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***This year, the First of May, the day of international solidarity, found the Albanian people in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm, ensured from the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania and the New Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. These two marked events increased still more the love of the Albanian people for the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha as well as their determination to march along the socialist path.***





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# A DECISIVE CON OF THE REVOLUT AND THE CONST

**Today, the question of the stand towards the working class, towards its hegemonic role in the proletarian revolution, in the revolutionary movements in general, and in the construction of socialist society, as well as the stand towards the undivided leading role of its Marxist-Leninist political party, is one of the most acute ideological problems, and more than ever before, constitutes a line of demarcation between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists and all opportunists, between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries**

# CONDITION FOR THE TRIUMPH ION RUCTION OF SOCIALISM

by **FIQRET SHEHU**

ONLY A FEW MONTHS HAVE GONE BY SINCE THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, AND THE MORE YOU STUDY THE REPORT COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HELD ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AT THAT HISTORIC CONGRESS, THE MORE YOU REFLECT ON THE THESES AND IDEALS WHICH ARE FOUND IN IT AND WHICH EXPLAIN THE NEW PHENOMENA OF OUR EPOCH, THE MAIN TRENDS OF THE PRESENT-DAY WORLD DEVELOPMENT, THE PRINCIPAL REVOLUTIONARY MOTIVE FORCES OF MODERN SOCIETY AND THE SUBJECTIVE NEGATIVE FACTORS WHICH INHIBIT SOCIAL PROGRESS, THE BETTER YOU UNDERSTAND THE GREAT VALUE OF THIS MARXIST-LENINIST DOCUMENT OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE FOR THE QUESTION OF THE REVOLUTION AND SOCIALISM, THE MORE CLEARLY YOU SEE HOW SIMILAR IS THE FIERCE STRUGGLE WHICH IS BEING WAGED TODAY BETWEEN THE MARXIST-LENINISTS AND THE MODERN REVISIONISTS TO THE STRUGGLE WAGED BY LENIN AND STALIN AGAINST ALL TRAITORS TO THE WORKING CLASS, AGAINST ALL RENEGADES FROM MARXISM-LENINISM.

And this can be easily explained. First of all it can be explained by the fact that, regardless of the new phenomena which have occurred in the world today, as at that time, we are in the same historical epoch, the fundamental content of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism; the classes confronting each other are the same — the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; the historic task that demands solution is the same — the overthrow of the hated capitalist order and the construction of a new order, the socialist order; and the way in which this task must be carried out is the same — through the socialist revolution and the main leading force which will carry it out can be only the proletariat, as the most revolutionary and progressive class of society, under the leadership of its political party, the Marxist-Leninist communist party.

Therefore the struggle between the Marxist-Leninists, and the revisionists and all opportunists is being waged over the same problems, which are, in fact, the cardinal problems of Marxism-Leninism. One of these problems is the question of the historic mission and hegemonic role of the working class, and that of the leading role of the working class party in the revolution and the construction of the new, socialist society.

Nearly 130 years ago, the founders of the revolutionary theory of the working class, Marx and Engels, told the proletarians of all countries of their role, their task, their mission as the grave-diggers of capitalism; that they must be the first to throw themselves into the revolutionary struggle against capital, and unite all the toilers and exploited around themselves in this struggle. And Lenin has described this as the great historic merit of the two brilliant teachers of the proletariat.

But Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the proletariat can carry out its historic mission and play the hegemonic role that belongs to it only under the leadership of its conscious vanguard, the revolutionary communist party, and that only under the leadership of such a vanguard can it demonstrate all its revolutionary power and drive and gain that determination which is not only an historical factor, but a factor for victory in the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of communism.

The experience of history has completely confirmed the correctness of these Marxist-Leninist teachings. It has confirmed that the direction and outcome of the revolutionary struggle depends on whether it is led by the Marxist-Leninist party or some other political force; that the fate of the new society — whether or not it advances to communism or turns back to capitalism, depends on whether the party of the working class remains in the leadership of the socialist society, whether it maintains or loses its leading role in the entire life of the country.

Thus Socialist Albania where the Party has always been in the vanguard role, and which, during the Anti-

fascist National-Liberation War and the peoples revolution, or after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of the foundations of socialism, has never dreamt of and never allowed its leading role to be shared with anyone at all nor permitted itself to be displaced from this leading role in the slightest, but, on the contrary, has crushed all the enemies who have tried to undermine this role, is a great and positive example of what the working class is able to do, regardless of how small and unconsolidated as a class it may be at the start, when it is led by its revolutionary party, which is enlightened in all its activity by the proletarian ideology. Indeed, all the colossal victories which have been achieved in our country — the triumph of the people's revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the carrying of socialism ever forward — are the result of the fact that over its entire 35 year long life our Party, as comrade Enver Hoxha stressed it at the 7th Congress, «has abided with great loyalty and unflinching consistency by the great principle that the securing of the role of leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party constitutes the decisive condition for the carrying out of the revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism», and has considered the leadership by the Party, which is the highest and the most concentrated form of the leading role of the working class, «as the number one subjective factor to carry its revolutionary program out into practice».

The example of the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries, where capitalism has been completely restored and the working class is savagely oppressed and exploited by the new, bureaucratic bourgeoisie, shows, on the other hand, what catastrophic consequences the working class suffers from the usurping of the leadership of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat by any clique of revisionist traitors which, camouflaged under the cloak of Marxism, works persistently for the degeneration of the whole party, and thus leaves the working class without its revolutionary leading staff.

The events of the last few decades also show how the revolutionary movements of the working class and other working people have ended up when they have not been developed and carried out under the hegemony of the proletariat and the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party. In these instances, regardless of the deceptive and illusory «theories» which the revisionists spread about «the non-capitalist road of development» and «the road of socialist orientation» which certain countries allegedly follow, in fact, in none of these countries, whether in Europe, Africa, or anywhere else, have we to do with a socialist order or «a socialist orientation».

«.if they lack a political party with a clear-cut program and scientifically based strategy and tactics, the struggle will either stop halfway or fail altogether. And the experience of the present-day revolutionary movement

and numerous struggles of the peoples of various continents teaches us this», stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 6th Congress of the Party, speaking about this problem, about the hegemony of the working class and the role of its party, which can and must lead «not only the struggle for socialism but also the struggle for democracy and national independence».

Such is the historic reality, which cannot be denied or ignored by anyone who adopts a correct proletarian class stand. However, today as in the past, the revisionists and all the opportunists, without the slightest scruple, take a stand denying the hegemonic role of the proletariat and the leading role of its political party in the revolution and the construction of socialism. In the present situation, when, as comrade Enver Hoxha put it at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «the world is in a phase when the question of the revolution and the national liberation of nations is not just an aspiration and a prospect, but a problem taken up for solution», denial of the hegemonic role of the proletariat and the leading role of its Marxist-Leninist Party is a great betrayal of the proletariat and all those who are suffering under the iron heel of capital and imperialist subjugation.

It is a recognised fact that the modern revisionists, as ardent defenders of the bourgeoisie, as guard dogs of the capitalist order and direct saboteurs of the revolutionary movement of the working class and the working people as a whole, with all kinds of «theories», deny the historic mission and hegemonic role which devolves on the proletariat in present-day society. This is because they, like the bourgeoisie itself, are scared to death of the proletariat, because they are all terrified of the fact that the proletariat is the only class revolutionary to the end and, therefore, the only class which can play the hegemonic role in the socialist revolution which will overthrow the bourgeoisie.

All the revisionist and bourgeois alleged «theories», whether those which openly deny the role of the proletariat in present-day society, and indeed its very existence, such as those which describe «the proletariat of Marx as a mythical entity,» and which claim that in the present conditions, «it is no longer possible to speak about the proletariat but only of the working class,» or those which spread such nonsense as, «all classes of society today are interested in socialism», that other non-proletarian classes and forces, such as the national bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie, the patriotic and progressive intelligentsia, etc., can lead the struggle for socialism, all these so-called «theories» have the one objective — to turn the proletariat away from the socialist revolution, to hinder the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of which mankind will escape from all the suffering and misery that stems from the detested capitalist system. Hence, rejection of the idea of the hegemony of the pro-

letariat in the present day revolutionary movement is, as Lenin said, the most vulgar form of reformism.

In our epoch, which is the epoch of the collapse of imperialism and the triumph of socialism, in the present conditions when the fundamental contradiction of capitalist society, that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and all the other contradictions of present-day society are coming to a head, all views and attitudes that do not treat the proletariat as the main, revolutionary motive force of society amount, in fact, to ignoring and denial of the hegemonic role of the world proletariat, denial of the right of the proletariat to carry out the proletarian revolution, hence to falling into the positions of opportunism.

In every one of their actions today, the Marxist-Leninists aim to serve the revolution, the cause of the freedom and independence of the peoples, the cause of the routing of imperialism and social-imperialism, and the international bourgeoisie. But the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries never, in any situation, forget that their ultimate aim is to achieve the socialist social order and that this lofty objective can be attained, as our great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin tell us, only by means of the proletarian revolution, the main revolutionary force in which is the proletariat.

The international bourgeoisie and its revisionists minions have long understood that the strength of the working class stems from its powerful vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party. That is why they aim their fiercest attacks against the revolutionary party of the working class, that is why the revisionists of all countries are drawing from the revisionist arsenal of the past or fabricating anew all sorts of «theories» which aim to leave the proletariat without its conscious vanguard in the revolution and the construction of socialism.

Some of them, the revisionists of capitalist countries, such as the Italian, French, and Spanish revisionists, are spreading the idea of a single big democratic party open to all, a party that will take the road of class collaboration; they worship bourgeois democracy and in the name of bourgeois democracy they reject the great doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they talk about «historic compromise» and «political pluralism»; hence, they offer the working class as its road to «salvation» not the road of struggle against the bourgeoisie, but the road of reforms, in this way becoming open propagandists of the idea of class conciliation and collaboration, the most zealous defenders of bourgeois reformism, precisely at an historic moment when bourgeois reformism has proved itself bankrupt throughout the world, and turning the former communist parties of these countries from parties «of the clenched fist» into parties «of the outstretched hand», that is, from parties of the revolution into parties of compromise, tools of capitalism.

The others, the revisionists who are in power, the Soviet, Yugoslav and other revisionists, with their «theo-

ries» about the «party of the whole people», about the reduction of the leading role of the party in the conditions of socialism to an «ideological factor» or a «coordinating centre», etc., act as liquidators of the party of the working class and negators of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine about the necessity for the undivided leading role of the proletarian party in the revolution and the construction of socialism, as saboteurs of socialism and liquidators, in theory and practice, of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On the other hand, all the modern revisionists, whether in power or not, do everything in their power to deny the importance of the revolutionary theory, without which there can be no revolutionary movement, preach the «theory of spontaneity», which is, in fact, the basis of opportunism, talk about the need for «philosophic pluralism» and of fusion of the proletarian ideology with all sorts of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, clerical, and other trends. And they do all these things to leave the working class without the weapon which is essential if the revolution is to be launched and carried through to the end.

However, in whatever form it is done and under whatever disguise, denial of the role of the party of the working class and its revolutionary ideology is the most serious blow that can be dealt to the working class, because it cannot carry out the mission in society which devolves upon it and achieve its revolutionary ideals, except under the leadership of one political party, its own revolutionary party, which is the conscious bearer of the Marxist-Leninist theory. Therefore, all their «theories» and practices aimed against the undivided leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the revolution and during the historic period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or against the class character of the proletarian party, testify to the betrayal by the modern revisionists of the cause of the proletariat. This is because they are all intended to disarm the working class completely, ideologically and organizationally, in favour of the bourgeoisie, to leave it disarmed facing the savage attacks of the enemy, who, very well organized and armed to the teeth, is waging a furious struggle against the revolution and socialism, against the working class and all the revolutionary peoples of the world.

Our Party as a revolutionary party, has always taken a strong stand, loyally upholding the positions of Marxism-Leninism, has always rejected with disgust and exposed all the «theories» of the revisionists and all the bourgeois ideologists who deny the undivided leading role of the proletarian party. It has ruthlessly exposed the opportunist, counter-revolutionary real content of the «theory» about «political pluralism», which, in instances when the working class is not in power, is intended to undermine the revolution and perpetuate the rule of the bourgeoisie, while in the countries where socialism has triumphed, is intended to lead to the restoration of capitalism.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us, and practice has constantly confirmed, that the revolutionary process of society always encounters the resistance of reactionary, retrogressive forces. In fact, in recent years, when a powerful upsurge of the struggle of the proletariat can be seen in all the bourgeois and revisionist capitalist countries, in order to preserve the positions which they have and to achieve their counter-revolutionary strategy, all the reactionary forces of present-day society — the imperialists, social-imperialists, revisionists, all the reactionary bourgeoisie, are skilfully using their two well-known methods — violence and deception, using the most savage political reaction as well as the most refined ideological reaction, and are making extensive use, also, of counter-revolutionary violence, and in the countries where they are in power, are persecuting, interning, imprisoning, and barbarously torturing and killing Marxist-Leninist communists, outstanding revolutionary fighters.

In such conditions, when, in order to put down any revolutionary movement, the enemies of the proletariat and all the peoples are sharpening up all their ideological, organizational, and military weapons, the words of V.I. Lenin, a good many decades ago, that, «As a practical worker, as a politician, a Marxist should have made it clear that only traitors to socialism can now evade the task of elucidating the need for a proletarian revolution... of explaining the necessity of preparing for it»<sup>1)</sup>, assume special importance, and the struggle to throw the proletariat into class battles is a primary duty for every true communist party.

Indeed, how similar is the present situation in the world with that when Lenin put before the party of the working class the task that «the proletariat must be shown how the revolution can be carried forward by concrete measures»<sup>2)</sup>. And at the present time such a revolutionary task can be carried out only by the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, which teach the masses of the proletariat to recognize their true political interests, to fight for the revolution and socialism, show the masses the urgent and essential need of breaking away from revisionism and opportunism, from the influence of all ideological trends and organizational forms which act under the direction and in favour of the bourgeoisie, and arouse the revolutionary spirit in the masses of the proletariat and its close allies.

Today, the Marxist-Leninist communist parties which are acting in the capitalist countries have undertaken and are carrying out this honourable task. Setting themselves the objective that they must make the proletariat capable of carrying out its great historic mission, they are working to introduce socialist consciousness into the proletariat, are leading all the forms of its class struggle, explaining to it the historic importance of the proletarian revolution, showing it who are its friends and who are its enemies, with whom it should unite and against whom it should

fight, and working to prepare the armed uprising for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

The important political manifestations that have been held and the fierce class battles that have been waged recently by the proletariat and working masses in many capitalist countries, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, which are growing bigger and stronger, are a source of optimism and inspiration to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries of all countries. As comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «this is living testimony that the proletariat has not lost its faith in Marxism-Leninism, that it sees it as its most powerful weapon in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and for the triumph of the revolution».

The great cause of communism requires that the unity of the Marxist-Leninists should be constantly strengthened on a national and an international level. The fragmentation of the Marxist-Leninists, their organization in different groups and detachments does not serve this aim. The Party of Labour of Albania upholds the view that in each country there can be only one genuine revolutionary party of the working class, because the interests of the working class in each country are the same and it has a single ideology, Marxism-Leninism. The only true party of the working class is that which consistently applies the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat, which resolutely confronts all bourgeois and revisionist parties, which follows a proletarian class policy, which courageously mobilizes the proletariat and leads it into class battles, which prepares it for the decisive battle, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which tries to draw all the strata of the exploited working population that associate themselves with the views of the proletariat into this struggle for salvation. Only such a party can be the revolutionary staff of the working class and lead it towards the achievement of its revolutionary ideals and aspirations.

There is no doubt that fierce and protracted battles still lie ahead for the world proletariat, but the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries believe what the great teacher of the proletariat, V.I. Lenin, has told us, that, «And this battle is worth giving all one's strength to it; the difficulties are great, but so is the cause of the abolition of oppression and exploitation for which we are fighting»<sup>3)</sup>. And the Marxist-Leninist have the clear perspective and the unshakable conviction that, regardless of the ups and downs of the revolution and its difficulties and temporary retreats, and however great the waves of the counter-revolution may be, the final victory will go to the proletariat, and the future of mankind is communism.

1) V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 321.

2) *Ibidem*, Vol. 24, p. 150.

3) *Ibidem*, Vol. 27, p. 397.



# THE LITERATURE OF SOCIALIST REALISM IS DEVELOPING IN STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST PRESSURE

by ISMAIL KADARE

**The fight against the bourgeois and revisionist pressure is complete and effective when it becomes the concern of all, when all take part in it - the specialists of critical opinion and poets, artists who take up the theme of the blockade and those who hammer out the major themes of socialism, novelists and playwrights who engage in reflecting key moments of history and those who depict contemporary problems, etc.**

**AS IS KNOWN, THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA FINDS ITSELF IN A TWOFOLD ENCIRCLEMENT. THIS ENCIRCLEMENT EXTENDS TO ALL SPHERES, INCLUDING THAT OF CULTURE; CONSEQUENTLY, THE STRUGGLE WHICH THE ALBANIAN WRITERS AND ARTISTS ARE WAGING AGAINST ITS PRESSURE IS PART AND PARCEL OF THE OVERALL STRUGGLE WAGED BY THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, LED BY THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, TO SMASH THE ENCIRCLEMENT.**

History has known many conflicts among different literary schools, trends and tendencies. But the struggle of realist socialist art against revisionist bourgeois art is not of the same nature. This is a struggle of a new type, part

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of the class struggle, a struggle of the revolution against counter-revolution, a life-and-death struggle of healthy art against the sick art of the bourgeoisie and revisionism, which stinks of death and decay.

The relentless struggle against bourgeois and revisionist pressure is an indispensable dimension of literature

and the arts in the socialist countries. The very development of realist socialist art presupposes this struggle, while the cessation of this struggle would put its very existence in jeopardy. This struggle is one of the forms of its existence. There is no way of having a realist socialist art without engaging in this struggle. There is no way your work can be close to the people, outside this struggle.

The 7th Congress of the PLA re-emphasized once again the necessity and importance of this clash. It has been and should become even more a permanent action of the revolutionary

writers and artists, a great school for them. It has long become a part of the great process of the artists' acquaintance with life and must become even more thoroughly a part of it. Only by being considered as such, will it occupy its proper place in our life and our works.

The struggle against the bourgeois and revisionist pressure, as integral part of class struggle, is continuous and does not have the character of intermittent campaigns. The history of the development of realist socialist literature has been, among other things, also the history of its battle with counter-revolutionary literature. And this pressure has constantly increased, particularly in recent years.

No relaxation of this pressure can be expected in the coming years; on the contrary, it will become even stronger and more refined.

Hence, our tasks in the struggle to face up to this pressure are constantly increasing, becoming ever more serious and important.

In his speech of December 20th, 1974, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out that never before has there been imperialist propaganda, of such variety and breadth, for the degeneration of people and society in general, as in our days. Whole regiments of writers are included in this army of the world counterrevolution. Night and day, its kitchen is concocting all sorts of poisonous dishes for the degradation of man. Over the recent decades, the revisionist cuisine, coarser in some respects, but more refined in others, has been added to the old bourgeois cuisine. Their fowl alliance, their supplementing each other in order to make the encirclement of the progressive forces more complete, have rendered them even more dangerous.

The present-day bourgeois and revisionist literature, expressing overall the spiritual state of the bourgeoisie and revisionism, is pervaded through and through by an unhealthy spirit. Regardless of all the powder and paint it uses, its face has the pallor of death. It preaches that all is lost because it,

itself, is lost, together with the base that has given it birth; it preaches pessimism because it has no future; it preaches disintegration, the absurd, the loss of logic, because its very existence is outdated and incompatible with the logic of development of the whole of mankind. Like those microbes that fear the sun, this literature is terrified of the light, of health, clarity, life. It is afraid of the great art of the revolution, socialist realism, it is afraid of the majestic popular creativeness of all peoples of the world, it is even afraid of great classics of the past. Thus, though it may seem at first sight as if this literature and art have established their tyranny over the whole of the globe, in reality they are isolated and alone. Their domination is illusory, for Marxism-Leninism teaches us that there is no force capable of halting the development of history. Therefore, the struggle against bourgeois and revisionist art is a struggle that can and certainly will be won. Revolutionary art has already scored important victories in this struggle, and it will score still more important ones in the coming years.

Sensing this great danger themselves, both the bourgeoisie and revisionism try, time after time, to re-organize the structure of their literary and artistic forces. They are in constant movement: one after the other, the trends are being replaced. Those which are exposed more quickly are consigned to oblivion in order to bring out new trends which, also, are withdrawn from the stage as soon as they begin to fade. This recurring stratagem, which, among the naive, gives rise to the illusion of development, is nothing but running round and round in a circle, without the slightest trace of development, but only repetition and stagnation.

In reality, the decadent bourgeois art and the revisionist art which runs along behind it use an obsolete array of refurbished tricks, on which they change only the external wrappings. The deformation of reality, dehumanization, anti-ideologism, apoliticism, hermetism, the disintegration of form,

de-heroization, the elimination of commitment, and other trends like these are the favourite weapons of the modern bourgeoisie, selected with great care. They have been chosen from the arsenal of the oldest decadent bourgeois art, from the decadence of the Middle Ages, or from that of barbarism.

If we examine, for example, certain aspects of literature and the art of the present super-states, we shall find that they are repeated at various stages of history. The attempt to create a super-art has been made by all the great aggressor states of the past. Brezhnev's present thesis on the «internationalization» of culture has its rusty counterparts lying in the museum of history. The militarists of ancient Rome tried to create such an art in order to make the subjugation of the peoples easier. The Byzantine emperors, the Italian fascists, who were pale shadows of the Roman conquerors, the German nazis later, and the U.S.-British and Soviet imperialists today, have all tried to do the same thing.

Despite the great support of the bureaucratic machine of the super-state, these super-cultures have always failed. They have contributed nothing to world culture, which has been and always will be created by the peoples, whether small or great, but never by the superpowers.

They are trying to reduce the national character of literature into vulgar folklorism, something to excite the curiosity of tourists. What the American imperialists have done to the national character of the cultures of the Indian peoples of the two Americas, the Soviet social-imperialists are trying to do today to the nationalities under their domination, of course, in a more refined manner. However much they may shout about the so-called «blossoming of the national spirit» in Soviet literature, everybody knows quite well the sort of cultural desert there is in the various republics of the Soviet Union, the peoples of which, in the field of literature, are treated as background natives.

The effort to create some sort of superstate art is one of the clearest expressions of the present-day bourgeois and revisionist decadence. Its pseudomonumentalism is reminiscent of the pseudo-monumentalism of the times of revanchism in Germany. The gigantomania of imperialist art, whether bourgeois or revisionist, is a form of blackmail against the world proletariat, the progressive peoples and democratic states. By means of this gigantomania they want to remind others of their size, the number of their square kilometres, of their population and their wealth. But all this morbid gigantism, all this boastful inflation of proportions, is an effort to cover up its petty themes. From top to bottom, the art of the superpowers is entirely an art of petty themes, and the mania for sophisticated forms, for novel techniques, the treatment of cosmic themes, is only to hide this poverty and pettiness of themes. Its pettiness of ideas constitutes a basic quality of the present-day bourgeois and revisionist art.

Hence, the so-called flowering of bourgeois and revisionist art conceals only a profound stagnation, its external gigantomania hides only an internal dwarfism, whereas its pseudo-modern veneer covers only an endless obsolescence. Making a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the conservative essence of modern revisionism and the bourgeoisie, Comrade Enver Hoxha says that, «those who call us conservative are the conservatives». And this is in the logic of things. Since they are trying to preserve or to re-establish an obsolete order in the world, regardless of what they call themselves, in essence they remain conservatives and ultra-conservatives. The same may be said of their art, too. It is not by chance that, in their spirit, in their content, even in their style and intonation, many of the works of the present-day decadent bourgeois literature are reminiscent of the Bible, the New Testament, the Koran, the Talmud and other tattered remnants of the Dark Ages. And this is one of the most coveted experiences that the revisionist art

has borrowed from the decadent art. The Revelation of St John, or the Apocalypse, has become a favourite source of motifs for the revisionist pacifists. And, for them, the Apocalypse is the revolution and the revolutionary struggle.

The air of catastrophe, which is so prevalent in American and West European books and, particularly, films, is nothing but a variant of the end of the world, which all the religions of the world have preached to discourage the mobilization of revolutionary and progressive people. The bourgeois and the revisionists have drawn and continue to draw many things from the poisoned wells of religion. In this respect, there is the smell of decay about their art. It is not accidental that one of the revisionist and counter-revolutionary models, Solzhenitsyn's «One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich» is written in an archaic language, nearer to old Russian than to modern Russian. Likewise, the other counter-revolutionary idol, Pasternak's «Doctor Zhivago», here and there is suggestive of the old psalms.

The co-existence of liberalism with conservatism is a phenomenon often encountered amongst decadent and reactionary men of letters. The ambivalence of such fiercely reactionary writers as Fishta, Koliqi, and Konica, who combined in themselves the most extreme liberalism with the most extreme conservatism, is a clear example of this. It is not by chance that Konica, this bey in the service of the anachronistic Albanian monarchy, had close connections with the decadent modernist circles of Europe and was even their patron.

A similar situation exists in Soviet literature today. The Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA says that the Soviet writers and artists «have turned into a caste in the service of the counter-revolution and the chauvinist and expansionist policy of Soviet social-imperialism». In the Soviet Union today there are two groups of writers, the liberals and the conservatives. They look as if they are opposed to each

other, they even indulge in debates and polemics and are grouped around particular magazines. The Soviet leadership not only tolerates their existence, but actually encourages it. Why is this? The answer is simple: the Soviet social-imperialists need these two groups, because both of them are equally anti-Marxist, equally counter-revolutionary. There is nothing of benefit to the working class in their polemics, nothing but confusion. The one group, the liberals, are for the maximum contacts with the West, whereas the other group, the conservatives, are against this, not for the sake of something progressive, but for the sake of old Czarist Slavophilism. To the modernism of the former, the latter oppose Russian antiquity and Russian chauvinism, while the liberals oppose Western modernism to the archaism of the conservatives.

