

# Albania today

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*The beloved leader of the Party and of the entire Albanian people, comrade ENVER HOXHA, among the happy children who participated in the great New Year evening party organized at the Palace of Brigades by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Council of Ministers of the PSRA on December 30, 1977.*

*On the 17th of January, 510 years are completed since the death of the National Hero of Albania, Gjergj Kastrioti-Scanderbeg. He is one of the most outstanding figures in the centuries-old history of the Albanian people. At the head of a small army, with the broad masses of the people on his side, Scanderbeg fought for 25 consecutive years for the defence of the freedom and independence of his country, at the same time, becoming a defence ditch for all Western Europe from the furies of the rabid Osman sultans. Hence, the respect for his person and the epoch that carries his name, in Albania and abroad. In Kruja, his ancient capital, is erected this monument, the work of the sculptor Janaq Paço.*







## **CONTENTS:**

<b>(Document) The Peza Conference - an event of great historic importance</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>ENVER HOXHA</b>
<b>The history of the Albanian people is written with blood</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>MEHMET SHEHU</b>
<b>The class struggle within the Party - a guarantee that the Party will always remain a revolutionary Party of the working class</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>NDREÇI PLASARI</b>
<b>Mythology in modernist aesthetics</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>ALFRED UÇI</b>
<b>From the life of the country</b>	<b>28</b>	
<b>«Eurocommunism» or undisguised revisionism</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>ZËRI I POPULLIT</b>
<b>Press review</b>	<b>58</b>	

# THE HISTORY OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE IS WRITTEN WITH BLOOD

by MEHMET SHEHU



*The Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSRA, Mehmet Shehu.*



**Little Albania will certainly build socialism  
relying on its own forces, and in consistent revolutionary struggle against  
imperialism, with US imperialism at the head,  
against Soviet social-imperialism and modern revisionism  
of every hue and brand, together with all the proletarians and genuine  
communists of the world, together with all the peoples of the world**

Dear comrades,  
Brothers and sisters,

ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT, THE PRESIDUM OF THE PEOPLE ASSEMBLY, AND OF THE LEADER OF OUR PARTY AND PEOPLE, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA PERSONALLY, I BRING YOU THE MOST FERVENT REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS AND WISH YOU MANY, MANY HAPPY RETURNS OF THE GREAT FESTIVALS — THE 65TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PROCLAMATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE HOMELAND AND THE 33RD ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY FROM THE FASCIST OCCUPIERS.

VLORA HAS BECOME THE SYMBOL OF OUR PEOPLE'S LOVE FOR FREEDOM, PATRIOTISM, HEROISM, COURAGE, FIDELITY, BECAUSE THE PEOPLE OF VLORA HAVE ALWAYS DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES BY THE BLOOD THEY HAVE SHED FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE. IT IS THE VLORA OF NOVEMBER 28, 1912, WHERE THE GREAT AND WISE PATRIOT ISMAIL QEMALI HOISTED THE NATIONAL FLAG AND PROCLAIMED THE INDEPENDENCE OF ALBANIA AFTER 500 YEARS OF SAVAGE SLAVERY UNDER THE BARBAROUS OTTOMAN DOMINATION; IT IS THE VLORA OF 1920, WHEN SELAM MUSAI'S STOUT FIGHTERS «SEIZED THE CANNON BY THE MUZZLE», FOUGHT WITH UNEXAMPLED HEROISM «AGAINST A 40 MILLION-STRONG KINGDOM» AND DROVE VICTOR EMMANUEL'S ARMY INTO THE SEA; IT IS THE VLORA OF THE THUNDERS AND STORMS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR AND THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION, WHEN ALL THE PEOPLE OF VLORA, OF THE CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE, OLD AND YOUNG, MEN AND WOMEN, AGED PEOPLE AND CHILDREN, ROSE UP IN ARMS, RESPONDING TO THE CALL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, AND UNITED TO A MAN ROUND IT, TURNED THEIR REGION INTO A HELL FOR THE ENEMY. BLOOD WAS SHED IN TORRENTS AND THE ITALIAN AND GERMAN OCCUPIERS AND THE BALLISTS, SOLD OUT TO THEM, KNEW ONLY DEFEAT, THEY WERE WIPED OUT OR DRIVEN AWAY ONCE AND FOR ALL FROM OUR SACRED SOIL.

All Albania is like Vlora, all the Albanian people have fought like the people of Vlora. Vlora is heroic, because the entire Albanian people are heroic. The Proclamation of Independence in 1912 was the crowning of the heroic struggle not only of the people of the region of Vlora, but of all the Albanian people, of the struggles of the Albanian people for liberation, freedom and independence throughout the country

Isa Boletini of legendary Kosova was the right hand of Ismail Qemali who hoisted the national flag, and with Isa Boletini were all the heroic Albanian people of Kosova. Therefore, today, with love and profound respect, we address our ardent revolutionary greetings not only to all the Albanian people of socialist Albania, but also to all our brothers of Kosova and the other Alba-

nian brothers of Macedonia and Montenegro, as well as to all the other Albanian patriots wherever they are, wishing them many happy returns of the festival of November 28. Our blood and theirs is the same, we are one people, one nation. Hasan Prishtina was a member of Ismail Qemali's Vlora Government of 1913. Up to these days, his remains were lying in foreign soil, in Salonica. Thanks to the solicitude of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, our Government brought them home. Now they are in Tirana and will soon rest in a worthy place. This shows that the Party never forgets but on the contrary always honours those who have fought for the freedom of the people. On this occasion, we thank the Greek Government for its readiness and unreserved assistance in finding and bringing the mortal remains of the outstanding patriot Hasan Prishtina to Albania. Such gestures and acts bring peoples and states closer together, create an atmosphere of understanding, strengthen the correct relations of mutual respect and good neighbourliness.

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MEHMET SHEHU — Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSRA. Speech delivered on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the Proclamation of National Independence and the 33rd anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland (Vlora, November 29, 1977).



The hoisting of the national flag and the Proclamation of Independence in Vlora 65 years ago were not a fortuitous historic act, but the result of the centuries-long struggles of the Albanian people for freedom and independence, for their land and their language, for their vital rights as a people and as a nation. In the course of the centuries, many storms have swept over the Albanian soil, from the invasion of the Romans, the migrations of the barbarians and the Slaves, the invasion of the Ottoman hordes, down to the interventions of the Western imperialists, of the chauvinist gangs of the neighbouring countries, and later, of the Italian fascist and German nazi occupiers. The history of the Albanian people is written in blood.

In the course of centuries the Albanian people have always fought not to occupy the land of others, but to defend their own land and honour. They have always been the victims of recurring foreign aggressions; although their enemies have always been superior in number and more powerful in means, nevertheless they have never succeeded in subjugating the smaller Albanian people. This proves the great vitality of our people. It is this vitality, expressed in the manly determination of our people and their steel-like will to defend their freedom, their land, their honour, their language and their good customs, that has saved the Albanian nation from extinction in the ruthless storms of the times and enabled Albania to come out triumphant from these storms, with the red flag in her hand, with the Party of Labour of Albania at the head, and march today with her firm and irresistible militant step on the road to socialism and communism.

The legendary epic of Scanderbeg in the 15th century showed the whole world that a people, no matter how small in number, when they are correctly led and fight for a just cause, can win even over an enemy many times greater in number, even in conditions of complete encirclement when they are obliged to rely only on their own forces. No foreign state helped Scanderbeg in his 25 years-long war against the Ottoman hordes, all those who promised him their assistance and alliance eventually betrayed him. But despite all this, Scanderbeg did not yield. He never ceased fighting and always came off victorious, both in the field of battle and against the intrigues of the foreign powers.

Today, too, Scanderbeg's example is for us, the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania, which is leading the people on the road to socialism, a source of inspiration and optimism. This great historic example fills us with courage and determination to march unwaveringly on our correct road to socialism and communism, in the extremely complicated international conditions of the present-day imperialist-revisionist blockade, in conditions of complete siege, when we must weather the imperialist and revisionist storm relying only on our own forces.

In the historic wake of Scanderbeg's legendary epic followed innumerable uprisings in the various regions of Albania, up to the uprisings of the poor peasantry against the Ottoman occupiers and the Tanzimat reforms, which were led by Zenel Gjoleka and Rrapo Hekali and other heroes, and the battles of the units of the armed insurgents of Themistokli Gërmenji, Spiro Bellkameni and Çerçiz Topulli, Dedë Gjo Luli and Isa Boletini, which constitute only some of the links in the endless chain of the armed struggles of our people for freedom and which led to the general Albanian uprising of 1912, which was crowned with the historic victory of November 28.

The great movement of our national Renaissance, brilliantly represented in the allround, tireless and selfless activity of the outstanding patriots, thinkers and fighters of the pen and rifle, Abdyl, Naim and Sami Frashëri, Naum Veqilharxhi and Kostandin Kristoforidhi, Ismail Qemali, Hasan Prishtina, Luigj Gurakuqi and many others — this light-giving movement in the bosom of the Albanian nation, constitutes one of the most brilliant chapters in the struggle and efforts of our people for freedom and independence.

But the Proclamation of National Independence and the founding of the independent Albanian State, despite its great historic importance, could not bring the people complete victory, for which they had shed their blood over the centuries. The internal enemies, the feudal chiefs and merchants of a hundred flags, who had made the selling of the Homeland their profession, tried by all manner of means to rob the people of the fruits of their bloodshed. While the imperialist powers and the chauvinistic circles of the neighbouring states hatched up plots and acted secretly behind-the-scenes for the partition of Albania, our people did not give up arms, but continued their struggle against the feudal-bourgeois reaction and against the imperialists and chauvinists of the neighbouring states, too. The struggles of the highlanders of the North for the defence of Albanian territories, the uprising of the peasants of Middle Albania, led by the hero of the poor peasantry, Haxhi Qamili, the 1920 Vlora epic, the development of the movement of revolutionary democrats, who were inspired by the ideas of Lenin and the great October Revolution, such as Avni Rustemi, Mihal Grameno, and others, and the democratic-bourgeois revolution of the year 1924 — all these are clear testimony to the ceaseless struggle and heroic efforts of our people for the defence of national sovereignty and for social progress in the period following the year 1912.

The violent suppression of the 1924 revolution by Ahmet Zog and the mercenaries the Yugoslavia of the Karageorgevich had put at his disposal, and the establishment in our country of the anti-popular, anti-national, sanguinary and obscurantist regime of this sold-out satrap, was another period of darkness and slavery



in the history of our people, but at the same time it was also a period of incessant struggles for social liberation and the independence of the Homeland. And when Ahmet Zog ransacked Albania's treasury and took to his heels like a frightened rabbit, when Mussolini's armies attacked Albania on April 7, 1939, the Albanian people, although betrayed and abandoned, dejected and unarmed, did not yield, but met the Italian fascist occupiers with bullets, as becomes the Albanian. The Albanian people have always received the enemy in this manner. Glory to our heroic people, who have never begged their freedom of others, but have won and defended it with their own blood!

The founding of the Communist Party of Albania on November 8, 1941 by comrade Enver Hoxha, marked a decisive turning point in the history of our people. For the first time our people had at the head a leadership which had emerged from their bosom, loyal to the end to the supreme interests of the people and Homeland, courageous and capable of leading the people to triumph over all their enemies, external and internal, a leadership enlightened by the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Under the leadership of the Party, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, our people wrote down the most glorious epic in their history — the Antifascist National Liberation War, and on November 29, 1944 achieved their complete victory over the foreign Italian and German occupiers and the traitors to the country, liberated the Homeland, established the dictatorship of the proletariat and set Albania on the road of the construction of socialism, on the road of the magnificent victories of which we are proud today. It was the Party which took our people from slavery to freedom, brought them from darkness into light, from poverty and misery to wellbeing and prosperity. Glory to our beloved Party and its leader, comrade Enver Hoxha!

The 33-years long period from November 29, 1944 to this day, is the period of the complicated struggle of our Party and people for the construction of socialism in extremely difficult conditions. We have always clashed with the enemies, we have always come across innumerable difficulties and obstacles but have always emerged triumphant. We faced and won over the bourgeoisie and reaction, we foiled the plot of the Yugoslav revisionists who aimed to liquidate the independence of Albania; we did away with illiteracy, malaria, syphilis, tuberculosis; we affronted marshes and swamps, the dampness of the winter and the drought of the summer and won — today we are entirely self-sufficient in bread grain, having done away with hunger once and for all; we grappled with furious and dangerous rivers and forced them to give us light and grain; we clashed with the diversionists dispatched in large numbers to Albania by the imperialists and revisionists and annihilated all of them; we did away with the backward customs,

conservatism and obscurantist religion; we uncovered and foiled the plots of US imperialism, British imperialism and many other states to overthrow the people's power and to restore capitalism in Albania; we foiled the great plot of Khrushchev and his modern revisionist lackeys; we dismantled the naval base of Soviet social-imperialists at Vlora; smashed and liquidated the internal deviators and saboteurs who were in the service of the external enemy, etc. In all these clashes we have come off triumphant. This owes to the correct Marxist-Leninist road of our Party, to the correct leadership of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, the unity of the people round the Party, the work, sweat and blood of the people. All the good was done by ourselves, with our own forces, with our sweat; all the evil over which we have always triumphed was done by our numerous internal enemies and external enemies who eventually «smashed their heads» against socialist Albania, as a folk song has it.

Today, Albania flourishes and advances on the socialist road. It is free of any oppression and exploitation, it knows no crises and unemployment, no price-rises and inflation, no decadence and degeneration. Today we have electric light in every house of the country, we have free of charge medical service for all the people; the doors of schools are open to all, relations in production are fully socialist; we have a relatively powerful socialist economy, which ensures the gradual increase of the standard of living of the people and extended socialist reproduction with higher rates than in any capitalist state; we have a defence capable of defeating any aggressor who would dare touch our sacred borders; as a people, as a state and as a Party, we have a great international prestige and numerous friends throughout the world.

The foreign policy of Albania is a just policy, a policy based on proletarian internationalism in the relations with the socialist states, on the principles of peaceful coexistence with the states with social orders different from our socialist order, a policy of good neighbourliness with our neighbours, and of solidarity with the struggle of the peoples for liberation, against imperialism and social-imperialism.

History and the centuries-long struggles have taught our people to tell their friends from their foes, to draw a clear demarcation line between themselves and their friends on the one hand, and the enemies on the other. History has taught our people never to trust the hypocritical smiles of the enemies and never be intimidated and yield in face of their threats, but always keep vigilance and their weapons sharp, and never show the enemy their backs, but always their chests. We must love the friend and hate the enemy; we must not stretch our hand to the enemy, but rely on our own forces; we must not give an inch to the enemy because then he takes a yard; we must firmly hold the pick and the rifle;



generation after generation we must keep the pledge we took when the Party was founded, to march always on the socialist and communist road and against anyone who would be against this road, — the hitherto history of our people and Party has given us these valuable lessons. And we will never violate these lessons.

Article 28 of the Constitution of the PSR of Albania says: «The granting of concessions to, and the creation of, foreign economic and financial companies and other institutions or ones formed jointly with bourgeois and revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as obtaining credits from them are prohibited in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania». This is how history taught us to act, in order not to betray the people, Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism. Up to now, no state in the world dared to include such an article in its Constitution. On the contrary, the laws of the capitalist countries and those where the revisionists have come to power set urgent tasks for opening the doors to foreign capital. This means to pave the road for slavery.

The present-day Soviet Union is no longer the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin, it is already fully transformed into a capitalist country, even into a social-imperialist country thirsty for economic and military expansion, exporting capitals and arms and hatching up intrigues and plots to enslave the peoples, importing US, German, French, Italian, Japanese capital, etc. The satellites of Soviet social-imperialism, too, are doing the same thing. Revisionist degeneration and capitalist restoration are quite clear, especially in the example of Yugoslavia.

Life, practice, shows that no good has ever come from the dollar, the ruble, or other currencies of the capitalist and revisionist countries when one has stretched his hand out for them. Wherever the capital of the imperialist countries penetrates, especially the capital, weapons and «advisers» of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, it brings along slavery, irresistibly growing debts which soon turn into a stranglehold that kills you. This, however, will never be allowed to occur in socialist Albania, and Article 28 of our Constitution is also a sacred behest of the present generations to the coming ones: whoever endeavours to violate this Article will have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the freedom and independence of the Homeland, and the people will ruthlessly and unflinchingly mete out to him the punishment he deserves.

The Party has always had in the centre of its attention the education of the new man. The education of the new man by the Party is made on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and through the class struggle against the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against any alien manifestation within our ranks, in struggle with imperialism and revisionism, with reaction, so as to ensure the continuity of the socialist road

in our country and to assist the cause of the revolution and national and social liberation of all the peoples. Our Party educates our new man with the loftiest and most positive virtues of our people, fidelity, the Albanian's Bessa, his Word of Honour, being the main one.

The Albanian's Bessa, in the positive sense of the word, is so powerful that it has created the most magnificent legend, the legend of the Word of Honour. This legend is the reflection and synthesis of the lofty virtue which characterizes our people in their fidelity, in keeping their word of honour, making the impossible for its realization, as the legend goes.

We the Albanian communists and our entire people have given our great word of honour to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and our Party and people will keep this word today and forever, generation after generation, ready and determined to make any sacrifice, to do the impossible, in order to defend the party line, Marxism-Leninism. Those who think and hope that the Albanians will not live up to their word and the Albanian communists may come back on their pledge of loyalty towards Marxism-Leninism, are gravely mistaken and history will cover them with shame.

No pressure, blackmail, blockade, intrigue or plot could and can make our Party deviate from its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line in the slightest. Our internal and external enemies have worked a great deal in this direction, but they have always failed. We do well now and have documents as to where the threads of the putschist plot of Beqir Balluku, Abdyl Këllezi and others who wanted to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania and establish here a bourgeois-revisionist rule, lead: these threads go far away, beyond the Albanian borders. Even this plot could not force the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people to breach their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to give up the socialist road! Bear this in mind, Messrs. plotters! Albania is a hard bone as sharp as a knife which sticks in the throat of whoever tries to bite at or swallow it.

Comrades,

The current situations in the world are fraught with great social upheavals, with many dangers.

The present-day deep crisis that has gripped the capitalist and revisionist world system, and the great difficulties it has caused to this system, have sharpened all the contradictions of imperialism to the maximum. The wave of indignation, protest and revolt of the working class and the working masses in the capitalist countries against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to shift the burden of the crisis onto their backs and to preserve its profits intact, against ever rising prices and constantly worsening living conditions, — this revolutionary wave is on the rise and causing instability and political crises among the ruling circles of these countries.

A great demagogical clamour is being made everywhere about the «Helsinki spirit», which allegedly has led to the easing of tension. Neither Helsinki nor Belgrade, neither the endless talks about the disarmament have brought about the slightest sign of the lowering of tension on the international arena. On the contrary, the situation is worsening with every passing day.

The struggle of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and social-imperialism, against the remnants of colonialism and neo-colonialism as well as against the local reactionary forces — the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, landowners and the fascist dictatorial regimes, for national liberation and sovereignty, for the realization of the democratic transformations on a revolutionary road and for social progress, is developing and rising uninterruptedly.

Though the great betrayal of the modern revisionists has caused colossal damage to the cause of the revolution, nevertheless, it has not been and will never be able to stop the inevitable — the national liberation of the peoples and the revolution.

