organisation and its other forums the anti-Arab policy of the Zionists is being ever more severely condemned by the freedom-loving peoples of the world. A great defeat for the Zionists and their supporters was the approval by the UNO, under the pressure of the developing countries and freedom-loving peoples of the world, of the decision which gave the

Organisation for the Liberation of Palestine the right to be represented in the UNO.

The Izraeli aggressors have thus reaped what they have sown: defeats in the battlefield, defeats in economy and politics, the hatred and isolation by the progressive public opinion throughout the world. It is these very defeats that infuriate the aggressors. And they threaten and brandish arms again, indeed they exert atomic blackmail hoping in vain to be able to intimidate the Arab people and compel them to meet their expansionist ambitions for a greater Israel.

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**«ASIAN SECURITY»
IS A TRAP TO GET THE
PEOPLES OF ASIA
UNDER THE DOMINATION OF SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM**

«BASHKIMI»

From time to time, the Soviet revisionist propaganda loudly speaks about the so-called «collective security system» in Asia. This is the echo done to Brezhnev's speech, delivered in Ulan Bator on November 26, 1974, in which he again called for the creation of this system.

Brezhnev himself and his propaganda are seeking to present the old imperialist idea of the «collective security system» in Asia as a big stride to strengthen the collaboration among the

Asian peoples, allegedly to guarantee their freedom and independence, etc. etc. These usual slogans spread in Asia immediately remind one of the slogans spread long ago by Soviet social imperialism in Europe about the so-called «European security».

Against whom must the Asian peoples secure themselves, who is threatening them? Facts show that it is the Soviet social imperialists who, in rivalry with the US imperialists, threaten ever

more politically and militarily the freedom and independence of the peoples of Asia.

It is no accident that, making fuss about this «system» the Soviet social imperialists, not without purpose, make hackneyed calumnies against the People's Republic of China. These calumnies are a continuation of the anti-China hysteria of Soviet social imperialism, which shows that Moscow aim to create the «system» of Asian countries in order to counterpose

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them to the great Chinese people. Soviet social imperialism, US imperialism and the Asian reactionaries are infuriated by the steady growth of the authority and prestige of great People's China in Asia and the world; they are infuriated by the great successes the Chinese people are scoring every day in the revolution and production under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They are infuriated by the correct policy and the support the People's Republic of China gives to the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence. That is why they plot against and slander it.

The «collective security system» is a trap by which Soviet social imperialism aims to get the Asian peoples under its hegemony, to outdo its rival — US imperialism, in its efforts to

restore its hegemony and domination in Asia. Precisely this permanent imperialist rivalry hangs like a sword over the Asian peoples. Two superpowers rival with their naval fleets in the Indian Ocean. Asia is surrounded with American or Soviet military bases. The US fleet keeps criss-crossing the Pacific Ocean carrying also atom bombs. In South Korea, along with troops and other weapons, the US imperialists have installed also atomic weapons, seriously threatening the DPR of Korea and creating a tense situation in that area. As well in Indochina, the US imperialists have not stopped for a single moment their aggressive, bandit like actions against the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples.

Thus, facts show that if it is a matter of security, the Asian peoples have an urgent need to be defended and secured from

the actual political and military threat of Soviet social imperialism and US imperialism. Nobody else but the two superpowers threatens the Asian peoples. The so-called «collective security system» in Asia is only a farce by which the Soviet social imperialists seek to conceal their hegemonistic policy and military threats against the Asian peoples as well as their competition for domination and hegemony with their rival, US imperialism. It is clear that to accept protection on the part of the Russian or US imperialists, at a time when they are quarreling about the division of the world and Asia and have directed their knives against the freedom and independence of the Asian peoples, would mean to fall into the trap of Soviet social imperialism, into the trap of the Soviet-American rivalry and their neocolonialist ambitions.

FURTHER EXPANSION OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY IN THE REVISIONIST COUNTRIES

«ZËRI I RINISË», organ of the C.C. of the ALYU

Monasteries and churches are seen cropping up like mushrooms all over the Soviet Union, Poland and other countries of Eastern Europe. The representatives of the clergy in these countries take part in conferences of the world church and often the Soviet delegations occupy the first places as to their number. Religious feasts are being

held ever more frequently involving a large number of young men and young women.