The Soviet government needs both these groups in order to employ them according to the changing political situations. When it is preparing some flirtation with the West, it pushes the liberal group forward. When it has to whip up the chauvinist hysteria, it urges on the conservative group.

This explains the dual character, both pacifist and militarist, of present-day Soviet literature. When it comes to lowering the revolutionary temperature in the workers' movement of the world, the Soviet literature lets the winds of pacifism blow. But when it comes to giving free play to the aggressiveness of the Soviet state, it unleashes the spirit of militarism. In order to extinguish the fire in Chile it needed the pacifism of the liberals, whereas in order to attack Czechoslovakia it needed the chauvinism of the conservatives. Therefore, the pacifism, «nationalism», or «patriotism» in Soviet literature are always one-sided: pacifism, but only for export, nationalism, but only for internal consumption.

This dual character of the literature of the social-imperialists is very similar to that of the reactionary art of the bourgeoisie. There, too, pacifism, coexists with the most undisguised vio-

lence, demobilizing meekness with savagery and aggressiveness.

The 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania heavily underlined the vital importance, for all the arts, the continuation and advancement of the great militant action of all the revolutionary writers and artists, of their daily and hourly battle with the bourgeois and revisionist pressure. This is a complicated struggle which can be successful only if it is complete and waged in all directions.

The sphere of criticism, of theoretical and philosophical literary thinking, is an important field in which this struggle has been developed and should be developed further. Not only the critics and scholars, but all the artists are duty bound to assist in the timely detection and prevention of alien influences, and to render them harmless, whether they come from the bourgeoisie or the revisionists, whether they are of the nature of a Garaudy or Fischer, a Sholkhov or Solzhenitsyn.

Another sphere of which this struggle can be waged successfully and directly is that part of literary creativeness which deals with the reflection of the struggle against the bourgeois and revisionist blockade. Parallel with the struggle against the world bourgeoisie and revisionism, in these works the struggle is waged against their ideology, thinking and art, which are an integral part of the two-fold counter-revolutionary encirclement.

The strengthening of the proletarian partisanship and the national and popular character of literature is a heavy blow to the bourgeois and revisionist pressure. The bourgeoisie and revisionism well know how difficult it is for them to infiltrate such a literature, therefore they direct their attacks, first of all, against its proletarian partisanship and its national character. However, against the background of their slanders, proletarian partisanship and the national character are highlighted even more brilliantly.

The linking of the writers with the people, with their life, their worries,

their concerns, and their feelings, along with their thorough knowledge of life, their «reading in the open book of life», as comrade Enver Hoxha puts it in his speech of December 20, 1974, all those things constitute another factor in the struggle against reaction. The active life, the broad sweep of the people, are an unsuitable environment for the bourgeois and revisionist microbe. Such germs do not thrive amongst the people and in the thick of life, for they develop and multiply in a closed environment, outside life, apart from the people, in the dark corners of subjectivism and egocentrism. Therefore, the more our creative artists live in a climate pervaded by the popular spirit, the more immune with they be to the evil influence of the old world.

The treatment of great themes, which is one of the special recommendations of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, is also a factor in the struggle and resistance against the pressure. As was said above, a characteristic feature of bourgeois and revisionist art is the petty theme with the trappings of gigantomania. The true, socialist realist art is, in the first place, the art of great themes. It is up to the writers of socialist realism to continue the magnificent traditions of the art of Mayakovsky, Gorky, or Brecht, abandoned by the revisionists. The encyclopedia of communism will not be written and can never be written either by the revisionists or the emigres, whether they live in Moscow or in Switzerland. It will be written by the sons and daughters of the revolution, by the truly revolutionary writers.

Another factor of no lesser importance in this struggle is the effort to raise the artistic level of revolutionary literature and art, their seriousness and solidity. Compared with them, the extravagances and clownish tricks of bourgeois and revisionist literature and art will look even more ridiculous.

In dealing with the problems related to our opposition to the pressure

of reactionary bourgeois and revisionist literature and art, we mentioned these two pressures together, for that is what they are, component parts of one front, component parts of the two-fold bourgeois and revisionist encirclement. But while considering them as such in general, we are aware that bourgeois art and revisionist art have their own differences and contradictions; they are differences and contradictions that stem from the contradictions between the group of bourgeois states with the United States at the head, and the group of revisionists states with the Soviet Union at the head.

In his report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «Our Party upholds the thesis that both when the two superpowers work together and when they quarrel, it is others that pay the bill. The collaboration and rivalry between the superpowers represent the two sides of the one contradictory reality... They pose the same threat... — therefore one must never rely on one imperialism to fight or to escape from the other».

Applying this profoundly Marxist-Leninist thesis to our sphere of literature and art, we can say that the quarrels or rapprochements between the bourgeois and revisionist writers are just the continuation of the quarrels and rapprochements of their patrons. Hence you cannot rely on the arguments of the one art to combat or expose the other. To us writers of socialist realism, the revisionist literary lights, whether official writers in their countries or dissidents fled to the West, are the two sides of the same coin, for both of them have betrayed the art of the revolution for the art of the counter-revolution. Therefore, they are equally alien and dangerous to communism.

Although they have mobilized entire regiments of men of letters and artists, both these forms of bourgeois and revisionist art are essentially weak, because they have no future. Therefore, in our fight against them, attack and not just defence, should characterize

# ON THE CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY *by ALFRED UÇI*

**In the period of transition from capitalism to communism, along with non-antagonistic contradictions, there are also many antagonistic contradictions which we describe otherwise as contradictions between us and the enemy. Antagonistic contradictions are contradictions between social class forces with diametrically opposite fundamental political and economic interests which spring from relations of the domination of one force over the other**

**AS ALWAYS, AT ITS 7th CONGRESS ALSO, THE PLA DEVOTED GREAT ATTENTION TO THE THEORETICAL ARGUMENTATION OF ITS LINE AND PRACTICAL ACTIVITY, OF ITS PROGRAMME, STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF STRUGGLE. COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S REPORT TO THIS CONGRESS IS OUTSTANDING FOR ITS PROFOUND DIALECTICAL ANALYSIS, IN A CLASS SPIRIT, OF ALL THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.**

In order to orientate itself correctly in the complicated processes and situations of social life in which innumerable different factors interact, in order to correctly understand both the present situation and the future perspective, in order to correctly assess the ratio of the contesting class forces and their nature, the Party relies on an irreplaceable weapon, Marxist-materialist dialectics, especially on the theory of contradictions, which Lenin has called the essence of the dialectical method. The dialectical theory of contradictions is pervaded by a profoundly revolutionary spirit, because it argues the objective necessity of the overthrow of the bourgeois order through the proletarian revolution and the inevitable triumph of communism. Because of this, in their struggle against Marxism-Leninism, the bourgeois ideologists and the opportunists of every variety never forget to aim their arrows at the dialectical theory of contradictions. «Dialectics», wrote Marx in his time, «infuriates and terrifies the bourgeoisie and its doctrinaire ideologists, because, into the positive concept of what exists, it introdu-

ces at the same time the concept of its negation, of its necessary elimination. It sees every realized form in movement, hence it sees it also from its transitional aspect; it bows to nothing and is critical and revolutionary in its very essence.»

The history of the international communist and workers' movement shows that the problem of contradictions, of their nature and role in the process of the development of social life, has always stood at the centre of differences of principle between Marxism-Leninism and the ideological opponents of the working class. In order to justify their deviation from Marxism, Bernstein and the other opportunist chiefs of the Second International launched the notorious slogan, «Back to Kant!», which was a call to renounce and abandon materialist dialectics on contradictions and qualitative leaps, and replace it with vulgar evolutionism. Their revision of the dialectical theory of contradictions prepared the ground for the social-democratic parties of the Second International to transform themselves completely from parties of social revolution

into parties of class conciliation, of social reform. Summing up the new historical experience of the epoch of imperialism, Lenin disclosed the fundamental contradictions of this epoch and the objective law of their inevitable sharpening and provided proof of the new perspectives of the revolutionary movement of the working class, which were crowned with the triumph of the October Revolution.

The problem of contradictions occupied a very important place also in the great polemics of the communist movement with Trotskyism and Bukharinism. On the one hand, J.V. Stalin criticised the views masked with «Leftist» slogans of the Trotskyites who admitted only antagonistic contradictions in socialist society, who considered the internal antagonistic contradictions as utterly insoluble in the conditions of the capitalist encirclement, and who inferred that the bourgeois degeneration of the socialist order and the restoration of capitalism was an inevitable process. On the other hand, Stalin waged an irreconcilable fight, also, against the Rightist views of the Bukharinites who admitted only non-antagonistic contradictions, who, with their notorious theory of «equilibrium», negated the class struggle and supported the idea of the «spontaneous integration of capitalist elements into socialism». Only by smashing the Rightist and Leftist metaphysical views on contradictions in socialism, was the Bolshevik Party led by Stalin able to defend and implement the Leninist programme of socialist construction in the conditions of the capitalist encirclement.

After Stalin's death, the Soviet Union was diverted from this road by the betrayal of the Khrushchevite revisionists, who revived the old anti-dialectical theories and put them in the service of their counter-revolutionary policy. The modern revisionists showed particular zeal in negating the objective class basis and the laws of the sharpening of antagonistic contradictions between socialism and capitalism,

between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the revolution and the counter-revolution, between the oppressed peoples and imperialism, and other contradictions of our time. Their opportunist stand towards contradictions assisted the modern revisionists to prepare and carry out the counter-revolutionary reversal of course of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in the other former socialist countries.

The experience of the international communist and workers' parties taught the PLA to attach great importance to the defence of the Marxist-Leninist theory of contradictions against the distortions of the modern revisionists, and to its implementation in the analysis of any problem, however minor, of the development of socialist society. Our Party considers the objective contradictions as the source and motive force of the development of the world in general, and of social life in particular. Socialist society, also, moves and develops through contradictions of all kinds.

In order to understand the fundamental problems of the development of the society in the period of the transition from capitalism to communism correctly, it is of great importance not only to admit contradictions in general, but also to distinguish the different kinds of contradictions, their specific features. Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed that the key to a profound analysis of the development in this period is the recognition of two types of contradictions: antagonistic and non-antagonistic, which play a decisive role throughout the whole process of the construction of the new socialist society. This thesis is in complete opposition to the views of the modern revisionists, who talk of the movement of socialist society through non-antagonistic contradictions only.

In the period of transition from capitalism to communism, along with non-antagonistic contradictions, there are also many antagonistic contradictions, which we describe otherwise as

contradictions between us and the enemy. Antagonistic contradictions are contradictions between social class forces with diametrically opposite fundamental political and economic interests, which spring from relations of the domination of one force over the other. In the transitional period, antagonistic contradictions of this type exist not only as external contradictions (between any country that is building socialism and the external front of the counter-revolutionary forces — imperialism, social-imperialism, world reaction), but also as internal contradictions (between the working class at the head and the exploiting classes and all enemies of socialism).

Antagonistic contradictions exist even after the exploiting classes have been liquidated and after the economic base of socialism has been constructed.

Socialism is built in social conditions when social class antagonisms have not been eliminated from the life of society. This is connected with the existence of remnants of the exploiting classes, of enemies who emerge from the ranks of the working people, of the influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and other factors. These are factors with a long range and period of activity, which must be taken into consideration during the whole of the transition period and must, by no means, be underrated, the more so because they act in coordination with the external enemy forces.

The Marxist-Leninist stand differs from the revisionist stand, not only in that it admits two types of contradictions, but also in its assessment of the role of antagonistic contradictions in the period of transition from capitalism to communism. The main content of the class struggle in this period is connected with the struggle between the two roads, the capitalist road and the socialist road of development. Hence, besides non-antagonistic contradictions, the antagonistic contradictions present themselves as

fundamental, primary contradictions, in the transitional period, and not as temporary and sporadic contradictions. This assessment of the role of antagonistic contradictions of this period is in accord with the teachings of V.I. Lenin, who in his work «The Economy and Politics in the Epoch of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat», writes: «From the theoretical viewpoint, there is no doubt that between capitalism and communism there is a definite transitional period. It cannot fail to combine in itself the features or characteristics of both these forms of the social economy. This transitional period cannot fail to be a period of struggle between the capitalism, which is dying and the communism which is emerging, or, in other words, between capitalism, defeated but yet not annihilated, and communism, which has been born but is still very weak».

The experience of history has fully confirmed these teachings of Lenin. It shows that if antagonistic contradictions are disregarded and their role underestimated, the revolutionary vigilance of the masses of the working people is relaxed and capitalism may be restored, even after the exploiting classes are liquidated, as happened in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. The exposure by our Party and people of conspiratorial activity and sabotage during recent years showed clearly what dangerous proportions this activity may assume and how important is the solution of internal antagonistic contradictions, which combine with external contradictions, to the fate of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that to admit the existence of antagonistic contradictions in the period of transition from capitalism to communism is not enough, but you must also handle these contradictions correctly, must resolve them in those ways and by those methods that correspond to their nature. The antagonistic contradictions are contradictions

between social forces that want the restoration of the system of oppression and exploitation of man by man and social forces that are struggling to eliminate any source of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration, to build the classless communist society, that is to say, they are contradictions between mutually exclusive social forces. The struggle between them is a life-or-death struggle, because it directly affects their most vital interests. Therefore, the only way to resolve antagonistic contradictions is through stern class struggle between these forces. Within the socialist order, the working class, led by its Marxist-Leninist party and in alliance with the working peasantry, is in a position to resolve the internal antagonist contradictions. The possibility of the complete construction of socialism in the conditions of capitalist encirclement depends, first of all, on this. «As long as the class struggle goes on», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «and this is not artificially incited but exists objectively as a struggle between the two roads of development, socialist and capitalist, there is no place for a spirit of relaxation, self-satisfaction and liberalism, because we have allegedly done away with all evils and escaped from any danger. On the contrary, the edge of the class struggle must always be kept sharp, because it is our most powerful weapon that defends us from our enemies, that cleanses us of evils, that moulds us as proletarian revolutionaries. We must wage this struggle, consistently, always making the antagonistic or non-antagonistic character of contradictions clear and basing ourselves firmly on the masses». The strengthening of the socialist order in the process of this struggle is both a precondition for it and its objective. In this struggle to resolve antagonistic contradictions the dictatorship of the proletariat uses the method of violence, of coercion, of compulsion towards the enemies who try to rob the working class of its state power through counter-revolution.

Opportunists of various kinds distort the nature of antagonistic contradictions, obscure their characteristics, in order to deny the absolute necessity of the use of violence against enemies. They preach that the dictatorship of the proletariat should be generous towards the enemies of socialism, achieve some kind of «peaceful co-existence» with them, and even conduct some sort of «constructive dialogue» with them. This is a liberal, opportunist treatment of antagonistic contradictions which negates the class essence and the very necessity of the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which, while being the broadest and the most real democracy for the masses of the working people, cannot fail to be revolutionary violence against the enemies of socialism. While always being clear about the character of antagonistic contradictions, combating the liberal opportunist handling of them, our Party has never confused them with non-antagonistic contradictions. To confuse them means to invite the wolf into your sheepfold, to warm the snake in your bosom, to cease the struggle against the enemy.

In the period of transition from capitalism to communism an important role is played, also, by non-antagonistic contradictions, which we describe otherwise as contradiction in the ranks of the people. They are contradictions among social forces which objectively have a broad common basis of fundamental interests, but which, at the same time, also have differing interests over side issues, partial questions of secondary importance. Such, for example, are the contradictions between the working class and the working peasantry, between particular aspects of relations of production and forces of production, between old forms of the organization and management of work and social production and new requirements of the development of the production forces, between the new ideo-political, cultural and technical-professional level of the working people and the level of

production, between the administrative forms and methods of the management of the economy and the participation of the masses in this management, etc.

In the process of the struggle for the solution of non-antagonistic contradictions, the method that corresponds to their specific nature is that of persuasion, of education, criticism and self-criticism. These contradictions are resolved by continuously expanding the basis of common interests and gradually narrowing the distinctions which exist between the social forces that are the bearers of this type of contradictions. The PLA has accumulated a wealth of experience in the resolution of non-antagonistic contradictions in our society, which, among other things, is expressed in the strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party, in the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, which constitutes the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The unity of the masses of the working people led by the working class and the Party is not a factor given once and for all, but is tempered and strengthened through the struggle to resolve antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions. The 7th Congress of the Party called the strengthening of this unity one of the major tasks of the Party, to carry out which «requires that we keep our revolutionary vigilance at a high level, wage the class struggle correctly and uninterruptedly, carry out the directives of the Party to the letter, find timely solutions for the different contradictions that emerge among the ranks of the people». If proper concern is not shown for the resolution of non-antagonistic contradictions and the necessary conditions are not prepared for this, and if they are allowed to become more acute and are not resolved in time and by appropriate means, then, they will be transformed from a force that drives the development of our society forward, into a force that restrains and hinders

it seriously, creating all sorts of difficulties of a political, economic, administrative, etc. character.

In the period of transition from capitalism to communism, non-antagonistic contradictions emerge, change, mature, and are resolved within that social framework in which there are also antagonistic contradictions, both internal and external, which exercise a very powerful influence on the former. By spreading their ideology among the masses of the working people, the counter-revolutionary forces try to draw them into anti-socialist activities and to place them in antagonistic relations with socialism, with the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, the 7th Congress of the Party condemned liberal attitudes towards alien influences in the consciousness of our people, attitudes which underestimate the damage they do and the danger they pose to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The fight against influences of alien ideologies in the ranks of the people is an aspect of the class struggle in which the method of persuasion, of criticism and self-criticism is the main method used, with the aim of combatting the illness and of saving the patient so that no one from the working people becomes a reserve of the enemy, and goes over to his positions. Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed that the method of persuasion should be used to help any one of the working people who errs because he does not understand things, but if, even after protracted, patient and persisting clarifying and educative work, under the influence of the alien ideology, he commits hostile anti-socialist acts, then the dictatorship of the proletariat strikes him down, too.

Making a clear-cut distinction between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions, the PLA has waged the class struggle correctly, has ensured the ceaseless march of the proletarian revolution in Albania, and is leading the people in the struggle for the complete construction of socialism. —



# May Day in Albania

May Day 1977, found the Albanian people in an atmosphere of the great revolutionary enthusiasm aroused by the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania. This historic Congress, which was held in November last year, opened up brilliant horizons and reliable paths towards the happy future of the working people of socialist Albania. A guarantee of this is the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania which was approved in December last year by the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Aware of the great difficulties created by the imperialist-revisionist blockade, the Albanian people, armed with the teachings of the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha, have mustered all their forces and energies to turn the great tasks set out by the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania into reality. As a result of this great mobilization, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the revolutionary intelligentsia of Albania came to the May Day celebrations with achievements to be proud of. The targets set for this period were achieved in all sectors, the tasks of the plan were fulfilled and overfulfilled everywhere. But more important than anything else is the fact that after the 7th Congress the steel unity of the Party of Labour of Albania around the Central Committee with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head has become even stronger, the links of the Party with the masses of the people have been further consolidated. The elections to the People's Councils and People's Courts, held on 3rd April this year, in which all the electors took part and 99.99 per cent of them voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front of Albania led by the PLA, were a vivid expression of this.

As usual, magnificent May Day celebrations were held throughout the country. For some days before, the whole of Albania had been decorated

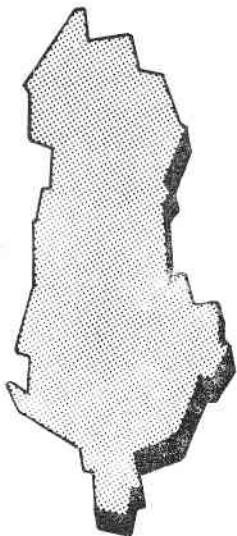
with red flags and national flags, with slogans and banners, as well as with portraits of the great classical teachers of Marxism-Leninism and the leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state. Workers, peasants, school-children and students of the University and of other institutes of higher learning had prepared themselves for the traditional parades that take place in the main cities of the country on this occasion.

In Tirana, the capital of Socialist Albania, the Day of the workers' international solidarity was celebrated with special brilliance. Tens of thousands of people of all ages and professions took part in the traditional parade along the avenue of the «Martyrs of the Nation», past the tribune where the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, Mehmet Shehu, and other leaders of the Party and State had taken their places. On this occasion, they once again expressed their unwavering confidence in the correctness of the line of the Party of Labour of Albania and their readiness to work with redoubled efforts to make the People's Socialist Republic of Albania an impregnable fortress of socialism and the revolution.

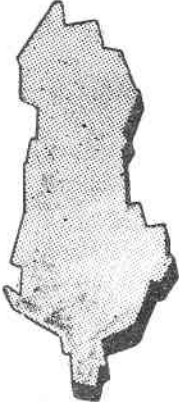
The Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the First Secretary of the Committee of the PLA for the Tirana District, Qiriako Mihali, greeted the working people of Tirana and all Albania in the name of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania.

«Our working class, our entire people», he said, «are celebrating May Day

FROM THE  
LIFE OF THE  
COUNTRY



# FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



this year in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and revolutionary drive aroused everywhere by the decisions of the 7th Congress of the Party, which opened brilliant prospects to our country for the further development of the revolution in all fields, for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and for the prosperity and defence of our beloved socialist Homeland.

Under the leadership of the Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head», he continued, «the working people of our country today are proud of the successes and victories achieved. The new Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a great victory of the Party and the people, it is the Constitution of the complete construction of socialist society in our country. The April 3rd elections to the People's Councils and People's Courts were another brilliant manifestation of the steel-like unity of the people around the Party, and of our socialist democracy.»

«For the first time», said comrade Qiriako Mihali, «Albania has met all its needs for bread grain from home production and poured its own steel. The material and cultural level of our people is rising from year to year».

## The Martyrs' Day

On May 5th each year the entire Albanian people, old and young, commemorate with deep respect and gratitude the 28,000 martyrs who laid down their lives for the liberation of the country and all those who did not spare their blood to defend it and make it beautiful and prosperous.

Early in the morning, thousands and thousands of people of all ages and professions, veterans of the National Liberation War and students, and many children, with wreaths and bouquets of fresh flowers in their hands, streamed towards the martyr's cemeteries, which have been built in the most beautiful places, as well as to the monuments, busts and commemorative plaques erected to perpetuate

«The capitalist-revisionist world,» continued the speaker, «is sinking deeper and deeper in the political-economic crisis that has it by the throat, adding to the oppression and exploitation of the working people, adding to their suffering, poverty, and unemployment. Everywhere in the world the proletariat is closing its ranks and throwing itself into fierce class battles. We express our revolutionary solidarity with all the workers and peoples of the whole world and wish them victory in their fight for freedom, independence and progress, against imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction.

On this outstanding occasion we send fraternal greetings to the Chinese working class, the Chinese people and their Communist Party with whom we are linked in a great revolutionary friendship, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.»

In the evening the inhabitants of the capital poured out into the streets and squares where various cultural-artistic activities were organized, while brilliantly coloured fireworks illuminated the clear night sky.

Similar activities were organized in all the districts of the country. —

the heroic deeds of the martyrs.

At the martyrs' cemetery in Tirana homage was paid and wreaths were laid by representatives of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania and other mass organizations, ministries and institutions. The diplomatic corps accredited to Tirana also paid homage and laid wreaths at the cemetery.

Solemn ceremonies, as well as talks about the life and deeds of the martyrs, and particularly about the circumstances in which they laid down their lives, were held everywhere on this occasion. A special ceremony took place out

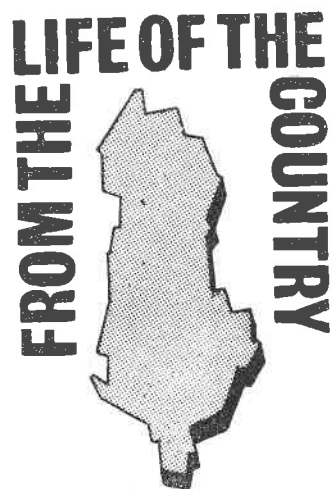


*During the traditional pilgrimage of May 5th to the martyrs' cemeteries, leaders of the Party and State meet the family members of those who have fallen for freedom.*

at the bust of the People's Hero, Qemal Stafa, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania and Political Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Youth, who fell 35 years ago, on May 5th 1942, in battle with

the fascists and traitors. Hundreds of people, among whom were many comrades and close collaborators of the Hero, gathered before the bust. Qemal Stafa's life and revolutionary activity was recalled and passages of poetry and prose dedicated to him were recited.

On the same day, following the official ceremonies, in Tirana and throughout the country, leaders of the Party and state, of the mass organizations and work centres, as well as friends and relatives paid visits to the martyrs' families.



## Enlarged meeting of the Assembly of the Academy of Sciences of the P S R of Albania

In the last days of April, the enlarged meeting of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was held in Tirana. Besides the members of the Academy, the members of its sections, other workers of science and higher education, representatives and leading members of the scientific institutions of the country and other scientific institutions attached to government departments, etc., also participated in the meeting. Also present were Ramiz Alia, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Adil Çarçani, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and First Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, members of the Central Committee of the Party, members of the Government, and other personalities.

At the plenary meeting, Prof. Aleks Buda, Chairman of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania, delivered the report: «Problems and Tasks of the Development of Science in the Light of the Directives of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania». Then, the Assembly continued its proceedings in separate sessions according to sections, where many reports were delivered on various branches of science.

Nexhmije Hoxha, Member of the Central Committee of the PLA and Director of the Institute of the Marxist-Leninist Studies under the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, addressed the final session. She said that under the leadership of the Party and with the special care of its Central Committee, the Government, and comrade Enver Hoxha personally, the sciences in Albania have achieved important successes and have made generalizations of great theo-

retical and practical value. Nexhmije Hoxha stressed the leading role of the Party in the field of science as the fundamental condition for it to serve the people and socialism better. She pointed out that in order to strengthen the role of the Party in the sciences it is necessary for the sciences of every field to be guided in their work by the proletarian ideology and policy of the Party.