In face of the rising wave of the revolution, we notice that all the dark forces of the counterrevolution and regress, from imperialism and socialimperialism, reactionary and neo-fascist regimes, down to social-democracy and modern revisionists, Trotskyites and anarchists, opportunists and renegades of all hues, are rising in a desperate attempt to suppress, put down and divert it from the correct road and to prolong the life of the worn-out and rotten capitalist system which is giving up the ghost. This is a life-and-death struggle between the two worlds, imperialism and reaction, on the one hand, and socialism and the peoples, on the other hand.

The revisionist clique of Khrushchev and Brezhnev, which, after the death of Stalin, usurped power, restored capitalism and transformed the Soviet Union into a social-imperialist superpower, continues to play a very dangerous role in undermining the revolution. The source of all the evils in the international communist and workers' movement is the ill-famed 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in many other countries which till then were socialist, the degeneration of the overwhelming majority of the former communist parties into revisionist ones, the creation of all kinds of revisionist currents, as is, among other things, also the so-called «Eurocommunism», which represents the dirtiest scum of revisionism and which expresses the anti-Marxist and anti-proletarian ideas more shamelessly and more openly than any other revisionist trend, have their source there.

Yugoslav revisionism was the forerunner of the 20th Congress and the first to establish its rule in its own

country. For all this, Tito has the full right to boast of being the father of modern revisionism. Therefore all the revisionists, wherever they happen to be, render great honours to, and pompously welcome, him, consider him as their Saviour and God. But the stand towards Yugoslav revisionism has been and remains a touchstone which distinguishes the genuine Marxist-Leninists from the revisionists. The Albanian people say: «Birds of a feather flock together». To make common cause and reconcile ideologically with the Yugoslav leadership means not to be Marxist, but revisionist.

We see that in the revisionist and anti-Marxist jungle another theory has emerged — the theory of «three worlds», which is presented as a new theory, but which in fact is very old. We find the ideological roots of this theory in Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky, Bukharin. The theory of «three worlds» constitutes a very great danger for the international communist and workers' movement: it is the theory of the extinction of the revolution, the theory of unconditional capitulation before the bourgeoisie and allround alliance with US imperialism, it is the theory of the suppression of the liberation struggle of the peoples.

In fact this notorious theory has replaced the slogan of Marx, «Proletarians of all countries, unite!» and Lenin's slogan, «Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!», with the counter-revolutionary slogan, «Proletarians and peoples of all countries, bourgeois, reactionaries and fascists, wherever you are, unite under the leadership of US imperialism, against Soviet social-imperialism!», as it has appealed and is appealing openly to the «third world and the second one to unite with half of the first world, with US imperialism, to fight against Soviet social-imperialism!». Today, one cannot find any slogan which is more reactionary.

The genuine communists, the proletarians and peoples are against the imperialist war. The historic task of the peoples, of the proletarians and communists is, as Lenin teaches us, to do the utmost to avoid the war between the imperialist powers, not by compromising with the local bourgeoisie, but rising against it, to impose on it the will of the people so as to prevent it from launching an imperialist war, and if a war between the imperialist powers becomes inevitable and breaks out, then the duty of the communists, proletarians and peoples is not to fight for the «defence of the Homeland», as the leaders of the Second International claimed and as the standard-bearers of the theory of «three worlds» are preaching today, but to turn an imperialist war into a civil war, into revolution, with the final aim to overthrow the local bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. If you do not bear in mind and do not apply these instructions and teachings of Lenin, you are against Leninism, a war-monger, and at the same time a fire extinguisher of the revolution, a servant of the international bourgeoisie.



The advocates of the theory of «three worlds» are rapidly exposing themselves with their pro-imperialist activity. All the peoples are understanding the real content of this theory. The peoples are seeing that the preachers of the theory of «three worlds» have become the most zealous advocates and the most ardent defenders of the interests of US imperialism and the Western reactionary bourgeoisie, of all the world reaction. No people can accept the alliance with the local reactionary bourgeoisie, as the supporters of the theory of «three worlds» claim, submit themselves voluntarily to financial capital; no people of the so-called «third world» can accept the persistent demand of the supporters of this theory and strike an enslaving alliance with the colonialist bourgeoisie, which has suppressed and enslaved them to this day and which in one thousand and one ways tries to strike its claws deeper and deeper into the flesh of the peoples, to suck their blood through new methods.

The theoreticians of «three worlds» proclaim that US imperialism is in decline, in retreat and on the defensive, while Soviet social-imperialism is thirsty for expansion and on the offensive, therefore, Soviet social-imperialism is more dangerous, while US imperialism is less dangerous to the peoples. This is the same as to say that the red wolf is more dangerous than the black wolf! But the peoples are not so much ignorant as the theoreticians of «three worlds» think.

It is clear to everybody that Soviet social-imperialism is a sworn enemy of the revolution and peoples. And who lowers his vigilance towards the danger of Soviet social-imperialism and does not fight against its enslaving plans, sooner or later, pays it very dearly. To cherish today illusions about Soviet social-imperialism, thinking that it may help the peoples and that it allegedly does not hatch up plans for world domination, means to be short-sighted.

But on the other hand, US imperialism is not less dangerous. First of all, every imperialist country without exception, as long as it remains as such, is prone to reaction, violence, expansion, aggression. Imperialism does not change its aggressive nature; it retains its dangerousness even on the brink of the grave, in its death throes, and even more so, on the defensive and in retreat.

Besides, it is not at all true that US imperialism is on the defensive. It is in decay just as Soviet social-imperialism is, but not on the defensive or in retreat; it is always a savage aggressor, a ruthless oppressor and a blood-thirsty enslaver of its own people and the other peoples, an international gendarme, as Soviet social-imperialism, too, is.

Is it not US imperialism, which suppressed in blood the people of Korea, following the Second World War? Is it not US imperialism which suppressed in blood Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, until it was finally driven away by the heroic peoples of these countries?

Does US imperialism not have a finger in the murder of 500 thousand Indonesian communists? Is it not US imperialism that suppressed in blood the Chilean people and brought to power the fascists in Chile? Is it not true that both the Soviet Union and the United States are gravely implicated in the tragedy that is taking place at present between Somalia and Ethiopia? Is it not US imperialism together with Soviet social-imperialism that instigated the grave situation in Cyprus and the terrible tragedy of the Arab-Israeli conflict? Is it not true that wherever there are local wars, feuds between states on problems of borders or other major issues, wherever there are centres of tension, not only Soviet social-imperialism, but US imperialism as well is present and active? Is it US imperialism not the greatest exporter of capital and arms in the world today? Does Uncle Sam maintain his hundreds of military bases in South Korea, Japan and Taiwan, the Franco Spain and in many countries of the world, seas and oceans, for peaceful aims? Does US imperialism carry out all these acts to defend itself and retreat?

No, US imperialism carries out all its activity not with the aim of retreating but of strengthening its positions as a superpower and ruler of the world and extending them further, as much as it can and wherever it can, to attack the peoples and rob them of their freedom. On its part, Soviet social-imperialism, as a new social-imperialism, is also thirsty for expansion. Herein lie all the irreconcilable contradictions and the permanent rivalry between them, as two superpowers, which want to divide the spheres of influence in the world.

Both these superpowers (and not only one of them) are hatching up plans in the Middle East to divide the Arab peoples, to sabotage the attainment of a just peace in that region, to liquidate the rights of the heroic Palestinian people, to use this prosperous and very important region each for its own imperialist interests.

While Sadat-Begin talks were going on in Jerusalem, in America Carter was praying in his Presbyterian church for the successful crowning of these talks, and he did not do this for the good of the Arab peoples, but for the interests of US imperialism, hoping that in those talks imposed by him an agreement would be reached not in favour of the Arab peoples and the Palestinian people, but in favour of the US gangster which the Israeli state is, an agreement which, far from forcing it to give up the Arab territories it has occupied, would deprive the much suffering and martyred Palestinian people of the right to live, maintain the Arab peoples always under the threat of the Israeli gang of assassins, put under their control the inexhaustible oil riches of that region. Is this a form of defence? Is this a retreat?

No one would be astonished if the advocates of «three worlds», with their «theoretical» acrobatic feats, dictated by selfish and conjunctural interests, one day turned to the Soviet social-imperialists and flirted with them, too. Anyone who deviates from the principled policy and pursues an anti-Marxist policy, cannot fail to be an unprincipled pragmatist, cannot fail to turn to the wind, according to the interest of the moment.

In these circumstances, the Party of Labour of Albania cannot keep silent and cannot fail to say the truth as it thinks it, because then it would stop being a Marxist-Leninist party. The pressure and blackmail, the curses full of hatred of various revisionists cannot dislodge our Party from its revolutionary positions. Since the day it was founded, our Party has never left the Marxist-Leninist trench. Others have abandoned that trench, but not the Party of Labour of Albania of Enver Hoxha. Therefore the people has dedicated the following song to the Party: «Our Party, may your fame rise, for you did not move from your position!». And our Party will never move from its position!

The enemies and difficulties have not intimidated nor will they intimidate us. Our people are accustomed to fight in encirclement, to cope with and smash it with courage. A sound revolutionary situation exists with us. The inner unity of the Party round the Central Committee and comrade Enver Hoxha, as well as the unity of the people round the Party has never been as strong as it is today. This steel-like unity is the guarantee for the consistent implementation of the line of the Party, for the construction of socialism, for the defence of the Homeland, for the defence of Marxism-Leninism.

Relying on our own forces we have achieved brilliant results in all fields of life — ideology, production, education, everywhere. Unemployment, price-rises, degeneration, poverty, ignorance are on the other side of the barricade, they have no room in Albania. They thrive in the capitalist and revisionist countries.

But the Party teaches us that we should not sleep on our laurels, never fall into self-complacency, never lose vigilance. The 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, which was held recently, arrived at the conclusion that in the present-day conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement of our country, when we are confronted with the ideological aggression of the bourgeoisie and modern revisionism of every hue, when we are working and living under the growing pressure of this ideology, the main danger for us is liberalism, without underrating the danger of bureaucratism. Therefore the duty for all of us is to live with these situations, to assess them correctly, the dangers and the tasks facing us. All of us must fight like revolutionaries

for the realization of the tasks set by the historic 7th Congress of the Party, wage the class struggle frontally and consistently, against any alien manifestation of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, particularly against manifestations of liberalism.

In the new conditions, when other new important factors are being added to the imperialist-revisionist blockade against our country, the duty of all of us is to rise to our feet, and with the highest feeling of responsibility, fulfil all the targets of the state plan, all the tasks in the ideological, economic and military spheres. In steel-like Party-people unity round the Central Committee and comrade Enver Hoxha, we are stronger than any hostile force, than any obstacle and difficulty, and we are in a position to climb the mountain without gasping for breath, without stopping half-way, but advancing always courageously forward and upward, to socialism and communism.

The bourgeoisie and revisionism can never conceive how a small people and a small country can live free and independent without relying economically and militarily on a big state. This is a mentality created by the bourgeoisie in the course of centuries. But such a mentality is alien to Marxism-Leninism. This bourgeois and revisionist mentality makes many people in the capitalist and revisionist countries think that «the day will come when little Albania will turn her eyes for alms to Moscow or Washington or the capital of some other big country!». No, gentlemen, you are mistaken! Socialist Albania will never abandon its principled positions, it will never betray Article 28 of its Constitution, its allegiance to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, its road to socialism and communism. What it has created, was always done with its sweat, with the sweat of its people. Little Albania will certainly build socialism relying on its own forces, and in consistent revolutionary struggle against imperialism, with US imperialism at the head, against Soviet social-imperialism and modern revisionism of every hue and brand, together with all the proletarians and genuine communists of the world, together with all the peoples of the world.

We are on the right road. Our perspectives are brilliant. We will work still more to translate these perspectives into reality and will certainly make our Homeland more powerful and more prosperous, and the November 28 and 29 festivals will find us every year happier and stronger.

Once more wishing you happy November 28 and 29 festivals, I invite you, comrades, to drink this toast to:

our heroic people!

our glorious Party, which is courageously leading us on the road to socialism and communism!

the beloved leader of our Party and people, comrade Enver Hoxha!

the glory of Marxism-Leninism!



# THE CLASS STRUGGLE A GUARANTEE THAT T A REVOLUTIONARY PA

by NDREÇI PLASARI

**The class struggle within the party is directed against enemies and traitors; against deviations, distortions and violations of party decisions and directives; against shortcomings, mistakes and gaps in the work of the leading organs and basic organizations of the party; against opportunism, dogmatism, sectarianism, and any kind of alien, anti-Marxist views**

THE CLASS STRUGGLE WITHIN THE PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS IS A REFLECTION OF THE CLASS CONTRADICTIONS WHICH EXIST AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE WHICH GOES ON IN SOCIETY.

THE PARTY IS THE LEADER OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE OLD WORLD AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST SOCIETY. AS SUCH IT STANDS IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE BATTLES WITH THE CLASS ENEMY. ON ITS IDEOLOGY AND POLICY, ON ITS ABILITY IN LEADERSHIP, DEPENDS THE FATE OF THE REVOLUTION, OF THE GREAT STRUGGLE BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM, BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST AND CAPITALIST ROADS OF DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY. HENCE IT IS NATURAL THAT THE ATTACKS AND COUNTER-ATTACKS OF THE ENEMY ARE DIRECTED AT THE PARTY IN THE FIRST PLACE.

Apart from this, the communists are not completely free from or invulnerable to the old concepts, customs and habits carried by the social environment in which they have lived or are living, the social class or stratum to which they belong, either by origin or current status. The communists, like all our working people, are on the one hand, under the pressure of the blemishes of the old society, and on the other, under the pressure of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology and policy from abroad, hence are faced with the dangers of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration.

The dangers that threaten the party are overcome through a correct, determined, and ceaseless class struggle within its ranks. «The struggle within the party gives the party strength and life». With this epigraph Lenin began his famous work «What is to be done?» in which he elaborated the Marxist-Leninist ideological foundations of the workers' party of the new type.

The class struggle within the party is directed against enemies and traitors; against deviations, distortions and violations of party decisions and directives; against shortcomings, mistakes and gaps in the work of the leading organs and basic organizations of the party; against opportunism, dogmatism, sectarianism, and any kind of alien, anti-Marxist views.

The class struggle within the party is, in the first place, an ideological struggle for the Marxist-Leninist purity of its theory, of its general line, and of the communists themselves.

But it is also a political struggle. The fight against traitors and hostile activity in the party ranks cannot be confined to the ideological field alone. Every enemy of the Marxist-Leninist party is also an enemy of the people and socialism. Therefore, the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat attack these enemies like all the other enemies.

All the experience of the class struggle within the PLA has confirmed that this struggle is correct

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# WITHIN THE PARTY - THE PARTY WILL ALWAYS REMAIN PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS

and complete only when it is waged as a combined ideological and political struggle, and is accompanied with the appropriate organizational measures.

Only through such a struggle can the party work out, preserve and apply a correct Marxist-Leninist line; preserve and strengthen its proletarian unity, without any breaches, ensure the proletarian qualities of the communists, realize its undivided leadership in the revolution and the construction of socialism.

The main reflection of how the Marxist-Leninist party wages the class struggle is its political line, embodied in its practical revolutionary activity and tested by the results of this activity.

Those parties of the working class which have been unable to work out and implement a correct revolutionary line, and as a consequence, have not succeeded in placing themselves at the head of the masses in revolutionary situations, in preparing them and leading them in revolution, are by no means few. Other parties, although at given moments or periods they have followed a correct course and have shown themselves capable of leading the masses in revolutionary struggle, of ensuring them great political and social victories, have not gone to the end of this road, have changed course, have departed from Marxism-Leninism and turned into bourgeois-revisionist parties, betraying the cause of the working class, the revolution, and communism. Such parties

have capitulated to the pressure and attacks of the class enemy, to the tidal wave of petty-bourgeois psychology, have allowed the enemy to penetrate their ranks, and eventually, even to seize the reins of leadership.

Although younger than many other parties, the PLA has been able to work out and implement a correct Marxist-Leninist line at all the periods of its existence and to ensure victories of vital importance to the Albanian people, because, in its faithful implementation of Marxism-Leninism, as was stressed at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «it has resolutely upheld the line of the class struggle and consistently waged it against internal and external enemies, as well as among the people and in its own ranks».)

The steel-like ideological and organizational unity of the PLA, which has characterized it all through its existence, is linked with this correct and resolute struggle. The enemies' plans to destroy the PLA, or to turn it into a bourgeois-revisionist party, have failed because they have not found, and have been quite unable to create, breaches in the Party in general and in its Central Committee in particular. In the Soviet Union and other countries the revisionists split their respective communist and workers' parties, which facilitated the destructive work for the liquidation of their proletarian character.

The communist qualities of members of the party have always been

ensured through class struggle. This struggle has kept them pure as vanguard revolutionary fighters, has protected them from bourgeois degeneration and capitulation to the pressure of the enemies, or in the face of difficulties and obstacles.

The struggle for a correct Marxist-Leninist line, for a steel-like unity, for the communist qualities of the party members, the entire class struggle in the Party, has had as its major objective to ensure its undivided leadership, which constitutes the key to the solution of all problems, all the tasks of the revolution, the construction of socialism, and the defence of the Homeland. After it succeeds in becoming the leader of the masses in the revolutionary situation, the party can preserve and play its leading role up till the complete victory of the socialist revolution only through a persistent ideological and political class struggle for the implementation of its general Marxist-Leninist line, and its proletarian principles and norms.

As was stated at the 7th Congress of the PLA, precisely such a determined and consistent struggle, waged with organically linked revolutionary Marxist-Leninist methods for its line, for the unity and the communist qualities of its members, has enabled our Party «to ensure its leading role throughout its whole existence, to ensure the hegemony of the working class in such a complete monolithic, and effective manner».)<sup>2)</sup>



## **The edge of the class struggle in the Party is, first of all, directed against the enemies and the enemy activity in its ranks**

As is known, enemies and traitors have emerged from the ranks of the Party from time to time. They have been very few in numbers, but the danger they posed was very great. This danger was linked neither with their number, nor with their support in the Party and among the people, because they have enjoyed no such support. They endangered the Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the socialist order as a whole, because of the important positions and functions they had managed to occupy in the leading organs of the Party, the state, the economy and the army. They were dangerous, also, as agents of external enemies. Abetted, supported and assisted by the imperialists and revisionists, they intended to take the fortress from within, by trying to divert the Party from its Marxist-Leninist course, to eliminate its revolutionary line and leadership, to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to make the country dependent on one or the other bourgeois-revisionist and imperialist state.

To the extent they were able, the traitors have carried out hostile, disruptive, undermining, anti-Party activity to achieve this aim. In general, however, they have not dared to oppose the line of the Party openly, because they have always found themselves faced with its monolithic unity which has suppressed them, and with its steel-like links with the people, which have terrified them. For these reasons they have tended to work surreptitiously, have tried to distort the line of the Party in one field or the other, on one question or the other, in the field of its implementation, in order to create confusion, disruption, disorder, to prevent the implementation of decisions and directives, on political, economic, cul-

tural, military and other tasks, to create the impression that the policy of the Party was not correct. In order to disguise themselves, and at the same time, to exploit the great authority of the Party for their own benefit, the enemies have tried to pose as if they were doing everything in the name of the Party. They have used all sorts of tactics and wiles to develop the cult of their own personality, to win personal prestige so that their words would carry weight and to gain credit and support.

Working mainly surreptitiously, the traitors have awaited the favourable moment of a «crisis», in order to strike with all their might. However this moment, has never come, for they have been uncovered in time, have been smashed ideologically, politically and organizationally, and their views and activities have been liquidated.