«Dependence on past forms of life...», the West German newspaper «Sueddeutsche Zeitung» wrote in a reportage about the city of Tallin, «is clearly seen in the Soviet Union also in the problem of religion. Olaf Church, with its massive 125

metres high tower is filled every Sunday with men and women who, with half closed eyes, plunged into a mystic feeling, listen for hours to the sermons of the baptist priest». Now Zagorsk, in the vicinity of Moscow, which is called also the Russian Vatican, has been transformed into a centre where hundreds of priests are trained for parishes

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in all parts of the Soviet Union.

«The clergy», the British newspaper «Guardian» writes for its part, «continues increasingly more to draw in the young men and young women in Poland». «The number of Priests in Poland, the newspaper «Guardian» further writes, has grown beginning from the 60's, and by 1972 there were 11 per cent more students in church seminaries than in 1966.

The revisionist cliques aim to use religion and the clergy as a powerful means to dominate the souls of youth. In an interview granted to Radio Vatican, the bishop of Przhemishl, in Poland, declared that in the 1.110 centres of chatechism in his diocese religious courses are attended by a total of 213.000 pupils accounting for the 97 per cent of the pupils of elementary schools and 93 per cent of middle school pupils.

The revival of reactionary and obscurantist obsolescences of the Middle Ages in the general framework of bourgeois degeneration is accompanied also

with the aim of using the church for social imperialist objectives. For this, the clergy in revisionist countries maintains close ties with the Vatican and backed up by the latter it carries activities for neocolonialist cultural and ideological penetration. According to the West German newspaper «Passauer Bistumblatt», mouthpiece of the clerical circles of that country, in August 1973 alone 82 catholic missionaries, were sent from Poland to 24 countries of the world, including 44 to Africa and 27 to Latin America. According to the data of the Missions Office of the Polish Bishops Conference, published in the British newspaper «Guardian», Poland has sent to other countries 826 missionaries who, with the gospel in one hand and the rope in the other, are striving to bring «progress» to these countries. The Russian church men do not hesitate now to become participants in the business being widely carried out by the Vatican all over the world. As the newspaper «Guardian» writes, the

Russian ecclesiastics have agreed with the plan of the World Council of Churches on setting up a Christian World Bank. This bank, in the words of the newspaper, «will carry out an activity in the interests of the developing countries», in reality however it will be nothing else but an instrument by which the plundering of these peoples will be increased.

On the other hand, praises are made in direction of the Vatican, this centre of obscurantism. The fact that the Vatican's friendship with the revisionist countries like the Soviet Union and Poland is being increasingly strengthened, is known to everybody because these countries have now been turned into a big market for the spreading of the reactionary bourgeois ideology, including also the poison of religion. In this way, the new bourgeoisie hopes in vain to be able through religion to befuddle the masses so that the latter will not object and rise against the dictatorship of the new exploiting class.

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ESPIONAGE, DIVERSION AND AGGRESSION — IN THE SERVICE OF THE HEGEMONISTIC AIMS OF THE US AND RUSSIAN IMPERIALISTS

«BASHKIMI»

A few weeks ago the director of the ill-famed American CIA, William Colby, published inter-

views in the weeklies «Time» and «US News and World Report», arrogantly declaring that the

United States has the right to interfere secretly everywhere in the world in service of its own

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interests as well as in the interests of its friends... Dwelling in particular on the orchestration of the fascist coup in Chile by the CIA, Colby cynically declares that the CIA acted in conformity with the «supreme interest of the Chilean people»!, for in his opinion, Salvador Allende's regime was not democratic!

You can hardly find any clearer admission of the gendarme's role assumed by US imperialism which is seeking to arrogate to itself the right to interfere everywhere in the world when its interests or those of its friends (read the puppets and obedient servants of the US monopolies) are impaired, wherever the people rise and fight for real freedom and independence, against the savage imperialist plunder and exploitation.