Nexhmije Hoxha also stressed that scientific studies and research work are an integral part of all the activity for the development of our socialist society, therefore science must solve the problems which arise in the economic development of the country, which finds itself in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, and the general crisis of capitalism and the economic-financial crisis which has the capitalist-revisionist world in its grip.

After emphasizing the class and popular character of sciences in Albania, she exposed the reactionary and idealistic theories and said that the struggle against them is one of the important duties of all the sciences, first and foremost, of the social sciences, in order to smash the bourgeois-revisionist views theoretically and ideologically with scientific arguments.

Nexhmije Hoxha also spoke about the need for a more profound understanding of scientific work and the mass character of science, about mass scientific experimentation as a powerful means for the development of the creative thinking and activity of the masses in science and production, as well as about the great possibilities that have been created in Albania for strengthening scientific research work, and the participation of the masses in it.

In conclusion, Nexhmije Hoxha, on behalf of the Central Committee of

the Party of Labour of Albania, wished the Assembly of the Academy of Sciences success and expressed the firm belief that the scientific workers of Albania, young and old, united

round the Party of Labour of Albania with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, will mobilize themselves with all their strength to implement the historic decisions of the 7th Congress

of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The Chairman of the Academy, prof. Aleks Buda, declared the enlarged meeting of the Assembly of the Academy of Sciences of Albania closed.

## The Festival of the Albanian cinematography

This year the Albanian cinematography celebrates three important anniversaries: the 30th anniversary of its creation, the 25th anniversary of the founding of the «New Albania» Film Studios, and the 20th anniversary of the first Albanian feature film. These three marked anniversaries were solemnly commemorated, not only by the workers of the arts and culture, but by all the working people of Albania.

Within a period of 30 years Albanian cinematography has developed with great vigour. It has become a powerful means for the communist education of the working people and for their mobilization for the construction of socialism in Albania. The necessary cadres, such as film directors, producers, decorators and operators, various engineers and specialists

have been trained in the course of the work. A whole pleiad of actors who have dedicated all their talents and their whole lives to cinematographic art has emerged. With great love for the Party and people, and challenging the decadent bourgeois and revisionist art, through their many studies and observations, they have accumulated great experience in all the components that make up cinematographic art and have produced artistic and documentary films of a high level. With their finest productions, the Albanian film makers have earned respect within the country, and have also represented Albania worthily abroad. Wherever they have been shown, the Albanian films have been well received by the audiences and have been appreciated for their sound content and for their high artistic level.

Basing themselves on the successes achieved up to date and on the prospects opened by the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, the workers of Albanian cinematography have pledged that they will carry their work still further forward by producing more films of all genres and improving their quality both in form and in content, so as to be worthy of the love with which the people surround them and the interest which the foreign audiences take in them.

On the occasion of the jubilee of the 30th anniversary of the birth of the Albanian cinematography, the «Albanian Film Week» during which the best films of the past twelve months were shown, was held in Tirana. A commemorative meeting, at which people spoke of the 30th year course traversed by Albanian cinematography and its successes, and future prospects, was also held.

On this occasion many films, actors, directors and composers, operators, and other workers of cinematography were honoured with various awards.

## Another Expression of Fraternal Solidarity

On February 15th this year, as a result of heavy rain, the first signs of an impending landslide showed up at Moglica village of the Korça district (South Albania). Inexorably, the land continued to slip to the destruction of the entire village. Immediately the organs of the state power of the district, as well as many cooperativists from the neighbouring villages rushed to the assistance of the Moglica villagers. All the families from the stricken village were housed temporarily with families in the

neighbouring villages or in tents equipped with all facilities, from electric light to heating. The cooperativists' livestock as well as their produce were also taken care of. The Member of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Minister of Agriculture Themie Thomai rushed to the scene.

On March 4 the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania decided that all the houses and social-cultural buildings of the village would be reconstructed at

the expense of the state within the month of April.

The decision of the Council of Ministers was implemented 8 days ahead of schedule, and a few days, before May Day, the day of workers' international solidarity, normal life began again in the new Moglica.

On this occasion, on April 29th, more than 5,000 people from the surrounding villages assembled at Moglica to celebrate this important event with the people of Moglica. The Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, Mehmet Shehu, also went there to take part in the celebrations and attended a meeting that was held at the centre



of the newly-built village. At the meeting the chief of staff of the mass action for the re-building of the village wrecked by the land slide spoke of the self-sacrificing work of 1,200 workers and cooperativists who had come from all the corners of the Homeland to join in building the new village within 35 days. He also stressed the great concern of the Party and the Government which had spared nothing to ensure that the new houses would be as beautiful and as comfortable as possible.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu also spoke at the meeting. He conveyed greetings to the people of Moglica and all those that took part in the construction of the new village on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Government and comrade Enver Hoxha

personally. Comrade Mehmet Shehu said that the construction of the new village in record time with the state meeting the cost was an expression of the implementation of the correct line of the Party, of the unity of the people around it, and of the socialist order in which the principle, «All for one and one for all» is applied. The people, the working class, the cooperativists of the Korça district and all the other districts of the country rose to the occasion and in record time built these wonderful new houses for the people of Moglica.

The participants at the meeting cheered for the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha and pledged that they will work heart and soul to put their teachings into practice.

## Permanent Centres For The Patriotic Education Of The Masses

On May 7th 1977, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania held its proceedings in Tirana. This great organization, which was founded in September 1942, in the thick of the National Liberation War, united the Albanian people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania (today, the Party of Labour of Albania) for the fight against the foreign invaders and the local traitors and, in the liberated areas, under the name of the national liberation councils, carried out its functions as the organ of the people's power. After the liberation of the country it remained a great tribune of the revolutionary thinking of the masses, a powerful lever of the Party of Labour of Albania to draw the working people into governing the country and solving the problems of the socialist construction and the defence of the homeland.

Besides the members of the General Council, the chairmen and secretaries of the district councils of the De-

mocratic Front were also present at the meeting. The General Council defined the tasks that face the organization of the Democratic Front for the implementation of the decisions of the 7th Congress of the PLA. In this connection, the Vice-president of the General Council of the Democratic Front, the Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Ramiz Alia, submitted a detailed report.

There were many contributions to the discussion of the report.

In conclusion, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania expressed its optimism and confidence that, under the leadership of the PLA, the organizations of the Democratic Front of Albania, as always, would remain permanent centres for the patriotic education of the masses and summon up all their forces for studying and putting into practice the decisions of the historic 7th Congress of the PLA.



*A partial view of the new village of Moglica.*

# THE PL OF ALBANIA ON THE PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

by **A. TOMORRI**

**In face of the growing danger of imperialist war, it is the duty of the peoples, the proletarians of all countries and revolutionaries to rise and fight against this war. They must fight against the superpowers which are preparing the war, and against the local monopoly bourgeoisie which supports the war**

**THE PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE OCCUPY AN IMPORTANT PLACE IN THE REPORT OF THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PLA, BECAUSE, AS COMRADE ENVER HOXHA STRESSED, «THE PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE HAVE ALWAYS CONCERNED THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, THE BROAD WORKING MASSES, WHO WANT NO NEW CATASTROPHE TO DESCEND ON THE HEADS OF MANKIND». IN OUR TIME, THE BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST IDEOLOGISTS, PACIFIST AND WARMONGERING «THEORETICIANS» CONTINUE TO SPREAD CONFUSION ABOUT THESE PROBLEMS AND BEFUDDLE THE PEOPLE.**

Some want to persuade the peoples that in the world today, as a result of the creation of mass annihilation weapons, world war has become impossible, others say that it is decreed by fate to be inevitable, some preach simply that the leaders of the imperialist states have become «reasonable» and do not want war, and so on and so forth. Objectively, all these theories cover up the real causes of predatory wars and those who are really to blame for them, discourage the efforts of the peoples and the working masses against the warmongers, and open the way to imperialist and social-imperialist aggression.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that «war arises from the essence of imperialism», that it is a consequence of the deepening and sharpening to the maximum of all the contradictions of capitalism. So it has been in the past and so it is today. These same political economic and social causes, taken as a whole, which have led to the outbreak of previous imperialist wars, still exist.

Today, deep antagonistic contradictions, fierce rivalries for markets and spheres of influence, continuous economic and political crises exist in the imperialist system. The restoration of the economies of the imperialist and capitalist countries destroyed in

the years of World War II has made the inter-imperialist competition and rivalry over markets and plundering the peoples more acute. The advent to power of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union led to the creation of a new centre of imperialism, aggression, and international counter-revolution, a new dangerous hotbed of contradictions and tensions.

The imperialist collusion and contention of the two superpowers, the frenzied armaments race they are carrying on, the expansion and intervention they undertake to put spheres of influence under their control and to extinguish and strangle the revolutionary and liberation movements everywhere, in South East Asia, the Middle East, in Africa or Latin America, constitute the greatest threat to the peoples, to peace and security and are the main source of tensions in the world. On the other hand, imperialism, social-imperialism, and world capital-



sion and plunder of imperialist powers, and first and foremost, of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, has assumed new dimensions. While the bourgeoisie and imperialism, especially the two superpowers, are seeking a way out in expansion, aggression and imperialist war, and in fascism, the proletariat and the freedom-loving peoples are tending ever more clearly towards the revolution and the liberation struggle.

It was precisely these developments that the 7th Congress of the PLA had in mind when it stressed that the present international situation appears very complex, full of great contradictions and confrontations, among which the most important are the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between imperialism, social-imperialism and the monopoly bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the world proletariat and the peoples who are fighting for freedom, democracy and socialism, on the other. These contradictions and their exacerbation in the present conditions again confirm the immortal theses of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the development of bourgeois society and on the proletarian strategy of the revolution.

ism have never reconciled themselves to the existence of the true socialist countries or to the independent and free development of many countries. They will always strive to include the whole world in their system of exploitation and enslavement.

The present deep crisis, which has the international capitalist and revisionist system in its grip, has made all the contradictions of the present epoch extremely acute. On the background of the crisis, the struggle of the working class and the other working masses against exploitation and the attempts of the bourgeoisie to saddle them with the burden of the crisis and against the reactionary dictatorships and the growing trend towards fascism, has been raised to a new level. The struggle of the oppressed peoples and the developing countries for national liberation and to throw off the neo-colonialist yoke, to defend their sovereign rights over their national assets from the expan-

The great classical teachers of Marxism-Leninism have proved that, as a result of the deepening and the aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions, reactionary wars break out, the aim of which is to preserve or re-establish the old social order and to hinder social progress, local or world wars of oppression and occupation break out, the aim of which is to enslave other peoples. All these kinds of wars are unjust; they are predatory, imperialist wars, therefore the Marxist-Leninists and the peoples have always expressed their resolute opposition to them. But there are also just wars, wars of the progressive forces against the reactionary forces, the revolutionary, liberation and defensive wars of the workers and peoples against the exploitation and class and national oppression, which are inevitable as long as capitalism, imperialism and social imperialism exist. These

are wars which serve social progress, wars which carry history forward. In our time, such just wars are the wars of the people of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos against the aggression and intervention of U.S. imperialism and against the reactionary forces in its service, which were crowned with victory, the struggle of the Arab peoples, and particularly the Palestinian people, against the Israeli Zionist aggressors and the interference by the superpowers, the struggle of the peoples of Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe against the racist regimes, as well as the struggle of the other African peoples for true national independence, etc. Likewise, the struggles of the revolutionary, progressive and patriotic forces against the dictatorial and pro-imperialist regimes in Brazil and Bolivia, in Thailand and Malaysia, the resistance of the peoples in Chile, Argentina, Indonesia or Spain against the fascist regimes, etc., are just wars which carry the development of society forward and, therefore, deserve all the support of the revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world.

Hence, since different kinds of wars exist, the problem of defining their character, and on this basis, of defining the stand that should be taken towards them, is an important issue of principle. The Leninist teachings are the guide on this question «The character of the war (whether reactionary or revolutionary)», said Lenin, «does not depend on who has attacked who and in whose country the 'enemy' is, but on which class is waging the war, the continuation of what policy is the war in question». Proceeding from this class criterion, the communists support the just wars, the wars of the peoples for freedom and independence, the revolutionary wars in every way, and condemn the unjust wars, the imperialist and reactionary wars. The 7th Congress of the PLA expressed its unreserved support for the peoples and their revolutionary struggles. Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed: «Today, Asia, Africa, and Latin America constitute a broad front of struggle against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism,

and the other imperialist powers. The peoples of these continents are making great and allround efforts to strengthen their political independence, to break free from colonial and neo-colonial domination...

...We must base ourselves on the mobilization and the strength of the peoples, on the unity of all those who want to throw off the imperialist-revisionist yoke. We stand for the unity of the world proletariat and all the true anti-imperialist and progress-loving forces, who through their struggle will smash the aggressive plans of the imperialist and social-imperialist warmongers.

The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people... will spare no effort and will fight, together with all the other anti-imperialist and anti-social imperialist peoples, with all the Marxist-Leninist parties, all the revolutionaries and all the world proletariat, all progressive people, to foil the plans and manoeuvres of the enemies and ensure the triumph of the cause of the freedom and security of the peoples.

At every moment our country will be found standing beside all those peoples whose freedom, independence are threatened and whose rights are violated. We have repeatedly declared this stand, and not just in good times, but in dangerous times as well: the peoples of the world can be sure that socialist Albania is with them and fears no sacrifice».

On the other hand, our Party has always maintained a resolute stand against imperialist wars, reactionary wars. The 7th Congress once again expressed its resolute opposition to such wars. But that was not all, because the Congress also showed in a concrete way where the real danger of the outburst of a new world war lies and who are inciting it. It condemned the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the U.S.A., which are pursuing openly aggressive policies and vying with each other for spheres of influence, for markets, hegemony,

world domination. Therefore, the two superpowers are the main and greatest enemies of mankind, equally savage and equally dangerous for world peace. «Each separately or together», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «the superpowers represent, in the same degree and to the same extent, the main enemy of socialism, and the freedom and independence of the nations, the greatest force defending oppressive and exploiting systems and the direct threat that mankind will be hurled into a third world war».

Upholding the Leninist teachings on wars, the Party of Labour of Albania maintains a clear cut stand. It openly declares that the two superpowers are preparing for war, that both the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union remain aggressive powers, enemies of the peoples, therefore neither of the superpowers can be a supporter of their freedom and independence. The rivalry between the two superpowers, the aims of each to secure spheres of influence for itself, their hegemonic and expansionist policies are impelling them both towards war. Whichever of the two superpowers begins the war against the group of states of the bloc of the other superpower, this war will certainly be a war between two imperialist groups. Therefore, the Party of Labour of Albania is fighting both against the war being prepared by the U.S.A., as well as against the war being prepared by the Soviet Union. It is fighting against both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, because the pair of them are instruments of aggressive war.

Bearing in mind the feverish war preparations which the two superpowers are making, it is a fair question to ask: What should the peoples, the proletarians and the revolutionaries do, should they meekly allow the imperialists and social imperialists to send the world up in flames, or should they fight against their warmongering plans, against their aggressive actions, against the local ruling bourgeoisie, which has united with and serves the

warmongering plans of Soviet social-imperialism or U.S. imperialism?

Considering these questions on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the 7th Congress of the PLA gave a clear principled answer. It pointed out that it is true that the imperialists and the social-imperialists are heading towards the aggressive, reactionary imperialist war, and it is not excluded that it may burst out in Europe, in Asia against the PR of China, or in the Middle East, but the superpowers are not entirely free to act as they like. Today, the genuine socialist countries, the world proletariat, the peoples who are against war, against the imperialist and social-imperialist hegemonism and oppression, constitute a colossal force which is able to stay the hand of the warmongers. But to achieve this, as the 7th Congress of the PLA stressed, it is important that the peoples «should not wait, should not sit idly by, should not fall into fatalism, become passive observers and be caught unawares; they must be prepared for the worst and fight to prevent it from occurring».

The PLA has always been against the views of the modern revisionists who link the possibility of preventing the war with giving up any kind of revolutionary and national liberation struggle, with class conciliation, concessions and capitulation to enemies. At the same time, it is also against the view which conceives the outbreak of world wars as decreed by fate to be inevitable, because this does not take account of the strength of socialism and the world proletariat, the power of the peoples and their struggle. Our Party upholds the theses that aggressive world wars can be prevented if the world proletariat, the peoples of the entire world, do not sit back and allow the imperialists and social-imperialists to send the world up in flames.

Thus, in face of the growing danger of imperialist war, it is the duty of the peoples, the workers of all the countries and revolutionaries to rise and

fight against the war. They must fight against the superpowers which are preparing the war, and fight against the local monopoly bourgeoisie which supports this war. On this question, too, the teachings of Lenin are the guide. Lenin said: «If the war is reactionary, imperialist, that is a war of violation and plunder waged by the two world groups of the reactionary, imperialist bourgeoisie, then, every bourgeoisie (even that of a small country) becomes a participant in the plunder, and my duty, the duty of the revolutionary proletariat, is to prepare the world proletarian revolution, the only salvation from the horrors of a world slaughter. I must not reason from the stand point of «my» country... , but from the standpoint of my participation in the preparation, propagation and bringing closer of the world proletarian revolution. That is what internationalism is, that is the task of the internationalist, the revolutionary patriot, the genuine socialist». This means that the peoples, including the American and the Russian peoples, the German and the Polish peoples, the revolutionaries in Spain, Germany and Czechoslovakia, etc., should rise against the preparations for aggressive imperialist war, against the warmongering policies and activities of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, both in the East and in the West, as well as against the pro-war stand adopted by the local monopoly bourgeoisie and the revisionist cliques. In its revolutionary struggle against war, the proletariat, whose leading role is indisputable, relies firmly on the broad masses of the people and the strata which are against the war, as it relies on the anti-imperialist struggle of other peoples, especially of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. This is the Leninist, revolutionary stand.

But history also knows another stand, that of the traitors of the Second International, who while refusing to look at the imperialism of their own countries, lined up alongside it

and gave the European bourgeoisie all their support in its imperialist war for the division of the world. In the name of the «defence of the homeland», they urged the European workers to massacre one another, at the same time, making every effort to conceal the imperialist and predatory character of the war. It is well known how V.I. Lenin stigmatized them. «The social-chauvinists», he said, «betrayed socialism while at the same time participating in the governments that are waging the imperialist war, while at the same time voting for credits or loans, while at the same time opposing the revolutionary struggle in their own countries».

While fighting and rejecting the social-chauvinist stands, the genuine communists and revolutionaries forcefully denounce the imperialist and social-imperialist warmongers wherever they are, expose their aggressive actions, and call on the peoples and the revolutionaries of the two aggressive blocs to sabotage the war, to fight for the destruction of the bases the superpowers have established and created in various countries, in the East and the West.

If the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists launch the war, despite the opposition and resistance of the people, in this case, too, the proletariat and the revolutionaries do not submit to the plans of the enemies. On the contrary, the peoples and the revolutionaries oppose both the imperialists and the social-imperialists as well as the warmongering local monopoly bourgeoisie, and they act with determination to turn the imperialist war into a liberation, revolutionary war. «If an aggressive imperialist war cannot be prevented,» says comrade Enver Hoxha, «then it is the duty of the revolutionaries and the proletariat to turn it into a liberation war».

But in order to realize such a possibility, it is the duty of the genuine revolutionary and patriotic forces to prepare the proletariat and the peoples for all eventualities. In this framework, they must also create their

alliances and make use of the contradictions on an internal and external plane.

Such a principled stand mobilizes and unites all the factors which are opposed to the imperialist powers and their preparations for war, it assists an effective utilization of inter-imperialist contradictions and the isolation of the superpowers, in favour of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

«It is essential for us Marxist-Leninists,» said comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress, «to work to arouse the revolutionary spirit in the masses of the proletariat and its closest allies, the peasantry, the working masses, the progressive and patriotic people. This we must do without fail, because all the enemies are competing with one another to destroy socialism, to strangle the revolution and enslave the peoples».

## ***Internationalist rally in Rome***

# **FROM GRAMSCI AND THE RESISTANCE TO THE PRESENT-DAY STRUGGLE AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM**

On April 17, the Communist Party of Italy (M-L) organized in Rome a grand internationalist rally under the slogan: «Carrying on from Gramsci, the resistance and the partisan war, we must fight for Marxism-Leninism, for proletarian internationalism, the proletarian revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism, for communism», in which thousands of workers, day-labourers and poor peasants, young workers and students, progressive intellectuals, women workers and unemployed, unemployed who are

fighting for their rights and others, took part.

Also taking part in this rally, on the invitation of the Communist Party of Italy (M-L), were delegations from: the Party of Labour of Albania, headed by the Member of the CC of the PLA Foto Çami, the Communist Party of Spain (M-L), the Communist Party of Germany (M-L), the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), the Communist Party of Greece (M-L), the Communist Party (M-L) of San

Marino, the Communist Party of Brazil, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, the Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Uruguay.

Comrade Fosco Dinucci, General Secretary of the CP of Italy (M-L), delivered a speech at the rally organized on this occasion. The foreign delegations also delivered messages of greeting. Comrade Foto Çami greeted the rally on behalf of the delegation of the CC of the PLA.

## ***Greeting of the delegation of the CC of the PLA***

Dear comrades and friends,

It is a great pleasure and joy for us, the delegation of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, to convey to you participants in this fiery anti-imperialist and anti-fascist rally, to all the militants of the CP of Italy (M-L) and, through you, to the Italian working class and people,

the revolutionary greetings and the feelings of friendship and fraternal solidarity of the Albanian communists and people.

This grand rally is organized by the CP of Italy (M-L) to honour the memory of Antonio Gramsci, the outstanding leader of the Italian communist

and workers' movement, who dedicated his whole life to the cause of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as to commemorate the anniversary of the anti-fascist people's resistance. The preservation and the development of the finest revolutionary, liberation and an-

# ANCE FOR MARXISM-LENINISM ALISM

ti-fascist traditions of the Italian proletariat and people, as well as the determination to carry their struggle through to the victory of socialism, shows that your party truly upholds the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

The ten years of the struggle of the Communist Party of Italy (M-L) have shown that it is the most consistent revolutionary political force, a resolute fighter for the defence and faithful implementation of Marxism-Leninism, for the triumph of the revolution and socialism. It is waging a stern struggle against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and modern revisionism, against reaction and fascism, in defence of the national sovereignty and independence.

The Italian working class and people have shown their dauntless revolutionary spirit of proletarian internationalism on many occasions. They have provided examples of self-negation and sacrifice for the ideals of freedom and justice, of the revolution and socialism. Today this spirit and these ideals, which have been abandoned and betrayed by the modern revisionists, who have turned into scabs and accomplices of the bourgeoisie, are

being upheld and developed by the genuine revolutionary communists united in the Communist Party of Italy (M-L).

In the fierce class battles, the Italian proletariat and working people have drawn the great lesson that their interests are in opposition to and irreconcilable with those of capital. They are becoming ever more conscious that, without exposing and smashing modern revisionism and every kind of opportunism, they cannot escape from capitalist oppression and exploitation and become masters of their own fate.

Educated in the spirit of proletarian internationalism by the Party of Labour of Albania and its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian people are following the revolutionary struggle of the Italian working class and working people with special interest and attention and hail each of their victories. Our two neighbouring peoples are linked not only by the blue waters of the Adriatic and Ionian seas, but also by their common interests in the struggle against the fascist danger, against imperialism and social-imperialism.

The Albanian people have never

confused the Italian people with the fascism which occupied our country. They took under their protection thousands of Italian soldiers who refused to join the German nazis and helped the organization of those who threw themselves into the anti-fascist war and founded the Antonio Gramsci Battalion, which fought heroically shoulder to shoulder with the Albanian partisan divisions. Our people desire and are making efforts to maintain friendly relations with the Italian people. At the 7th Congress of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha said: «This desire emanates from the pure feelings of the Albanian people and the correct policy of our socialist state. We hope,» he continued «that every Italian, and every Italian politician who takes a realistic view of things, may also think that friendship with Albania is very important for Italy as well». This is undoubtedly to the benefit of our two peoples, and peace and security in the Adriatic region and the world.

Dear comrades and friends,

We are living in a world which is far from tranquil, full of great contradictions and confrontations which have enveloped the globe and all aspects of present-day human society.

The general law, which will inevitably lead to the triumph of the revolution and socialism, is opening its way through them. The zigzags on the road of the world revolution do not change in the least the fundamental content of our historical epoch — as the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism. In this epoch, along side the old world, the world of capital and revisionism, exists the new world, the socialist countries.

At the centre of our epoch stands the working class, the most revolutionary, most organized, and most conscious class of present-day society, which is the leading force of the world revolutionary process. Its struggle is what transforms the old world and establishes the new world, without oppression and exploitation, the world of socialism and communism, to which the future belongs.

Today, two big, savage, and dangerous enemies stand in the way of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples: U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which are the biggest and most dangerous imperialist aggressor powers history has ever known.

As comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 7th Congress of the PLA, both when the superpowers compete with each other and when they collaborate, it is the people who pay the bill. The collaboration and the rivalry between the superpowers are the two sides of the one contradictory reality, expressions of the same imperialist strategy to rob the peoples of their freedom and to dominate the world.

As they are the two biggest and the most dangerous aggressors, the peoples must never rely on one of them to fight or to escape from the other. Therefore the struggle of the peoples cannot fail to be combined in a single front and be directed simultaneously against the two superpowers, as well as against their economic and military alliances, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, COMECON and the Common Market, «United Europe» and the «So-

cialist Community», etc., which are the basic instruments of their policies of aggression, expansion, oppression and exploitation.

The superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, have their allies and tools in various countries of the world, comprised of various bourgeois, reactionary and revisionist classes, strata and parties. The struggle against foreign enemies, will not be successful without fighting, at the same time, against the internal reactionary forces and vice-versa. These are two fronts of the same revolutionary liberation class struggle.