The enemies have shown especially great concern to establish links with one another, to gather supporters around themselves, to create first groups and then factional trends and lines opposed to the line of the Party. They are well aware that only by uniting, by organizing themselves and working out a political platform opposed to the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party can they attain their goal, and alter its course towards revisionism. But this can happen only in certain conditions, when the Party falls asleep, is infected by dangerous bourgeois diseases, becomes sclerotic, and thus, loses its ability to fight and liquidate the enemies that emerge from, and operate in, its own ranks. Such were the conditions in which revisionist trends took shape in many former communist and workers' parties, and succeeded in transforming them completely into bourgeois-revisionist parties.

Revisionism has been unable to strike root and triumph in the PLA, because the bourgeois-revisionist diseases have been systematically combatted in a struggle which prevented them from invading and overwhelming the

organs and organizations of the Party, because the hostile activity has not been allowed to develop, nor have the views and activities of traitors been allowed to destroy the unity of the Party.

It is known that, by linking up with one another, enemy elements have, indeed, managed to create a number of factional groups within the ranks of our Party. However, these hostile groups have been smashed before they could take the form of trends in the sense that Stalin gave them, as «a party within the party», and come out with an anti-party opposition line.

Koçi Xoxe's group was extremely dangerous. The hostile activity of this group extended to many fields. Nevertheless, the anti-Marxist views that were the foundation of this activity did not succeed in crystallizing as an independent line. The 11th Plenum of the Central Committee (September 1948) and the 1st Congress of the Party (November), which made an assessment of the political line over the period 1945-1948, came to the conclusion that there were not two lines in the Party, but only one, which on a whole was correct, although there were a number of distortions in it. These distortions were some erroneous anti-Marxist theses and practices smuggled into the line and activity of the Party by the traitor group which represented theses and practices from the Yugoslav trotskyite-revisionist ideology and policy.

In recent years, the Party uncovered and liquidated the hostile groups of F. Paçrami and T. Lubonja, of B. Balluku, P. Dume and H. Çako, and of A. Këllezi, K. Theodhosi and K. Ngjela.

These groups, which operated in close connection and collaboration with one another and in coordination with some foreign revisionist states, made up «a major and extremely dangerous conspiracy», as the 7th Congress of the Party defined them. With the first group operating in the field of ideology and culture,

the second in the army, and the third in the field of the economy, the enemies intended to destroy the Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the socialist economic-social order, and to turn Albania into a bourgeois-revisionist country. To achieve this objective, they had reckoned on organizing an armed putsch, through the traitors in the Army, which was to be backed up by foreign military intervention.

Hence the danger was extremely great. Before they were uncovered, the traitors caused all the damage they could in the sectors where they were working, taking advantage of manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy, the slackening of vigilance and control, the incomplete implementation of communist principles and norms, the shortcomings and errors in the work of Party organizations and state organs in the relevant sectors. Nevertheless, the latest hostile groups, like the former ones, were uncovered and smashed before they succeeded in crystallizing into revisionist opposition trends and lines in the Party. As soon as they were uncovered and attacked by the Central Committee they were attacked and crushed by the whole Party and the people. All the communists and all the working people to a man were in solidarity with the decisions of the Central Committee, with comrade Enver Hoxha, and rose against the traitors and their anti-Party, anti-socialist, and anti-national activity.

This experience of the struggle against enemies and their traitorous activity within the Party shows that, objectively, there is a great and continuing danger of the creation of factional trends and anti-Marxist opposition lines in the ranks of the party of the working class. At the same time, it shows that the emergence and crystallization of these trends and lines is not decreed by fate to be inevitable. They can be stopped in their tracks, and unity can be preserved and strengthened.

Hence, the class struggle within the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist party cannot be called a struggle between opposing lines, and even less can such a «struggle of lines» be considered an objective phenomenon. The class struggle in the ranks of the party is, truly, an objective phenomenon like the class struggle in general, but it is not necessarily a struggle between two opposing lines. The experience of the struggle within the PLA confirms this very well: this struggle has always been waged for the defence, implementation and enrichment, in the heat of revolutionary action, of a single Marxist-Leninist line, and has not been a struggle between two lines.

The struggle between two roads should not be confused with the struggle between two lines. The struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road of development, which includes the struggle between the proletarian ideology and the revisionist ideology, is an objective law, whereas the struggle between opposing political lines is a subjective phenomenon, which emerges and develops only in certain conditions, when the party allows factional trends and anti-Marxist lines to be created in its ranks. Such opposing revisionist trends and lines usually manage to crystallize when the party of the working class does not wage a correct, determined and consistent class struggle within its ranks all the time.

**How has the PLA succeeded in preventing the crystallization of factional trends and opposing revisionist lines, and been able to uncover in time, and smash the enemies and enemy activity in its ranks?**

«A self-respecting Marxist-Leninist party», says comrade Enver Hoxha, «cannot permit the existence of two lines within the party; it cannot, therefore, allow the existence of one or

more factions. And if such a thing does show up, the party cannot and must not tolerate the existence of factions, even for a short period».<sup>3)</sup> Guided by this Marxist-Leninist principle, our Party has, in the first place, waged a preventive struggle to bar all the paths to these dangers, to cut off the roots and sources of factions and opposing lines, and of enemies and enemy activities.

The PLA has always been consistent in its Marxist-Leninist course. Before setting its programmatic tasks, before deciding its attitudes on the fundamental problems of its internal or foreign policy, it has considered them thoroughly, has not been hasty nor has it procrastinated. It has acted with maturity and the greatest sense of responsibility towards the Albanian working class and the Albanian people, as well as towards the world proletariat and the revolution, always in the light of Marxist-Leninist principles. After it has taken its decisions, it has fought unhesitatingly for their implementation, fully convinced of the correctness of its revolutionary line. Vacillation and uncertainty in decisions, attitudes and slogans, unprincipled changes of position on questions of internal and foreign policy, by making this policy subject to developments of the moment or to simply utilitarian and pragmatic motives, always cause confusion and disorientation, create suitable soil for factions and opposing lines, for hostile activities in the ranks of the party.

The PLA has not allowed itself to be carried away by success, to become swell-headed and over-confident on account of its firm unity, its correct line, its sound links with the masses and great victories achieved under its leadership. To combat self-satisfaction, conceit and over-confidence means to destroy the breeding ground for the petty-bourgeois and revisionist maggot, so that it is unable to get into the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, to destroy them from within.



But loss or weakening of revolutionary vigilance, whatever the cause, are just as dangerous. «The vigilance of the Party, its great experience, revolutionary acumen and coolheadedness», says comrade Enver Hoxha in connection with the uncovering and liquidation of the latest groups of traitors and conspirators, «brought about that the full extent and danger of this enemy activity was uncovered».4) Revolutionary experience teaches us that the Party must never forget or underrate the great dangers that threaten it from the intentions and activities of external and internal class enemies, from the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. Only by remaining constantly vigilant, by having a thorough knowledge of the enemies and the methods, forms and means of their destructive work, can the dangers be avoided and the ways be closed to the penetration of opposing revisionist trends and lines.

The PLA has been able to smash the enemy activity, to follow a consistently correct line, to preserve and constantly strengthen its unity, also, because of the principled revolutionary attitude it has always maintained towards shortcomings and mistakes. A proletarian party is not afraid to recognise the mistakes and shortcomings in its line or practical activity. But however important it is to recognise your mistakes and shortcomings, it is just as important to be determined and to know how to fight to the end to eliminate them. Mistakes, weaknesses, deviations, that are not detected and combatted in time and with revolutionary methods, create favourable soil for the activity of the enemy, become the source of revisionist groups, trends and platforms. «Any laxity, any misuse, any liberalism, any underestimation of mistakes and shortcomings,» teaches comrade Enver Hoxha, «causes incalculable damage, creates a rotten situation. No one, apart from enemies, wants such a thing. But it could come about if all of us do not rally to

a man around the Party... to fight these manifestations.»5)

The consistently revolutionary and clear cut stand of the Party against anti-party groups has been decisive for its Marxist-Leninist line and unity towards anti-party groups, when such groups have managed to form themselves within its ranks. The danger they represent has always been properly appreciated and they have been fought and completely smashed in order to prevent them from turning into opposing trends and lines.

There is no doubt that, the struggle against anti-party elements, groups and views, like the entire class struggle within the party, is an ideological struggle in the first place. Through this struggle, which has continued even after the smashing of one or the other group, their anti-Marxist views have been exposed and refuted, and profound convictions have been created among the communists and working people about the hostile character of these views which have led the traitors into activity against the party and the socialist order. But the ideological struggle never fully achieves its purpose if it is not accompanied with organizational and political measures. As comrade Enver Hoxha tells us «The Party has never failed to use the means of patient explanation and conviction towards all those who betrayed and embarked on the anti-party and anti-people road, but when the cup was full and facts were obvious, it threw them out of its ranks unhesitatingly, and those who had conspired were handed over to the courts which even condemned some of them to death. The enemies wept over them, while the people rejoiced at having settled accounts with these traitors».6) This is a profoundly revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist stand. The revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot fail to use violence against the enemies of the Party, the people and socialism. The contradictions between us and the enemies cannot be resolved otherwise. To try

to resolve these contradictions in the way the contradictions among the people are solved means to fall into idealism, into religious indulgence, to renounce the class struggle.

The main thing is that in the PLA the struggle against hostile elements and groups has always been a principled struggle and it has never been allowed to degenerate into a struggle between individuals. This struggle has not been waged by the Central Committee alone, but by the entire Party and the whole people who have always had their say, assisting the Party to expose and utterly smash the anti-Marxist and anti-socialist activity and views of one or other enemy or traitor group. That is why this struggle has had such great success.

The PLA has been protected from the danger of disastrous splits, of the creation of hostile lines and trends, also, by its revolutionary, determined and consistent stand towards any interference from outside. Only such a stand brought about the defeat of the attempts of the Yugoslav revisionists to turn the Koçi Xoxe group into an anti-Marxist trend on an all-Party scale, after this group had become a faction at its head, and then to ensure that this Trotskyite-revisionist trend would liquidate the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. The efforts which the Khrushchevite revisionists made directly and through Liri Belishova and Koço Tashko, to split the Central Committee and the Party, in order to be able to impose their anti-Marxist course on it were smashed in the same way. The external enemies of Marxism-Leninism have always abetted and supported the traitors in the ranks of our Party, in order to use them to sow the seed of disruption and revisionism in the Party, as was confirmed also in the case of the discovery and smashing of the latest enemy groups. But each time faced with the determination of the Party to permit no sort of foreign interference and always to follow a single Marxist-Leninist line, the ene-

mies have had their fingers burnt. This determined stand and this struggle have developed the vigilance and class intuition of the Party, have taught it that the only sure way to follow a consistently correct revolutionary line is to work out and implement this line in an independent manner on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, which is the only compass for every genuine party of the working class. Irrespective of what the enemies say, the PLA has never been the «gramophone» of one or other foreign party, but a faithful follower of Marxism-Leninism. «When a party is not guided by Marxism-Leninism», said comrade Enver Hoxha at the meeting of the party activists of the Vlora District, «it cannot have a clear, decided strategy»<sup>7</sup>).

What were these enemies who emerged from the ranks of the Party? The 7th Congress defined the traitors of the latest groups as «politically and morally degenerate elements who had become bourgeois and capitulated to the pressure of the external and internal enemies, to the ideological encirclement and aggression of international imperialism and revisionism»<sup>8</sup>). And in general this is what all the enemies, uncovered and smashed within our Party, have been.

Since it has always been clear about these main causes of betrayal, and the close connection of betrayal with the hostile pressure exerted on the Party by enemy forces within and outside the country, our Party has at all times linked the struggle against enemies and hostile activity within its ranks with the struggle against the class enemies in general both internal and external, against imperialism and social-imperialism, against reaction and revisionism, on an international scale.

At certain moments, the pressure and activity of the enemies from outside, as well as the hostile activity in its ranks have faced the Party with difficult situations. They have

been and are very dangerous to it. But these difficulties and dangers have failed to make it yield, have never made it capitulate and give up its Marxist-Leninist general line, its determined revolutionary stands on different questions in the fields of internal and foreign policy.

**The class struggle within the party is waged against every kind of manifestation alien to its ideology, policy and communist norms**

The class struggle the Party has waged and continues to wage unceasingly within its ranks against manifestations alien to its ideology, line and proletarian norms, expressed in the stand, behaviour and activity of the communists, in the work of one or the other basic organization, or leading organ, has always had and continues to have great importance, to guarantee an always correct Marxist-Leninist line, a steel-like ideological and organizational unity and the communist qualities of its members.

It must be said from the outset that it is impossible to avoid having some alien manifestations, some negative phenomena within the party branches or leading organs or among the ranks of the communists, as long as the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, between socialism and capitalism, over the question of which will win, is raging fiercely on an international scale. The aim of this struggle is that the alien symptoms must not become predominant, must be wiped out and not turn into sicknesses, and the sicknesses must not become incurable diseases which would overwhelm the party of the working class and transform it into a bourgeois-revisionist party, as happened with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other former

communist parties. This aim can be achieved only by combating every alien manifestation, together with the causes that give birth to it, with revolutionary methods.

Since the main objective of the class struggle within the party is the implementation of the line of the party, the correctness of which has been and is being confirmed in practice, **the main blow should be aimed against any stand, activity and anything else that impedes the implementation of the decisions and directives of the Party, and harms its policy.**

Our Party is in leadership. This leadership «is achieved», stressed the 7 Congress, «only when its Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy, its decisions and directives are implemented successfully in all fields and in all directions, in the state organs and the economy, in culture and the Army, when all the state institutions and social organizations, all the cadres and working people, are guided in all their activity by this ideology and policy and these directives and decisions»<sup>9</sup>).

The communists are answerable for the attainment of this goal. On the one hand, each of them is required to be exemplary in the implementation of the line, decisions and directives, and no violation, however unimportant it may appear, is permitted. On the other hand, each communist is duty bound to combat any infringements he may observe in others, whoever they may be, persistently and without making any concession.

This is a fundamental characteristic distinguishing the overwhelming majority of the members and almost all the organizations of our Party in all the periods of its existence.

However, at given moments, a number of individual communists and organizations, have violated this or that directive themselves or have failed to wage an irreconcilable struggle against violations of the line, deviators, or anti-party elements.

In each historical period, every party organization or leading organ has encountered mistaken views and stands opposed to one or other directive of the Party.

Closely linked with the struggle against violations, distortions and falling short in the implementation of the line of the party is **the struggle waged against violations, distortions, falling short in the implementation of the Constitution of the Party, which embodies the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms which regulate its life.** These two struggles merge into one. There can be no party of the working class with a correct Marxist-Leninist line without communist organizational principles and norms. When the Communist Party of the Soviet Union deviated from the Leninist-Stalinist ideology and policy, at the same time it also renounced the revolutionary implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms of the party, which were transformed into lifeless formulas.

Therefore, the 7th Congress of the PLA stressed again that, in order to achieve the indisputable leadership of the Party, faithful revolutionary implementation of both its political line and its Leninist principles and norms has decisive importance.

Like the political line, the principles and norms, too, can find such application only through the class struggle within the ranks of the Party.

The continuous strengthening of the leading role of the party basic organization in order to apply the Marxist-Leninist teaching: «The basic organization must lead in everything so that we may conform to the principle that the Party leads everything»<sup>10</sup>), has been and will continue to be achieved through class struggle.

An incessant struggle has been and is being waged in our Party against various manifestations which weaken the leading role of the plenums of party district committees and party

committees in the Army, in order to ensure that this role is always safeguarded and perfected. To this end, the 7th Congress of the Party demanded, in particular, that the erroneous tendency, manifested in some instances, to put the bureaus above the plenums, to overrate the role of bureaus and to underrate the role of plenums, as well as to attribute to the apparatus of the party committee functions that belong to the elected organs, must be done away with. The essence of this struggle has been and is to ensure the fullest collective spirit in the activity of the leading party organs. As comrade Enver Hoxha put it at the 7th Congress, «the collective spirit plays the decisive role in achieving the leadership of the Party», because it avoids bureaucracy and arbitrariness, avoids distortions and grave violations of the line of the Party, ensures the best and most complete implementation of its decisions and directives.

The PLA has achieved marked successes in the ceaseless strengthening of the proletarian composition of its membership. In the conditions of our country, which embarked on the road of socialist development with a very backward social-economic and cultural-educational situation, the fact that, in 1970, worker communists emerged as the biggest group, and the rapid increase of the number of women in the Party, who today make up more than 27 per cent of its members, are truly great victories. The continuous increase in the number of cooperativist peasant communists, who are militating in a sound revolutionary spirit for the cause of communism, just like their worker comrades, is no small victory, either.

There could be no thought of such successes and victories without class struggle within the ranks of the Party. Struggle has been required to overcome the retrogressive attitudes of a number of communists and some basic organizations, especially over the

admission of young workers and cooperativists, and in particular, of young women, in whose revolutionary determination and abilities there has not always been complete confidence.

The struggle has been, and on the instructions of the 7th Congress, always will be concentrated against manifestations that affect the fundamental question of admissions to the Party: quality.

Our Party has never seen the quality of the candidates for membership as consisting only in their worker or cooperativist status. It has linked this question with a series of other very important questions of a class character, which make the communist a proletarian vanguard fighter, loyal to the end to the cause of communism, indomitable in the face of enemies, difficulties, obstacles and sacrifices, and determined to implement the political line of the Party at any cost. Such questions are the ideological and political preparation of candidates for party membership; their being outstanding in the performance not only of their technical-professional tasks, but also of their political and social tasks, in their revolutionary attitude and behaviour at work, in society, and the family; their being tested through hard work, on difficult fronts, in revolutionary activity in general, in class struggle, etc.

The Party has waged systematic and incessant struggle against manifestations that sully the purity of the moral figure of communists, in order to ensure that they always remain vanguard revolutionary fighters, and to implement the Marxist-Leninist principle, which was stressed once again at the 7th Congress of the Party, that «without the vanguard role of individual communists there can be no vanguard party of the working class, there can be no party to lead the masses of the people»<sup>11</sup>).

Our Party can never reconcile itself to such manifestations, which blemish the pure moral figure of the com-



munists, and it has not done so. Through the example of its members as vanguard revolutionaries in struggle, at work, in their conduct in society, facing hardships and obstacles, facing sacrifices, confronting enemies, and everywhere, it has always won the hearts of the people, has always created and maintained close links with the broad masses of the people, has mobilized and is mobilizing them in revolution, in the construction of socialism and in the defence of the Homeland.

The alien manifestations, whatever their nature, which have been observed and continue to be observed in some party organizations or individual communists, have their roots in concepts alien to the proletarian ideology of the Party, to Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Hence, in the course of the struggle against the concrete alien manifestations observed in the stands of basic organizations and party members it is necessary **at the same time, to uncover, hit and smash the essentially reactionary alien concepts and their ideological roots, that exist in the heads of communists and give rise to those manifestations.** Moreover, this class struggle within the ranks of party organizations is linked, and cannot but be closely linked with the class struggle in the ranks of the people against the blemishes from the old society, against the petty-bourgeois psychology and all the remnants of old reactionary ideologies, against backward customs, as well as with the struggle against the bourgeois-revisionist ideological aggression. Only such an organic linking gives our class struggle against reactionary ideologies, old and new, all the force, destructive, on the one hand, and transforming and constructive, on the other, necessary to protect the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat against the evils which seized the Soviet party and state by the throat and strangled them, following the death of Stalin, when that party and state, grown sclerotic

and bureaucratic, gave up the fight against the reactionary old, and the revolutionary class struggle in general.