The gendarme's role of US imperialism and William Colby's recent cynical statements have aroused a profound indignation, particularly in the Latin American countries where in the last decade alone the CIA has organised 14 coups d'état to bring to power the stooges of US monopolies. Refuting the declaration made by Colby, who claims that the USA is entitled to carry out sabotages and intervene in other countries, the Peruvian Prime Minister, Edgardo Merhado Jararin, forcefully pointed out that his country would never allow any interference in its internal affairs and the less so the interference of the American CIA.

Likewise the Foreign Minister of Mexico, Emilio Rabassa, forcefully condemned Colby's statements and pointed out that no country whatsoever has the right to interfere and carry out espionage activity in other countries. A similar declaration was made also by the Home Minister of Venezuela, Louis Pinera. The Latin American public opinion condemns with indignation the hideous activity of the American monopolies and CIA, and calls for enhancing vigilance against US imperialism.

Colby's admissions are an expression of the official policy of US imperialism. They are an elaboration of the line of his chief, Henry Kissinger, who stated on June 27, 1970 that the United States «cannot remain indifferent and allow that another country should become communist due to the irresponsibility of its people»!

Thus, Kissinger, Colby and the other US rulers are seeking to arrogate to themselves the right to decide on which country has or no a democratic regime, and, consequently, have a free hand for the overthrow of any regime that does not respect the interests of the Americans and their friends!

This policy resembles, like two drops of water, that of the other world gendarme - Russian imperialism. Brezhnev has issued his ill-famed doctrine of «limited sovereignty» and has arrogated to himself the right to decide by himself on whether

this or that country is building socialism and, consequently, to intervene with troops and carry out fascist aggression like the one in Czechoslovakia, allegedly in the interests of the defence of socialism.

And all this is done so that these two superpowers will pave the way to attain their ultimate objective - to dominate the whole world, the peoples and the states.

In order to achieve this aim, the US and Russian imperialists leave no stone unturned. The CIA and its as much ill-famed rival, the KGB, through their nets extended all over the world, put in practice the policy of espionage, sabotage, subversion and aggression, which has been raised to a system by them. According to American figures, some 200.000 CIA agents act in 109 countries of the world. Although no figures have been given concerning the KGB agents, everything shows that they do not lag behind their CIA rivals.

Particularly, the embassies of the two superpowers in other countries have been transformed into great centres of espionage. It must be pointed out that as well the US as the Soviet embassies have an inflated personnel, frequently up to ten times larger than the other embassies. Sometimes, the personnel of the US embassies surpasses the figure of 1.000. In one or another form, they carry out espionage and diversion activity. Suffice it

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to mention that according to official data, only 20 per cent of the personnel of the US embassies is paid from the State Department funds, while the rest of 80 per cent depends on the Defence Department, the CIA, the Information Service or other American agencies. The same thing happens also with the Soviet embassies. Suffice it to mention that 40 countries of Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America have caught Soviet diplomats red-handed and have expelled them as undesirable persons. A great indignation is aroused throughout the world by the espionage activity carried out near other countries' coasts by Soviet ships which pretend to be fishing or oceanographic boats, as well as by the flagrant practice of «spying out the skies», practised by the two world gendarmes, the US and Russian imperialists through their great height planes and spy satellites.

In those countries which they call allies, the embassies of the

two superpowers are quickly transformed into a government over government. Fresh is the memory of Prague, where the Soviet ambassador dictated the list with the names of the collaborators who were to be included in the government, a practice this which has become a road in the satellite countries that have been turned into provinces of the Russian empire. In many countries of Latin America, particularly in Central America, the US embassies, together with the «United Fruit», «ITT» and other corporations, have become governments dictating their will in the country. But not only in Latin America. The US imperialists are seeking to pursue the same policy also with regard to their European allies. The Italian press wrote with indignation about the brutal interferences of the US ambassador John Volpe, whose secretary, with an unprecedented practice, fixes meeting hours to the Ministers of the Italian government with the US ambassador

in the embassy seat. During these meetings the ambassador unceremoniously suggests that the parliament should be dissolved and shows the Ministers the ways for the «solution» of the crisis of the Italian Government. All this is accompanied with a broad backstage activity of the CIA such as «rest visits» recently made to Italy and Portugal by the CIA deputy-director, the American Army General Vernon. This includes also the encouragement and organization of the coups d'état to which reference has been made in the Italian press.