The contradictions, on the national and international plane, in the enemy camp must be exploited and deepened in the interest of the peoples and the revolution. The way to weaken and destroy imperialism, social-imperialism and their allies is to develop the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the people's liberation struggles, to aid and support them so that they become united in the struggle for freedom independence and social progress, against any oppression and exploitation by anyone at all, to oppose the road of reforms, concessions and unprincipled compromises, as well as unjust imperialist wars. This is also the main way to defend peace and to avoid a new world war. In order to achieve their aims against the peoples, the superpowers, the bourgeoisie, the revisionists and the opportunists of every hue are trying to split the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninists, the forces of the peoples and the revolution. In these circumstances, the cause of proletarian internationalism, of international unity and solidarity has assumed special importance. For our Party, proletarian internationalism has never been an empty, abstract notion. The 7th Congress of our Party, in which 46 Marxist-Leninist parties or organizations participated or sent messages, was a brilliant example of proletarian internationalism.

This rally today, in Rome, as well as those which have been held recently

on the initiative of the sister Marxist-Leninist parties, express their Marxist-Leninist unity and serve in deeds the strengthening of the struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, serve the cause of the proletarian revolution and the liberation struggle of the peoples. Genuine Marxist-Leninists do not recognize several internationalism, but only one, which is indivisible, that which is expressed by the revolutionary slogan of the Communist Manifesto «Proletarians of all countries, unite!». Our Party is and always will be for militant unity with the socialist countries, with great People's China, with the proletarians, with the peoples, with the Marxist-Leninist parties, in struggle against the two superpowers, against the reactionary bourgeoisie, against revisionism and every kind of opportunism, for the triumph of the revolution, the liberation of the peoples and for socialism.

Comrades, dear friends,

Five months ago the 7th Congress of our Party was held. The Congress was a powerful manifestation of the unity of the Party and its steel-like links with the people. It reconfirmed the correct line of the Party, the life-giving force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the indisputable superiority of the socialist order over the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist order. The Congress was a vivid expression of the determination of our Party and people to march unwaveringly on the road of socialism and communism.

Now the Party and the people are engaged in a great struggle and working hard to put into practice the historic decisions of the 7th Congress and the magnificent tasks of the 6th five year plan which the Congress adopted. The implementation of these decisions and tasks will mark another big step in the socialist construction of the country, for the transformation of Albania into an industrial-agricultural country, for the all-round strengthening of the socialist order and raising the wellbeing of the people.

The approval of the new Constitution of the PSR of Albania by the People's Assembly, on the eve of the new year, 1977, was a marked historic event. This is the Constitution of the complete construction of the socialist society. It reflects the reality and the perspective of our country. The new Constitution is based firmly on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and our revolutionary experience, embodies the creative thinking of the masses and the correct line of the Party to carry the revolution and the construction of socialism steadily forward, barring any path to the emergence and spread of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism.

The example of our country has proved that the revisionist tragedy that occurred in the Soviet Union and elsewhere is not decreed by fate to be inevitable and does not prove the failure of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, as the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists of all hues are trying to present the matter.

In Albania socialism has shown all its vitality, force and superiority. In the conditions of the country, Albania has ensured unprecedentedly high rates of development and progress, the Albanian people won true freedom and national independence, won their dignity as a nation and people, escaped from oppression and exploitation, poverty and ignorance, became masters of their own fate.

Socialist Albania no longer knows such evils as economic and financial crises, unemployment, taxes, emigration, fear and insecurity for the morrow. Such phenomena as crime, degeneration, kidnapping, drug-addiction, decadent art and culture, etc., are alien to it. In Albania, the life of the people is steadily improving, the right to work is guaranteed by law and is ensured by the state, education and medical services are free of charge, our people do not pay any taxes whatsoever, house rents are very low, prices of goods are stable and have a downward trend, while differences in incomes between

different categories of the working people are being gradually reduced.

The Albanian people are determined to defend their national freedom and independence, their people's power, and the socialist victories from any enemy. They are determined to march on that road which the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head have shown them and on which they are leading them, which they opened with their Anti-fascist National Liberation War and the People's Revolution.

Dear comrades and friends,

Between the PLA and the CP of Italy (M-L) there are close fraternal ties which are becoming stronger day by day on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Our two parties take their stand on the same barricade of the class struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism, and are determined to march forward on this historic struggle, shoulder to shoulder, and in complete unity.

From this grand rally, we once more express our feelings of fraternal friendship and solidarity with the Italian working class and working people, with the revolutionaries and anti-fascists of your country, and wish the sister CP of Italy (M-L) new victories in its revolutionary struggle.

Long live the friendship between our two neighbouring countries!

May the proletarian cooperation and unity between the PLA and the CP of Italy (M-L) grow stronger!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

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During its stay in Italy the delegation of the CC of the PLA had cordial meetings and talks with cadres and activists of the Italian Communist Par-

ty (ML), with former partisan fighters of the anti-fascist resistance, with representatives of workers' councils of industrial and mining centres, with peasants, young people, women and other working people in various cities such as Rome, Milan, Parma, Bari, Cagliari, Carbonia, etc.

These meetings showed once again the unity and the spirit of proletarian internationalism that characterizes the relations between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Italian Communist Party (ML), as well as the friendship and the common interests of our two peoples in their fight against US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the reactionary bourgeoisie and modern revisionism, for the defence and strengthening of freedom and national independence, for the triumph of the revolution and socialism.

The delegation was everywhere welcomed warmly and cordially.

# THE 2<sup>nd</sup> CONGRESS OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST

## MESSAGE

### TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY (RECONSTRUCTED)

**Lisbon**

Dear comrades,

The CC of the Party of Labour of Albania was pleased to learn of the holding of the 2nd Congress of your Party. On this occasion, expressing the feelings of the Albanian communists and working people, the Central Committee of our Party conveys to you ardent proletarian greetings.

We express our conviction that the proceedings of the 2nd Congress of the sister Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), illuminated by the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, will be crowned with full success. Its decisions will carry ahead the revolutionary struggle of your Party in defence of the vital interests of the Portuguese working class and working people, against the fascist danger in the country, against the capitalist oppression and exploitation and U.S. imperialism, and for social progress and socialism in Portugal.

The valiant and patriotic Portuguese people, with an ancient history of strivings and battles for freedom and independence, even in the conditions of the domination of the savage fascist dictatorship of Salazar, never ceased the struggle for social liberation against the fascist oppression and exploitation and the local bourgeoisie. The resolute struggle of the Portuguese people overthrew the fascist dictatorship, but through its treacherous and scabby activity, the Cunhal revisionist party, tool of Soviet social-imperialism, is trying to divert the Portuguese working masses from the road of the revolution.

The founding of the Portuguese Communist Party (R) marks a turning point in the history of the revolutionary

struggles of the Portuguese people. Now the Portuguese working class has its vanguard Marxist-Leninist party, and in alliance with labouring peasantry and the other exploited masses, is fighting to carry forward the cause of the democratic people's revolution and is marching resolutely towards its loftiest aim and ideal, socialism and communism. The founding of your Party is an important victory of Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism and other enemies of the interests of the working class. The organization and unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninists round the Portuguese Communist Party (R) and the exposure of the treachery of modern revisionists, Trotskyites, and all the various opportunists, is a victory not only for the Portuguese working class, but also for the revolution the world over.

Dear comrade delegates,

The Albanian communists and working people, educated by our Party in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, are following your struggle with special interest. They consider your victories as their victories. Regular fraternal ties exist between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed). Our two equal sister parties learn from and help each other, fight shoulder to shoulder on the same barricade of the class struggle against the aggressive and hegemonistic policy of the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which represent the main enemy for socialism, for the freedom and independence of nations,



# PARTY (RECONSTRUCTED)

the greatest force for the defence of the oppressive and exploiting systems, the direct danger that mankind will be hurled into a third world war.

The participation of the delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party (R) in the proceedings of the 7th Congress of the PLA, in November 1976, was a clear expression of the proletarian internationalism and the close ties between our two sister parties and a great encouragement for our communists and people. We also wish to express our wholehearted thanks to the Central Committee and all the militants of your Party, as well as the other working people who attended the rally organized in Lisbon on November 28, 1976, in support of the 7th Congress of the PLA. We consider this as valuable internationalist aid for our Party and an inspiration for the working class and

working people of our country in their heroic struggle for the complete construction of socialism in Albania and for the defence of the socialist homeland.

We wholeheartedly wish your 2nd Congress new, ever greater successes and victories, in the glorious struggle for the cause of the revolution and socialism.

Long live the 2nd Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party (R)!

May the militant friendship and Marxist-Leninist unity between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Portuguese Communist Party (R) grow stronger!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

The Central Committee  
of the Party of Labour of Albania



In one of its recent issues, the newspaper «Bandeira Vermelha», organ of the CC of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), published materials about the proceedings of the 2nd Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed).

The opening speech points out that the period from the 1st to the 2nd Congress is characterized by events full of revolutionary activity. «From this Congress», reads the speech among other things, «our action and that of the masses will burst out more powerful and at a higher level, and our party will march forward with surer steps on the road of its recognition by the class. The revolutionization and proletarianization will take new steps

forward, the ranks of the party will be invigorated and our militant spirit and our cohesion will be strengthened.»

Our proletariat, stresses the speech, is a component part of the militant army of the international proletariat, which, with the glorious Communist Party of China and the heroic Party of Labour of Albania at the head, is being tempered in the day-to-day struggle for the triumph of the revolution in the world. The internationalist support from the sister parties, and especially from the wise and glorious Party of Labour of Albania and the tested heroic Communist Party of Brazil, has been for us not only of great value, but also a powerful encouragement. The speech stresses the great

importance of the 7th Congress of the PLA and of the report comrade Enver Hoxha delivered at this congress, for the Marxist-Leninist movement.

Further the speech stresses that the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed) is asserting itself amongst the broad working masses of the country as the sole consistently revolutionary party, it is the hope of the poor of Portugal. «For us, the communists,» stresses the speech, «the party is everything, it is our life, our flesh, our blood. The fact that we are attending this 2nd Congress, is an occasion of joy and pride for us».

The message of the Party of Labour of Albania was read out to the dele-

gates in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm.

The report of the Central Committee was received with joy and pride by the delegates to the Congress. This report deals with the profound changes the party has undergone during its life, with the most important political victories it has achieved, as well as with the broader perspectives opened to it. In this report, the Central Committee analyses the work of the leadership and the process of the revolutionization, as well as the organizational policy and the composition of the party. The movement for the revolutionization and proletarianization enabled the achievement of a brilliant victory in the strengthening of the proletarian composition of the leading organs.

The other themes analysed in the report of the Central Committee were the agitation and propaganda work of the party, the activity of the party in the trade union and peasant movement, the question of the united front and the extension of internationalist ties of the party.

Following the report of the CC of the Party, many delegates took the floor. With enthusiasm and a high sense of responsibility, with political maturity, they defended the revolutionary stand of the party which is in the interest of the working masses, of all the exploited. The Congress was characterized by a steel-like unity of views on the immediate political questions concerning the strategy and tactics of the party, on the main tasks facing the party.

The delegates to the Congress hailed the victories achieved, approved unanimously the positive and rich balance presented by the Central Committee. All the delegates to the Congress unanimously stressed and cheered the legitimate character and the complete correctness of the process of revolutionization. The political resolution, the Constitution and the report of the Central Committee were approved unanimously by the delegates in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and with ovations for the party. The votes

of the delegates were an incontestable testimony to the steel-like unity of the party round its revolutionary line, to the determination with which the Marxist-Leninist course of the struggle against the bourgeoisie and revisionism, against all opportunist stands will be followed, to the creation of a militant party tempered in the heat of the class struggle, united in thought and action.

The Congress received with unanimous cheers for Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism the greetings to the CP of China, the Party of Labour of Albania, the CP of Brazil and all the Marxist-Leninist communist parties. The Congress approved with unanimous cheers the Proclamation to the Portuguese People.

The elections of the new Central Committee proceeded in an atmosphere of unity and fiery enthusiasm.

The 2nd Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed) was a powerful confirmation of the loyalty of the party to the class interests of the proletariat and the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The closing speech to the Congress was made by comrade Eduardo Pires, who stressed that the 2nd Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed) was the crowing of a period of great political activity, that the political resolution approved by the Congress was the fruit of the collective wisdom of the party, the synthesis of the militant experience of the party and the workers' and people's movement. At the same time, he stressed, the Congress completed the first stage of the movement for revolutionization and proletarianization, which was a decisive factor for the important victories which were achieved within the short but glorious period of the existence of the party.

Comrade Eduardo Pires stressed, among other things, that the main task of the party, as set out by the Congress, was the struggle for the political unity of the working class. One of the most important tasks was the creation of the alliance of the working class with the

peasantry, under the leadership of the party. The correctness of our positions, continued comrade Pires, will be proved in the course of the struggle to make the entire party engage in the solution of the main task set out here, so that, by standing at the head of the class struggle, it will transform its political resolution and its constitution into a political weapon for the daily action of all the strata of the people.

Making a profound analysis of the political, economic and social situation in Portugal, the speaker pointed out that, protected by U. S. and German imperialism, to which it is completely sold out, the reactionary bourgeoisie managed to re-establish its control on the organs of the state power and to launch an attack in an attempt to regain all its privileges. The consequences of the grave economic crisis are weighing ever heavier on the shoulders of the Portuguese working class and working masses. The forces of the right are being re-organized and democratic freedoms are being attacked. Against the rising cost of living, the wage freeze, unemployment, the revival of fascism, the savage plunder and exploitation by big capital, the working masses are rising in resolute struggle. Strikes and claims are increasing, the tendency towards the deepening of the line of the masses is being strengthened and the indignation against the reactionary laws is rising.

After pointing out to the attempts of the bourgeoisie to suppress and deceive the broad working masses of the country, comrade Eduardo Pires stressed that in the disruptive and treacherous activity of the Cunhal revisionists, who are trying to deceive the workers with token strikes and protests which do not affect the bourgeoisie in the least, the bourgeoisie possesses another of its weapons to quench the people's movement.

Speaking about the tasks of the communists as vanguard fighters of the working masses, he stressed that the great line worked out at this congress was to strengthen the ties with the working class and the people everywhere

in factories and enterprises, in trade unions, villages, organizations expressing the will of the people, societies, schools, to lead and activate their struggle, being always in the van.

In his speech, Comrade Pires drew the attention to the fronts on which the present movement is developing, as defined at the Congress. These fronts are: the workers' and people's struggle for collective contracts, against the high cost of living, against unemployment, their struggle to have the law on rents enacted, to liberate themselves from the big land proprietors, their struggle against NATO, the accession to the common market, against the US domination in Portugal, etc. One of the major tasks is the resolute and consistent struggle against the revisionist party, exposing before the working class and the people the treacherous countenance of the revisionists, their nature as creatures of imperialism and agents of social-imperialism.

The Proclamation of 2nd Congress of the party to the communists, the working class, the working people and the people of Portugal says among the other things: «The 2nd Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party (R), analysing the situation of our working class, is convinced that its living conditions cannot be improved without its mobilization and resolute struggle».

«The Congress,» continues the Proclamation, «pointed out the close fraternal internationalist relations with a number of sister parties, and first and foremost, with the heroic and militant Party of Labour of Albania».

In the end, the Proclamation says that the 2nd Congress is a powerful weapon for the party, for all its organizations, for all its militants and leaders in their participation in the class struggle of the Portuguese proletariat and in making Marxism-Leninism a guide to revolutionary action.

After the conclusion of the proceedings of the Congress, the 1st Plenum of the new Central Committee met in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and militant unity. After electing the Secretariat and the Executive Com-

mittee, it adopted unanimously a resolution entitled: «Carry Into Effect The Decisions Of The 2nd Congress».

This resolution of the 1st Plenum of the Central Committee says that the 2nd Congress indicated to the Portuguese communists the road of the struggle for the unity of the working class and the people against fascism and imperialism, for the triumph of the people's democratic revolution on the road to socialism.

The resolution lays the stress on the three major tasks set by the Congress. The first task is the mobilization of all the party to carry into effect the political resolution of the Congress. «For The People's April 25 Road, For People's Democracy and Socialism».

The second task is to spread the slogans of the party and to turn them into banners of the struggle of the working class and the people.

The Central Committee stresses that it is the duty of every communist and party organization to raise high the banner of the struggle of the party and carry the slogans of the party to the people, to make them concrete in the revolutionary actions of the working class and people, as the sole form to make the working masses embark and march forward on the road of the struggle, to liberate themselves from hunger, poverty and capitalist exploitation.

The resolution of the 1st Plenum of the Central Committee puts forward, as the third task, the discussion, mastery and carrying into effect of the new Constitution throughout the party. This Constitution, which emerged from the 2nd Congress, is a fundamental law for the party, obligatory for all its members.

«These», concludes the resolution, «are the three immediate tasks of our party, which all its organs and members should carry out with the same fire and revolutionary enthusiasm with which the proceedings of the Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party (R), the party of the future, of the hope and socialism, took place».

# GRAND RALLY OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONAL

According to the newspaper «Bandiera Vermelha», central organ of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), a grand internationalist rally was organized in Campo Pequeno in Lisbon on April 17, 1977, on the occasion of the closing of the 2nd Congress of this Party, in which more than 15 thousand took part.

Also taking part in this rally, on the invitation of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed) were delegations from: the Party of Labour of Albania, headed by the Member of the Central Committee, Gafur Çuçi, the Communist Party of Brazil, the Communist Party of Spain (M-L), the Communist Party of Germany (M-L),

the Communist Party of Italy (M-L), the Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, the Communist Party of Greece (M-L), the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria, the Iranian Marxist-Leninist Organization «Toufan» and the Communist Organization of Angola.

## ***From the opening speech of Comrade M. Monteiro***

The rally was declared opened by Comrade M. Monteiro, Member of the CC of the P.C.P. (R). After having greeted those present on behalf of the Central Committee of his Party, he stressed that this is the first time, since the founding of the Communist Party in 1921 and even since its reconstruction in 1975, that such an important internationalist rally has been organized in Portugal. This, he said, is a real proof that the militant unity of the Marxist-Leninists of the world is growing and becoming consolidated.

For our young Party, participation in

the glorious 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania was a honour and, at the same time, a valuable experience of the practice of proletarian internationalism, continued comrade M. Monteiro. «We bear in mind that to fight the two superpowers, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union», he said, «we must never rely on one to fight the other. In Portugal, U.S. imperialism and its local agents, the big bourgeoisie and great landowners, constitute the main enemy of the people's democratic revolution. We have concentrated the fire of our struggle precisely against them. However, we do not relax our attention

from the danger that the penetration of social-imperialism into Portugal represents, and we are waging a correct and ceaseless struggle against its savage aims.

After exposing the activity of the Portuguese revisionists as the main enemies in the ranks of the working class, Comrade M. Monteiro stressed that the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed) will continue the struggle, also, against other forms of opportunism. He also exposed NATO and the Common Market as groupings in the service of U.S. imperialism and the monopoly bourgeoisie.

## ***From the greeting of the delegation of the CC of the PLA***

Comrade Gafur Çuçi delivered the greeting on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. The presence of the Albanian delegation at this rally, he said, is a result of the fraternal ties established between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Portuguese Communist

Party (Reconstructed). We know that your people, their finest sons, the Portuguese revolutionaries, have never separated their struggle from the struggle for national liberation of the peoples from the former colonies of Portugal. It was precisely this resolute struggle, along with the liberation

struggle of the colonial peoples, which sharpened to the maximum the contradictions within Portuguese society and led to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship on April 25, 1974.

The founding of the P.C.P. (Reconstructed) on December 27, 1975 marks a turning point in the history of the re-

# ISM IN LISBON

## **On occasion of the closing of the 2nd Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed)**

revolutionary struggles of the Portuguese people. The Portuguese working class and the oppressed and exploited masses now have their vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party, which emerged from their ranks, from their revolutionary struggle, as a necessity to illuminate the road of the revolution with the immortal doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and to guide them in the class actions and battles. Integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions in Portugal, the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed) is resolutely holding high the banner of the revolution and socialism, the banner of the struggle against the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, against the monopoly bourgeoisie and reaction.

The Albanian communists and all the Albanian people, he said, joyfully hail the successful conclusion of the 2nd Congress of your Party as their own victory. As the message of the CC of the PLA to the congress says, they are sure that its decisions, illuminated by the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, will always carry forward the revolutionization and proletarianization of the P.C.P. (Reconstructed), its struggle in defence of the vital interests of the Portuguese working class and working people against the fascist danger, capitalist oppression and exploitation and U.S. imperialism, as well as against the interference of Soviet social-imperialism, and for social progress and socialism in Portugal.

The communists and the working people of socialist Albania, educated by the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, are following your revolutionary struggle with interest and they consider your victories as their own victories. The militant friendship between the PLA and the P.C.P. (R.) is a friendship which exists between two equal sister parties which learn from each other's experience, and which fight on the same barricade of the class struggle for the cause of the revolution in their own countries. They are fighting shoulder to shoulder against the aggressive and hegemonic policy of the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which constitute the main enemy for socialism, for the freedom and independence of nations, the greatest force for the defence of oppressive and exploiting systems and the direct danger that mankind will be hurled into a third world war.

After speaking of the great achievements of the socialist construction in Albania, comrade Gafur Çuçi said:

The PSR of Albania is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, where Marxism-Leninism has become a dominant ideology. The working class and the broad working masses, led by the Party of Labour of Albania, are successfully constructing socialism, according to the principle of relying mainly on their own strength. The establishment of foreign military forces and bases, the granting of concessions to or the creation of joint companies

with the monopolies and the capitalist and revisionist states, as well as receiving credits from them, are prohibited by the Constitution. These principles, which represent the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary policy and line of our Party, correspond to the ardent aspirations of the Albanian people, who, even in the conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade, have ensured the defeat of all the schemes and plots of imperialism, social-imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction to overthrow the people's state power in Albania. The Albanian people, under the leadership of the PLA with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, are marching consistently ahead in the struggle for the complete construction of socialism, for the defence of the socialist Homeland and for the defence of Marxism-Leninism.

«The presence at this rally of the delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties from many other countries», continued comrade Gafur Çuçi, «is another expression of the constant strengthening of the unity in the ranks of the international Marxist-Leninist movement. The other rallies, too, which have been held recently on the initiative of the Marxist-Leninist sister parties in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, are expressions of the Marxist-Leninist unity and serve in deeds to strengthen the struggle against the two superpowers and the cause of the proletarian revolution. They have also been a support for the peoples to unite in their struggle for freedom, national independence and social progress,

against any oppression and exploitation from anyone at all.

The bourgeoisie fears and hates the revolutionary organizations of the proletariat and its vanguard, therefore it is rising in fury against them. In many countries of the world, as in Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, Bolivia, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, wherever the fascist bourgeois regimes are in power,

savage terror is exercised against the finest proletarian revolutionaries, against the most resolute patriotic and progressive persons, who are fighting at the head of the working class and the masses for freedom, national independence and socialism. From this high tribune, we express our resolute protest against the fascist oppressors, who have killed, imprisoned, perse-

cuted and tortured Marxist-Leninist militants and other revolutionaries, such as Comrade Pedro Pomar, Angelo Arroyo, Ioao Batista Drummond, Mario Echenique, and others. The fascist terror cannot subdue their revolutionary struggle. Nothing and nobody can stop the march of the proletarian revolution everywhere in the world».

### **From the greeting of the delegation of the CP of Spain (M-L)**

After greeting the rally on behalf of the CC of the CP of Spain (M-L) and all the militants of the Party, Comrade Raul Marco said that the Portuguese people have a genuine communist party, the P.C.P. (R.) with which we are linked by sincere ties. Today, thanks to the existence of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties in Portugal and Spain, our two peoples and our two parties are marching forward together, shoulder to shoulder with our eyes on the same objective: the revolution.

Hailing the victories achieved by the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), he went on to say that parties are not judged by their age, but by how they implement the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism in

the concrete conditions of their own country.

And here we have the example of the glorious Party of Labour of Albania, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha. When the Albanian comrades liberated their own country from the nazi hordes and took power, the Party had been in existence only 4 years. And, today the Party of Labour of Albania is the beacon-light of the revolution.

He refuted the farce about the so-called democratization in Spain and the demagogy of the bourgeoisie and revisionists with regard to this.

«We consider,» continued comrade R. Marco, «that the cause of the struggle against the two superpowers is vital for each people, individually, and for all the peoples, together. To this

end, it is very necessary that we define a correct principled stand, based on a concrete analysis of each situation, country and specific moment.

Today more than ever, he stressed, in face of the growing aggressiveness of the two superpowers and the reactionary forces, when the revisionists are trying to continue to deceive the working class with their treachery and close off the perspective of the socialist revolution as the only way out from the present crisis and the possible danger of a world war, it is more important than ever for the Marxist-Leninist parties to coordinate and unite their efforts, to jointly discuss and verify the special and general problems of the struggle in defence of principles and the questions of the revolutionary tactics.

### **From the greeting of the delegation of the CP of Germany (M-L)**

When the Portuguese people overthrow the fascist dictatorship, said the head of the delegation of the CP of Germany (M-L), E. Aust, the lackeys of the Portuguese reactionary bourgeoisie, faithful agents of social-imperialism — the Cunhal revisionists, were not the only ones that sabotaged and betrayed the struggles of the people with every means; it was not only the reactionary Portuguese bourgeoisie, but also the imperialists of the U.S.A. and West Germany who showed themselves to be among the main enemies of the Portuguese people.

In the present international situa-

tion, it is more imperative than ever to uphold the revolutionary ideals, the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The 7th Congress of the PLA with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head made an extraordinary contribution to this. We must be strong and must resolutely struggle against all those who are trying to develop an opportunist trend in the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist parties. To the deepening of the general crisis which has gripped the entire world capitalist system, both in the West and in the East, the sharpening of the contradictions among the imperialists and, particularly between the two imperial-

ist superpowers, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, their hegemony and policies of war, we must counterpose a single world front, which must have as its foundation the unity of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples.