If it is to be fruitful, the class struggle within the Party, like the class struggle in general, requires another condition, also: it must be always on the offensive, it should not wait for alien manifestations to appear and then combat them, but should prepare the communists well, ideologically and politically, for such a struggle, so that they see and judge matters, solve problems, always from the proletarian class standpoint, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy of the Party, of dialectical materialism, so that nothing can slip past them «unnoticed» and uncombated.

**The best means to prepare the communists so that they wage the class struggle, within and outside the ranks of the Party, correctly and consistently is to ensure that they are thoroughly acquainted with and assimilate every directive and norm of the Party, that they study and master the Marxist-Leninist theory, linking it closely with the teachings of the Party, and temper themselves as revolutionaries in the school of the working class.** The more thorough and complete the ideological and political communist formation of the party members, the greater is their determination and the better their ability to defend and apply Marxism-Leninism and the line of the Party, to be vanguard fighters to the end, to wage the class struggle in all fields and directions.

The communist formation of the party members is an extensive and complex job which, like any other, is carried out through stubborn persistence, overcoming various difficulties and obstacles, and here, too, breaking down regressive, inhibiting concepts.

At the centre of the work for the communist formation lies the study of the Marxist-Leninist theory, without the mastery of which no party

of the working class can play its leading role in the revolution and the construction of socialism.

Stressing once again the absolute necessity of studying the Marxist-Leninist theory and condemning any manifestation of underestimation and neglect of this matter, the 7th Congress of the Party declared: «Nobody should say that he has no time to study. The communist who is not interested in study and broadening his horizon, who makes no effort to try to acquaint himself with, and master the rich experience of, the Party will run out of steam and will not be up to the mark in his task as a vanguard fighter»<sup>12</sup>).

An indispensable prerequisite for mastering Marxism-Leninism is the method of assimilating it in the irreconcilable clashes between the revolutionary materialist-dialectical theory and the proletarian policy of the Party and bourgeois theories and policies of every type, as well in the struggle against any kind of old idealist and metaphysical concepts which manifest themselves in the attitudes and activity of communists.

Another indispensable condition is the application of the method of linking theory closely with practice, with revolutionary action.

The PLA has always put these two revolutionary methods at the foundation of its work for the communist formation of its members, combating any departure from this road — the one correct road for the true assimilation of Marxism-Leninism.

Our Party has always stressed, and its 7th Congresses stressed it once again, that the communists need the Marxist-Leninist theory not for erudition's sake, but so they will be able to fight intelligently and with determination to carry out the revolution, to complete the building of socialist society, to wage the class struggle correctly and courageously, and not yield to the pressure of enemies and in the face difficulties.

**Criticism and self-criticism is a po-**



**werful and tested weapon for the successful waging of the class struggle in the ranks of the Party.** This weapon serves to detect and correct shortcomings and errors, to prevent or smash manifestations alien to the ideology, line, and norms of the Party. Thus, it also supplements the communist education of the party members.

Criticism and self-criticism are a very good indicator in assessing how the class struggle is being waged within the Party. Where there is correct, principled, severe criticism and self-criticism without fear and hesitation about every communist, there the diseases that threaten the Party cannot get established, the work of the class enemy makes no headway, and the implementation of decisions and directives, the vanguard role of the communists, the leadership of the party basic organization and of the plenum of the party committee are ensured.

«The situation is in order in the party organizations», comrade Enver Hoxha instructs, «only when there is the thrashing out of ideas, criticism and self-criticism from correct party positions, when opinions are expressed about work, when proposals, suggestions, etc., are made, in a word when life is seething there, not when there is 'tranquillity'». <sup>13)</sup>

When it is based on the policy and interests of the Party, of the working class, and socialism, the clash of opinions is never harmful. On the contrary it is necessary and useful, because it strengthens the militant revolutionary character of the unity, makes it easier to uncover and combat mistakes and shortcomings, violations and distortions of the line, and to take more correct decisions.

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*Together with the new industry, which is being set up despite the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade, socialist Albania is training the cadres necessary to run it. In this direction women play an important role. In Albania they enjoy all the same rights as the men.*

The correct waging of the class struggle within the Party requires that the course of the correction of the erring communists must be followed with revolutionary justice and severity, and not with opportunist indulgence, that every communist towards whom disciplinary measures are taken should be put to the test, more than any other communist, and that the party basic organizations should guide this testing directly. The class struggle also makes the differentiation: on the one hand, it corrects the majority of those who waver or lag behind their comrades, on the other, it separates out the incorrigible. The latter are people who have smuggled themselves into the Party, who have not had, and have not been able to acquire, all the qualities of the communist, or have lost these qualities on the uphill pull of the revolution, that is to say, have capitulated to the pressure of the enemy or difficulties.

There is only one measure for the incorrigible: expulsion from the ranks of the Party. Great as the need of the Party is for transfusions of new and pure blood into its body so that it will always remain a Party of revolutionary action, a proletarian leading Party, **its need to purge itself of all those who lose the qualities of the vanguard proletarian fighter is just as great.** It is no accident that Lenin calls purging a law of the development of the revolutionary party of the working class. Our Party has never allowed opportunist softness, liberalism and sentimentality in the implementation of this law.

There is also another very important feature in the practice of the purging carried out in our Party. Unlike many other parties, with us no mass purges have taken place. This is connected with the fact that in the ranks of our Party no factional trends and opposition lines, the struggle for the smashing of which would have entailed mass purges,

have succeeded in taking shape. The purging of our Party has been carried out routinely, in the process of the implementation of the principles and norms of its Constitution.

In our Party, purging is a revolutionary class process that is carried out on the basis of the internal democracy of the Party as well as by drawing in the opinion of the masses of the working people, who make the assessment of this or that party member.

### **Dangers that threaten the Party and the fight against them**

What are the dangers that threaten the Party, against which it has fought and is fighting ceaselessly so that it will always remain a revolutionary party of the working class?

The 7th Congress of the Party stressed that «the class struggle waged during the whole existence of the Party, as well as recently, has shown that **the main danger and enemy to our Party, as well as to the entire international revolutionary communist and workers' movement, has been and still is right opportunism, revisionism**»<sup>14)</sup>.

All the enemies and traitors who have emerged from the ranks of the Party have been rightists. In the hostile rightist views and activities we see reflected the pressure of the internal and external class enemy, according to concrete historical periods and conditions.

With the frontal class struggle which the Party has waged unceasingly within and outside its ranks, it has never allowed the creation of the soil in which right opportunism, revisionism could thrive. It has combated right opportunism, in the first place, in the views and activities of its enemies. But the Party has also fought opportunist symptoms which have appeared in the work of our people.



Liberalism, as a marked expression of opportunism, has been dealt hard blows.

The fact that liberalism has never been able to strike root and become a disease in our Party confirms how correct and fruitful the struggle waged against it has been.

The powerful blows of the Party have been and are aimed against bureaucracy, too.

The bitter experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union proves that bureaucracy is just as great a danger to the party of the working class in power as liberalism. What happened in that party? Gradually, the basic organizations and organs of the party were displaced from their leading role as organs of collective leadership. All leadership was concentrated in the hands of the notorious «apparatchiki», thus it became bureaucratic from the centre to the base. Everything was decided by the apparatuses which rode roughshod over the entire party and the working class. Khrushchev and company took advantage of this to carry out the counter-revolution, while the party and the working class were in no position to prevent the traitors from seizing state power and restoring capitalism.

On the face of it, bureaucracy passes itself off as «leftist», if it is considered from the angle that it tramples underfoot democracy in the party and state, the role of the mass of the communists and the people, allegedly in the name of the «implementation of the directive, principle, law, or order». But this appearance does not alter its rightist content, its nature as the offspring of capitalism and revisionism, as an enemy of the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the proletarian ideology, as a danger that, like liberalism, leads to the transformation of the party and the socialist state into a bourgeois-revisionist party and state. It fact, liberalism and bureaucracy, as ills and dangers to a party of the

working class in power, never present themselves separately, but always entangled with each other. The one supplements the other, they are branches of the same tree. The liberal is also a bureaucrat, just as the bureaucrat is also a liberal, according to the occasion, for neither the one nor the other is guided by revolutionary principle, but by the interests of the moment, by personal interests. Either of them, according to the occasion, is a servile today, a pragmatist, a compromiser, arrogant and so on.

The Party teaches us that we should look for right opportunism and fight it not only in manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy, but also in their offspring, such as technocracy, intellectualism, conformism, servility, indifference, etc. Opportunism presents itself and operates in all sorts of forms and shapes.

While combatting right opportunism, the PLA has not neglected and never will neglect the struggle against the dangers which leftism, sectarianism and anarchism, present not only because, if they are overlooked and not combatted, these dangers may have consequences just as harmful as right opportunism, liberalism and bureaucracy, but also because right-opportunism often presents itself in «left» attire.

We see leftist, sectarian attitudes, also, in the practice of some opportunist elements so they can appear as «revolutionaries», «men of principle», «rigorous» in the implementation of principles and directives. This kind of «left» opportunism is just as harmful as liberalism, bureaucracy, and conservatism.

For all these reasons, while always bearing in mind that the main danger and enemy is right opportunism, revisionism, and while combatting this danger in all its various forms and manifestations, our Party also resolutely fights «left» opportunism, sectarianism.

The fight on the two flanks is the only correct method of the class

struggle of the revolutionary party of the working class. Onesidedness is incompatible with Marxist-Leninist dialectics, which is the foundation of the line and practical activity of the Party.

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By implementing such revolutionary principles, methods and practices in waging the class struggle within its ranks, the PLA will always remain a revolutionary party of the working class and lead the Albanian people with sure steps to the complete construction of socialist society and communism.

1. *Enver Hoxha. Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 109 (Eng. ed.).*
2. *Enver Hoxha. Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 79 (Eng. ed.).*
3. *Enver Hoxha. Reports and Speeches, 1967-1968, pp. 39-40.*
4. *Enver Hoxha. Closing speech at the 7th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, May 29, 1975. Central Party Archives.*
5. *Enver Hoxha. Reports and Speeches, 1972-1973, p. 284.*
6. *Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches, 1968, p. 39.*
7. *Speech held on March 21, 1977. Central Party Archives.*
8. *Enver Hoxha. Reports to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 123 (Eng. ed.).*
9. *Enver Hoxha. Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 77 (Eng. ed.).*
10. *Enver Hoxha. Contribution to the discussion at the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, March 5, 1975. Central Party Archives.*
11. *Enver Hoxha. Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 84-85 (Eng. ed.).*
12. *Enver Hoxha. Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 144 (Eng. ed.).*
13. *Enver Hoxha. Reports and Speeches, 1972-1973, p. 52.*
14. *Enver Hoxha. Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA p. 109 (Eng. ed.).*

# MYTHOLOGY IN MODERNIST AESTHETICS

by ALFRED UÇI

**The mythological tendency is not imposed upon modernist art by nature and the specific artistic laws, but from outside, by the needs of the imperialist and revisionist bourgeoisie to mystify the reality, to conceal and camouflage the vital dramas and conflicts, to disguise and distort their social-class source and causes**

**IN OUR TIME, THE PROBLEM OF THE MYTH AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO ART IS THE FOCUS OF POLEMICS AND DISCUSSIONS ON AESTHETICS. THE INCREASED INTEREST OF AESTHETICS IN THE PROBLEM OF THE MYTH IS CLOSELY LINKED FIRST OF ALL, WITH THE FETISH-MAKING, MYTHOLOGISING ROLE WHICH THE MODERNIST AESTHETIC TREND IS PLAYING IN OUR TIME AND WITH THOSE SOCIAL AND CLASS FACTORS WHICH FOSTER AN ALIENATED CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE PRESENT-DAY CAPITALIST AND REVISIONIST WORLD, WHICH GIVE RISE TO MANY IDEOLOGICAL ILLUSIONS, WHICH IN TURN FREQUENTLY ASSUME THE FORM OF MYTHS.**

## **Critique of Mythologizing Aesthetics**

Right from its initial steps, the modernist school of aesthetics was aware of the similarity between trends of the modernist aesthetic philosophy and mythological thinking, and set to work to provide an interpretation of myths that would justify the different «occult» and «mythological» variants of modernism. From the end of the 19th century and during the 20th century, the modernist aesthetic philosophy strove to formulate its own theoretical platform on myths. The ideas of the aesthetics of

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romanticism, which, in order to oppose the one-sided rationalism of classicism and illuminism, evaluated the myth as the prototype of poetical creativeness, served as the starting point. While the Illumination identified myths with prejudices and deception, the romanticists, embraced mythology in their aesthetic philosophy, valued the power of the mythological creative imagination highly and considered myths as expressions of the most intangible features of «the soul» of peoples. In the enhancement of the aesthetic presige of mythology among the artists, the views of Wagner, who idealized folk mythology and linked the future and revival of art with it, played a major role.

The aesthetic philosophy of moder-

nism was founded upon the anti-scientific and reactionary theory of F. Nietzsche, who considered the mythological fount as the source with the greatest vitality in human culture. He considered myths as the foundation of the entire spiritual life of the society. Modernist aesthetics was interested not only in idealizing and raising mythology to aesthetic levels, but especially in the irrational interpretation that Nietzsche gave it, in warning of the end of «humanitarian civilization» and the upsurge of a new mythology. Nietzsche did not see any source of knowledge at all, no element of cognition in myths; for him, the myth was «the triumph over cognition», it was the crowning of every movement that loses faith in the truth, in knowledge. He regarded the elaboration of a new mythology as a means to mystify history, as one of the new weapons of imperialism to stupify the masses and put them to sleep. It was not accidental that the Nazis remembered the ideas of Nietzsche and proclaimed their reactionary doctrine as «the new myth of the 20th century».

Modernist aesthetics also borrowed the reactionary ideas of the symbolist theory of E. Kasirery who identified art with the myth and proclaimed the symbolic universality of culture, as well as the Freudian interpretation of myths. Instead of seeking the connections of mythology with the concrete conditions of antiquity, Freud, on the contrary, proceeded from the psychopathic phenomena, the neuroses of modern men, and tried to explain the origin of myths by this means.

On the basis of these ideas, in the modernist aesthetics a «mythological» variant was created, which is trying to justify modernist art, while concealing the concrete social and class causes that have given rise to it and linking it to a «suprahistorical» «pan-human» factor, with the perpetual tendency of man to involve himself with the occult, with mythology, and to dream. There are many bourgeois and revisionist aesthetes, such as M. Bodking, R. Chase, N. Freight, R. Garaudy, E. Fischer, and others, who try to show that mythology, the creation of myths, is an indispensable and permanent condition of human life.

In fact, mythology, as myth-creation, is a specific phenomenon which corresponds to a very low level of the development of society, when man, as Lenin put it, had not yet detached himself from nature, did not distinguish between himself and the other objects and creatures of nature, when he was still extremely powerless in face of the spontaneous destructive forces of nature.

According to Marxism, the myth is a fantastic invention, elaborated by the collective consciousness of primitive tribes, which has a syncretic character, because in it are blended their imaginings and their moral, artistic, religious and cognitive thinking. Mythology is the product of the collective fantasy, which unites the concepts about things which primitive men form through their senses with

their ideal wishes and aims. In myths, the artistic element is inseparable from all the other elements, therefore, the myth is not simply art. In myths the artistic element plays a subsidiary role. Myths are formed as concrete imaginings of a miraculous, marvellous, fantastic character. In myths, the fantastic, imaginary element is combined with concrete sensory impressions and the concepts formed from them and religious views. The man who creates and uses myths, does not take them for reflections or figures from life, but considers them as reality. Myths are not identical with religion, because the latter admits the existence of supernatural phenomena, of extrasensory spiritual forces from the nether world, whereas mythological thinking considers the mythological figures and acts as an inseparable part of nature, of the real world. Myths are both a sort of naive, fantastic explanation of phenomena of the world and also a way of regarding them. In myths, the expression of a thing is inseparable from the thing expressed.

In the course of its evolution, mythology first used animal figures (zoo-morphism), then figures of man (anthropomorphism) in order to objectivize imaginings and emotions. These forms of mythology prove that their creator, primitive man, was at a stage of development when he did not separate and distinguish himself from things and the other creatures of nature. Mythological thinking does not distinguish man from nature, the figure from the thing, the subjective from the objective, the fantastic from the real.

History shows that parallel with the development of social life and the extension of the sphere of the domination of man over the world about him, mythological creation became limited and restricted. From the time of slave-owning society, philosophical, moral, religious, aesthetic, and other imaginings, begin to differentiate themselves and to gain independence from mythological creation. The history of the de-

velopment of human society has been and will be a process of the demythologizing of spiritual life. Although this process has had its own zig-zags, it has been and will be a general process of the narrowing and restriction of mythological creativeness and its role in the spiritual culture of society. This is an entirely natural consequence, if we bear in mind the progressive growth of the forces of production in the society, the development of sciences, which explain and demystify all those phenomena of nature and life that were incomprehensible to primitive man and were reflected in a fantastic and distorted form in his mythological thinking.

Of course, in the process of social progress, the mythology of any people does not disappear without a trace; on the contrary, it remains a cultural factor which exerts an influence on the spiritual life of the society. Every people has had its own myths, in which the specific features of its life and history are reflected, in which, as it is customary to say, «the spirit» of the people, its aspirations, dreams, objectives, its moral and aesthetic imagination and ideals, are expressed.

However the use of myths in various epochs, right up to the present-day, cannot be considered as pure mythological creativeness. Nowadays, the ancient myths do not function with that meaning they had when they emerged; but with another meaning. Many of the myths of ancient Greece, like the myths of Zeus, Antaeus, Hercules, Sisyphus, and others are used even today, in contemporary culture, but modern man evaluates them only as artistic figures, whereas the ancient Greeks did not question the real existence of Zeus and believed that he really could administer punishment with thunderbolts and shafts of lightning.

Neither is it correct that a kind of mythological activity or perhaps better called mythologizing and mystifying activity, which exists in the conditions of the exploiting systems of our time, should be considered as equivalent to



the ancient classical, mythology, and therefore, to draw the conclusion that mythology is an inseparable attribute of the human being, as many bourgeois and revisionist aesthetes and mythologists assert. Even in our epoch, in the capitalist and revisionist countries there is mythologizing activity, myths are being created. In this sense, they speak about the «myths of the 20th century». However, there is no scientific basis at all on which to consider the creation of myths in our time equivalent to, and identical with, the classical mythology of ancient times.

The ancient classical mythology has another content, other social roots, and carries out other functions, as against the myths created in the bourgeois-revisionist world. The ancient classical mythology was the product of a low level of social development, while the present-day myths are products of the division of society into antagonistic classes, the action of alienating forces of the exploiting order. The present-day myths are created, elaborated, and spread through a generally conscious, class-based ideological activity in order to manipulate the consciousness of the masses, in order to implant distorted concepts about life among them, in order to deceive them ideologically. In the conditions when science, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, make it possible for the people of our time to have correct concepts of the most varied phenomena and processes of nature and society, the bourgeois and revisionist ideology is being used to concoct all sorts of myths, to conceal the evils of the exploiting system and to foster illusions and false concepts. Hence, the parallel drawn by the bourgeois and revisionist mythologists between the ancient mythology and the creation of the myths of our time is without foundation, is antihistoric, and is employed to conceal the purely mystifying purpose of the ideological activity of the reactionary social forces in our time.

## The Myth and Art

Modernist aesthetics supports the idea that myths and art are equal. This idea has been circulated for a long time by the bourgeois mythologists, but now the bourgeois aesthetes of our time are spreading it as the most fruitful idea for the modern artistic and aesthetic sciences. Many of them try to prove that understanding the essence of the myths is the foundation for understanding art and artistic creativeness, in order to discover their specific essence, their perspectives, and the features they will assume in the future.