The entire subversive, espionage and blackmail activity of the US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists is being carried out in strong competition and rivalry with one another, for it is an integral part of their contest and rivalry to dominate the world, aiming each for itself to seize the largest portion, be it from the other's mouth.

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DEGENERATION AND DISSOLUTION IN THE MASS OF YOUTH — A DIRECT CONSEQUENCE OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

«ZËRI I RINISË»

In the capitalist society, based on the exploitation of man by man, the monopoly bourgeoisie, in order to further consolidate its power in all the life of the country, to increase its

profits and fabulous riches, is vitally concerned to divert youth from the main problems of life, to slacken its revolutionary spirit and plunge it in the scum of moral and political de-

generation, to spread criminality and hooliganism, fear, alcoholism, prostitution and narcomania on a large scale. Only in this way it renders youth un- harmful to its power, because

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the bourgeoisie knows that youth is the most vivid, active, explosive part of the population, consequently also the most dangerous to the bourgeoisie. Therefore, the latter not in vain devotes a special attention to its effort to disorient the minds of youth, to numb its consciousness, sidetrack it from the main and disturbing problems of the capitalist society.

Not without purpose today, when the deep antagonistic contradictions between labour and capital, when the evils of the capitalist society such as unemployment, poverty and misery, taxes, the steady rise in prices of the main food and industrial articles, are deepening and worsening to the maximum, the broad propaganda machine in service of the monopoly capital, through numerous channels such as cinematography, television, radio, newspapers, reviews, books, painting and sculpture – as means of superstructure, are systematically spreading the ideological poison. The bourgeoisie needs an apolitical, dissolute, immoral youth, engaging itself in its intimate problems rather than in the national and international ones. Also the police films in many series, in various novels, stories and reportages published in the western press, there is in the focus of attention a criminal, a violator, a bandit killing with cool blood his mother, brother, the defenceless old man or old woman, the little child, robbing the bank,

the shop, the house, a prostitute, a public house, etc. Such a «hero» is praised to the skies, he is honoured and considered the most respectable and adored. The capitalist firms themselves encourage crime, hooliganism, theft.

In 1973 the American firms engaged in the production of arms, sold in the home market alone some 1.700.000 pistols. According to the American press itself, today individuals in the USA dispose of over 40 million fire arms.

The large number of criminals in the USA includes also 1 million of teen-age criminals. A child caught after having perpetrated his crime, admitted that he had acted in the same way as the hero in a film he had seen on television one night before.

The number of crimes committed by youngsters is assuming quite large proportions in the USA. The American press carries numerous facts showing to what degree the education of the present American youth has been reduced. While a few years ago when a teacher was warned by his pupil through telephone that he would be killed on the next day, the «New York Times» points out, «this would not arouse any great concern, at present few teachers would not attach importance to such a warning». A communique issued by the Los Angeles police said that the number of murders as a result of the use of violence in schools has trebled, and the employees, school teachers and pu-

pils who do not belong to various groups, take with them to school fire-arms to «defend themselves».

An increasingly growing evil in the capitalist society is also the spreading en masse of narcomania. The youngster, taking various narcotic drugs, seeks to live in a world of beautiful dreams, so as to divorce himself from that gloomy, dark, poor and miserable reality surrounding him. Taking of various drugs by youngsters makes them powerless, unwilling and darkens their reason. Such people are of course unable to object to the oppressive and exploiting capitalist system; they become obedient tools, unharmed to the bourgeoisie. According to the Swiss review «Weltwoche», the youth roam jobless. They sleep wherever they can, use various drugs, falling also victims to road accidents.

Of course, the spread of criminality, narcomania, prostitution, etc., is a great evil which the progressive and revolutionary youth strive to eliminate together with the capitalist system cultivating it.

The strikes and demonstrations, the revolts of the worker and student youth are increasing from day to day. They are the result of the aggravation of the antagonistic class contradictions which will without fail lead to the collapse of the hated capitalist regime and to the establishing of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

«THROUGH THE PATHWAYS OF THE WAR», a composition by the sculptor Hektor Dule devoted to the ties of the partisans with the people during the National Liberation Struggle



Albania today