The CP of Germany (M-L) as a vanguard party of the German proletariat, pointed out comrade E. Aust, is fighting under the central slogan «for a united, independent and socialist Germany», for the expulsion of the occupation troops from the whole of Germany, for the Federal German Republic to withdraw from NATO and

Common Market, for the German Democratic Republic to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty and COMECON, for

the establishment (in the Federal German Republic) and the reestablishment (in the German Democratic Republic)

of the dictatorship of the proletariat through the powerful socialist revolution.

### **From the greeting of the delegation of the CP of Brazil**

In bringing you our warmest greetings, said the representative of the CP of Brazil, we want to tell you, comrades and brothers, that the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed) is for us, Brazilian communists, a party which merits admiration and respect for its efforts to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the specific features of the Portuguese reality, for its exemplary internationalist rallies, and for the proofs it has given of its constant self-sacrifice in service of the people.

The Communist Party of Brazil is experiencing savage conditions of illegality, but it is fighting ceaselessly and courageously at the head of our valiant people for freedom, national independence and social justice. By raising the banner of struggle and with its militant spirit, it has won the sympathy and trust of broad strata of the working class, the peasantry and the people, has ensured the unity of action of the anti-fascist, democratic and patriotic forces.

During these years we have had to dip our fighting banners in honour of the heroes and martyrs of our party, intrepid fighters for the cause of our people, which is the cause of the revolution and socialism. In honouring the memory of our comrades fallen on various fields of the battle, we swear that we will carry through to victory the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Brazilian people, who want to live free and, without doubt, will be free.

### **From the greeting of the delegation of the Communist Party of Italy (M-L)**

In Italy, said the head of the delegation of the CP of Italy (M-L), the monopoly bourgeoisie is now striking hard at the living and working conditions of the working class and the broad masses of the people, trying to saddle the workers with the consequences of the deep crisis which has gripped the world capitalist and imperialist system. At the same time, the pressure of U.S. imperialism as well as the efforts of social-imperialism to penetrate deeper and deeper into Italy, are becoming ever stronger.

In this context of the struggle of the two superpowers for domination and hegemony, the European monopoly bourgeoisie has intensified the process of its integration in the European

Common Market. In this it is assisted by the revisionist chieftains who are trying to present United Europe as a positive factor in favour of the masses of the people, while in fact the agreements achieved favour the big monopolies alone and are to the detriment of the proletariat and the masses of the people.

The representative of the CP of Italy (M-L) stressed the need for strengthening and extension of the struggle to drive the bases of the USA and NATO out of Italy, to drive the bases and navies of the two superpowers out of the Mediterranean and for real national independence.

Our party has worked seriously and vigorously to implement the principles

of proletarian internationalism, to strengthen the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world. We are convinced that, at a time when the rivalry between the two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, for world hegemony is increasing the danger of war, at a time when the activity of the bourgeoisie and revisionists is being intensified, it is necessary to strengthen the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties on the basis of militant proletarian internationalism.

We are studying and disseminating the teachings of the 7th Congress of the PLA, especially the report of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which is a contribution of great importance to the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement.

### **From the greeting of the delegation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile**

The situation in Chile, said the representative of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, clearly shows that U.S. imperialism and the big local exploiters, represented by the

bloody-handed fascist military junta, are the main enemies of our people.

At a time when our people are waging their anti-fascist struggle and preparing to raise their revolutionary

actions to a new level, the revisionists are continuing to propagate class conciliation, while opposing the committees of resistance and the whole struggle of the masses. He went on to say that

in face of the collaboration between the Latin-American dictatorships to suppress the peoples, the unity of the peoples, the working class and the genuine communist parties of Latin Ame-

rica is on the upsurge and becoming steeled.

Today, the two superpowers are the main enemies of the peoples and represent the main danger for the out-

break of war in the world. While bearing in mind that the fundamental thing is the revolutionary struggle, at the same time we should fight with all our strength against the two superpowers.

### **From the greeting of the delegation of the Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina**

After extending the fraternal greetings of the Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina and after assessing the importance of the 2nd Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), the representative of the Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina stressed that his Party is working to create conditions for a general armed uprising, to put an end to the oppressive regime and to create a new situation in Argentina.

He exposed the Argentinian revisio-

nists, who are trying to convince the Argentinian bourgeoisie that social-imperialism is more generous than the Americans and calling on the workers to give up the struggle against the junta, because otherwise they «irritate the fascists». Then he stressed that up till now the Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina has paid a high price in the blood of its comrades who have been killed, and a large number of its best members who, imprisoned in the jails by the regime, are an example

of a true communist stand. But the Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina, being aware of its historic responsibility to the peoples and communists of the whole world, reaffirms that it is determined not to retreat in the struggle, but to raise aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, to fight for the triumph of the revolution, to smash imperialism and the oligarchy and not to allow Soviet social-imperialism to replace them.

### **From the greeting of the Iranian Marxist-Leninist Organization «Toufan»**

The representative of the Iranian Marxist-Leninist Organization «Toufan» said that today U.S. imperialism is dominant economically, politically and militarily in Iran. The history of the last 50 years shows that the peoples and proletariat of Iran have never ceased their struggle against imperialism and its running dogs in Iran. They have risen again against these reactio-

naries, after any temporary defeat. In the framework of the international agreements of the two superpowers. Russian social-imperialism, too, has tried to have its share in the exploitation of the Iranian working masses.

The revolutionary experience of the communists and oppressed peoples of the world has proved the correctness of the valuable teachings

of the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Enver Hoxha, that the proletariat and all those who defend the revolution should link their struggle closely with the struggle of the peoples for liberation and independence. And this is possible only through a resolute struggle against the bourgeoisie of their own country, through the struggle against imperialism and its predatory wars.

### **From the greeting of the delegation of the Communist Party of Greece (M-L)**

At the present stage, said the head of the delegation of the CP of Greece (M-L), the Communist Party of Greece (M-L) is waging a resolute struggle on many fronts against Greek reaction and its imperialist supporters, mainly the U.S. imperialists, for the triumph of the real freedom and independence of our people and country, against the

aggressive NATO bloc and the entry of Greece into the imperialist monopoly bloc — the European Economic Community, etc.

At the same time, it condemns and exposes the aggressive role of Soviet social-imperialism, which is trying with all its means to penetrate our country.

The revolutionary unity of the Marx-

ist-Leninist parties and organizations, he said in conclusion, based on the great principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, constitutes an indispensable condition for the victory of the peoples, for the victory of the national-liberation revolution and the proletarian revolution, for the triumph of socialism and communism.



### **From the greeting of the delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria**

After hailing the successful conclusion of the 2nd Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), Comrade Franz Strobl, head of the delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria, stressed that the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria considers ~~that~~ both when they collaborate with each other and when they are in rivalry, the two superpowers are to

the same degree the main enemies of the freedom, peace and progress of the peoples.

By attentively following the frenzied armaments race, one becomes quite clear that these preparations for war, in which the lion's role belongs to the two superpowers and the main blame falls equally on the two of them, are more and more increasing the danger

of an imperialist world war. Our Party takes the revolutionary and mobilizing stand of comrade Stalin, that world peace can be successfully defended, and that a new world war can be avoided, if the peoples take the cause of the preservation of peace into their own hands and if they know to defend it to the end.

### **From the greeting of the delegation of the Communist Organization of Angola**

At these moments, said the head of the delegation of the Communist Organization of Angola in his greeting, Angola is passing through one of the most difficult periods of its history. After turning the national liberation movement completely upside down, the two superpowers plunged our country into a bloody imperialist war, which has not yet ended.

The present situation in Angola and the historic experience of the national liberation movement in our country clearly show that the struggle of our people can triumph only if it is led by the party of the working class, by its communist party, which is able to guarantee that our struggle will be not distorted again by the interests of imperialist powers.

The Angolan communists will fight with all their strength, standing loyal to the sacred principles of Marxism-Leninism, to equip the Angolan working class and people with their genuine revolutionary vanguard, which will lead the country to freedom, national independence, socialism and communism.

### **From the closing speech of Comrade E. Pires**

During 15 months of struggle, said the Member of the CC of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), E. Pires, our Party may be proud of the fact that it has known how to lead the numerous battles of the working class, the agricultural workers, the poor of Portugal, in defence of their vital interests. We are striving to link the Party ever more closely with the masses of the people and the workers, day by day. In the enterprises and trade unions, in the ranks of the working class, the political influence of our Party is increasing. The strengthening of the revolutionary trade union spirit, which is actively backed up by our Party, is very obvious.

Our Communist Party is coming more and more on to the national political stage and it is being recognized by broad sectors of the vanguard, the people's and anti-fascist sectors, as the only political force, which, in

words and deeds, consistently defends the cause of freedom and progress.

The reactionary bourgeoisie and imperialism are well aware that they cannot crush people's movement at one blow. They are trying, rather, to tie it up in compromises, to hinder it and exhaust its energies. They want us to stop the strikes, to meekly accept their orders. They want the workers to work even harder and earn less; and all this to fatten these social parasites, these immoral individuals who recognise no homeland, the big capitalists who have sold themselves for dollars, marks or rubles.

All over the country, stressed Comrade Pires, from the north to the south and in the islands, let us rise united to a man, like the fingers of a clenched fist, against the shameful sell-out of the country to foreigners, for Portugal to leave NATO and for the ousting of the imperialists. We must defend the national independence.

All together, in this great steel block of the working people in struggle, we can repel our main enemies and establish a genuine anti-fascist government, which will make the rich pay the cost of the crisis, which will crush the fascists, defend the freedoms and drive out the imperialists. A government of the true April 25, the April 25 of the people.

So that all understand clearly, that all know what we are defending, we want to say that there is a brilliant example in Europe which shows us the road of the revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, the road of a country where prices are coming down, where not one person is unemployed and taxes do not exist, a country which is marching confidently towards classless society. That country is the PSR of Albania, led by the PLA, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

## ENVER HOXHA

# THE LINE OF OUR PARTY REVOLUTIONARY LINE, THE TEACHINGS OF MA

ONLY SIX MONTHS HAVE ELAPSED SINCE N. KHRUSHCHEV MADE HIS OPEN ATTACK ON OUR PARTY, THE UNITY OF THE SOCIALIST CAMP AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, AT THE 22nd CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION. BUT THESE SIX MONTHS HAVE BEEN SUFFICIENT TO PROVE TO THE ENTIRE WORLD THE FALSITY OF N. KHRUSHCHEV'S ACCUSATIONS AND SLANDERS AGAINST OUR PARTY, TO PROVE THE CORRECTNESS OF THE LINE OF OUR PARTY AND ITS PRINCIPLED MARXIST-LENINIST STAND IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM.

The just, principled struggle of our Party against the Khrushchev group, its valiant and resolute stand in face of the fiercest pressure and provocations from N. Khrushchev and his group, the cool-headedness and wisdom of our heroic Party and people have enhanced the authority of our Party in the eyes of the communists of the whole world, in the eyes of the different nations and progressive people. This is best seen in thousands of letters of solidarity which the Central Committee of our Party has received and continues to receive from the communists of different countries. The communists of the world and the international public are seeing ever more clearly that the Party of Labour of Albania is defending the principles of

*The materials under this heading are taken from Volume 23 of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works which was put into circulation these recent weeks in Albania.*

Marxism-Leninism, while, with his opportunist policy and his anti-Marxist activities, N. Khrushchev is damaging the interests of the communist movement, damaging the struggle of the peoples for freedom, democracy and socialism.

The development of the international situation up to date has provided many proofs that it is the Party of Labour of Albania and the other Marxist-Leninist parties that have taken a principled stand that are right in their evaluations, and not the modern revisionists, the group of Khrushchev and his followers. The communists and the peoples of the world are seeing clearly how N. Khrushchev's illusions about «Kennedy's desires for peace», his hopes of changing the aggressive nature of imperialism, are collapsing. It is becoming ever more clear that N. Khrushchev's opportunist policy, a policy of concessions and flattery

# Y IS A CORRECT, IN CONFORMITY WITH RXISM-LENINISM

*Letter to all Party Basic Organizations – May 9, 1962*

to the imperialists, of instability and constant vacillation, not only resolves nothing, but, on the contrary, is to the advantage of imperialism. In fact, what results have been attained up till now? None at all. The issue of the peace treaty with Germany and the question of West Berlin are deadlocked. So is the question of disarmament. Indeed, while talks on disarmament were going on in Geneva, the Kennedy government resumed its nuclear tests in the atmosphere. The national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America has gained new momentum. In complete opposition to the illusions N. Khrushchev is trying to create among the oppressed peoples about awaiting their liberation from a resolution of the United Nations Organization, or from complete and general disarmament, the peoples have taken up arms. After seven years of sacrifice, through bloodshed and struggle, the Algerian people imposed a cease-fire on French imperialism and won their right to independence; the peoples of the Congo, Laos, and South Vietnam are fighting arms in hand. Everywhere, on all the fundamental questions of the development of the international

situation, it is clearly apparent that our Party is right, that its line is in conformity with the teachings of Leninism, hence it is a revolutionary line, while N. Khrushchev with his revisionist, anti-Marxist line to the detriment of the interests of the peoples, is wrong.

The just struggle of principle of our Party against the Khrushchev group, its heroic resistance to his attacks and pressure, as well as the development of international events, not in the direction which the revisionists want, but in the opposite direction, have further strengthened the positions of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism in the ranks of the international communist and workers' movement. Not only the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China, but also many other parties are resolutely defending the correct Marxist-Leninist positions. The line followed by N. Khrushchev against our Party has been publicly criticised, also, by the Communist Party of New Zealand and many other parties.

Neither is N. Khrushchev finding the support he needs even among his loyal allies in the ranks of the parties of the socialist countries of Europe. This

is clearly seen in their stand towards our Party and our country.

How is it explained?

First, it is connected with the wise tactics pursued by our Party of Labour. Our Party has been and is convinced that the leaderships of the parties of the European socialist countries take Khrushchev's position. But, as is known, our struggle has been concentrated on the exposure of N. Khrushchev and his followers. This correct tactical differentiation placed the leaderships of the parties of the European socialist countries in a difficult position, since they did not find any formal pretext to undertake actions similar to those of N. Khrushchev against our country. It must be said that in order to create such a pretext they have committed many provocations against our Party, especially through intensive oral and written propaganda, through their official organs. But our Party has always manoeuvred coolheadedly and wisely.

Second, the fact that the leaderships of the European socialist countries did not follow N. Khrushchev in all his measures against our Party and country also expresses the existence of contradictions among them, which is quite

logical, because there can never be unity and mutual trust among opportunists and revisionists.

As a conclusion, we may say that the just, principled struggle of our Party against the Khrushchev group, the consistent Marxist-Leninist stand of the Communist Party of China and the other parties as well as the development of events in the world contrary to the wishes of the revisionists have placed N. Khrushchev and his followers in a difficult position. They are realizing that the ground is slipping from under their feet, that their anti-Marxist-Leninist features are being exposed. But it is clear that N. Khrushchev is not giving up his opportunist course and his aims against the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. That is why he is trying to manoeuvre, to change his tactics in order to attain the same objectives by other means. Khrushchev's change of tactics is also connected with the strong pressure being exerted by a number of fraternal communist and workers' parties of different countries, who want to find ways for the re-establishment of Marxist-Leninist unity in the ranks of the international communist movement and the socialist camp.

Recently, several communist and workers' parties have sent letters to the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the CC of the Communist Party of China, and the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. In these letters they express their deep concern about the undesirable situation created in the socialist camp and the international communist movement following Khrushchev's publicizing of our disagreements at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and make an appeal for finding ways to re-establish unity, on the basis of the principles defined in the 1960 Moscow Declaration. In order to settle the existing differences they propose a meeting of the representatives of the three parties — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of China,

and the Party of Labour of Albania, or a meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries, or, eventually, a meeting of the representatives of all the communist and workers' parties of the world.

The Central Committee of our Party has sent the leaderships of these parties the appropriate answers. In its reply, the Central Committee of our Party points out that it understands the concern of these parties about the situation created in the relations between our Party and country and the Khrushchev group, and that it highly appreciates their efforts for settling the differences and strengthening the unity of the socialist countries and the international communist movement.

The Central Committee of our Party points out also that it has constantly striven and proposed that the differences with the Soviet leadership should be resolved on a Marxist-Leninist basis, in conditions of complete equality and independence, in the spirit of comradely consultations. There is clear and detailed evidence of this in the correspondence between the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, however, the Khrushchev group paid no heed to our proposals. It went on ever more brutally with its anti-Marxist activity aimed at the worsening of the relations between our two parties and countries to the maximum. It went to such lengths as to attack our Party publicly, from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in fact to break off diplomatic relations with our country, and to launch a frenzied anti-Marxist campaign against the Party of Labour of Albania, utilizing the vilest slanders of the reactionary bourgeois press as «arguments».

N. Khrushchev tried to exploit the initiative taken by those parties for his own hostile purposes. In February this year, the CC of the CPSU addressed a letter to the CC of the CP of China. In the letter of the Central

Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, apart from utterly hypocritical words about unity, attempts are made to drive wedges between fraternal parties which stand resolutely for Marxist-Leninist principles, concretely, between the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, to set aside and isolate our Party, as if the issue of the relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania were a separate problem, which allegedly is not connected with the question of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

It should be noted that, in the letter of the Soviet leadership, terms such as «we should look forward, not backward», «we should consider what unites us and not what divides us», etc., etc., are used. The comrades will recall that N. Khrushchev has always used such terms whenever he has been seeking agreement and rapprochement with the U.S. imperialists or the Titoite revisionist clique. From this it can be inferred that N. Khrushchev is not in the least concerned about the Marxist-Leninist unity of the socialist camp but is only indulging in demagogy.

This is the essence of the above letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In April this year, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sent its reply to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

After acquainting itself with the content of the letters of the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the CC of the Communist Party of China, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania found it reasonable to express its opinion once again on the differences in the ranks of the socialist camp and the communist movement, and on the state of relations between our Party and country and the present Soviet leadership. To this end, in April this year, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania sent the

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China a letter in which our Party's view on these questions was expressed.

In its letter, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania observes with satisfaction that both our Party and the Communist Party of China proceed from the same basic principles — from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism — in defining their line and views on all questions facing the international communist and workers' movement. Among other things, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania stresses that:

«The unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement has been and is being gravely harmed by the anti-Marxist views and activity of the Khrushchev group that has departed from the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism and has violated and is still brutally violating the principles of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations, both in regard to the main questions of present-day world developments and in regard to the relations which should exist among socialist countries and Marxist-Leninist parties, and this is only to the advantage of our common enemy — imperialism».

The letter brings out many facts and arguments which prove that the views of N. Khrushchev and his group, as well as his disruptive anti-Marxist activities, are opportunist and revisionist.

«The actions of N. Khrushchev and his group», says the letter, «are the deliberate actions of a revisionist who sees the danger of his exposure in the correct and principled line and stand of the parties which stand firm on the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principles, and therefore, is striving by every means to subdue them, to impose his own anti-Marxist line on them, to discredit and isolate them».

«The anti-Marxist and hostile stand of the group of N. Khrushchev towards the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania», points out the letter of the Central Committee

of our Party, «is neither an isolated nor fortuitous action, but a logical consequence of his whole anti-Marxist line, it is one of the steps in the context of his activity aimed at splitting and subduing the socialist camp and the entire international communist and workers' movement, in order to impose his revisionist line on them, a clear expression of the methods he uses to further his aims. N. Khrushchev thought that the Party of Labour of Albania, as the party of a small socialist country, was the link which could be broken most easily, the most suitable target for his attacks because, by attacking and subduing it, he would be able to attack, intimidate and subdue the others, to impose his revisionist line on them».

In its letter, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania stressed that it is in complete accord with the opinion of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China that, for an agreement on unity to be reached, first of all, the grave situation in Soviet-Albanian relations created on the initiative of N. Khrushchev must be cleared up. The letter says: «The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania holds that an indispensable condition for achieving Marxist-Leninist unity in our movement and its further strengthening is the rigorous implementation of the principles of independence, equality and comradely consultations in the relations among the fraternal communist and workers' parties. Therefore, it is absolutely essential that the course of violation of these principles by the Khrushchev group must be resolutely stopped, and the anti-Marxist actions and methods it uses in order to impose its revisionist line on the entire international communist and workers' movement, which leads to the further deepening of the split among the forces of socialism, must be condemned in a resolute and principled way. The first step and the touchstone to prove that N. Khrushchev and his group genuinely reject these anti-Marxist methods and activities would be admis-

sion on his part of his grave mistakes in regard to the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, which have been subjected to savage public attacks by N. Khrushchev. If N. Khrushchev does not honestly and publicly admit his grave mistake towards our Party and our country, as well as towards other fraternal parties, this means that he is not sincerely for unity but is only manoeuvring with words about unity, that he is trying to gain time, seeking a respite, dictated by the failures his policy is suffering, and secretly trying to prepare fresh attacks on unity; this means that he intends to persist in his anti-Marxist course of violating the principles of independence and equality in the relations among the communist and workers' parties and the socialist countries, thus making any comradely and equal consultation among fraternal parties impossible.

Apart from this, with his political and economic pressure and blackmail and, especially, his savage slanderous attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership, with his breaking off of diplomatic relations with Albania and his public appeals for the overthrow of the Albanian leadership, N. Khrushchev has, in fact, posed unacceptable preconditions for negotiations with our Party, and has put our Party in conditions of inequality. Without the elimination of these preconditions there cannot be any kind of comradely consultations, based on the principles of independence and complete equality, which have been clearly defined in the 1960 Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties, while without comradely consultations, without strictly adhering to the principles of independence and equality among the fraternal parties, no kind of unity is possible».

In its letter, the Central Committee of our Party stresses that it is fully confident that the other fraternal parties, too, even those parties which are not yet clear, will understand this correctly. «Speaking of the course which should be followed to prepare

the ground for the elimination of differences in the socialist camp and for the normalization of Albanian-Soviet relations, this is not a matter of satisfying 'our national pride' but of restoring and defending the Leninist principles in the relations among fraternal parties and socialist countries. Failure to condemn the anti-Marxist methods and actions of N. Khrushchev, which have been expressed in the most open and brutal manner in his stand towards the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, not only gives no guarantee that they will not be repeated in the future towards some other fraternal party or socialist country, but, on the contrary, encourages him to proceed further on his dangerous course, to cause still greater damage to our unity».

This, in general outline, is the content of the letter which the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in April this year, in which our Party's stand in connection with the question of unity is clearly expressed.

Dear comrades,

Our Party has always been and always will be for the unity of the international communist movement. It has fought with determination and in a principled manner for the strengthening of this unity on the sound basis of Marxism-Leninism. Proceeding from this principled position, our Party has always stood loyal to the common line of the international communist movement and has resolutely put this line into practice. In its relations with the sister parties and fraternal socialist countries our Party has always rigorously upheld the principles of proletarian internationalism, equality and independence, of non-interference in each other's internal affairs and of fraternal mutual aid and support, of reaching unity by means of comradely consultations.

As a resolute fighter for unity, the Party of Labour of Albania has been, is, and always will be, for the preser-

vation and strengthening of unity in the international communist movement. Our Party has fought and is fighting not for any kind of unity in the socialist camp and in the international communist movement, but for a sound unity, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, for a unity in struggle against imperialism and the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, the modern revisionists. The struggle for unity and the struggle against the splitters of unity, the modern revisionists, cannot be separated. Only such a Marxist-Leninist unity can be the truly effective and durable unity which the international communist movement needs. Precisely because it has upheld and upholds such a principled stand on the question of unity, our Party has been savagely attacked by the enemies of Marxism-Leninism and of our unity — N. Khrushchev and his supporters.

The ground is slipping from under the feet of N. Khrushchev and his group. N. Khrushchev is seeing the danger of his complete exposure, therefore he is striving to come out with the banner of «unity», to manoeuvre with words about «unity», in order to gain time, to gain a kind of reprieve, to deceive the communist and workers' parties, and prepare fresh attacks on unity. This tactic of N. Khrushchev's is especially dangerous now, when the problem of unity is seriously worrying the parties and the communists the world over. In these conditions, it is all the more necessary for the parties which stand resolutely on sound Marxist-Leninist positions to take the banner of the unity of the international communist movement into their own hands, to take the initiative in this direction, and thus expose the tactical manoeuvres of N. Khrushchev. It should be borne in mind that N. Khrushchev is not yet fully exposed in the communist movement as a splitter of the socialist camp and the communist movement and as an anti-Marxist.

Of course, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania thinks

that the Khrushchev group will not admit its mistakes, that it will not make self-criticism. We are already well acquainted with the revisionists. We have seen what the Tito clique is, and we know that they never, under any circumstances, made self-criticism, or gave up their anti-Marxist course. We know the Khrushchev group, too, and we are convinced that it will try to take the opportunity to make its revisionist activity more refined, to increase its efforts, both against our Party and against the socialist camp and the international communist movement, in other forms.

The Central Committee requires that the party organizations and all the communists understand the stand of our Party in connection with the issue of unity in the present situation correctly, that they combat illusions that may be created from the fact that, for the time being, our press will not speak out against N. Khrushchev, etc. On the other hand, the party organizations should further step up their work of mouth propaganda, through conferences, lectures and talks with the masses of the people, to expose the revisionist views and activities of the Khrushchev group. It must be thoroughly understood that the line of the Party remains unchanged, remains what it has been, therefore it should be well publicized among the masses. On this question, you will have the aid of our press, which will write more about the various problems, presenting our line in all its aspects.

As always, the Central Committee is informing all the members of our Party about the situation created in recent times in the international communist and workers' movement. Therefore, this letter should be discussed and analysed in all the party basic organizations by 30th May, 1962.

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania

ENVER HOXHA

ENVER HOXHA

# OUR INTELLIGENTSIA IS RAISED AND DEVELOPED IN THE BOSOM OF THE PEOPLE

*From the speech at the meeting with the representatives of the intelligentsia of the capital\*) – October 25, 1962*

DEAR COMRADES,

FIRST OF ALL, ALLOW ME TO EXTEND THE GREETINGS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY TO YOU, THE INTELLECTUALS OF OUR COUNTRY, AND IN PARTICULAR, TO THE INTELLECTUALS OF THE CAPITAL, WHO ARE A POWERFUL AND MILITANT DETACHMENT OF OUR GLORIOUS PEOPLE'S INTELLIGENTSIA, AN IMPORTANT SUPPORT FOR OUR PARTY OF LABOUR AND THE PEOPLE'S POWER. PERSONALLY, I AM VERY HAPPY TO BE AMONG YOU, MY OLD AND NEW COMRADES, CO-FIGHTERS FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF THE GREAT IDEALS OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM...