Many present-day revisionist states are displaying special enthusiasm for taking the mythological theory of art under their protection, even decking it out in Marxist raiment. The revisionist aesthetes, E. Fischer and R. Garaudy, base their principal efforts to revise Marxist-Leninist aesthetics on the mythological interpretation of art. They are trying to prove that mythological and artistic activity are allegedly identical, therefore they have declared art to be myth, occult art, and more over, have equalized it with the mythological wing of modernism and, in general, with the ideological activity for the creation of myths in modern bourgeois and revisionist society. In this direction, they have deliberately misused the idea of Marx that the Greek mythology was not only the arsenal from which Greek art drew the means of artistic expressions, but also the soil on which this art flourished.

The Soviet revisionists, too, are showing great interest in taking over the ideas of bourgeois mythologists and are using them to support the mythological interpretation of art. Thus, one of the chief Soviet mythologists, Meletinski, after defending the theories of the bourgeois mythologists, after advocating the need to wed Marxism to these theories, considers mythology as a permanent qua-

lity of man and equalizes it with art in general. Meletinski writes that in the 20th century «the myth revealed itself not only as the genetic source for the development of the artistic thought», but also as a «perpetual model and an element of its being».

Myth, mythology, on the one hand, and art, artistic creativeness, on the other, have some affinities and a number of common features. Both of them are actualized always in concrete sensible forms. Imagination plays an important role in artistic and mythological creativeness. In myths and in artistic creations, the concrete sensory impressions and images are inseparable from the desires, aspirations, and ideal objectives of man. However, between art, artistic creativeness, on the one hand, and myth, mythology, on the other hand, there are also fundamental distinctions, which, if disregarded, prevent understanding of the specific features of each of these different phenomena of culture.

We see the distinctions between mythology and art in three respects. Belief in the reality of figures created by fancy is necessarily implicit in mythology, whereas for poetic, literary and artistic figures to function with all their attributes, there is no need for them to be taken for real things, as equal to the things they stand for.

Myth is the product of collective fantasy, whereas in literature and cultivated art, the individual imagination leaves idelible marks. Mythological thinking assimilates, preserves and elaborates only those elements of individual imagination which are in conformity with the collective ideal.

Mythology essentially implies the miracle, the marvel; in it, the real is not distinguished from the fanciful. Mythological figures have no indirect or implied meaning. Metaphors, allegories, are alien to mythological thinking. In cultivated art and literature, on the contrary, even when amazing actions, or miracles, are included in them, these do not have a direct meaning, but an indirect metaphorical or

allegorical meaning. For this reason, such figures may be encountered even in realist art. Lenin has emphasised the need to distinguish between the artistic figure and the reality; according to him, they are not the same thing.

In order to justify the hideous products of modernism, some aesthetes of modernism claim that in realist art and literature not only fantastic, but even hideous figures, such as the monsters of Bosch, J. Swift's outlandish beings, the angels or penguins of A. France, Goya's phantasmagoria, and so on, have been created. However, there is nothing mythological about these figures, no matter how fantastic they are, because they have been used as conventional artistic means to satirize the base and ugly phenomena of the world. None of the above-mentioned artists or writers believed in the reality of these figures. However monstrous they might seem, these figures of realist art have nothing mythological about them, but are used to express an idea which does not coincide directly with the content of the figure, itself, but with its underlying implied meaning.

The distinctions between art and mythology are difficult to define, when ancient classical mythology is involved, because in antiquity, art did not exist as a differentiated activity and was part and parcel of the syncretic, spiritual culture of the society, that is, it was completely interwoven with mythology. Later, under the conditions of class society, when art became differentiated from the other forms of spiritual culture of the society, the differences became ever more distinct. Marx also, when speaking about Greek art, does not identify it with mythology, though he stresses the affinity and connections between them. «Greek mythology,» he wrote, «constituted not only the arsenal of Greek art, but also the soil for it, because is that stand point on nature and social relations which is the foundation of Greek fantasy, therefore, of Greek art too, possible

in the conditions of railways, locomotives and electric telegraph? How can Vulcan match Roberts & Co, Jupiter the lightning-conductor, and Hermes the Credit Mobiliser? Every mythology conquers, subjugates and reshapes the elements of nature in the imagination and with the help of the imagination; consequently it disappears, together with the advent of real domination over these forces of nature. The premise of Greek art was Greek mythology, that is, nature and the social forms themselves, but elaborated by the people's imagination, artistically and in an unconscious manner. This is its material. But not every mythology, that is, not every unconscious artistic elaboration of nature is such material (nature here implies all objective reality, including society). The mythology of Egypt could never have served as the soil or the birthplace for Greek art. But, of course, a sort of mythology was needed. Consequently, not such a development of society as excluded any mythological attitude towards nature; any mythologizing of nature, which, consequently, demands from the artist a fantasy, independent of mythology. On the other hand, «is Achilles possible in the epoch of powder and shot? Or, in general, the 'Iliad' alongside the printing press and especially the linotype machine? And do not the ballads, legends and muses inevitably disappear, and together with them the premises for epic poetry, with the appearance of the printing press?»

In this passage Marx points out, first, that Greek art, at the peak of its flowering had broken away from mythology, which served it as an arsenal from which it drew various means of artistic expression. Mythology continued to play this role to some degree even later, towards the arts of subsequent epochs.

Second, Marx emphasises that in the conditions of slave-owning civilization, the connection of art with mythology was stronger than in the later epochs,

and therefore, he called Greek mythology the soil of Greek art.

Third, Marx did not identify art with mythology and asserted that mythology does not always play a positive role in art, as mythological aesthetics claims.

It is understandable that mythology can play both a positive and a negative role in art, because it is connected with the very content and peculiarities of both myths and art. Thus, the mythology of ancient Egypt (in which religious motives were prevalent and the gods were not imagined in human form, but in the form of animals, monsters, to which man prostrates himself, did not stimulate the flowering and independent development of art, whereas the Greek mythology (in which the religious element was limited and the gods were anthropomorphized, that is, were imagined in a human aspect) played a positive role in the Greek art.

The mythology of every people has had its course of evolution and has expressed the transformations of their social life. Many of the most ancient myths have expressed man's fear of, and powerlessness against, the spontaneous, destructive forces of nature. The myths about all sorts of demons, monsters and dragons, which aroused terror, horror, fear and submission in primitive man, fall into this group. With the rise of the strength of man, of the collective, and with the extension of his domination over nature, the man of ancient times also created myths abounding in optimism, confidence in the invincible creative force of man, and which expressed the dreams of man to master the secrets and forces of nature. The myth about Daedalus and his son Icarus, about the flying carpet, etc., expressed the dream of the man to fly and not to remain bound to the earth. There are myths which conceived the world as the reign of chaos, but there are others which saw it as the embodiment of harmony. The content of the myth of Dionysus is altogether different from



*«The rifle big like a cannon». This is the title, the painter Ksenofon Dilo has given his oil painting dedicated to the National-liberation War. The painting depicts the joy of the valiant partisans in the course of a clash with the enemy which is retreating in panic.*

that of Apollo, likewise, the myth of Sisyphus carries another meaning from that of Proteus, that of Prometheus. Therefore their role in art has not been the same. It is not accidental that the art of different classes and societies has used myths of differing content, or has interpreted them in different ways. It is not accidental either that modernism, too, selects precisely those myths from ancient mythology, which are best suited to its reactionary ideological content (Camus chose the Sisyphus myth to personify the philosophy of absurdity), or interprets them in compliance with its reactionary ideological orientation (Kafka gave a pessimistic interpretation to the myth of Prometheus).

Historically, in the course of its development, cultivated art has used and continues to use motives and elements borrowed from mythology, however, depending on the peculiarities of their ideo-aesthetic platforms, the different artistic trends have not made equal use of mythological elements. In some of these trends, for instance, in the cultivated art of antiquity, the religious art of the Middle Ages, and romanticism, the mythological element is more extensively used than in the aesthetic trends of illuminationism and realism. The various trends within realism have not made equal use of the element borrowed from mythology. The Renaissance painting frequently referred to mythological themes, though giving them a realistic, progressive interpretation, contrary to the interpretation which religious art gave them, whereas in the painting of critical realism of the 19th century the mythological element was greatly reduced.

### **Modernist Art and Mythology**

What is the relationship between modernism and mythology? Sometimes it is erroneously thought that modernism assumes a mythological character because it uses ancient mythological figures or motives. In fact,

mythological figures and motives have been utilized by the other artistic trends, too, including realism, whereas the relationship of modernist art to mythology is more specific. First, unlike realism, the mythological element occupies a very extensive place in the modernist art. Parallel with the increase of the influence of the «mythological» aesthetics of the 20th century, the mythological school of modernist art has greatly expanded. The mythological wing of modernist literature was strengthened through the works of Joyce, Kafka, Sartre, Camus, and others. Likewise, in modernist painting, mythological thinking had a great impact on the creations of the post-impressionists, primitivists, surrealists and on «occult» abstractionism. The reliance of the modernist art so powerfully on mythology is, among other things, an expression of the exhaustion of the creative ideas of modernist artists, who transform their works into a re-elaboration of the material borrowed ready-made from ancient mythology, and who are trying to compensate for their lack of individual imagination with the prestige, authority, and beauty of mythological creations.

Second, the modernists are mainly attracted by those myths which express the fear, and powerlessness of man, that are charged with religious content, and which arouse negative emotions. The modernists are especially fond of those myths which abound in allegorical content. What they prize in myths is the most archaic, magical, mystical and allegorical elements of ancient mythology; that is, they seize on everything that coincides with their own pessimistic, mystified, irrational world outlook.

Third, the modernists elaborate and manipulate the figures and motives of mythology in such a manner that, very often, they alter their true original meaning; they distort and make an arbitrary interpretation of the classical myths, subjecting them to the aims and content of their own anti-scientific, reactionary idealist

world outlook. The efforts of the modernists to make this or that myth the product of primitive consciousness, the key to explain the life and problems of people of our times, are utterly anti-historical. After the arbitrary elaboration which the modernists make of the ancient myths, they lose their true freshness and beauty, as creations of the collective fantasy, and are turned into lifeless means to objectivize the bourgeois or revisionist philosophical, moral, aesthetic or political concepts of our time.

The manipulation of mythological figures and motives by modernist artists is carried out in another way, too. Sometimes, parallel with the authentic original meaning of the mythological motives that they use in their works, the modernists introduce a second meaning, which emerges sometimes openly and sometimes in a disguised way and engages in polemics with the authentic meaning, or even discredits it and, in the final analysis, subjugates the work as a whole to the modernist outlook and objectives. This can be observed for example, in Joyce's novel «Ulysses», in Sartre's play «Les Mouches», and others.

Some modernist artists do not use mythological figures and motives, but borrow and imitate the technique of the creation of the myth, and try to subject their artistic creativeness to this technique. Thus, for instance, the surrealist method has many affinities with the laws and technique of mythological creativeness. It is akin to the principle of automatism, spontaneity and the irrational character of the products of phantasy, to the illogical combinations of imagination and a sort of naturalistic illusionism, which is used to give credibility to the monstrous figures of surrealist paintings. Kafka, too, used the technique of the mythology. While speaking of an absurd, phantasmagorical world, he presents it in such a manner as if it were real, an inseparable part of common, everyday life.

Many disciples of mythological aes-



thetic theories have tried and are still trying to extol the mythicizing technique of the modernists, presenting it as the only source for the revival and regeneration of modern art, as the only condition to save art from the coldness of consciousness and technical-scientific rationalism, in order to cultivate in it the indispensable lyrical, sensuous and emotional beginnings of art, and to give free scope to the creative force of the artistic imagination.

The mythological technique cannot bring anything positive to art, because, in any case, it is in opposition to the specific nature of art, and the aesthetic laws of artistic creativeness. In our time, the mythological technique drags art backwards, restricts and limits its power of cognition, diverts it from the discovery of the truth of life, and transforms art into a mythologizing, falsifying, mystifying activity.

It is no accident that the modernists are so devoted to the creation of the most unreal and irrational symbols and allegories, because by means of them they hide, mystify, and distort the content of life and reality. The world of the most hideous nightmares, terrible delusions, and illogical imaginings of a sick and fragmented psyche, is the world modernism prefers above all.

The adoption of the mythological technique is not some fortuitous mistake or theoretical misunderstanding of modernism, but is in complete conformity with the alienating, fetish-making, mystifying goals of this art. Consistent in its logic, modernism proclaims the fetish-making consciousness, its animism and mythological distortion of the world, to be a norm of artistic creativeness. That is why the principle of deforming the reality, which it opposes the realist principles of artistic generalization, appeals so strongly to modernism. Modernist deformation drives art on to the course of distortion and falsification of reality, diverts it from the course of normal, natural perception of aesthetic phenomena, on to the

course of the destruction of art as the creation of beauty. In establishing such links with mythology, modernist art becomes part and parcel of all that broad mythologizing ideological activity of the reactionary social forces in our epoch, which, fearful of the future, are interested in concealing the historical processes and the prospects of social development.

The mythologizing tendency is not imposed upon modernist art by nature and the specific artistic laws, but from outside, by the needs of the imperialist and revisionist bourgeoisie to mystify the reality, to conceal and camouflage the vital dramas and conflicts, to disguise and distort their social-class source and causes.

The tendency of many modernist artists to utilize the mythological technique is also due to their subjectivist **world outlook**, to their inability to understand and interpret correctly the ugly and debasing bourgeois and revisionist reality, which is imposed upon them as a chaos, as a hideous, terrifying world, to their inability to link themselves with the revolutionary masses of working people, with those real forces which, in the chaotic world of exploitation, have the thread of Ariadne in their hands, have the scientific Marxist-Leninist world outlook, and are fighting to overthrow the bourgeois-revisionist order.

Our revolutionary art of socialist realism follows another road of development. The mythological technique of modernism, which alienates the artist from realism, from revealing life with artistic truth, is alien to the art of socialist realism. The life of our socialist society, the scientific Marxist-Leninist world outlook, the rapid development of the technical-scientific revolution, the raising of the cultural and educational level of the entire people, the realist foundations of socialist art, and other important factors which operate in socialist society, cannot in any way justify the use of the mythologizing technique of modernism in art. Of course, this does

not mean that some mythological motif or figure cannot be used occasionally in the art of socialist realism. They have been used with success, by our poets and writers. Likewise, it must not be thought that in the art of socialist realism there is no place for the use of symbols, metaphors, allegories, personifications, animisms and other stylised figures. However, in the art of socialist realism these means are employed in keeping with the scientific world outlook of the artists, in harmony with the nature of the living material, and only when this helps to arrive at the artistic truth, to understand life more deeply, correctly, and poetically. Owing to its very nature and functions, proletarian socialist art has no reason to be mythologising. It is a powerful weapon for the demystification of the ugly bourgeois and revisionist reality, for the clarification of the most varied phenomena of life in the light of truth, and in order to reveal the poetry and beauty of socialist life. The art of socialist realism has no need for mythological thinking, but for the artistic truth; therefore it recognizes no restriction on approaching and attaining this objective.

The progress towards socialism, the dissemination of education and culture, the technical and scientific progress, create the premises for the elimination of mythological thought. If this thought continues to exist and to generate myths, continues to exert its influence, this is connected with the interests of the old reactionary classes, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, who fear truth. The overthrow and casting aside of the domination of these forces by the proletarian revolution and the construction of socialism will bring about the complete elimination of mythological thinking in the fields of artistic creativeness, and social life in general. Marx proclaimed the irreconcilable hostility of communism with any alienating or alienated consciousness, one manifestation of which is mythologising thinking.

## New Year celebration in Albania

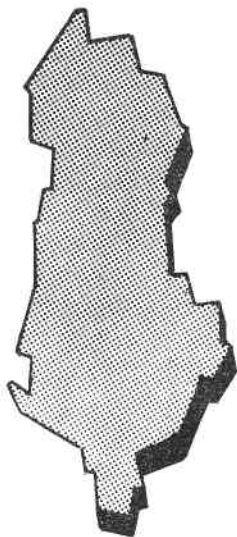
The Albanian people welcomed the New Year, 1978, with joy and revolutionary optimism. As is the custom, this year, too, the 1st of January was turned into a great popular celebration throughout socialist Albania. While summing up the victories achieved in the course of 1977 and drafting the plans for 1978, the Albanian working people also prepared for the celebration.

Several days earlier, decorations went up all over the country. The main streets and squares shone with multi-coloured lights; slogans and banners wishing the working people a Happy New Year were displayed everywhere. The shops were filled with all sorts of goods, especially food, fresh fruit,

sweets and drinks of every kind. They worked extended hours in order to fulfil the many requirements of the working people. Work and production centres, agricultural cooperatives, schools and cultural institutions organized collective parties and afternoon gatherings at which the successes achieved and the tasks for the future were pointed out. In the restaurants, clubs and palaces of culture, public parties were organized and dancing went on to the early hours of the morning.

While happily celebrating the New Year, 1978, the Albanian working people once again expressed their great love for the Party of Labour of AL-

**FROM THE  
LIFE OF THE  
COUNTRY**



bania and comrade Enver Hoxha, under whose wise and courageous leadership the Albanian people are going from victory to victory. At the same time they expressed their readiness to march constantly forward on the course the Party has set for the construction of socialism and communism.

The children, especially, enjoyed the New Year celebrations. Special care is devoted to this. The shops sold an exceptionally wide range of toys and splendid evening parties were organized for the children in enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, various cultural and educational institutions. The Trade Union organizations and those of the Labour Youth Union of Albania had prepared special programs for their entertainment. Besides the children's own songs and dances, these

programs also included performances by professional and amateur artistic groups. Gifts of toys and sweets were distributed to the children at these parties.

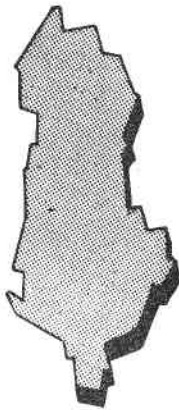
A large evening party for children was organized on 30th of December at the Palace of Brigades in Tirana. Five hundred children, outstanding in their school work, from all over the country, spent several joyful hours with comrade Enver Hoxha and the other leaders of the Party and the State. Overflowing with love and gratitude, the little ones pressed around the leaders and performed songs and dances dedicated to the Party of Labour of Albania and its leader comrade Enver Hoxha who have made life so fine for them. With great interest they enjoyed the rich programs espe-

*Joyous and enthusiastic atmosphere.*

Comrade ENVER HOXHA and other Party and State leaders among 500 outstanding pioneers from all districts of the country, who took part in the party organized on the New Year, 1978, at the Palace of Brigades in Tirana.



# FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



cially prepared for them by the artistic groups.

*During the party, comrade Enver Hoxha made a speech of greetings to the children.*

«Dear pioneers,» he said. «Your beautiful songs make us immensely happy. They sing to our dear Homeland, to our beloved Party, to our heroic people. In its struggle, our Party has always had in mind the wellbeing and happiness of the people, and in the first place, the happiness of our wonderful children and youth. And here again tonight, at this palace of the people, which is yours, too, we have gathered to celebrate the New Year together. As you know, the New Year is celebrated tomorrow, but we are celebrating it tonight, because the pioneers are in the vanguard. This year, the pioneers will celebrate the New Year twice, once here with us, and then with their beloved parents, and grand-parents, their brothers and their sisters.