There is no more legitimate joy and pride than to see that the Party has brought up thousands of loyal and capable cadres, who spare nothing, neither their sweat, nor their blood, if need be, for the people and the Homeland, for socialism and communism.

It is understandable that this situa-

tion of our intelligentsia is a result and reflection of the great revolutionary transformations that have taken place in our country. It reflects very well the development, the results, and the triumphant march of our cultural revolution.

Yes, comrades, in our country, a revolution, unprecedented in the history of our people, was carried out, a magnificent revolution, which put an end to the feudal-bourgeois and fascist regimes and overthrew their economic and social order. The creation of the state of people's democracy, the nationalization of industry, the banks, etc.,

the socialist industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, are links in the chain of the socialist revolution, which consolidated the new state power and the social economic order of the working masses, the socialist society. However this was an all-embracing revolution and for it to be complete, — it could not fail to penetrate all the pores of our life, to affect all fields of it, to be a unified combination of the different sectors of human activity. Precisely for this reason, right from the start, our Party, guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, gave the signal to carry out the cultural revolution, too, as an integral part of the socialist revolution. You remember quite well how we set about it, by conducting the struggle against illiteracy among the partisan ranks and, after Liberation, extending it to the most remote corners of our Homeland...

\*) On the invitation of the Rectorate of the University of Tirana on October 25, 1962, comrade Enver Hoxha had a meeting with the teaching staff, the scientific workers and the students of the University and higher institutes of the capital and other representatives of the intelligentsia.

Do you recall the hero of Maxim Gorky's story, the peasant Danko, a son of the people, who tore his heart from his chest and raised it high to illuminate his people's way through the darkness and led them out into light? Just like him, the people's teacher, Ndreç Ndue Gjoka from Mirdita, went from cottage to cottage and made his blood into light, in order to open the eyes of the sons and daughters of his people. Without the social-economic transformations we could not have carried out and continued the cultural revolution, but, on the other hand, without this revolution we could not have carried these transformations through to the end and gone further ahead in the socialist construction. One aspect of the development of the cultural revolution is precisely the creation and development of our people's intelligentsia.

All of you know Stalin's slogan, «cadres decide everything»<sup>1)</sup>. This does not negate in the least the primary and exclusively decisive role of the masses in the development of society, for in the final analysis the role of cadres assumes the above significance when they express the aspirations of the masses and when they rely on the practical activity of the masses in their work.

Therefore, each class creates its own intelligentsia. The working class does this, too. And it does this not for the sake of tradition, but because this is one of the fundamental tasks and conditions in order to carry out the political, economic and cultural revolution. Our Party was clear about this problem right from the start, therefore it went about it correctly. Of course, we rejected the opportunist Trotskyite theories that we must «first train the cadres and then act», and we trained the cadres, our intelligentsia, in the heat of the revolution, in the course of work, parallel with the solution of more pressing problems. Once few in number, our intelligentsia gradually grew, and like an avalanche, carried

our cultural revolution ever further forward. And the efforts of our working class to create its own intelligentsia, our wonderful intelligentsia, were not in vain.

We have a new intelligentsia, entirely new in its composition, in its world outlook, and in its age...

You, comrades, know that during these eighteen years, for our Party and people the road has not been strewn with roses. On the contrary, it has been full of obstacles and difficulties which had to be overcome. From the past we inherited poverty and backwardness in all fields of life, the war left us colossal devastation and damage, the internal and external enemies hatched up all sorts of plots and sabotage against us, while our march forward itself was accompanied with the difficulties of growth.

All these things called for principled and persistent struggle, blood and sweat, required great sacrifices from the Party and the people. In the first years after liberation, our people had to tighten their belts, to drive tunnels with their bare hands, since there were no other means, to lay and relay the rails of the railways, since the Yugoslav technicians sabotaged them and we had no technicians of our own, they had to foil the Greek provocations of August 2, 1949, and hundreds of other provocations and plots organized by external enemies, to battle and wipe out the bands of diversionists smuggled into the country from all sides, they had to build combines, to drain marshes, to break in new land, to adopt new techniques, to cultivate new crops, they had to set up industry and collectivize agriculture, to build the economic base of socialism. And they did all these things. Their efforts were not in vain. But while we were short of food and the people had to battle against difficulties, diversionists, etc., the Party did not forget schools, cinemas, theatres, libraries and museums, but, on the contrary struggled to set

up more of them, sent every one it could of the sons and daughters of the people to do higher studies in the Soviet Union and other countries. Our working class and the peasantry deprived themselves of food for all these things but they did not allow the intelligentsia to go short of anything and created the most favourable conditions possible for its creative work and life.

And what came out of all this? As a result of the Marxist-Leninist line and the farsighted work of the Party, our cultural revolution was successfully accomplished, assisting the whole development of the country, a large army of cadres was created — today the new Albania has not 380, but 6,000 cadres of higher training, not about 2,000 but 21,600 cadres of medium training, besides 95,000 qualified workers. At one time, out of very 18 citizens only one had any hope of getting any schooling, whereas today, one out of every 5 people is going to school. I make no mention of the university, the institutes of higher learning, the Opera and Ballet Theatre, etc. which you know about. Today we say to our friends and our enemies: wait just eight years, and you will see that by 1970 we shall nearly treble the number of higher cadres, reaching the figure of 16,500, will nearly double the cadres of medium training, reaching the figure of 40,600, and nearly double the number of skilled workers, reaching the figure of 175,000. These conclusions and decisions of the recent Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party are not empty words, comrades, but precise facts and calculations which life is confirming and will confirm in the future<sup>2)</sup>.

Hence, we Albanian communists and patriots, know how to create and how to dream. But our dreams are noble and realistic. In the past Naim and Sami Frashëri, Çajupi<sup>3)</sup> and Migjeni<sup>4)</sup> dreamed of seeing Albania as a «first lady», with a «university»; they burned themselves out to attain this. But the



tyrants prevented them from seeing their dreams materialized in life. However, our brave partisans and all the patriots of the new Albania, with their

Party of Labour at the head, armed with the immortal science of Marxism-Leninism, not only took over the dreams of their forbears, but they

spun even bolder dreams, and with their blood and sweat, made them a reality. And this is what we shall do in the future, too.

## **We Must Study And Have All The Possibilities To Do More For The Development Of Science And Technology**

However, comrades, the truth is that we should do still more in the direction of the development of cadres, of mastering science, and the scientific uplift of our country. In this field, the world has made great advances. However, we are living in this world, and what is more, we are building socialism and tomorrow will be building communism. For this we need, among other things, cadres, technology and science. As is known, science has surged ahead with an impulse unprecedented in the history of mankind, and wonderful results have been achieved. The great scholars of various epochs and nationalities, of different schools and views, have brought mankind incalculable blessings, have opened up, some more and some less, such paths to knowledge that today electricity has become the motor of our new world. All applied science today is based on electricity and we may well say that the greater part of the activity of the daily life of mankind develops and works under the symbols of the force of Volta, Ampère and other scientists who, so to say, «brought it up on the bottle», and now it has become a colossal force, which has given birth to another colossal force, atomic energy, one of the greatest discoveries of all times. The development of science is the work not just of a few geniuses, who have shone like brilliant stars through the history of mankind and whose studies and inventions are the foundation of the ever ascending development of science, but also of those thousands and tens of thousands of

various working people from all parts of the world, who have dreamed, studied, and put into practice, who have made the various combinations and have managed to create the endless chain of modern science.

During the history of mankind, the development of science in general, or of certain sciences in particular, has been hampered for a time by catastrophes or powerful obscurantist trends. You know the great catastrophe the Roman Empire was to science, in particular to that of the Greco-Alexandrian period, when scientific development was brilliant with the names of Archimedes, Euclid and others. The obscurantism of the Middle Ages strangled science for a long period, weighing on it like a heavy tomb stone on which were engraved the dictatorship of Aristotle and the name of St. Thomas of Aquinas, to whom the Bible, Aristotle and magic were science. The aggressors during the First World War and, especially, the Hitlerite fascist aggressors during the Second World War dealt science heavy blows and revived mysticism, as occurs in times of crises, when pyres of books are burned in city squares.

We must recall these lessons of history, because in our times, too, U.S. imperialism, the Bonn revanchists and their allies are on the prowl, torch in hand, or, more precisely, with atomic bombs in their hands, to set the world ablaze and use this colossal development of knowledge and science to the detriment of the people and of the

moral and material wealth they have created. We must stay the hand which these criminals have raised against mankind and civilization. Wherever they are, wherever they live and work, the men of science must be vigilant and united, and fight to ensure that the fruits of their creative thinking, of their daily work and experience are not used to the detriment of mankind. Science has had and should have a universal character, and not only should its development not be the monopoly of certain individuals, of a handful of powerful states, or a few big concerns, but it should be put entirely at the service of mankind, at the service of peace, and not at the service of war and the exploitation of people.

To science we owe achievements of inestimable value to mankind, to science we owe the liberation of the spirit and mind from superstition. Every step forward taken by science, through struggle and efforts, both collective and individual, drives one step back that dark and irrational mysticism, which in the course of history, and even today, in the epoch of electricity, of Marxism-Leninism and of atomic energy, comes forward and opposes reason. There is no greater absurdity and nothing more anti-scientific than to think that science is an isolated epiphenomenon, as some Western so-called «scholars» or lackeys to the Vatican do.

The epoch we are living in is the epoch of the triumph of socialism, the epoch of the glorious ideology of the new society, Marxism-Leninism, which

put the values created by man generation after generation in their proper place and armed the men of its epoch with a powerful and unerring weapon that makes the different branches of science advance with such great impetus.

We are a small country, with marked backwardness in the scientific field, we do not have the material possibilities of many other countries of the world. From our dark past we have not inherited a galaxy of scientists of great traditions who could leave the imprint of their genius and their tradition on universities and faculties, or on the practical development of their experience in the field of industry, agriculture, medicine, physics, chemistry, etc. Like everything else in our country, the development of science is new. In this respect everything is just beginning, but on a good course, on the right course, and we are seeing the fruit of it. Our country today is covered with schools, we have our University and our higher institutes, our laboratories, our factories, our mines, our state farms and agricultural cooperatives, and along with all these, we have trained cadres, still young, still with no great knowledge or extensive experience, but full of determination and energy, a reliable basis for the brilliant future of science in our country. In some branches of science, such as that of linguistics and literature, we have produced distinguished men and scientists of international stature, like Sami Frashëri, Naim Frashëri and others, whose work is well-known; we have produced men of great merit, like professor Refat Frashëri, known all over the world in the thirties for his medical studies and works, especially in bacteriology, and we have specialists of our time who have worked or are still working and striving today, with scientific methods and attaining brilliant results, like professors Aleksandër Xhuvani and Kostaq Cipo... Our economists, philosophers, jurists, and specialists in other

fields are making studies of great value to our country and our new society.

It is a special pleasure also, to see that we have distinguished doctors, old and young... who have not only dedicated all their energies to the protection and improvement of the health of our people and the training of hundreds of new cadres, but, with their exact diagnoses and their complicated operations, are proving that they do not lag behind their distinguished colleagues of other countries.

We have mathematicians, physicists, chemists and others, who have embarked on serious studies of a high scientific level... who will advance science in our country.

These cadres are capable, and they have given proof of this, of discussing important scientific questions at international scientific meetings and forums, and of attracting the serious attention of foreign scientists for the richness of the scientific exposition of their theses...

Excuse me for speaking about this at such length, but I am not doing this to make a few of our intellectuals and specialists conceited, a danger which does not exist, since they are capable and modest people, as are many, many others, whose names I did not mention for lack of time, nor to say that science in Albania has made great progress, so that we come out of this meeting satisfied, with the idea that we have achieved everything. No, on the contrary. I am saying those things to make it very plain that we are backward, very backward, but also to stress that our cadres have advanced and that great perspectives have been opened up to them, that even greater possibilities have been and will be created for a still greater development of science in our country in the future.

Conceit and self-satisfaction are two evils which we must combat, because they hinder our progress in the domain we are speaking about, but «ex-

cessive modesty» also, — with this I mean that there may be people who say, more or less, «We are a small nation, trailing along behind, science has long been advanced in the other countries of the world, others have invented everything», etc., etc., — is not correct, either, since it gives birth to pessimism, hinders the widening of knowledge and the development of intellect, holds people back and prevents them from making the necessary efforts to advance.

Now we may speak with pride of the noble features which distinguish our cadres, and all our intelligentsia, today, characteristics which must be developed and strengthened in the future, too. First, we have an intelligentsia of a high political and ideological level, a patriotic and revolutionary intelligentsia, capable of coping with any situation and always being up to the level required to handle the national and international tasks facing our Party and people. Second, we have a talented intelligentsia capable of solving the most difficult tasks of the socialist construction, the most complicated problems in the economic, social, educational, and cultural fields. Third, we have an intelligentsia linked closely with the people, which is raised and developed in the bosom of the people, which is nurtured by the people's genius, and which fights for the good of its people. All this is borne out by life, all this constitutes our objective reality, on which our Party bases itself in its judgements and actions.

Of course, Nikita Khrushchev and his group could not agree with this evaluation. As you know, he has always underrated the capabilities and creative possibilities of our people, which are expressed, among other things, in the inventions and rationalizations by our working people, of which we are proud. You know, too, that N. Khrushchev and his followers have more than once declared that, allegedly, it was they who created our intelligentsia.

But such statements cannot hurt us. In regard to the inventions, rationalizations proposals and the unprecedented upsurge in this direction, which burst out with particular force following the attacks on our Party and the exposure of N. Khrushchev's betrayal to Marxism-Leninism, in regard to this, we are proud of it, and have every right to be proud of it, of course without becoming swell-headed about it and resting on our laurels. We are proud, not because we have made and are making unprecedented inventions of world importance, but because our cadres, fighting in the difficult conditions of the capitalist encirclement and revisionist blockades, are making colossal efforts in providing the people with what they need. These efforts are very important, since they strengthen the People's Republic of Albania, which has risen heroically against this sworn enemy of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement — the modern revisionism of the Khrushchev—Tito group and co. Besides, it is not only we who are making inventions which others have made earlier, nor is it precluded that we may make our contribution to the development of world science.

It should not be forgotten that the experiments of Oersted and Ampère seemed like amusing games and that

is how they were described in their time, but they contained the germ of modern electronics. Recall the contempt of the so-called realists for Rutherford's laboratory experiments through which atomic energy was discovered, recall the deductions about astronautics of Tsiolkovsky, a teacher in a remote village, which were considered dreams à la Jules Verne, but thanks to which the secrets of the cosmos are being attacked and discovered today. The facts show that many great inventions which have revolutionized science have been made by ordinary working people. If we investigate, even as dilettanti, the history of a number of scientific problems, which are now very much, the «in thing», from Lumière's invention to that of the worker Zenobe Gramme, the development of photography, cinema, television, etc., we will see that, in the course of work in industry, in the factories, various engineers have invented astonishing things. The same thing may happen with us, too.

As regards the other claim of Khrushchev and company that they allegedly trained our cadres, that is not true at all. Our cadres who studied in the Soviet Union did not go to Khrushchev's private estate, but to the great Fatherland of the October Revolution, where they knew how — and we are proud of this, too — to absorb the great

culture of the glorious Soviet peoples, the immortal teachings of Lenin and Stalin, which, with great ability, they are putting at the service of the Homeland and the cause of socialism in general, they rejected with disgust and fought manfully against the hostile views of this revisionist and his followers. Indeed, when Khrushchev got control of things, as you know, far from helping our students and cadres, he closed the doors of the higher schools and scientific institutions to them, just as he did in all other fields.

That, briefly, is how things stand with the development of world science, with its difficult path, its present vicissitudes and our possibilities. The work of our intelligentsia for the development of science, culture, and the economy of the country is glorious. That is how the Party and the people evaluate it. However, as I said above, this should not make us rest on our laurels. Our cadres should see their results closely linked with the essential need to strengthen our Homeland more and more from every point of view. Therefore, they must always have the feeling of commitment to the struggle to attain new and still greater results, in conformity with the needs of carrying socialist construction further forward.

## **The Training And Qualification Of Cadres - An Important Task**

Proceeding from these needs, our various institutions and cadres must undoubtedly concentrate their main attention on the two principal aspects of one great problem, the problem of cadres, on the training and the further qualification of cadres, on increasing their numbers and their quality, as well as on perfecting them. Thus, whe-

reas formerly, we considered the question mainly from the quantitative aspect of increasing the numbers of cadres, without neglecting the problem of their quality, as we had to ensure an indispensable minimum of them as quickly as possible, at the present stage we should consider both sides of the problem, increasing our concern

for quality during the training of a cadre and laying particular stress on his further qualification and improvement after his training.

What does the Party require of the cadres of the capital, and our intelligentsia in general? That they should take up these two fundamental problems today, more seriously than ever before:

First, concerning the question of the training of cadres, they should keep it in mind that the preparation of specialists of higher schooling depends on their work, not to mention the great role they play, also, in training lower and middle cadres, when they work as teachers or specialists in production. The objectives which the Party has set will not be achieved easily, but they can and will be achieved. The teaching staff of the University and the other institutes of higher learning must make all-round efforts to further improve their work in order to train specialists of higher learning well. This is the key to success in all our work. Such a thing would lead to the reduction and, eventually, to the elimination of shortcomings which are created during the training of cadres, for it is a fact that not all our pedagogical-scientific workers have a sound theoretical and practical training, the scientific level of their lectures is not yet up to the mark, etc. Doubtless, this is due also to objective reasons, such as the newness of our higher schools, the limited experience of the majority of our teaching staff, and the inadequate material-laboratory base. However, these difficulties must be overcome, through their tireless efforts and work. Likewise, it is necessary to devote special attention to the teaching departments so as to raise to a higher level their leading role in solving organizational and methodological problems, in giving aid to the young cadres, in encouraging the students to do independent work. It is especially important for the best possible training of specialists that, through their diplomas, the students should work on concrete themes and that practice in production should be very well organized. Since I mentioned practice, I want to stress that it should not be underrated, without, however, going to the other extreme, of engaging in practice at the expense of theory; the future specialists needs the two, both theory and practice. Therefore, the proper propor-

tioning of subjects must be looked into, both where such a thing has not been done and where the need for a re-examination of it is felt.

The question of improving the teaching-pedagogical work, which I emphasized above, presents itself, not only in training higher cadres, but also in training middle and lower cadres. Both this and other questions should be examined and solved with initiative and efforts in the concrete sphere of the activity of each cadre or institution.

But it is evident that the students, the young people themselves, will play a primary role in the training of cadres. Therefore, I address myself especially to our wonderful studious youth, calling upon them to embrace science zealously — science in general, mathematics in particular — not just for the reasons I mentioned, but also because science, mathematics, dear young men and women, has its own romance, its own poetry, its ever youthful drive, so closely linked with the younger generation.

Now that I am speaking with such enthusiasm about science, especially mathematics, perhaps the youth may laugh, as I myself laughed when I was young, for I must admit, comrades, that I did not like mathematics very much and I believe that the lessons in mathematics in the secondary school gave me a few grey hairs. But the truth is that mathematics has its own great poetry, it is passionate, and is not so «unmanageable» as may be thought. Ask the teachers of mathematics, ask the physicists and chemists, the teachers and your fellow-students in these branches. They will convince you better than I. They will attract you to these branches, will enthuse you, and they should enthuse you.

But someone may ask: «Comrade Enver, you yourself said that you were not fond of mathematics, whereas now you are almost waxing poetic over it». I am going to tell you, my young comrades, that it was the Party

that taught me, that the struggle, the work with which the Party has charged me, show me day by day the great role played by mathematics. The present development of natural sciences is ever more firmly based on high level mathematics. Today not only are physics, chemistry, astronomy, the atom, etc., closely linked with mathematics, but it must be said that an exact science is more perfect when it is expressed completely in mathematical form. We have all heard of the amazing electronic computers. The wonderful brain of Inodi<sup>5)</sup> did not imagine such a thing. Others came after him and created the mathematical «brain» machine. Hence, am I not right in saying, dear young comrades, that mathematics is a marvellous science, and if I were able to return to your age, if I were back at school with the mind and capacity you have today, I would take up mathematics.

Therefore, the young men and women of our country should study the sciences en masse and in an organized way, in a scientifically organized way, and study them not superficially but thoroughly. The University of Tirana must become the centre for this, but every other possibility existing in our country should be exploited, too. Apart from this, you should be familiar with the discoveries and studies of foreign scholars, and should strengthen your contacts with the academies and universities of other countries.

Nikita Khrushchev, who is a revisionist and has anti-scientific views, tries to present the development of science in the Soviet Union as a triumph of the period since he came to power. He and his followers strive to obscure the continuous efforts over forty-five years of Soviet science and the Soviet scientists, who toiled, laid the foundations, created, in the conditions of scientific socialism, who worked and created under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, enlightened by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by Lenin

and Stalin, who with their genius illuminated the path they traversed.

Khrushchev hinders the true friends of the Soviet Union from drawing upon the great benefits of Soviet science, but he is generous towards his revisionist friends and the scientists of the capitalist countries.

Could it be imagined that in the present epoch of the rapid progress of science, the atom, the conquest of outer space, the triumph of socialism, a group of individuals would be found at the head of the first socialist state who would close the doors of schools, universities and science to the sons and daughters of socialist Albania, to the sons and daughters of a small, heroic, and education-loving people? The anti-Marxist renegade group of Nikita Khrushchev and those who follow him are perpetrating such a scandalous action! Not even in the countries where the bourgeoisie rules has such a thing occurred!

Only chauvinists, obscurantists, megalomaniacs, those who despise the peoples and the masses, those who are alien to the great cause of the proletariat, can act in this way and think that the small nations, small peoples, have no place in the brilliant sun of science, that they are destined to live under the shadow of the «mighty», tailing along behind the «mighty», that knowledge and ability find room for development only in the «heads and nature of the chosen elite», among a few big, powerful nations and states.

However, even at its peak, the savagest clerical reaction of the Vatican was quite unable to check the advance of science and knowledge. The piles of blazing faggots did not stop Giordano Bruno from raising his voice for the truth, did not stop Keppler from developing his brilliant theory, nor stop Galileo Galilei from saying, «Despite that, it moves». Then, how can the brakes be put on science and knowledge today, to prevent others, including us, from mastering and developing them?

Let me remind you of what the feudal Fejzi Alizoti<sup>b)</sup> said about knowledge, education, as being a privilege of the wealthy classes only. But the revolution in our country eliminated any trace of the Fejzis and brilliantly proved the opposite of what they predicted. However, the Fejzi Alizotis have not been wiped out everywhere. They revive wherever the seed of revisionism germinates and these other Fejzi Alizotis, as empty-headed as he was, turn up again just as strong, just as savage, but decked out in different clothes and spinning words of rare demagoguery.

Thus, nothing will stop our studious youth from absorbing knowledge, science with great eagerness, from becoming masters of their own fate, masters of their own Homeland, and making their modest contribution to world science.

Second, this refers to the uplift of the existing intelligentsia and the enhancement of its role in the socialist construction, further qualification should be the continuous preoccupation of all our cadres. The solution of the task of training cadres, of which we spoke above, is also largely dependent on this.

We must look at the problem realistically, as it is, and solve it in a Marxist-Leninist way. The further development of our country, the construction of socialism and communism in Albania, as everywhere else, is linked with the development of science. Therefore, it becomes our task to study the sciences, to gain as much as possible from advanced world experience.

Our cadres should assimilate world science with the greatest eagerness. Of course, in this world science, there is some rubbish, but it is for this reason, too, that our Party has armed our scientists, old and young, with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism, to cleanse it of that rubbish. When I say that we should go all out to study, especially science, I am addressing the teachers and pedagogues, pupils and students, doctors and engineers, agronomists and musicians, in short, everyone.

The teachers, pedagogues, doctors, etc., should understand the decisive role of study, of improving themselves. From the university teachers to the agronomists in the fields, the engineers of all categories, all of them should not only study, should not only apply, but should also invent and rationalize.

Comrades, every one who graduates from the higher school and becomes a specialist in a certain branch quite rightly feels a great satisfaction over the fact that he has passed an important stage of his life. This is what happened with us, this is what happens today, and will happen in the future, too, with others. Yesterday, you were a pupil or student, today you become a cadre, a pedagogue or a manager. But when you start your independent life working in your sector, and encounter the most different problems, — many of which are new and unknown to you, but which it is up to you to solve, when you come across general problems which are worrying the entire people, of questions outside your profession but necessary to you, when you are associated with cadres of other sectors — in all these cases, along with the fact that you are a cadre, the teacher of others, you feel that you do not know everything, that you always need to learn something more, something new. Everyone feels this, all the time. Therefore, while being a cadre, one is, at the same time, a pupil, a pupil all one's life. Thus a double obligation emerges: for oneself and for others, for society. In order to be able to give, you must be constantly absorbing something more than what you have, you must acquire general and vocational culture, which are boundless, just as life with all its problems and aspects is boundless.

What is the way out? I repeat, the main thing, undoubtedly, is continual study. However, we often hear cadres complain or justify themselves: we are up to our necks in our day to day work and have no time for study. It is true, comrades, that our cadres in general are very heavily burdened, that there is

a heavier load of daily work on their shoulders than the cadres of developed countries have to carry, or that our future cadres will have. It is our lot to have to carry somewhat more, to fight

in a more difficult but more glorious period, when the path is being opened to our people's march towards the highest peaks of science and towards communism. This struggle tempers peo-

ple, the cadres. Therefore, we can and must cope with this burden too — continuous study, which in the final analysis will lighten the overall burden of work...