It is a great pleasure to see that all our people, from end to end of Albania, are filled with great joy. This is a joy for each of us, because we see our Homeland flourishing everywhere, see the people happy, see the youth going to school. Thus, our entire people, with great confidence in the Party, are working, building and rejoicing for the present and the even finer future. All those years we have gone through have brought Albania and the entire people many blessings which all of you have seen for yourselves and are enjoying. All these blessings, dear pioneers, have been achieved thanks to the correct leadership of our heroic Party. The policy of the Party is a correct policy, a Marxist-Leninist policy, a policy which has as its only objective the wellbeing of the people, their education with love for one another, the strengthening of the socialist Homeland and its defence from any danger. Everything that has been built in Albania has been achieved under the correct leadership of the Party, by the people, by your grand-fathers, your fathers

and mothers and sisters and brothers. But you pioneers, too, who are doing your lessons well and being educated with the healthy morality of the Party, have contributed greatly to this cause. This has exceptional importance for the future of our Homeland, because the more you are educated with a lofty spirit of patriotism, the better your behaviour, the more educated and cultured you become, the more beautiful will be our Homeland and the happier our people. The Party is completely convinced about this, because it sees that you pioneers, the youth, the working class, the peasantry and our people's intelligentsia, are sparing no effort, but have set to work everywhere and are always building beautiful and useful projects for the Homeland, in the first place, for the young people, for you pioneers.

Therefore, the Party deserves the boundless love that the entire Albanian people, the working class, the youth, and the peasantry, nurture for it. That is why you raise your voices so high singing to the Party. You must love the Party with your whole spirit, because it is our mother with a generous heart, with an ever-fresh mind, always with lofty aims for our people and not just for our people alone.

You have gathered here tonight to celebrate the New Year from all over Albania, and this is a splendid thing. Just as our entire people are united as one around the Party, so we, tonight, are like a big family. We, the representatives of the Party, are happy that tonight we have hundreds of pioneers about us. My comrades and I, in greeting you, also greet all the pioneers of Albania, greet all the youth and the Albanian people within the Homeland and abroad, wherever they live, and wish them all, on this occasion, a joyful and happy New Year, and may the love for our beloved socialist Homeland in their hearts, and in the hearts of every Albanian, increase.

We also greet all the pioneers of the world, as well as all our communist comrades who are fighting every-



where in the world, for a happy life in their countries, too, because their life is miserable. There is not and cannot be any comparison with the happy life which our people, our pioneers, enjoy here. Our hearts are united with the hearts of all the revolutionaries and pioneers of all the continents of the world, who hope, and are fighting to emerge into the light, too, just as our people did, just as our youth and our pioneers did.

I shall not go on any longer because we want to hear your songs and see your dances. Therefore, wishing all of you a joyous and happy New Year, let us begin this celebration with songs, with happiness and rejoicing, and let us cheer:

Long live our glorious Party!

Long live our people!

Comrade Enver Hoxha's words were received with enthusiastic applause and

cheering from the children, who promised they would carry the word of the Party to the furthestmost corner of the Homeland and that they would work, heart and soul, to put its teachings into practice.

The children left the Palace of Brigades thoroughly happy and with unforgettable impressions.

Mass afternoon and evening parties for the children were organized in the other main cities, also.

## Volume 25 of comrade ENVER HOXHA's Works is off the press

In the first days of the New Year, the 25th volume of the Works of comrade Enver Hoxha was put into circulation in Albania. Comrade Enver Hoxha's speeches, articles, letters and talks, from the period June to December 1963, which are published in this volume, throw light upon the most fundamental issues of the unceasing and uncompromising struggle that the Party of Labour of Albania has waged at the head of the masses of working people to carry forward the construction of socialism and to defend victorious Marxism-Leninism from renegades, revisionists and opportunists of every hue.

The central idea running through the materials of this volume is the resolute continuation of the struggle to raise the material and cultural level of the Albanian people, the selfless work of the working class, co-operativist peasantry and people's intelligentsia, for the successful conclusion of the plan for the year 1963 and the further strengthening of the defence of the Homeland, by overcoming every difficulty, persistence in the consistent struggle of the Party against imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, against modern revisionism, espe-

cially the Khrushchevite brand, against Yugoslav revisionism and all world reaction.

Among other things, the materials of this volume reflect the great care of the Party of Labour of Albania for the development of the socialist countryside, for the further consolidation of the agricultural cooperatives.


A series of materials in this volume deal with the enhancement of the leading role of the Party. Many documents underline the duty of the communists and of the masses of working people to sharpen their vigilance, so that the country and the Party will never be caught unawares by the internal and external enemies, because, as comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, «Now our enemies have been doubled, therefore our vigilance must be doubled».

This volume has a profound political and ideological content. The continuation of the principled and consistent struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania for the defence of Marxism-Leninism comes out clearly in its pages. A series of materials expose the predatory plans of the imperialists and the hostile intentions of the modern revisionists, courageously and with revolutionary determination, and show

the latter as traitors to Marxism-Leninism, the proletariat and the freedom of the peoples. The articles «Kennedy's New Demagogy And Old Plan», «Khrushchev Openly Unfurled The Banner Of Division And Betrayal», «Khrushchev On His Knees To Tito», demonstrate with strong arguments the disruptive activity of the putschist group of Khrushchev and his followers, who had launched a frontal attack on the international communist movement and the Party of Labour of Albania.

The years that have elapsed since then provide complete confirmation of how right the Party of Labour of Albania was when, at the proper time, it maintained a clear-cut principled stand both against imperialism and against modern revisionism, which are united by the same counterrevolutionary intentions. Our Party, with comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, has always stressed that the slightest illusion or wavering, in the stand towards US imperialism and Soviet revisionism, is fraught with disastrous consequences, leads to deviation from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the proletarian revolution and scientific socialism.

The documents of volume 25 of the *Collected Works of comrade Enver Hoxha* have a very powerful contemporary sound. They will arm the Albanian communists and working people further, will inspire them and arouse in them still greater energies

**FROM THE**  
**COUNTRY**

*in the struggle to carry out all their duties in the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland. The conclusions and lessons to be drawn from the study of this volume will assist the communists and the work-*

*ing people in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to cope with and successfully smash the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, and to go on to new victories in all fields.*

## **Delegations of Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties in the PSR of Albania**

*On the invitation of the Central Committee of the PLA, recently, a delegation of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L), headed by Raul Marko, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party and including comrade Elena Odena, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, and other comrades of the leadership of the Party, visited our country.*

*Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, met the comrades of the Spanish delegation and held a cordial and friendly conversation with them during the dinner given by the Central Committee of the PLA, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, on the occasion of the 28th and the 29th of November.*

*The delegation of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L) had various meetings in the Central Committee of the PLA and held talks with the Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA Ramiz Alia. During these talks, which were characterized by complete unity of thought, problems of mutual interest were discussed. Also taking part in the talks were the Member of the Central Committee of the PLA Gafur Çuçi, the Director of the Foreign*

*Department of the CC of the PLA Piro Biti, and other comrades.*

*During their stay in our country, the Spanish guests visited industrial centres, agricultural cooperatives, cultural and artistic institutions in Tirana and in the districts of Gjirokastra, Saranda, Fier and Lezha, where they were acquainted with the successes in the socialist construction and the efforts of our working people to implement the historic decisions of the 7th Congress of the PLA.*

*Before leaving the PSR of Albania, the head of the delegation, Raul Marko sent the CC of the PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha a message of greetings in which, among other things, he said:*

*«Now that our delegation is nearing the end of its stay in Albania, we want to thank you for all the care and treatment in such a fraternal and comradely spirit with which we have been constantly surrounded.*

*During our various visits and meetings with workers, peasants and intellectuals we have been able to appraise with profound satisfaction the great progress which People's Socialist Albania had made in all fields. These are great successes achieved under the correct leadership of the glorious Party of Labour of Albania led by comrade Enver, which not only strengthen Albania, but are also a po-*

werful contribution to the struggle of the peoples of the world, and of the true Marxist-Leninists, in particular.

At these moments, when the two superpowers, international reaction, revisionism and opportunism of every hue are furiously attacking our principles, the PLA towers like an impregnable citadel of Marxism-Leninism against which all the manoeuvres of the enemies of the revolution and communism are smashed to pieces.

At this juncture, in the face of those who are propagating anti-Leninist, counterrevolutionary theories, like the theory of «three worlds», the PLA (and together with it the true Marxist-Leninists of the world) has had its clear and decisive say, exposing all the rottenness and poverty of this «theory».

Today, as yesterday, the PLA has raised and is holding high the red banners of the proletariat, the red banners of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin,

without wavering and without compromise, but with the courage and determination which characterize your Party and your heroic people.

We want to express, once again, our complete and unconditional support. The unity that is expressed between our two parties is a unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It is not a unity of words, but a militant unity, in defence of our common ideals, opposed to all kinds of revisionism and opportunism, whether they come from the West or the East.

Today, the Communist Party of Spain (m-l), its Central Committee and its militants, are more determined than ever to march forward fearlessly and firmly on the road of the revolution, under the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism.»

Similarly, on the invitation of the Central Committee of the PLA, a delegation of the Communist Party of the Workers and Peasants of Iran,

headed by the member of the Central Committee of the Party Ahmed Sadafi, visited our country recently.

Comrade Ramiz Alia, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, received the Iranian delegation. A cordial discussion was held in which opinions on problems of common interest were exchanged. Comrade A. Sadafi also spoke about the holding of the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of the Workers and Peasants of Iran. Also taking part in the talks was the Director of the Foreign Department of the Central Committee of the PLA Piro Bitia.

During its stay in Albania, the Iranian delegation visited the regions of Tirana, Durrës and Kruja, where it was warmly welcomed by the working people and was acquainted with their activity to put into practice the historic decisions of the 7th Congress of the PLA.

## Twenty-five years of the geological service in Albania

In order to give a better and timely response to the great tasks connected with the discovery of reserves of mineral raw materials and to ensure the uninterrupted development of the mining and processing industry, 25 years ago, in the year 1952, the important decisions were taken to set up the geological service of the PSR of Albania and to train the higher cadres within the country. These two decisions played a vital role for the Albanian geological services, for basing geological work on our own forces and for the development of the people's economy in general.

Twenty-five years is a relatively short period. But, in the sector of geology, just as in the other sectors of the


economic and cultural development, thanks to the continuously increasing rates of prospecting for and proving reserves of raw materials, successes which few other countries can rival, have been achieved. Starting from almost nothing in the sector of geology, in the space of two and a half decades Albania set up its own geological service, capable of undertaking and solving extremely complicated problems and tasks of major importance and of ensuring reserves of raw materials for the setting up and development of our multi-branched industry.

Prospecting-proving expeditions, geological research and teaching institutions and enterprises of powerful po-

tential, fully equipped with the finest means and apparatuses, which apply complex advanced methods, have been set up all over our country. A large army of drillers, miners, geological technicians and engineers has been created. Working in close collaboration with amateur prospectors, they are able to cope with and solve the tasks set by the Party for prospecting for and proving useful minerals.

The geological prospecting and proving work has yielded results upon results. With the successes achieved in the search for oil and natural gas, chromium, copper, and iron-nickel ores, coal and other minerals, the Albanian geologists, carrying out the directives of the PLA, have made a valuable contribution in the construction of socialism. The mining industry, as well as that of upgrading useful minerals at home have assumed unprecedented development on the powerful basis of the geological and industrial reserves, which have been proven.

# FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



Thanks to the discovery and development of mineral reserves, today the PSR of Albania extracts over 11 times as much oil as in 1941, a time when the Italian invaders tried to exploit our oilfields to the maximum. The PSR of Albania ranks third in the world for total production of chromites, first in the world for the production of chromite per head of population and second for the production of metallurgical chromite. It ranks among the principal countries of Europe for reserves of nickel and iron-nickel ores.

During these 25 years, the Albanian geologists not only overcame the difficulties of growth, but also fought a stern battle against the views and sabotage activity of internal and external enemies. Thus, after 1960, following the arbitrary withdrawal of all the foreign revisionist specialists, the workers of geology, educated with the teachings of the PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha, did not allow the work to stop, as the enemies hoped, but on the contrary, they stepped up the work in this sector, opening up new perspectives for minerals, known and unknown in our country up till that time. As a result, over a period of little more than three decades, our Homeland has been transformed from a country of the oil-lamp into a completely electrified country, exploiting

the energy of the rivers which run through our country, and processing all the copper ore within the country; from a country of the wooden plough into a steel-producing state, which utilizes its own iron ore for this purpose; from a poor country into a rich country which smashes blockade after blockade.

The 7th Congress of the PLA and the 6th five-year plan opened brilliant prospects for geological prospecting and development. On the basis of the geological knowledge and the clear perspectives about our underground wealth, it has been planned to further intensify geological prospecting for the chief known minerals and for new ones, to extend surface and underground prospecting, and to carry out more profound studies of the mineral-bearing potential of our country. As compared with the past five-year plan, during the current five-year plan, 65.6 per cent more geological drilling, 23 per cent more gallery work, and 26 per cent more other work will be carried out; the scientific level of the geological studies and work and their complexity will be raised; the complex study and evaluation of valuable minerals will be stepped up and the effectiveness of geological prospecting and development work will be increased.

## Dignified works dedicated to the peasantry

At the end of the last year, in the Gallery of Figurative Arts in Tirana the national exhibition dedicated to our socialist countryside was opened. The exhibition includes 320 of the best works of figurative art, by 200 different artists.

By living cheek to jowl with the people, the Albanian painters and sculptors have managed to portray important moments from the life of the Albanian peasantry, dealing with va-

rious periods of history, including the battles and struggles for freedom and independence, the contribution of the peasantry during the Anti-fascist National-liberation War a series of themes about the unceasing efforts and struggle of the peasantry for the construction of socialist society and for the education of the new man, in the epoch of the Party.

The halls of the exhibition are full of visitors, who are impressed by the



variety of themes. In these works the visitor sees himself, his ancestors, the sufferings and efforts of his forefathers to win freedom. The artists Guri Madhi, Abdurrahim Buza, Bardhyl Dule, Arben Basha, and others, have based their works on this subject, while a number of artists have dedicated their works to the period of the Anti-fascist National-liberation War. Zef Shoshi is represented in this exhibition with the tableau «Talking About the Land», which, through a composition achieved with feeling and mastery, portrays comrade Enver Hoxha in the years of the National-liberation War among a group of peasants, who are listening to him full of hope and confidence for the future. Through the voice of its leader, they hear the voice of the Party, its programme for the war and the land, for that land which was the property of the wealthy, but which, after the liberation of the Homeland, would belong to the people. The tableau employs a rich range of colours used in such a way as to give a sense of freshness. Other artists, too, have devoted their works to the same subject of the Anti-fascist National-liberation War.

An important event in the life of the Albanian peasant was the Land Reform, through which the Party gave the land to the tiller, thus making the centuries-old dream of the peasant a reality. This is the subject of the works by the painters Pjerin Sheldia

and Shaban Hysa. The latter, through a composition of large proportions, manages to convey to us the enthusiasm of the masses of peasants on that outstanding day. In the foreground is the armed peasant measuring up the land, behind him the people rejoicing over these new days, and carrying banners and portraits of comrade Enver Hoxha. This canvas stands out for its fine composition, its colours full of light, its precise draughtsmanship, and its overall optimism.

Similarly, the painter Ismail Lulani, in his composition «On the Free Land», has set out to convey the joy over the freedom and land which the Party brought to our peasant. In the centre of the tableau the painter has placed a highlander, a former partisan who is thinking of the future as he rolls a cigarette. With the means employed to construct this figure (by dressing him in the uniform of the partisan army) the author expresses the idea that no one gave this freedom and this land to the Albanian peasant, but he won them through bloodshed and sacrifice under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania, and will defend them with his rifle. His young son is holding the rifle, and in this way the idea is conveyed that valour, love for the Homeland, education in the lofty feeling of patriotism and the Party spirit is handed down from generation to generation.

Very soon after the Land Reform,

the first agricultural cooperative was born in Krutja. A new epoch was opened for the peasantry and the entire people. The boundary fences had to be destroyed.

The painter Pandi Mele, captures this historic moment in his composition «Smashing the Fences». The tableau is composed around the central figure symbolising our peasant who is destroying the hedge. Beside him are the figures of children, by means of which the artist wants to portray the idea that the act of the central figure, that is, the destruction of hedges, serves the future, the brilliant perspective. The tableau is presented in a warm and sympathetic light.

The painter Denish Jukniu has drawn his inspiration from another important moment: the electrification of the whole country. He has entitled his tableau «Celebration in the Highlands». The whole work is joyful, a striking and lifelike composition. The Party has carried the light to the high alpine pastures among the snowcapped peaks, as it has to every corner of Albania: We see highlanders, workers, and soldiers who are connecting the last of the power lines and waiting for the light of the Party to come.

The new things which day by day are entering into the life of the Albanian peasant are reflected in a series of other works in this exhibition by various artists.

## Successes of the pharmaceutical industry

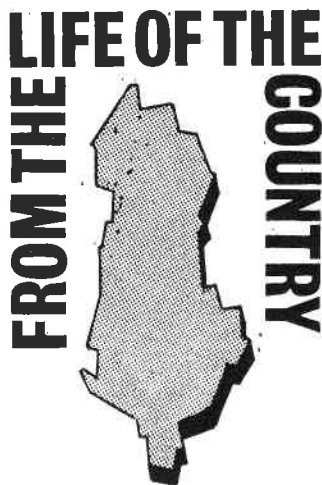
Prior to the liberation of the country, there was not even one simple factory producing pharmaceutical products in Albania, whereas today about 900 pharmaceutical and cosmetic products are produced, and within these three decades production has increased five-fold. In each five-year period, about 100 new items have been produced.

The objective of the growth of pharmaceutical production has been and is the constant increase of the supply of products to meet the needs of human and veterinary therapy with medicaments of high quality and at the lowest possible cost.

The wide range of pharmaceutical products today responds to all the stan-

dards of advanced modern therapy. Scientific research work has been extending from year to year.

Experimental work and industrial processing of medical drugs in the Profarma enterprise has gone through three phases, which reflect the improved quality of the products on the basis of the scientific exploitation of plants and animal organs. In the first two stages, such simple forms as tinctures, extracts, syrups, and so on, were produced and these were extended to more complicated pharmaceutical



products. As well as this, several active substances, such as digitals etc., were isolated in pure form. In the third phase, from 1966 onwards, studies have been going on for the further extension of production from plants, and the first results have been achieved in producing active substances in a pure state from medicinal herbs. From medicinal plants and animal organs the Profarma enterprise has prepared more than 20 tinctures and extracts, 8 specific substances and over 30 special products, and production is increasing.

Pharmaceutical analysis today are characterized by the wide extension of physical-chemical method. During last year, 4,225 chemical and physico-chemical analyses were carried out, worthy of mention is the extensive use made of chromatography in the phar-

maceutical analysis, using diffusion in solutions on filter paper and in thin films. Similarly, the methods of computer processing of mathematical data have found broad application. Along with the ordinary tests for sterility and patient reaction, analyses to determine the microbiological effectiveness of antibiotic preparations and to check their toxicity and sterility have been perfected. The first steps have been taken in the purification of certain chemical substances, especially those used in production, such as alcohol, sodium chloride, sodium hydroxide, glycerine, etc.

Fighting to implement the decisions of the 7th Congress of the PLA, the collective of the Profarma industrial enterprise is working hard to advance beyond these achievements on the basis of the rich experience gained so far.

## The 6th Conference of the Union of the journalists of Albania and voluntary correspondents

At the end of last year the 6th Conference of the Journalists of Albania and voluntary correspondents was held in Tirana.

The Conference was attended by working people of the central organs of the press, the ATA, the Radio-Television, directors of the local press organs, collaborators and voluntary correspondents from various districts and army units, working people from the institutions of the capital and other guests.

Also taking part was the Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Ramiz Alia.

The Editor-in-chief of the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit», Agim Popa, submitted the report to the Confe-

rence «On the Tasks of the Press in the Putting into Practice of the Teachings of the 7th Congress of the Party». He said that the calling of the Conference of the Union of the Journalists of Albania and voluntary correspondents is an important event for Albanian journalism, for it will give a new impulse to the work of the press and the Radio-television, which have a function of first-rate importance in the political and social life of the country, as powerful weapons in the hands of the Party for the revolutionary education and mobilization of the working people. First of all, he stressed, the attention has been focused on the study, understanding and thorough mastering of the great ideas of the 7th Congress of the

Party and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, on analysing and explaining, through articles and broadcasts, the directives and tasks set by this Congress, on broadly reflecting the revolutionary response of the masses of working people to the tasks laid down by the Congress, and on propagating the revolutionary initiatives and movements of the working people.

The fulfilment of the tasks which the Party sets for the press and the Radio-television in the present situation, he continued, calls for more persistent and more profound work on the part of all those working in journalism for a further rise in the ideo-political

and professional level of their writings and broadcasts. Agim Popa analysed problems connected with the relationship between reflection of the positive and criticism in the pages of the press and in Radio-television broadcasts, with the establishment of a correct proportion between materials written from the base, directly by workers and peasants, and those by leading cadres at the centre, with the problems of the wide variety of genres and with the further improvement of the quality of written articles and broadcasts.

Then, the General Secretary of the Union of the journalists of Albania, Sotir Papuli, delivered the report «On

the Activity of the Union of the Journalists of Albania Since the 5th Conference».

Finally the Conference unanimously elected the leading organs, the Management Council of the Union of the Journalists of Albania and the Audit Commission. At its first meeting, the Management Council elected the presidium of the Union of Journalists of Albania consisting of 14 members. Agim Popa was elected President of the Union of the Journalists of Albania.

From the Conference a telegram of greetings was sent to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

## Anniversary of the Republic

January 11 is a marked day in the history of the Albanian people. 32 years ago, on January 11, 1946, the Founding Assembly that emerged from the December 2, 1945 elections, that were the first really free elections in Albania, proclaimed the People's Republic. It was the greatest achievement for the Albanian people, following the complete liberation of the country from the foreign invaders, it was the realization of the many-years long aspiration of the broad masses of working people of Albania, the consecration by law of the people's state power as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

With the proclamation of the People's Republic on January 11, 1946, the old regime of feudal lords and of the bourgeoisie was buried once and for all, the foundations of the oppressive apparatus of the ruling classes was demolished, and the regime of people's democracy, as a form of the dictatorship of the working class and of the masses of working people, through which, for the first time in their history, the Albanian people won

their democratic rights and freedoms, was established.

Now, 32 years after that historic act, the Albanian people have made great progress on the road to the construction of socialism. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been strengthened and perfected, in keeping with the new conditions that have been created due to the allround development of the country. Once the most backward country in Europe, now Albania has been transformed into a developed socialist country with advanced industry and agriculture, the living standard of the masses of working people has been raised to a high level, while the educational level has equalled that of the most developed countries of the world. In order to find a response to this great and allround development, and to facilitate the further development of the life of the country, in the end of the year 1976 the People's Assembly adopted the New Constitution of Albania, a document which proclaimed it a People's Socialist Republic. This is the Constitu-

tion of the construction of the complete socialist society in Albania.

This is the reason why every anniversary of the 11th of January is celebrated with great joy by the Albanian people, old and young.

This year, too, the anniversary of the Republic was celebrated with splendour everywhere. Several days earlier, decorations were put up all over the country. Broad mass meetings were organized at work and production centres, in agricultural cooperatives and various institutions, at which the results achieved in the course of the 32 years of the people's state power and the tasks emerging for the future were extensively discussed. At these meetings, by expressing their deep gratitude for the Party of Labour of Albania with comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, and for the people's state power which brought them the happy days they enjoy today, the working people expressed their readiness to forge ahead with courage and determination on the road to the construction of the complete socialist society.

On this occasion, commemorative meetings were organized also in various districts, at which the importance of this event and the prospects opened for the PSRA and the Albanian people, were pointed out.

# «EUROCOMMUNISM» OR UNDISGUISED REVISIONISM

from «ZËRI I POPULLIT»

**The present-day bourgeois and revisionist society is fraught with revolution, which no force in the world can stop. This revolution is guided and will always be guided today and in the future, until its complete triumph throughout the world, only by the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism. All the opposing ideas which try to revise our great, unerring and ever young theory, will end up in the garbage heap of history together with those of the Eurocommunists which, like all such other theories, will land there faster than all the others**

ONE OF THE VARIANTS OF MODERN REVISIONISM IS THAT WHICH IS CALLED «EUROCOMMUNISM». ITS MOST OUTSTANDING REPRESENTATIVES ARE THE SPANISH, FRENCH AND ITALIAN REVISIONIST PARTIES. ACCORDING TO THE MEANING ITS AUTHORS GIVE IT, «EUROCOMMUNISM» MEANS COMMUNISM OF THE DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE. IN REALITY THIS SO CALLED COMMUNISM HAS NOTHING IN COMMON WITH GENUINE COMMUNISM.

EXPLAINING WHAT REVISIONIST POLICY IS IN A WELLKNOWN AND ALWAYS ACTUAL ARTICLE ENTITLED: «MARXISM AND REVISIONISM», IN 1908 LENIN WROTE AMONG OTHER THINGS:

«To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the chopping and changing of petty politics, to forget the primary interests of the proletariat and the basic features of the whole capitalist system, of all capitalist evolution, to sacrifice these primary interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment — such is the policy of revisionism». And Lenin went on to add that «every more or less 'new' question, every more or less unexpected and unforeseen turn of events, even though it changes the basic line of development, only to insignificant degree and only for the briefest period, will

*Article from «ZËRI I POPULLIT», organ of the CC of the PLA, dated December 4, 1977.*



peaceful transition to socialism. Not long ago, on the 13th of October this year, one of the principal representatives of «Eurocommunism», the General Secretary of the French revisionist party, George Marchais, stated: «What did we decide at our latest (22nd) Congress? We decided to make democracy (read: bourgeois democracy) and freedom in all its aspects, a simultaneous instrument of our struggle for the transformation of society and the fundamental dimension of the socialism we want for France». In a word, the French arch-revisionist wants to reassure the bourgeoisie that his party has renounced the key principles of Marxism-Leninism — proletarian revolution, class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Berlinguer in Italy and Carrillo in Spain are doing the same thing for the bourgeoisie of their own countries. With their assurances that they have renounced class struggle, revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, they reassure it, some covertly and others overtly, that they have renounced and rejected the entire doctrine of scientific socialism. They have rejected not only Stalin but also Lenin, Marx and Engels. In recent times the Italian revisionists declared officially that they will remove all reference to Marxism-Leninism, as the ideology of the party or as the basis of its policy, from all the documents of their party.

In disguised terms, this is also revealed by Marchais in the above mentioned statement when he says: «We have reflected a great deal about our experience, about the reality and demands of a country like France. There is no question of us seeking to replace the present day privileged people with other privileged people, bureaucracy with another bureaucracy, one ruling party with another ruling party, a man of providence with another man of providence». In these few phrases of Marchais' one can find merged into one all the theses of the modern revisionists, from Gilas and Tito to

Krushehev and others. Here, slightly camouflaged, there is also a frontal attack on Lenin and Stalin, because it is they he is alluding to when he speaks of «another man of providence», going so far as to place the great leaders of the world proletariat on a par with the so-called «men of providence» whom the bourgeoisie of France and other Western countries turns out according to the occasion and circumstances.

Usually, the revisionists do not express their ideas so openly, they try to hide their betrayal of the working class of the respective countries behind empty words about changing situations, democracy, freedom, etc. But the «Eurocommunists» act somewhat differently. Thus, one of the three main «Eurocommunist» parties, that of Spain, came out openly with its theses, which are the real theses of this variant of revisionism. It did this through its General Secretary, Santiago Carrillo, who posing as a theoretician, in a book of his entitled «Eurocommunism And The State», and in a series of statements to the press, the radio and television of the Western countries has tried to codify the theory and practice of Eurocommunism.

He reveals that the Eurocommunists are supporters and admirers of the bourgeois state, which they want to preserve intact, that they are supporters of the supranational state the capitalist countries of Western Europe are trying to create, and which will have the Common Market as its basis.

In Carrillo, and in the final account, in Marchais and Berlinguer as well, just as in any revisionist, we have to do not with a theoretician but with a charlatan, who performs like a petty provincial advocate always ready to take up the most dishonest cases and defend them, stopping before no fabrication. In his articles and statements, he manipulates with quotations from the texts of the great teachers of Marxism, with events detached from international life, or administrative acts of different go-

always inevitably give rise to one variety of revisionism or another».

In short, «Eurocommunism» is nothing else but the emergence of a new variant of revisionism, as predicted by Lenin some seventy years ago. Thus, after the notorious Titoite and Khrushchevite variants, we are now seeing the West European variant of revisionism. We must add that there are also other variants of modern revisionism, but in this article we will deal only with «Eurocommunism» and the «Eurocommunists».

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Like all the other revisionists, the Eurocommunists, too, proceed from Khrushchev's notorious thesis on the

vernments to suit the purposes of the defence of his theses, interpreting them in the most arbitrary way.

Carrillo and his party are the first among the European revisionists, or Eurocommunists, to renounce the notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat publicly, followed by Marchais and the French revisionist party.

«The capitalist state», says Carrillo, «is a reality. Which are its present characteristics? How must it be transformed? This is the problem of every revolution including the one we intend to realize through the democratic road of many parliamentary parties». These few lines summarize the essence of all the preoccupations of the «theoretician». But, sensing all the falsity of his position, understanding that this is an open, unscrupulous revision of Marxism-Leninism, the Spanish dwarf, against all evidence, tries to convince the others that allegedly even the giants of Marxism have constantly «revised» their doctrine and one another as well! And in this connection, without bothering that his quotations are irrelevant and out of context, here Carrillo brings a passage from Marx, there he haphazardly cites Lenin and even Stalin, whom, though he calls him a criminal, he tries to make his forerunner in the achievement of the transformation of the state on the parliamentary road. As proof of his thesis, the «Eurocommunist» falsifier reproduces a letter from the great man of the Soviet State to the head of the Spanish Government of the People's Front, the socialist Largo Caballero, in 1936, at the time of the Spanish Civil War. But this rabid anti-Stalinist does not understand that, instead of proving his thesis, this letter reveals the great correctness of Stalin in his relations with other states, pulls down the whole fabric of calumnies of the Khrushchevites, Titoites, Eurocommunists, Trotskyites and many others on Stalin's alleged interference, even plots, in the other countries.

To substantiate his assessments of the alleged changes in the structure and functions of the capitalist state and the «growing socialization of the capitalist economy», this theoretician of the Paris cafés and this great admirer of the bourgeois state resorts to such ludicrous arguments, as, for example, the decision of the French Government to «provide billions of francs as compensation for the farmers and stockraisers affected by the 1975 drought, a gesture, which, according to him, could never have occurred in the past. Here Carrillo means: you see how the state has changed? It is no longer the state of the capitalist bourgeoisie alone, as it helps the peasants in need. In the past, too, for political or electoral expediencies of the moment, the French Government or the other Western Governments have distributed alms in cases of calamity, but it has never occurred to anyone to see in such acts a change in the nature of the bourgeois states. This is seen only by renegades of the Carrillo, Marchais and Berlinguer type.

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The modern revisionists, ranging from Tito to Khrushchev and others, based their attack against Marxism-Leninism on the campaign against Stalin, a campaign which, as our Party had long since warned, was nothing else but an offensive against Leninism and would lead to the complete abandonment of the doctrine of Lenin and Marx. Carrillo, however, openly attacks all and everything of Marxism-Leninism. This unscrupulous intriguer does not hesitate to reject right off the entire Marxist-Leninist theory on classes and class struggle, proletarian revolution and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a collection of dogmas which are inapplicable to our time.

Expressing and repeating all the dreams and fancies of bourgeois poli-

ticians, theoreticians and publicists, the Eurocommunists claim — and Carrillo says it openly — that the present-day proletariat is no longer that of the time of Marx, that it has changed. According to them the other classes of society have also changed. They are no longer the classes Marx and Lenin have spoken about.

According to this renegade who represents the theses of the bourgeois lumpen intellectuals, it is not the proletariat alone which is the most progressive class of society, which fights and leads the struggle for socialism, but all the classes, some more and others less, and above all, the intelligentsia, which he puts on a par with the proletariat. And here Carrillo does nothing else but copies and repeats the notorious ultraopportunist thesis of the French revisionist philosopher Garaudy. Although 30 per cent of the Spanish population works and lives in the countryside, the peasantry, which made such a great contribution in blood in the Spanish Civil War, is not only not considered as the ally of the proletariat, but this so-called theoretician completely ignores its existence. According to Carrillo, all the classes are interested in a change in society and for this to be achieved the old society must be reformed and not overthrown.

After laying down the extravagant premise that the state is no longer that of the time of Marx and Lenin and that the classes are no longer those of their time, Carrillo, together with the other Eurocommunists, arrives at the conclusion that now there is another way for the proletariat to seize power and build socialism.

Marx said that class struggle inevitably leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat and Lenin considered the dictatorship of the proletariat as the essence of Marxist theory. The renegade Carrillo rejects this, he rejects the theory of the revolution, of the class struggle, of the seizure of power through violence, he rejects the role

of the party of the proletariat and the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution. He turns back completely to the positions of social-democracy of the twenties when the soundest and the most revolutionary elements broke away from it and created the communist parties and adhered to the Third International. Carrillo goes even further, he preaches that society will be changed through the development of culture, turning the ideological apparatus of the bourgeois state (the Church, the university, etc.) to the advantage of the people.

The General Secretary of the Spanish revisionist party sets out on the road to his Eurocommunist state from the back streets of the Catholic Church. According to him, the Church, the Vatican and the Pope of Rome himself have changed, have evolved towards a more progressive society. And this is allegedly proved by the Second Vatican Council. The clerical hierarchy has allegedly commenced to have its doubts about the possibilities of capitalism. Carrillo, this pontiff of Eurocommunism, as the French newspaper «Le Monde» described him in one of its latest issues, who unsparingly employs ecclesiastical terminology, shakes hands with the clergymen who have «evolved in their dogmas». And after energetically shaking hands with them, he calls on the Eurocommunists to reject all dogmas (that is Marxism-Leninism) so that «they may become more progressive than the Church and the Vatican.»

It is now a fact universally known and confirmed by broad inquiries published in the Western press, that more and more believers are abandoning the Churches of Western Europe, even in those areas which used to be the bastions of religion. In France, for example, since liberation to date, religious practice has declined to ten per cent of the population. The situation is the same in Belgium and other countries. Finding it difficult to recruit new priests, the Church is

obliged to resort to the services of itinerant priests.

Faced with such a situation, the Church plays on many boards and recoils from nothing. It plays with the demagogy of «worker priests», with the demagogy of the tiermondist (third world) current of the Church, but also with the more conservative priests, as was recently the case with Bishop Lefèvre, about whom a great fuss is being made. And precisely at such a difficult time, the Catholic Church, this bastion of capitalist reaction and mediaeval obscurantism, is being lent a helping hand by allies it has never hoped for, the Carrillos, Berlinguers, Garaudys and other Eurocommunists.

The French revisionist Garaudy, one of the teachers in the theory of Santiago Carrillo, taking the cue from a document released by the bishops of France, enthusiastically pronounced himself in July this year for a «reciprocal fecundation between Christianity and Marxism». According to him, there is no irreconcilability between Christianity and Marxism, because the «communist movement now has fewer and fewer Stalinists and more and more Santiago Carrillos». After quoting examples from the Spanish revisionist party «in which Christians and even priests are admitted to all levels of party leadership», Garaudy exclaims exultantly: «Here is the future intended for a long term: a major historic change in which both Christians and Marxists will each in an equal manner bring about new dimensions». Things cannot be said more clearly.

The merging of Marxism with Catholic religion, this is the aim of the Garaudys. This is what Berlinguer is implementing in Italy, as is shown in his letter to the bishop of Ivrea. And this is what Santiago Carrillo and all the other Eurocommunists are trying to put into practice. The Catholic Church may one day make these people its saints, and it has the right to do it.

When for the Eurocommunists, the Church and the Vatican, despite their 20 centuries-long obscurantist and reactionary tradition, have changed as if by magic, the remainder of the ideological apparatus of capitalism has also changed, and long since at that, for them. Education, for instance, says the Spanish renegade, has assumed a mass character and has brought about a real revolution in society. According to him, this education has a popular and not an aristocratic character, as before. The class essence of the school does not even exist for Carrillo. Here he considers nothing else but the number of students. But even here, had he taken into consideration only the quantitative aspect of the question, he would have been obliged to admit, although he cannot fail to know it, that in the universities of all the countries of Western Europe the number of workers' sons and daughters does not exceed even 2 per cent.

The schools, and especially the universities, have been centres from where progressive and revolutionary ideas have always been spread, where progressive ideas have always clashed fiercely with the reactionary ones. Therefore in order to confuse and paralyze the student youth, to lead it away from the working class, the bourgeoisie employs its entire ideological apparatus, as well as its lackeys: the Trotskyites, anarchists, and especially, the revisionist parties and their huge apparatus in Italy, France and Spain. Carrillo tries to elevate to a theory and justify theoretically this lackey role of the revisionists.

Carrillo considers the family as another aspect of the ideological apparatus of the capitalist state, which according to him, has changed and within which a struggle is going on between children and parents. Rejecting class struggle as a dogma, Carrillo embraces the ideas of bourgeois sociologists and the American pseudo-theoretician Marcuse on the «conflict of generations».

But the Spanish servant of the bourgeoisie goes even further. Claiming that the youth oppose the ideas of their parents and their dogmas, he pretends that the youth of today, the sons and daughters of workers and revolutionaries, the sons and daughters of those who fought and shed their blood against fascism in Spain, reject the ideas and ideals of scientific communism as a «dogma».

Thus, according to Carrillo, by winning over the ideological apparatus of the bourgeoisie, one will gradually move towards an ever greater democracy and a state which will belong to all. But what will be done with the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state? Even this presents no difficulty for the theoretical mountebank. The police? In Italy it votes for the party of Berlinguer, he says. Why shouldn't it then vote for Marchais in France and for Carrillo and for Dolores Ibarruri in Spain? The Eurocommunists should accept the state apparatus without destroying it, even the army, set up and armed by the bourgeoisie. The Eurocommunists should work for a democratic transformation of the military mentality. But can this be achieved with military castes created and educated over the centuries to be the armed hand of the bourgeois state? Carrillo says, yes, and as an example of this he brings the French Army, which according to him has been «democratized» following the war in Algeria, as is seen... from some of its rules from which he quotes at random. Even the most conservative French newspaper, or an agent in the pay of the Deuxieme Bureau would not dare to praise the French Army in such a manner.

The bad luck with the pseudo-theories of the renegades from the working class is that the events give the lie to them before the ink has dried on the paper. Thus, at a time when Carrillo was lauding to the skies the democratic transformation of the French Army, breaking with past ru-

les, the French Government decided that military regions and garrisons would be spread all over the territory of metropolitan France. This dissemination of garrisons is explained by the concern of the French ruling circles about a change in the situation not only inside France, but also in that which is called the South of Europe. To please the bourgeoisie and prove their loyalty to it, the Italian and French Eurocommunists have gone so far as to justify NATO and the presence of US troops and bases in Western Europe.