## What Must We Study?

After all this has been said, the question arises: In what direction should we aim our studies? It seems to me that the matter is not so simple that it can be answered in a few words: wherever the need is greatest. Since we are a country which is developing later than many other countries and our needs are many, those engaged in studies, the research workers and our scientists are expected to have their say in all fields. But this is impossible, in the first place because our forces, whether in men or in means, are so few.

In regard to concrete sciences, the technical and natural sciences, this is clearer and easier to define. Our country has set out on the road of rapid development to create the material and technical basis of socialism, the industrialization of the country, intensification of agriculture, etc. The development of mines, the electrification of the country, the extension of construction, the creation of the different branches of industry, such as the engineering, chemical, light and food processing and other industries, the development of agriculture such as all types of grain, industrial crops, livestock farming, etc., not only require more engineers, agronomists, technicians and qualified workers, but raise before us a series of important problems which have to be solved, if we do not want our development held up. Hence, it seems to me that the overall theme of studies, of the research and scientific work is already defined, it should be concentrated on the solution of problems raised by our socialist construction. I do not believe that

anyone could imagine that we will be dealing with the problems of the outer space, the quantum theory, cybernetics or automation just now. It is quite right to say that we shall concentrate mainly on those problems the solution of which will open the way to the further development of industry, agriculture, construction, the exploitation of mines and the country's energy sources, etc. I do not believe, either, that anyone could imagine that in this initial stage we shall engage only in matters of an historical character, for example the development of artisan production in the past, how the roads and bridges were built formerly, etc. This is not because that these studies are not valuable and we do not need them, but because there are many other problems worrying us today, for example, how can this or that raw material be used for industrial products, how can we build the roads and bridges better, more quickly and cheaply today, etc. But does this mean that we have to take up only problems of immediate practical importance? Such a narrow concept is not correct, either. If we say that we are going to engage mainly in the solution of those problems raised by our socialist construction, we mean not only the problems with which we are concerned today, but also those of the perspective, concerning the future development of our country. Therefore, we must work today for today, and we must work today for tomorrow and the day after tomorrow.

As you know, the Central Committee and the 4th Congress of the Party have approved extensive plans of scientific

research work for the University of Tirana and for the Agricultural Institute which envisage studies and projects of major value to our country. To this end, a great number of specialists of different sectors have been and will be drawn into carrying out these plans. Thus, the creative thinking of our intelligentsia will be further developed, it will reach a higher professional level, and the people will see the fruits of its creative work. The fundamental task of this prospective plan is that, without slowing the rate of development of the social sciences the natural and technical sciences must be developed more rapidly, so as to study and to exploit to the maximum the rich natural resources of our country. This plan constitutes a broad field of studies, research, and work as demanding as it is glorious. Such, for example, is the chemical and physical study of the valuable minerals of our country, the exploration, discovery and practical exploitation of new deposits of oil, natural gas, phosphorites, clays, silicates, metallurgical minerals, etc., the cataloguing and valuation of the useful plants and flora of Albania, the geophysical study of our country, standardization of buildings and reinforced concrete structures, the study of the hydro-power resources of rivers, of dermatomycosis and brucellosis, and the defining of measures to restrict or eliminate them, etc.

I am convinced that it is clear to everyone that these problems are now so numerous that nobody could imagine that only a small group of scientific cadres of the University or our best technicians should be engaged in solv-

ing them. I want to stress that all our cadres, from the most highly qualified scientific cadres to the specialists employed in the departments today, the engineers and technicians of the enterprises themselves, the agronomists and middle technicians and qualified production workers, should be engaged in this work. Their coordination, the collaboration of different scientists on those problems, which are linked with more than one science, are of colossal importance for these studies.

Apart from this, there is another thing that should be kept in mind, that we have not only the university, the higher institutes, as big and important scientific centres, but also our industry, mines, transport, agriculture where engineers and qualified workers work in factories, fields and laboratories, and create marvellous things which enrich science. Today, especially, there is such enthusiasm at work that simple people cannot sleep at night as they strive to penetrate the secrets of technology and science to push production forward. The finest proof of this is the results of people's consultations, where more than 10,500 proposals were made, of which 7,000 worth 500 million leks were given preliminary approval. One hundred and fifty of these proposals are for the setting up of new factories, departments, and workshops, while thousands of others are for the production in the country of numerous items of machinery, equipment, spare parts, etc. which are imported from abroad. Here the cadres can and should find great support and an inexhaustible source of inspiration for their work and creations.

Let us deal concretely with one of the most important fields of the economy, in which a considerable part of our specialists have been concentrated and which is occupying a great deal of the attention of our Party and government right now. I am referring to agriculture. You know that the 4th Congress of the Party set the task of passing from an extensive to an intensive agriculture. This task was not set ar-

bitrarily, but following a thorough scientific study of our conditions and needs on the road of socialist construction. However, you understand that to do such a thing is not easy, it is not just a matter of words. Here science and high level agrotechnics play a primary role, because in order to raise productivity, scientific solutions to a series of problems are required and a number of measures must be applied in practice. Such, for example, are the correct distribution and rotation of agricultural crops, taking into account the zones, the soil and the previous crops, the study and application of deep ploughing according to soil types and crops, the increase and correct use of fertilizers, the struggle against excess moisture, erosion and draught, irrigation, reproduction of the varieties of seeds best suited to the various regions, sowing at the optimal time and ensuring the optimal number of plants per hectare, cultivation methods, the fight against plant pests, diseases and weeds, and the organization of harvesting, threshing and storing of crops without waste. But these are not simple things, these are science. I have not begun to speak about the internal reserves in agriculture which should be exploited, about the struggle which should be waged to get 2 or 3 crops per year from the land, etc.

We shall concentrate our attention, in the first place, on grain and industrial crops, without neglecting the others. Grain is the people's food, industrial crops are the food of industry. We rejected Tito's prattle about planting only sunflower in our country, because he would bring us wheat from Vojvodina. Likewise, we rejected Khrushchev's «advice» to plant only fruit-trees and grape vines, because he would supply us with wheat from the production of the newly broken in land, since in his words, «the mice in the Soviet Union ate as much as we wanted», although when our people were in need he refused to give us wheat. To carry out these tasks we should concentrate our

attention mainly on the districts of Fier, Lushnja, Durrës, and Korça, and then of Shkodra, Elbasan, and Berat, which are the granary of Albania, without neglecting the other districts.

Is it possible to carry out these tasks without the participation of all our agricultural specialists, starting with those already engaged in the solution of a series of important scientific problems, down to the agronomists and the agricultural technicians in the village? There is no doubt that to solve the present and future problems, both in agriculture and livestock farming, the participation of all is required.

In the field of social sciences, also, many studies must be carried out. Themes of an historical character certainly have special importance, because, in fact, many questions have been left unstudied, or have been distorted in the past. The themes in connection with the people's revolution and the socialist transformations in our country, in which theoretical generalizations of value not only to us but also to others can be made, should attract our attention. We must also take up many other questions concerning the road our country has traversed during this period. But it would not be right if we were to tend towards historical themes only and avoid current themes, the problems of socialist construction today and the future problems, which await solution. To explain correctly what has been done, how the Party has solved a series of problems, for example, how the collectivization of agriculture was carried out in our country, is a useful thing, but to show how the problems facing us today for the economic and organizational consolidation of agricultural cooperatives will be solved, for example, how the perfecting of the socialist relations in our countryside will be done, is another very useful practical thing which yields concrete results for the progress of our cooperativists system. Many such examples could be presented about the ways to the further industrialization of the country, our technical

progress, the role of the Party, our school and social organizations in the education of the new man, etc. As you see, a great deal of work is opening to our economists, philosophers, pedagogues and others in these directions.

But it must be said that studies on the current and future problems present greater difficulties, because to explain the phenomena, which are occurring day by day before our eyes, to understand the tendencies of their development and to draw correct conclusions for the future, at a time when you do not have all the facts and documents at your disposal, as you might have about events that occurred five, twenty or fifty years ago, is much more difficult. However, should this be an excuse to avoid dealing with these themes? The new stage, which our country has now entered, the stage of the complete construction of socialist society, raises before us important problems, which must be studied, for instance: the ways of creating the material-technical base of socialism, the ways to the industrialization of our country and changing agriculture from extensive into intensive agriculture, the general laws and special features of the socialist construction at this new stage, the state and the development of socialist democracy, etc., etc. In this way, we shall ensure that the different stu-

dies in the field of social sciences serve our socialist construction better.

In connection with the social sciences, I would like to say something about a field of very great current importance, about Albanology. Within the framework of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of independence and the 18th anniversary of the liberation of the country, the Conference of Albanologists, to which a great number of Albanologists from the socialist and capitalist countries have been invited, will be held in Tirana. Our scientists, who are also the organizers of this meeting, will submit the main reports and a number of scientific papers there. In this way they will provide the foreign guests with the results of their work, and this will help them in their further work, and naturally, the foreign Albanologists will give our Albanologists the results of their work. It is of great importance that now our scientists are not trailing behind, but are leading the science of Albanology, that now our people have it mainly in their own hands, as they have all the other sciences in our country. This has been achieved thanks to their studies and untiring work.

However, comrades, much still remains to be done in this field. Thus, the philological and historical sciences have a series of great and important problems to solve. The ethnogenesis of the Alba-

nian people is a problem as important as it is complex, for the study of which the activation and collaboration of numerous scientific workers is required. The problems of the Albanian nationality and nation, as well as the great movements of our century require more profound studies. In the field of the material culture of our people, the scientific research work on the early Albanian culture, early and late Medieval art, and the special features of the styles and schools of the traditional architecture, should be extended and deepened. Another important problem is that of the scientific synthesis of all the ethnographic material in connection with the compilation of the ethnographic atlas. In order that Albanian linguistics, through its studies, can assist in the great problem of the normalization of the Albanian literary language, the work started on compiling the Albanian scientific grammar, the medium standard dictionary of our language must be carried further, while deeper studies must be carried out in the field of dialectology and the dialectologic atlas compiled.

Comrades, I have mentioned here only a few of the main problems, but there are many others. Thus, the attention and creative work of our cadres should be concentrated on the study and solution of them.

## **The Cadres Of Every Speciality Should Know Marxist-Leninist Science And Study It Ceaselessly**

For this work to yield the maximum fruit, it is essential that cadres of every speciality, whether economists or historians, engineers or agronomists, geologists, doctors or writers and artists, must know the basic science, the Marxist-Leninist science, and study it constantly. This is necessary, because Marxist-Leninist philosophy gives them truly scientific knowledge on the gene-

ral laws of the development of nature, of society, and thought. All sciences have to do with nature, society, and thought, therefore mastery of the general laws of their development helps the scientist, the writer, or any other specialist the key required to study and explain the various phenomena in nature or society correctly. How could our

specialists of socialist society, or, more concretely, our historians, for example, interpret facts and documents correctly, draw correct conclusions from them, without a profound knowledge of the general laws of the development of society, the social formations, the economic development of the country at a given period, the combination of the interests of different classes, etc., which



they have learned, to a certain degree, since they were in school? The same can be said of the economist. As you know, physics, chemistry and the other concrete sciences have their special laws, the study of which constitutes the objective of these sciences, but the world in its entirety, our universe, matter as a philosophical notion, have their own general laws of development. Matter has neither beginning nor end, it is eternal, and all the physical, chemical and other processes are nothing but processes of the development of the matter. Therefore, from this it can be seen that to be able to study the physical and chemical processes of various bodies or materials, it is indispensable that our scientist, engineer, agronomist, etc. should have a correct and profound knowledge of the world in its entirety. I could carry on about how necessary it is for the writer, or the artist to know the laws of the evolution of thought, the psychological processes of man, the role of the material conditions of life in forming ideas of the characters they create in their works. That is why our Party quite rightly insists the everyone, without exception, must work tirelessly to master Marxism-Leninism and to study individually, or in the forms organized by the Party.

There are ignoramus and reactionaries in the world who say that we communists want to attribute to Marxism-Leninism even the works of those ancient and modern scientists who knew or know nothing about Marxism-Leninism, who are not Marxists, and some of whom are even opponents of it. This is by no means true. It is not a matter of appropriating this or that scientist, born in this or that country, the son of this or that people. But it is a fact that neither Descartes nor Pavlov, neither the Jansenist Pascal, nor the scientist Bogomolets, nor the thousands of other distinguished scientists of every epoch are known to mankind not because they went to church and prayed to God, but for their rational, progressive, materialistic, anti-clerical, and-mystical

works. In some directions, their method has been dialectical in general, though not in its pure form, as Marxism-Leninism provides it for us. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine is the acme of materialist science and the development of society, it is the synthesis of the previous development of philosophy and the creative thought of mankind in general — the synthesis of everything rational and progressive which, in all epochs and in various forms, has fought against superstition, magic, mysticism, ignorance and the moral and material oppression of the people; now this doctrine has become the torch which lights the way for the peoples towards socialism and communism. Therefore today, when there is such a complete science as Marxism-Leninism, that gives us the correct materialist understanding of the world and the best scientific method, the Marxist dialectical method, it is inexcusable for our scientists and specialists to fail to use it in the interest of studies in all fields. Nobody should feel ashamed to start the study of even the most elementary notions of Marxism-Leninism, or when he is ignorant on this or that problem, to consult a specialist, even though he may be younger in age. For the cause of the Party and the people everyone of us is ready to «swallow his pride» on such matters.

We said that, at the same time, Marxism-Leninism gives us the most scientific method of studying and knowing the world about us — the Marxist dialectical method. You know that adherence to correct scientific criteria in the study and solution of various problems, the working-out of a correct methodology are of great importance to success in every field of the creative activity of our cadres of different specialties. This question has always preoccupied those engaged in scientific work, and experience had proved the superiority of the dialectical method a long time before Marx and Engels. But the great merit of Marx and Engels, and later, of Lenin and Stalin lies in the

fact that they gave us the most complete dialectical method, the only scientific method — materialist dialectics — and the finest example of the use of it in the study of the phenomena of nature and society.

I do not intend to speak here in detail about the Marxist dialectical method. But what I want to stress is that mastering of this method is indispensable to the rapid progress of our new science. I want to stress, also, that to master it is not an easy thing, it is not sufficient to know its general laws by rote, but it must guide you and become a method of work in your study, in all practical activity, in scientific work, in a word, always and everywhere. There can be no ready-made recipes on this matter. Indeed it must be said that prescriptions, schemes, and «norms» decided in advance do great harm, as they have done in fact. Recently we have had occasion to discuss certain questions of the history of our Party, or generally, of studies on history with some comrades who have been, or are engaged in this work. The schematization in matters of the history of our Party manifests itself especially when we cling to certain stereotyped schemes and forms in regard to the strategy, tactics and the stages of the development, etc. of our revolution. But revolutions, comrades, are not carried out on the basis of given norms, schemes, and forms, hence the history of our people's revolution cannot be written on such a basis. This is a superficial, and not a scientific, treatment of things, a departure from objective reality. Carefully study the facts and events, the various documents and phenomena, analyse them on the basis of the Marxist dialectical method, and you will see that our Party has applied the teachings of Lenin and of the great October Socialist Revolution in a creative way, in the concrete conditions of our country.

Or let us take, for example, the problems of the history of our country in general. It is known that world outlook and method play an important role in

the analysis and interpretation of historical facts, but when we take into account that the foreigners who dealt with the history of Albania up till the liberation of the country were influenced by the interests of their own imperialist or chauvinist countries, it becomes plain that our historiography cannot remain a slave to certain «norms» established by foreign or local bourgeois historians. Unfortunately, sometimes it happens that some of our people cannot easily break free from the established «norms» in their different studies, and are influenced by or lean towards foreign «authorities».

In regard to the social sciences, it is essential that analysis and correct interpretation of facts be made in the light of Marxism-Leninism, and if, in this light, some of the «norms» have to be thrown overboard, there is no cause for hesitation, regardless of whether someone may be surprised and purse his lips disapprovingly. We firmly adhere to the principle that history is not written as it may please this person or that, but on the basis of documents, facts, events, etc.

But these data must be interpreted correctly, and the only correct interpretation of them is that based on historical materialism. The bourgeois historians level the accusation against us that this is tendentious interpretation and claim that they are allegedly «neutral». This is their never-ending refrain, but let them warble and let us get on with our work. We proceed from the premise that, in order to arrive at correct conclusions, everything must be viewed with a critical eye, in the scientific meaning of this term, that dogmas and schemes must be combatted, that priority must be given to the main thing, without underestimating things of secondary importance, that the accumulation of facts is not an aim in itself, but must be accompanied by analysis, making a correct interpretation of the influence of various factors (e.g. internal and external factors), the cause of the action and its objective

must be defined correctly, and so on.

Whereas in regard to the concrete sciences, while closely following the great development of these sciences in the world, we should study those problems which the development of our economy and technology raises before us. The rapid advance of our country on the road of socialism, as we saw above, sets before our specialists many problems, which we do not always find solved by others. It should be clear that we ourselves, and not the foreigners, must take up these matters and solve these problems. Of course, it is not necessary for us to travel the long road traversed by others all over again, but neither should we imagine that we shall find everything ready made, that we only have to open the books. Thus the road of science is not an easy one, it is difficult and requires work and persistence...

Another important problem is to ensure the supply and use of technical and scientific literature. We are taking measures on this matter to ensure as many books of this kind as possible. But there are such books even now. The cadres themselves have them, the National Library, the University Library and the libraries of ministries and districts have them. But, as far as I am informed, they are not used to the proper extent or are used very little. Hence it is necessary that they be taken and read. Undoubtedly, language is an obstacle to this, because our possibilities of translating and publishing foreign technical-scientific literature are still limited. Therefore, every specialist should strive to master at least one or two of the main foreign languages in order to be able to make proper use of the books and magazines in foreign languages. But, on the other hand, efforts should be made to extend the range of publications of our Albanian scientific literature by publishing works by our authors, as well as through the enlargement, and especially, the improvement of scientific bulletins, which should co-

ver a more studied and richer variety of problems.

Of special importance for the qualification of the cadres is a better organization of post-graduate studies and of other forms, such as seminars, scientific sessions, etc. This will open the way to their becoming real scientists. As you know, some work has been done in this direction already, but it is insufficient. We have 37 people who have completed post-graduate studies and 91 others who are working to this end. On the other hand, our cadres with scientific titles and higher degrees total only above 100. So, in comparison with our needs, we are not well placed. The question is, comrades, that as many cadres as possible must be drawn into this work, that the desire and determination to advance, to continue their work persistently and patiently, so that, step by step, they scale the peaks of science, must be cultivated in them.

In this, too, we must rely mainly on our own forces, since, as you know, the possibility of sending our cadres for specialization to the Soviet Union or the other socialist countries of Europe has been taken from us, or greatly limited. In order to develop this work further, post-graduate studies should be more highly valued. Importance must be given to the selection and definition of the themes of their dissertations, in conformity with the overall plans of scientific work, as well as with the problems of production, so as to put an end to a certain spontaneity observed in this field.

Apart from this, intensive scientific activity should be carried out in university departments and elsewhere, in close collaboration with the respective ministries, seminars, informative and scientific sessions should be organized better and more often, at which, through serious papers and free discussions, without arbitrary interpretations and without rejecting the new theses a priori by means of political epithets, the sound things should be brought out, experience summed up, and the cadres

kept informed about the new developments in science and technology and the results of international congresses and conferences.

Here, comrades, I wanted to stress two things: On the one hand, along with discussions organized for this purpose, efforts should be made to create an atmosphere conducive to the exchange of opinions and thrashing out of problems among the cadres in their daily life, in their free time, so that they may gain the greatest possible benefit wherever they are. On the other hand, all this must not get mixed up with personal or professional quarrels, which sometimes occur among specialists, and which always, and especially today,

bring no benefit at all, but on the contrary, only do harm.

Likewise, we should organize and extend the practice of appointing assistants to our more experienced and distinguished scientists, in order to help the latter in their work and research, as well as for the assistants to specialize and gain the maximum possible benefit themselves. For example, this would be very beneficial to the young doctors that have just graduated from the university; they need to practice for a time under the specialists and in the main centres, and then go to work independently, wherever they are needed. It is self-evident that such a thing should be organized with the young

cadres of the other specialities, too. At the same time, we must also think about setting up specialized scientific institutes, as well as about the organization of other forms that may assist in the qualification of the cadres, such as technical and scientific bureaux in enterprises, technical and scientific councils on a district basis for groups of various specialists, etc. In this way, gradually a broad base of scientific cadres will be created in our country, and this is necessary for the perspective development, too, because in this way we shall be able to create the necessary conditions to have our own academy of sciences in the not too-distant future<sup>8</sup>).

## ***Ties With The People Are The Main Source Of Inspiration, The Principal Support For Great Deeds***

All these things I have spoken of, comrades, may help the intellectuals to remain, as always, up to the mark in their duties towards the people and the Homeland. And, as you know, the objective is the people, a high level of wellbeing for them. However, such a thing can never be attained if the cadres withdraw into their shell, valuing only their own thinking, dedicating themselves solely to their profession and anything connected with it, while paying no heed to what is going on around them, and divorcing themselves from the people. The ties with the people from whom we have emerged and for whom we fight, who are the producers of all moral and material values, are the main source of inspiration, the main support for great works, for joy and happiness. We should always keep this in mind. Our people do not need misanthropes and egoists, however capable they may be. They need men who appreciate the people's genius, active, optimistic men who are with them at every moment, who share weal

and woe with them, help them overcome difficulties, who sweat alongside them. The people cannot abide those who sit on the sidelines and give themselves airs.

Therefore, it is necessary that the specialists always maintain the closest possible ties with the people, with the heroic working class, with our cooperative peasantry. This is of two-fold importance: on the one hand, the specialists become acquainted with production and the people of production, learn from their experience, and link theory with practice; on the other hand, they teach the working people in the course of work, give them theory and their professional knowledge. What difficulties those who underrate practice, the experience of the masses and prefer their personal comfort make for themselves when they try to get a «pleasant» job somewhere in town or in the capital and avoid the mine or the countryside, where men and women of colossal experience over many years work and fight! Is this right? Of course not. And

not only because the needs of the people are not fulfilled as they should be, but also because from personal ease you are in danger of falling into apathy, stagnation of thought and scientific activity, whereas for the development of scientific activity, the countryside and the mine present a very rich and lively terrain.

On the other hand, it is necessary that the cadres engage in social work and teach the masses that general culture which the Party and the people have given them, because our knowledge is, first of all, the property of the whole people. Hence, we should not avoid social work, as certain people do, under the pretext that they are allegedly up to their necks in work. There is not and could not be any greater and more important work than work among the people.

Another indispensable condition, if we are to carry out our tasks successfully and really merit the lofty title of people's intellectual, is the struggle

to raise our political and ideological level to the maximum.

In fact, we have an intelligentsia which in general is of a fairly high political and ideological level. This has found its expression not only in the active participation of the intelligentsia in the construction of socialism, but also in its principled and consistent stand and active participation in the struggle of the Party in the political and ideological field. Let us refer, for example, to the stand of the intellectuals on the question of the principled struggle of our Party against the modern revisionism of the Khrushchev-Tito group, their unwavering determination in support of the Party in the most difficult political moments. There is no intellectual who has not felt proud of the honesty and unexampled courage with which our Party has defended Marxism-Leninism and the interests of its people from the intrigues and plots

of the group of Tito, Khrushchev and their followers, irrespective of the fact that we are a small people who are living, fighting and triumphing encircled by enemies. In our country there are no intellectuals who have not fought, together with the Party, to ward off and defeat the poisoned arrows of the imperialists and their tools, the modern revisionists.

Despite that, however, we should not be satisfied with what we have attained, because the political and ideological problems are the central ones today, and consequently we consider the question of continuously raising his ideo-political level as the number one task for every person in our country.

Recently, the imperialists and the revisionists have begun a fresh assault on Marxism-Leninism and are trying to refute or distort it. This, of course, is

nothing new. How many times have the bourgeois ideologists proclaimed its «defeat»? How many times have the revisionists wanted to «correct» it? But more than a hundred years have passed from the time the Communist Manifesto was published, — during this time stern battles have been waged with the anti-communists of every hue; various traitors and renegades deserted the ranks of the revolutionaries — nevertheless the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin live on and will do so through the centuries. The period we are passing through is one of the most heroic: the most rabid colonialist and imperialist reactionaries, treacherous social-democracy and the revisionist renegades are carrying out feverish activity to undermine Marxism-Leninism but the victory will go to revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. There is no force in the world which can stop the advance of society.

## **We Should Be As Well Prepared As Possible To Fight Imperialism And Revisionism In All Fields**

Today the revisionists are playing a special role, therefore the struggle for their complete ideological and political exposure and defeat is a task of first-rate importance for us. The revisionists are attacking Marxism-Leninism from all sides, both in connection with the revolutionary strategy and tactics and in the fields of philosophy, political economy, etc., affecting the theoretical and methodological bases of other sciences, especially the social sciences, in one way or another. Therefore, our scholars, researchers and scientists, including the writers and artists, must be capable of sorting the wheat from the tares, of distinguishing revisionism from Marxism-Leninism, must always do so very carefully, and must be as well-trained as possible to fight revisionism in all fields.

It is characteristic of the revisionists that they do not come out openly on the attack against Marxism-Leninism, but, under the pretext of the «new conditions», they oppose particular theses of it and try to find «arguments» in support of their revisionist theses.

Another characteristic of the present-day revisionists is that they direct their blows mainly at those questions where their demagogy might more easily cover their treachery, such as, their attempt, proceeding from the change of the ratio of forces in the international arena, to refute the entire theory of the revolution, etc., while not hesitating to touch other fields of theory and the revolutionary practice as well.

Revisionism has now become so unrestrained in its headlong rush to di-

saster and so shameless that it does not hesitate to attack even dialectical and historical materialism, the Marxist economic theory, historical sciences, Marxist aesthetics, etc. The trend is clear: everything is being done to go out from materialism to idealism and from dialectics to metaphysics, to substitute evolution for the revolution, peaceful economic competition for the class struggle, to reject socialist realism in literature and the arts, and to open the road to decadent trends. Last year in France, some philosophers, members of the French Communist Party, began to raise doubts about a series of fundamental questions of dialectical and historical materialism. Discussing the object of Marxist philosophy, some of them, — these were the most far-gone revisionist, drew the conclu-

sion that, since cognition has reached a stage in which the real knowledge has been developed by the individual sciences, Marxist philosophy should confine itself to the study of the theory of thought and its laws. You understand where this leads, it aims to reduce Marxist philosophy from a science which studies the general laws of the development of nature, society and human thought, to a science which studies only the latter. From this it is not difficult to go on to what has always been the aim of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists: to denying that Marxism-Leninism is capable of studying and providing a scientific explanation of the development of nature and society, to the negation of Marxism-Leninism itself.

Discussions of this type are taking place in the Italian Communist Party, too. In particular, the theses published

in connection with the 10th Congress of this party, which is to be held in December, this year, are another code of modern revisionism, in which it is stated almost openly that many questions of Marxism-Leninism should be re-examined, since they are not correct. What is more it must be emphasized that it is N. Khrushchev and his bankrupt «theorists» who define the directions and set the tone for these and other assaults against Marxism-Leninism. After all what was the meeting of the so-called Marxist theorists on economic questions, convened in Moscow some time ago, to discuss present-day capitalism? What were the conclusions reached by these «theorists»? They proclaimed, as a great discovery of our times, that present-day capitalism is not what it was before, that this or that thesis pronounced by Marx and Lenin in the past is not true, that

life is proving the opposite or something else, etc., etc. Whatever they said or did not say, their whole aim was to «substantiate» the revisionist theses of N. Khrushchev theoretically.

This is how things stand. They are turning the facts upside down, striving with might and main to revise Marxism-Leninism. Therefore it is necessary that you, under the wise leadership of our Party, must engage yourselves even more powerfully in the struggle against these revisionist «theories», these monstrosities of our time, that you recognise the enemy, know what he is doing, and fight him mercilessly...

Better times are ahead of us. Let us create them together with our work, with the strength of our arms and power of our minds, and let our people today and the coming generations enjoy them.

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1) *J.V. Stalin put this slogan forward under definite circumstances, in order to solve the great tasks in industry, agriculture, transport and the army, for the successful fulfilment of the 2nd Five-year Plan in the 30s.*

*Hence, the slogan, «cadres decide everything», is not a principle, nor a strategic slogan, but a tactical slogan.*

*Here is what Stalin says in connection with this question:*

... «In the past we used to say that 'technique decides everything'. This slogan helped us to overcome the technical dearth and create a very broad technical basis in all branches of activity, to provide our people with first-rate equipment. This is a very good thing. But it is not at all sufficient. To set equipment in motion and utilize it thoroughly requires people who must master the equipment, skilled cadres who can handle and utilize

this equipment according to all the rules of the art... If in our marvellous plants and factories, in our sovkhoses and kolkhozes, in our transport, in our Red Army there were sufficient numbers of cadres able to handle this equipment our country would have achieved an effect three or four times greater than it has today. That is why, today, we have to put the stress on the people, the cadres, the working people who master the equipment. That is why the old slogan, 'technique decides everything', which represents a period already passed when we had dearth in technique, should be replaced today with a new slogan, the slogan, 'cadres decide everything'. This is the main thing today». *J.V. Stalin, Works, Vol. 14, pp. 7-8 (Alb. ed.)*

2) *Today in Albania there are six times as many cadres of higher training and specialists of medium training as there were fifteen-sixteen years ago.*

3) *Leading figures of the Albanian National Renaissance.*

4) *Albanian revolutionary poet of the Thirties.*

5) *A well-known Italian calculator (1867-1950).*

6) *In 1935, sounding the alarm about «the danger of over-production of intellectuals», which allegedly came from the three general secondary schools that existed in the whole of Albania at that time and which would turn out 500-600 clerical workers within 10-15 years, and that as a result of this «over-production» they would end up as grocery boys, Fejzi Alizoti declared in parliament, «I am convinced that this money we spend on schooling is wasted».*

8) *The Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania was founded in 1973.*

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## THE TWO IMPERIALIST SUPERPOWERS — THE GREATEST ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLES, THE MOST DANGEROUS AGGRESSORS

«LUFTËTARI», central organ of the Ministry of People's Defence of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

The victory of May 9, 1945, over Hitlerite barbarity was a great victory of the peoples of the anti-fascist coalition, of all the patriotic forces and freedom-loving peoples of Europe and the world. Great sacrifices were made for this victory. Millions of peoples, from the mountains of Albania to the fiords of Norway, from the plains of France to the Far East, laid down their lives to bring the day of victory. The Soviet people and the Red Army, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party with J.V. Stalin at the head, bore the brunt of the anti-fascist war and made a decisive contribution to the conquest and destruction of nazi-fascism, to the victory of May 9, 1945, while in the East, with their resolute fight the hundreds of millions of the Chinese people dealt with the aggressive thrust of the Japanese militarists.

Our people, one of the first victims of the fascist aggression, were never subdued by the nazi-fascist aggressors and invaders, but took to arms and fought them, tooth and nail, to win freedom. Under the leadership of the Party headed by comrade Enver Hoxha, with bloodshed

and sacrifice, with their heroic Anti-fascist National Liberation War the Albanian people engaged and nailed down more than 15 Italian and German divisions, put more than 70 thousand enemies out of action, without reckoning the large quantities of equipment and weapons destroyed or captured from the aggressors. The foundations of our freedom are cemented with the blood of twenty-eight thousand martyrs, the finest sons and daughters of our people, who fell heroically, sacrificing even their lives. Of the 2,500 towns and villages existing in Albania, 1,850 were destroyed. It is these great sacrifices, the incalculable damage the nazi-fascists inflicted on our country, damage heavier than that suffered by many other countries of the anti-fascist coalition, that give our people their undeniable right to insist that Federal Germany should pay war reparations in full for the damage inflicted and the barbarities perpetrated by the aggressive German armies, as well as for the losses incurred as a result of the non-payment of these reparations at the proper time.

Recalling the first years of the Second World War, the

aggressions launched by the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo fascist axis, the peoples draw lessons for the present, in order to assess the current situation correctly and draw the necessary conclusions. The development of current events, the contradictions and confrontations, the increasing threats to the freedom and security of the peoples, are consequences of the activity of those who have taken the place of the nazi-fascist aggressors of yesterday: the two international gendarmes, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which are doing their utmost to establish their hegemony and domination in all corners of the world. «The facts and the concrete actions, the objective reality», said comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, «lead us to the conclusion that in the world today the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, are the biggest and the most dangerous imperialist aggressor powers history has ever known. Individually or jointly, the two superpowers represent to the same measure and the same degree the main enemy of socialism

and the freedom and independence of nations, the greatest force defending oppressive and exploiting systems, and the direct danger that mankind will be hurled into a third world war».

To cover up their aggressive and enslaving aims, to deceive the peoples and to catch them by surprise, the leaders of Washington and Moscow, together with their followers, have launched a wide-ranging campaign of demagoguery, prattling everyday about the «easing of tension», «disarmament», «European security», and so on and so forth. But only the naive and the blind, those who do not want to see, will swallow such talk and be deceived by the smokescreen of pacifism. The dangers to the freedom and independence, to the security of the European peoples have become even greater. Since the Helsinki Conference, the two imperialist superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, in the context of their preparations for a new war, have increased their military budgets, have strengthened their aggressive

military blocs — NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, have perfected and are ceaselessly perfecting their nuclear and conventional weapons. At present the two sides have about two millions soldiers and over twenty-two thousand tanks and other armoured vehicles, thousands of aircraft missiles assembled in the heart of Europe. Therefore the European peoples should cherish no illusions that any good will come out of this sort of conferences, or from the other meetings manipulated by the two superpowers, such as those on «disarmament», «troop reductions», etc.

However, it is not only the situation in Europe which provides clear evidence of the hegemonic aims and warmongering activities of the two imperialist superpowers. Today the peoples are seeing that wherever there are hotbeds of tension, in the Middle East, Cyprus or Africa, wherever there are concentrations of warships prowling like monsters in the waters of the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, the Indian and the Pacific Oceans, there they will find

the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialist, who, in this way, are striving to extend their neo-colonialist and predatory tentacles wherever they can.

From analysis of these situations it emerges clearly that the interests of freedom and independence, of peace and genuine security can be defended by remaining always vigilant, by combatting the plans and plots of U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and international reaction with ever greater determination. And life has confirmed that the aggressor finds it difficult to attack you if you are determined to live free and independent. At the present time, as the facts prove, the strategy of people's war is an ever victorious strategy. No matter how small in number they may be, if a people are defending a just cause and if, regardless of any sacrifice and difficulty, they fight to the end to defend their just cause, they are invincible, they will emerge triumphant even over big, savage enemies, armed with the most modern means. —

## **THE AFRICAN PEOPLES WILL GIVE THE PROPER REPLY TO THE INTRIGUES OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS AGAINST THEM**

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

Visits by emissaries of all ranks of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the

United States, as well as of the latter's West European allies, to Africa, and particular-

ly to its southern part, have become very frequent recently.

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What are these emissaries after on the African continent?

The colonialists and the neo-colonialists, the two imperialist superpowers in the first place, are worried because they see that the present struggle of the African peoples is a revolt against the interference and plunder by these two superpowers. Hence they are hatching up all sort of intrigues and plots against the African peoples and their liberation struggle. This is understandable if we bear in mind that, in South Africa alone, there are subsidiaries of about 500 U.S. monopoly companies operating, without mentioning the British ones, and that investments of U.S. capital in this country amount to more than two billion dollars. In Rhodesia U.S. investments total more than three billion dollars, etc.

It is precisely because of the great wealth of this continent that the imperialist powers, with the United States at the head, are leaving no

stone unturned to prolong the rule of the white minority in the south of Africa as much as possible. The so-called «solutions» that the imperialists put forward time after time are intended to protect their neo-colonialist interests, in fierce competition with the other superpower, the Soviet Union, that is seeking spheres of influence on this continent. The Soviet social-imperialists, on their part, are not sitting idly by. In order to get their clutches on to this important area, they, too, have mobilized all their means, including visits by their top emissaries to various African countries, their enslaving «aid» and «credits», their specialists, arms deliveries, etc. Incomplete statistics show that, in the ten years up to 1976, the Soviet social-imperialists exported capital amounting to more than three billion dollars to Africa. The African tour of Podgorny, one of the top ranking Kremlin chiefs, was to serve these hegemonic aims. The scabby role of the Soviet revisionists as firemen to put

out liberation armed struggles is already notorious.

Everything shows that the two imperialist superpowers offer «aid», «credits», «specialists» and arms, offer their «solutions» to the conflicts they themselves instigate, in order to profit from the tense situations, to establish themselves in Africa, to rule to roost in the future like the former colonialists in the past. But while they squabble over markets and spheres of influence, in Africa, as everywhere else, they collaborate to sabotage the struggle of the people for national liberation, to stop the drive of the African countries towards the consolidation of their independence, both political and economic. However, the African peoples are not fooled by the imperialist and social-imperialist demagogy; they are becoming more and more strongly convinced that the two superpowers are equally dangerous to their future, the main enemies of their freedom and independence. —

## THE WORKING CLASS IN STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALIST OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION

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

The deepening of the economic crisis in the capitalist countries is accompanied by an increase in the attacks of the bourgeoisie on the stan-

dard of living of the proletariat and the other masses of the working people, by means of which the bourgeoisie is trying to saddle the

working people with the burden of the crisis and to preserve the level of its profits intact. But the working class, the broad masses of the work-



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ing people and all those oppressed and exploited by capital are putting up ever increasing resistance to this savage reactionary policy of the bourgeoisie and are more and more strongly opposing the political oppression and economic exploitation. Strikes, demonstrations and actions of protest of the proletariat and the other masses of the working people in the capitalist countries have now become so frequent and so fierce that it is extremely difficult to give a complete picture of all the class battles that are taking place there. The first four months of this year have been characterized by an upsurge in the struggle of the working class and its actions against capitalist oppression and exploitation. In the United States, the strike of five hundred thousand workers of the textile industry, the strike of thirty thousand dockers of the East Coast who were joined by the dockers of other ports, too, making it the biggest strike in this sector for the last six years, the strike of thirty thousand miners in West Virginia, etc, should be mentioned. In Italy the strike of the printing workers who came out three times in succession to demand the fulfillment of their just claims, the demonstration of one and a half million workers in Rome, the general strike in which ten million workers took place, etc., must be mentioned. In Japan, there was the strike of more than three million

workers of various occupations, which was the biggest strike in recent years, the strikes of two hundred thousand railway workers, of sixty thousand telecommunication workers, seventy thousand workers of communal services, etc. And there are many similar examples in all the capitalist countries, England, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Brazil, etc.

Also on the upsurge is the protest of the working class, in the revisionist countries which is opposing the oppression and exploitation by the new bourgeoisie and is not reconciling itself to the difficult situation brought about by the reactionary policy of the revisionists. Examples of workers' revolt, such as that of June last year in Poland, or of open opposition to the savage exploitation, such as have occurred in the Soviet republics, have had wide repercussions among the working class of these countries, which is understanding that it, too, is in the same situation as its class brothers in the Western capitalist countries and that to improve this situation and escape from the evils, revisionism must be overthrown.

What should be stressed about the struggles the working class is waging against capitalist oppression and exploitation is the fact that they are assuming a more and more militant character. The savage violence of the bourgeoisie and its fascist police

apparatus, the terror, the killings, the arrests and persecutions are not intimidating the workers, who are courageously clashing with their class enemies and vigorously demanding the rights which capital denies them. The workers are coming out in the streets, occupying plants and factories, they are even erecting barricades, and on many occasions opposing the counter-revolutionary violence of the bourgeoisie and its apparatus with the just violence of the popular masses. «In these fierce encounters with capital and the bourgeoisie», said comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «the working class and the broad masses of the people are more and more strengthening their revolutionary consciousness, they are preparing and tempering themselves still more for the class battles of the future».

A striking feature in the struggle of the working class, is the ever broadening range of its demands, the ever more emphatic emergence of demands of a political character. In Spain, for example, the overwhelming bulk of the recent strikes, demonstrations, and other actions of the working class have had a clear political aim. Through these actions, the Spanish workers and the other masses of the working people have condemned the reactionary policy of the fascist monarchy of Juan Carlos, have denounced the savage police repression and

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the demagogic farces which the fascist government has undertaken, and come out against the domination of U.S. imperialism.

In its daily struggle, the working class has to cope with many enemies, from the bourgeoisie and its state apparatus to the social-democrats, the modern revisionists and the treacherous trade union bosses. With their reformist and opportunist stand and line, these treacherous trade union chiefs are trying to divert the working class

from the road of struggle and to set it on the road of compromise and submission to the owning class, thus carrying out damaging subversive work within the ranks of the working class. But the working class is ever better understanding the danger of such activity and the many examples from Spain, Italy, West Germany, etc., show that it is breaking away from and struggling against the dangerous influence of opportunists and revisionists.

The upsurge of the class

struggle of the working class in many countries has been greatly influenced, also, by the fact that the Marxist-Leninist parties, the true champions of the interests of the revolution and the proletariat that are upholding the banner of the class struggle and the revolution, have emerged as the leadership of this struggle. Leadership by the true Marxist-Leninist party is a guarantee that the revolutionary movement of the working class will continue to mount. And nothing can stop this. —

## FASCISM — A REAL DANGER TO MANKIND

### «ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The bourgeoisie is trying to shift the grave consequences of the profound economic-financial crisis, which has the capitalist world in its grip, more and more on to the backs of the proletariat and the other working people in town and country. In face of this situation, it is natural that the revolt of the working masses is becoming more and more powerful, while the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie, seeing its power in peril, is turning, without delay, to its last card — the fascist dictatorship.

Just as in the period of the '20s and the '30s, the same op-

litical-social forces, the big armaments monopolies, the revenge-seeking military circles, the counter-revolutionary and reactionary forces of the extreme right, and others are supporting the fascist movements and fascism. Just as in the past, close ties and collaboration exist between them. Almost the same methods are being used to bring to power and establish, the fascist dictatorship in this or that country. In Germany for instance, the events have shown that, in order to seize power, the Hitlerite nazis not only were prepared for coups d'état of the fascist type, but

also made use of the parliamentary road, the «electoral» system of that time. It is a known fact that in September 1930 the National-Socialist Party (Hitler's party) «won» the parliamentary elections thanks to the treacherous activity of the social democrats and the disruption they caused in the ranks of the forces of the left and these elections opened the way to Hitlerite national-socialism.

On coming to power, the German type fascism became the most reactionary of the time. It was the representative of the savagest chauvinism. Within the country, it pursued

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a policy of gangsterism, provocations and tortures against the working class and the progressive revolutionary elements, and took upon itself the task of destroying the Communist Party of Ernst Thaelmann and Rosa Luxemburg, at all costs, of destroying the workers' movement completely and intimidating the petty bourgeoisie, weakened by the economic crisis, with the spectre of the «communist danger», etc. In foreign policy, it represented the policy of unrestrained aggression against other countries and peoples, it became the main inciter of imperialist war. Aren't the same signs showing up today in the aggressive hegemonic practical activity not only of the two superpowers, but also of some other imperialist countries?

The continuous growth and further modernization of the repressive police apparatuses are clear expressions of the trend to fascism. In 1976 in several capitalist countries budget expenditure for police salaries was increased, while over the past 7 years, expenditure for the police apparatus as a whole has more than trebled. The main task of the colossal repressive police apparatus remains, as before, the suppression of demonstrations and strikes of the working people, ousting them from the plants and factories they occupy, the forceful eviction of the homeless poor who break into and oc-

cupy apartments left standing empty and which the owners let only at rents which the working people can never afford, the eviction of the peasants from the land they occupy (in Latin America), etc.

In several capitalist countries, and especially in the main ones, special police organs have been set up under the slogan of the protection of «sensitive objects», of vigilance, action and intervention in cases of «natural calamities», etc. In fact, these organs do nothing but train special troops to fight against the strikes and demonstrations of the working masses. Such units are operating in Iran, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, the U.S.A., etc.

In many capitalist countries, the fascists have their own seats in parliament, are members of municipal councils, prefectures and other state organs, up to the highest instances, they have their own people in the army and, particularly, in the police and security organs, they have at their disposal radio and television stations, meeting halls, squares for rallies, newspapers, etc. In other words, they are organized, defended and supported on a broad scale.

In these conditions, the fascists are openly proclaiming their own programs for coming to power.

Precisely in these moments of the large scale re-activation of the fascist forces, the revisionist parties, through their participation in the bour-

geois parliaments and other state organs, have become part of the prevailing capitalist social and state systems and serve these systems. Just as the betrayal of the reformist leaders of social democracy in the past opened the way for fascism to come to power, today, too, through the betrayal of the revisionist leaders, who are striving to divert the working class and the working masses away from revolutionary action, the way is being opened again to the advent to power of fascism.

The process of the revival of fascism and its activity has been made easier and encouraged by the advent to power of revisionism in the Soviet Union and a series of other revisionist countries, by the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its replacement with the dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie and social fascism, by the transition to the positions of social-imperialism, the implementation of an aggressive, hegemonic chauvinist foreign policy and by the collaboration both with U.S. imperialism and with the different dictatorial and anti-people regimes. Clear evidence of this is the brutal aggression carried out against Czechoslovakia in 1968, during which all disguise was torn to shreds and the use of openly fascist methods in relations with the other countries began.

History and the development of events during the recent

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decades of the 20th century show that fascism whether the classical Italian or German variety, or the «modern» fascism of the present day, is the sworn enemy of mankind. It poses a great, direct and permanent danger to the proletariat. But it is not inevitable. Its coming to power can be averted, the establishment of the fascist dictatorship can

be successfully opposed, and it can be defeated. This demands the enhancement of the revolutionary vigilance of the working masses, unity in the great anti-fascist and anti-capitalist struggle, of all the revolutionary forces, the working class, the proletariat, the peasantry, the students and other progressive forces under the leadership of ge-

nuine Marxist-Leninist parties.

There are many examples of this because the peoples hate fascism and are opposing it actively. Hence, the unity of action of the international proletariat is the most powerful weapon against the common enemy, fascism. —

## THE MILITARY PROTECTION OF THE SUPERPOWERS IS INTENDED TO TURN THE «DEFENDED» COUNTRY INTO A U.S. OR SOVIET PROTECTORATE

«BASHKIMI», central organ of the Albanian Democratic Front

In their efforts to establish their world hegemony, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism devote special importance to the stationing and strengthening of their military forces in other countries, the inclusion of these countries under the U.S. or Soviet «defence umbrella». In this way, under the pretext of defence from the threats and aggression of one or the other side, or maintaining the balance, the two superpowers have formed military pacts with other countries and have secured military concessions from them, and this allows them to maintain many troops and bases in those countries. Thus, the U.S.A. has political-military agreements with about 50 countries and has

built up an extensive network of military bases all over the globe. Today the Pentagon has more than 300 big military bases in 20 countries of the world and a very much greater number of smaller military installations and bases spread throughout the world. Many troops (one out of every four American soldiers is outside the U.S.A.), conventional and strategic weapons have been deployed in them.

The U.S.A. has created the aggressive NATO alliance, which serves as the main pillar for the realization of its hegemonic policy and to keep the European allies tied to U.S. imperialism and under its political dictate.

In rivalry with the U.S. im-

perialists, the Soviet social-imperialists are making similar efforts to establish and expand their military presence in other countries. The Soviet Union has over 600,000 occupation troops, along with large numbers of modern weapons, in the countries of Eastern Europe today. Meanwhile, it has intensified its efforts to secure new military bases in the Indian Ocean, the Middle East, on the shores of Africa and Northern Europe. The Warsaw Treaty, likewise, is a tool in the service of the expansionist policy of the Soviet social-imperialists, to exert their control over the satellite countries of Eastern Europe and to keep them captive.

The imperialist-revisionist

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propaganda has always tried to hide the occupation character and the dangerous role of the U.S. and Soviet military troops and bases in other countries. But the objective reality, daily events, show that the maintenance of their military presence in other countries, the creation of military pacts or the signing of agreements on defence aid, serve the two super-powers to strengthen their political, military and economic control over other countries, to transform them into protectorates and spheres of influence of the U.S.A., or the Soviet Union, hence to promote their global strategy for world domination.

The U.S. and Soviet press and publishing houses are constantly churning out countless articles and books about the horrors of the coming war and about the «lightning character» this war will have, while providing «precise» details about how, within this or that many days, the Soviet troops will occupy a western country, while the U.S. tanks will appear in another country of Eastern Europe. All these activities and this diabolic propaganda constitute a special strategy and tactic. They are intended to intimidate the peoples, to weaken their defence, to dull the vigilance and morale of the masses of the people, to crush their militant revolutionary spirit in defence of their national freedom and independence, so that they will

capitulate to the two super-powers.

Each of the two super-powers exploits the inter-imperialist contradictions between them to terrify the peoples and states with the bogey of the other, to tighten the screws of its allies, to establish and strengthen its imperialist or social-imperialist control and domination over the political, economic and military life of other countries.

Every year, important sums of the U.S. budget are allocated as military aid for the reactionary regimes, loyal to the U.S. imperialists and tools in the service of their expansionist policy. Thus, the new military aid program for 1978, which the Secretary of State, Vance, presented to Congress recently, envisages a further 2,537 million dollars, most of which will be used in favour of such reactionary regimes as those of Israel, Jordan, South Korea, Spain, etc. Likewise, the Soviet social-imperialists spend large sums every year as «military aid» to other countries, to ensure and preserve their political and military control over those countries and to implement their neocolonialist policy there.

Another means used by the two superpowers to strengthen their military control over the allies and to include them under their «defence umbrella» is the so-called program of the standardization of arms implemented within the framework of NATO and

the Warsaw Treaty. Through the standardization of arms, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union are aiming to weaken the national defence of other countries, to keep them exposed to foreign aggression and dependent on U.S. or Soviet supplies, thus to have a powerful lever of dictate and control. «The standardization of arms», wrote the French newspaper «Le Monde» «means the absorption of the Common Market into an Atlantic environment of the U.S.A.»

The revisionist countries of Eastern Europe, members of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty, are completely dependent on the Soviet metropolis for supplies of arms, a thing which seriously damages their national defence. And even those allegedly «modern» weapons which according to the boasts of the Soviet generals, are to assist the defence of their allies, cannot be used against foreign aggressors without Soviet permission and without their instructors, let alone against the Russian occupationists (as in the case of Czechoslovakia).

The development of events shows that the presence of the foreign troops and participation in treaties, alliances, and military integration with one or the other superpower seriously violates the national sovereignty and independence of the other countries, limits their freedom to take decisions on internal or ex-

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ternal questions (especially in the field of defence), and turns those countries into satellite countries, obedient lackeys of U.S. and Soviet interests.

The stationing of foreign military bases and forces is very dangerous not only for the country which accepts them, but also for other countries, especially the neighbouring ones. These bases are centres of war and aggression, a permanent factor for quarrels and conflicts between neighbouring countries. The U.S.A. and the Soviet Union have used and are using their troops and bases abroad as jumping-off places and bridgeheads to undertake aggression and blackmail against the

other countries, in order to realize their hegemonic interests. During the aggression, of the Israeli zionists against the Arab countries, in October 1973, the U.S. imperialist exploited their bases in Spain and West Germany as supply centres to assist the Israeli aggressors. They have done the same thing also with their bases in Thailand, from which they have undertaken grave provocations against the Cambodian people. The Soviet social-imperialists, too, used the occupation troops and arms they have in the countries of Eastern Europe to commit the fascist aggression against Czechoslovakia, to threaten and exert blackmail against the people of the Balkans, etc.

In these conditions, the peoples of the world are understanding ever more clearly the true role of the foreign military presence and bases, the imperialist alliances with the two superpowers, which seriously violate the national sovereignty of other countries, and are intended to turn them into U.S. or Soviet protectorates and colonies. Therefore, the tide of the anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist struggle is mounting throughout the world, the peoples are opposing the foreign military presence, demanding and fighting for the withdrawal of the U.S. and Soviet bases and fleets from the territories and coasts of their countries.

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