With a road to socialism like this, Carrillo and all the other revisionists reject the role of the party, deny democratic centralism. As far as the party is concerned, they have borrowed the concept of the party of all the people from the Khrushchevite revisionists and have turned it into the concept of pluralism of parties. For the economy, they have adopted the Titoite methods of self-administration. And from the other revisionists, they have adopted the pluralism of cultures, the competition of philosophical trends, religious currents.

It is impossible to follow step by step within the limits of one article, all the «opinions» and «arguments» of the Eurocommunists which expose and prove the treachery of the modern revisionists in all its aspects. But one must mention here the international environment of the state of the Eurocommunists, and how Carrillo sees this environment. This environment is nothing else but the Atlantic environment. Carrillo and his party are in favour of the Common Market, NATO and Spain's accession to them. They are for the unification of the Europe of monopolies and trusts, presenting it, like the partisans of the «theory of three worlds» and the social democrats, as the «Europe of the peoples». All of them are for the so-called third international force, which is allegedly opposed to the two superpowers, but which in reality is opposed only to the European prole-

tariat and the peoples that it exploits, that is, they are for the big bourgeoisie and the big European capitalist monopolies. In this «strategy» the Eurocommunists and the advocates of the «theory of three worlds» have lined up on the same front and are fighting on the same barricade. The Eurocommunists and the other revisionists, though they may have contrasting views on this problem or that, are at one in the main thing, they unite with the bourgeoisie and imperialism in struggle against the revolution and Marxism-Leninism.

«A United States of Europe under capitalism», said Lenin, «is either impossible or reactionary». «Of course», he added, «temporary agreements between capitalists and between states are possible. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement, between the *European* capitalists..., but what for? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe». The Marxist-Leninists do not doubt and have never doubted that this is the aim of all the renegades from Marxism-Leninism.

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All these «opinions» publicly advertised by Carrillo with the shamelessness typical of all renegades, are not the opinions of him alone, but also those of Dolores Ibarruri and of the Spanish revisionist party. They are a mosaic of the theses of all those who have tried to revise the great and always triumphant doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In Carrillo we see Bernstein, Kautsky, Browder, Tito, Khrushchev, Togliatti, his teachers in revisionism, Berlinguer and Marchais, his companions on the «Eurocommunist» road. In Carrillo we also see the influence of a number of so-called theories, such as those of Sartre, Marcuse, of the present-day European Trotskyites and anarchists,



mixed with the theories of the chiefs of Western social-democracy, and especially with those of Léon Blum who in an almost forgotten book entitled «A l'échelle humaine» (On a Human Scale), about 10 years before Khrushchev and 30 years before Carrillo indicated the «peaceful road to socialism», a road which went also through the White House in Washington and the Vatican. The opinions of the Spanish renegade are nothing else but rubbish collected from the troughs of capitalism and revisionism and thrown together in the book called «Eurocommunism and the State».

Eurocommunism emerged as a doctrine and was codified by Carrillo at a time when the Spanish bourgeoisie, that of the nine European Community countries and the US bourgeoisie together with the NATO and Common Market headquarters demanded to be reassured about the transition of power which would take place in Francoist Spain. Terrified by the working class and the revolution, and continuing to be haunted by the spectre of the Paris Commune after its suppression more than 100 years ago, the reactionaries are used to see red everywhere. Carrillo is dispelling their fears. That is why the representatives of the bourgeoisie have been lavish in their eulogies of the Spanish «theoretician», who recently went even to the USA, so that the American capitalists could see and convince themselves that the Eurocommunists are «gentlemen» and very useful «businessmen», with whom they can come to terms.

But the representatives of world capitalism and imperialism are rejoicing a little prematurely in their great expectations from Carrillo. It is true that Carrillo is one of the vilest agents of world capitalism, but precisely as such he is utterly worthless. His «theories» will not bring much benefit to capitalism, because he exposes the pseudo-Marxism of the modern revisionists, tears the mask off them, reveals their real aims to the

proletariat and the peoples who are fighting for social and national liberation.

This is precisely the reason why the other revisionists, first and foremost the Soviet revisionists, are worried over Carrillo's sermons. This scum of the revisionist scum, caring for and embarrassed by nothing, dared to develop further and carry through to the end the theses of the Khrushchevite revisionists, and in the first place, the fundamental thesis of modern revisionism, namely, that of the «peaceful transition to socialism», with which are linked the other theses, such as that of the change of the nature of imperialism, of a world without weapons and wars, of the party of the entire people and the state of the entire people.

From the very start the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha showed that these theses of Khrushchev's were a great betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, the cause of socialism and communism. Life has proved and is continually proving our Party right. It is proving that the revisionists are getting bogged down more and more deeply in the morass of opportunism and bourgeois degeneration.

The Khrushchev clique, and subsequently that of Brezhnev have tried to manoeuvre and avoid the exposure of all the cards of their betrayal. And here now is Carrillo, their collaborator, exposing their aims, and openly showing what the theses of the 20th Congress are. This is not only a slap but a heavy blow at them as well, because in order to hide their betrayal, the Khrushchevite revisionists must pass themselves off as Marxist-Leninists and still look so if they cling to some Leninist formulae. Immediately after the 20th Congress the Italian arch-revisionist, Palmiro Togliatti, was the first to demand that the Soviet revisionists should advance at a fast pace on the road of their Congress. Under the new conditions, however, Carrillo is

going even further than the spiritual father of the Eurocommunists. He analyzes their theses one by one, looks into their logic and demands that they should be carried out to the letter. Carrillo tells the Soviet revisionists that the theses they put forward call for open rejection not only of Stalin, but also of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and this not only on one, but on all questions. He says that the road of the October Revolution, and together with it, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the role of the party, the hegemonic role of the proletariat, must be rejected. He says that the entire Marxist-Leninist theory and treasure must be revised in every field — ideology, politics, economics. Carrillo says that peaceful coexistence and the peaceful road to socialism call for a status quo not only in the field of international relations, in the preservation of military pacts, alliances, economic groupings, but also a status quo within every country, the preservation of the bourgeois state, of its repressive organs and ideological apparatuses. He demands of the Soviet revisionists, the Titoites and others to grant full freedom to the «dissidents», to act so as to allow the pluralism of parties, cultures, philosophical trends, etc. He proceeds even further. He openly tells the Soviets that since they have rehabilitated so many traitors sentenced at Moscow trials, they must not stop half way. Since they have taken one step they must take the other: they must rehabilitate Trotsky. Likewise he bluntly tells the Soviets and the other revisionists that as long as they receive huge credits from the US imperialists, why, then, the Spanish Eurocommunist state should not receive such credits? He also says many other things as well, which expose the Soviet revisionists badly. All this is too serious a thing for them, it scorches them like hot iron. Therefore, they began to reproach Carrillo, but limited their target of attack only to his book, and only to one aspect of this book.

Without going into the essence of the matter, or dealing with what Carrillo demands of them and the other revisionists, the Soviet revisionists express only their regret that, in his book, Carrillo attacks Marx, Engels and Lenin. The Soviet revisionists are thus trying to avail themselves of the opportunity offered them by the publication of the book to pose as champions of the theory of Marx and Lenin, which they were the first to discard.

But the Soviet revisionists are worried over another question as well. Having abandoned Marxism-Leninism and betrayed the interests of the working class, having transformed the first state of workers and peasants into a social-imperialist bourgeois state, unwillingly and against their interests, the Soviet revisionists opened the road to nationalist and centrifugal tendencies in all the revisionist parties and to tendencies to rapprochement, groupings and meetings between various open or hidden revisionists. Thus the «Eurocommunist» parties, servants of the bourgeoisie of their respective countries, express and defend each the interests of his own bourgeoisie, which run contrary to the interests of the Soviet bourgeoisie. The Soviet revisionists thus suffered the same fate with the magician who let the devils out of the jar and could not call them together.

In his report at the 7th Congress comrade Enver Hoxha said, «The Party of Labour of Albania long ago said that modern revisionism, like the earlier revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky, can never build that cohesion, that steel-like unity which only Marxism-Leninism, the scientific ideology of the working class, is in a position to do. Revisionism is synonymous with splits, lack of unity, chauvinism and anarchy. Our Party was convinced that, despite their slogans that they were 'independent', 'sovereign' and 'capable' of applying the Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions of their own countries, the re-

visionist parties would not only break away from the Soviet Union and the so-called 'socialist family', but would become involved, as they have done, in irreconcilable conflicts with one another».

Carrillo's writings, stands and statements are worrying his comrades in Eurocommunism — Marchais, Berlinguer and their parties. While in August this year the Western press published extensive statements of the Spanish renegade in defence of Eurocommunism, Santiago Carrillo was attending a symposium on «Eurosocialism» in Crete, in which the chiefs of European socialdemocracy, together with the revisionist Garaudy who has been expelled from the French revisionist party, were taking part. With this participation in the symposium in Crete, Carrillo showed that there is no dividing line between Eurocommunism and Eurosocialism. This is not to the liking of Marchais, because it exposes him in the eyes of the French working class which has a long and bitter experience of the treacherous role of the socialist party. It has good knowledge of Léon Blum's slogans, that «the socialists are sincere administrators of the capitalist society», put into practice by the socialist party. It has also known the police dogs and the bullets of Jules Moch, the socialist home affairs minister in the post-war French Government.

As far as Berlinguer and the Italian revisionist party are concerned, they have put into practice what Carrillo claims to have raised to a theory, and are continuing on «the road to socialism» which goes through the «historic compromise» with Christian democracy and the Vatican. The Italian revisionist party has concluded a joint agreement with the Christian democrats and the other bourgeois parties, on which the program of the present government is based. At the same time, together with the other parties, it is striving to vest the police and the gendarmerie with emergency

powers to control and spy on the citizens in the name of the «defence of law and order».

They are integrating revisionism into capitalism, but it is not in their interest to kick up a row, to be reminded of the police of Rome voting for them, which logically means that the Italian revisionist party collaborates with the police. Berlinguer and Co. have learned the method of «combinations» from the bourgeoisie of their country and the Church. Thus, they are for «combinations» and not for the shouts that accompany the bullfighters in Spanish arenas.

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Carrillo's theorizing in the rag called «Eurocommunism and the State» and in his frequent statements show the rottenness and complete decay of modern revisionism, its great betrayal and its going over completely to the side of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and reaction. Carrillo, Marchais, Berlinguer and Co., the revisionists of all hues, are vile traitors and loyal lackeys of the bourgeoisie; they want to rescue it from its inevitable doom. The present-day bourgeois and revisionist society, however is fraught with revolution, which no force in the world can stop. This revolution is guided and will always be guided today and in the future, until its complete triumph throughout the world, only by the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism. All the opposing ideas which try to revise our great, unerring and ever young theory, will end up in the garbage heap of history together with those of the Eurocommunists which, like all such other theories, will land there faster than all the others. They are filthy stains, which together with capitalism, imperialism and social-imperialism will be wiped off the face of the earth by the iron hand of the world proletariat which leads the revolution and which is inspired by the triumphant doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.



*A view of the memorial dedicated to the Conference of Peza inaugurated on the occasion of its 35th anniversary.*

## ENVER HOXHA

# THE PEZA CONFERENCE AN EVENT OF GREAT HI

*On the 35th anniversary of the Albanian National-liberation Conference, held in Peza, the editorial board of the newspaper «Bashkimi» requested comrade Enver Hoxha to send it something of his own reminiscences of this marked event. This is a reprint of comrade Enver Hoxha's notes supplied to the newspaper «Bashkimi» from the Central Archives of the Party.*

ON THE INITIATIVE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA, THE ALBANIAN NATIONAL-LIBERATION CONFERENCE GATHERED IN PEZA ON SEPTEMBER 16, 1942.

THE IDEA OF SUCH A MEETING DID NOT OCCUR TO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY FORTUITOUSLY, BUT WAS A LOGICAL DEDUCTION. IT WAS A TRANSITION FROM A SITUATION ACHIEVED IN THE WAR AGAINST THE ITALIAN OCCUPIERS, TO A MORE DEVELOPED SITUATION WITH A BROADER HORIZON.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL, ORGANIZATIONAL AND MILITARY ORIENTATIONS AND THE TASKS IT DEFINED IN ITS FIRST RESOLUTION, PROVIDED THE SOURCE OF STRENGTH AND THE GUIDELINES FOR THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION WAR.

IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO FIND ONE'S BEARING CORRECTLY IN THOSE DIFFICULT SITUATIONS OF BONDAGE, TERROR, INTRIGUES, PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL SUFFERINGS AND MISERY WHICH HAD OVERWHELMED OUR PEOPLE. TO THIS END, THE COMMUNISTS AND THEIR PARTY HAD TO FOLLOW THE TEACHINGS OF LENIN AND STALIN FAITHFULLY.

It should by no means be thought that all the communists of the first hours knew and understood our triumphant theory, Marxism-Leninism, to the same extent as the communists and the masses know and understand it today. The existence and the sterile, even dangerous struggle of the communist groups prior to the founding of the Party is a fact. Evidence of this is the factions that emerged later in the Party and that were purged one after the other. However, the basis of the Party was sound and continued to grow stronger, equipping itself with the indispensable fundamental principles that a Marxist-Leninist party needed. The correct organization, appropriate to waging a ruthless, legal and illegal struggle

and the correct political analyses of the internal and external situation which the Party made at every meeting of its cells and of its activists, the political work it carried out every day, house by house, among comrades and friends, made the unity inside the Party and its unity with the people steel-like. The Marxist ideology, which was crystallizing, served as a guide to action, in order to develop and strengthen the revolution, in order to attack the invading enemy and its collaborators, physically and politically, to isolate them from the people and win the masses to the side of the Party, the side of the revolution.

Lenin taught us that the revolution is one of the most serious ques-

# STORIC IMPORTANCE

tions for the fate of a people, therefore, once you enter into it there is no stopping half way, but it must be carried through to the end.

The revolution develops step by step, suffers set-backs, but when carefully prepared, it is crowned with victory. In the revolution, the set-backs also must be taken into account, but they must be overcome at all costs regardless of the sacrifices required. The setbacks cannot hold back the revolution for long nor can they stop it. For the revolutionaries they must serve as lessons, which show that in order to carry out the revolution successfully it is necessary to abandon that course, that tactic, that idea or action which has been responsible for the setback.

If the people are not aroused in struggle against the occupiers, or against the bourgeois capitalist rulers, if the people are not prepared politically against those whom they have to fight and overthrow, if, in the course of this preparatory work, the relationships of forces in action are not studied and analysed, there cannot be revolution; in these cases there may be battles, may be resistance, which would be chaotic and temporary, but no revolution and no achievement of the objectives that a revolution seeks, be it a peasant up-

rising, a bourgeois-democratic revolution, or proletarian revolution.

All these uprisings and revolutions must have a programmatic platform, which should show the masses the goals that must be attained, the reasons why one situation has to be changed into another situation. It must be explained to them dialectically why it is necessary to go over from one stage to another, why the conditions have matured for such a qualitative transition; it must be made clear to the masses, on the basis of a real economic, political and national analysis, what are the reasons that the cup is filled to overflowing, as well as the ways in which they will proceed and the means that will be used in order to bring about this qualitative transition. And finally, in analysing all these things, it must be made clear that it is only through armed uprising, through the revolution, that this decisive transition, this change can be brought about.

Of course, the revolution, that must be carried out by the people, will be led by the most advanced elements of the people. However, it is known that classes exist regardless of the existence or nonexistence of the organization of these elements in parties or other organizations. It is known also that in capitalist society

these classes and strata are in struggle against one another, have opposing political and economic interests, and that these turn into permanent antagonistic conflicts. There are continual clashes. Sometimes the conflicts become acute, at other times they are suppressed, but they never die out. Thus, there is the class of exploiters, the beys and agas, the merchants and industrial bourgeoisie, and also the classes of the exploited, the workers, apprentices and the urban poor, as well as the class of the poor peasants with no land, the peasants with little land, and the middle peasants.

These were the conflicts and circumstances which existed in our country before the occupation and before Liberation. The feudal regime of Zog, with its oppression, misery, starvation, imprisonment and robbery of the people, had worn out their patience, had aroused them to fury and filled them with savage hatred for that regime.

The occupation of the country, prepared by Zog and the feudal-bourgeoisie, filled the cup to overflowing. The indignation of the people and the antagonistic struggle between oppressors and oppressed reached its climax. The occupation of Albania by Italian fascism marked the beginning of a turning point of national im-



portance. This situation had to be understood and handled correctly, because it contained all the elements for revolution. The communists and their Party understood this. The Communist Party of Albania, inspired by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, became the leadership of the revolution. To it fell the heavy, difficult, but glorious historic task of raising the people in revolution, of leading them in the fight for the liberation of the Homeland and of guiding them together with the working class, of which it was the vanguard, to victory.

Those who lived through that period know what difficult moments they were for the people and the Party.

Fascist Italy, which invaded our Homeland, had long been working from within the country. First of all, it had its hands free from the bourgeois-imperialist states; the contradictions which might have existed and which did exist over the question of Albania between Italy and Yugoslavia, as well as between Italy and Greece, had been eliminated, not because the two other neighbours, apart from Italy, did not, as always, wish to partition Albania among the three of them, but because the «strength and aggressiveness» of Mussolini and his fascist Italy had cooled the ardour of the other two. Even before the occupation, Albania was considered by all foreign bourgeois-capitalist opinion as a colony of Italy. The «independence and sovereignty» of Albania was something formal. The monarchy of Zog was a vassal of the monarchy of Savoy. Zog himself was an «ally» and minion of Mussolini, who granted him some loans, although not for the country, but for the king and the hangers-on of his musical comedy court. From this aspect, fascist Italy had in Zog's Albania not merely a few agents, but an entire state: the government, the Parliament, the king and his court, the gendarmerie and the overwhelming majority of the Zogite parade of officers. Therefore, fascist Italy had its hands free and the doors open in Albania. Amidst this great govern-

ment corruption, the military advisers of the SIM and the economic advisers organized and directed everything. In Albania there were two governments: one formal, which was run by Zog, and the other, which was run by the Italian Embassy. The latter was all-powerful and had paralysed the strength of the former, which had become its blind tool. Even before the occupation, the beys, the big landowners, the big merchants and the top hierarchy of the state apparatuses, had lined up on the Italian-Zogite side, while the workers, the peasants, the poor and middle strata of the town and the patriotic intelligentsia had lined up against them.

The intentions of fascist Italy were: to flood Albania with Italian colonists, to prepare for their permanent settlement on the fertile land of our country, to plunder our underground wealth as raw materials to supply the Italian economy, to create a sort of a market in Albania in order to absorb from Italy the surplus stocks of unsaleable goods, to create unemployment in our country in order to force the Albanian population to accept conscription as cannon fodder for the realization of the expansionist Italian plans. Of course, these Mussolini-Ciano colonialist plans concerning Albania were implemented on the basis of the Hitler-Mussolini alliance for the occupation of the world. The two nazi-fascist dictators, both the more powerful and the weaker, were about to make their fatal move in connection with the international situations created at their instigation.

Mussolini made his move against Albania in April 1939. He attacked and occupied our country and no doubt he hoped and believed that everything would go smoothly. But the opposite occurred: a fire broke out under his feet. None of all his preliminary preparations succeeded in deceiving or subjugating the Albanian people. History had never known Albania and its people to accept bondage to foreigners. It knew only the

ceaseless struggles of the Albanian people against them.

There was no doubt that this is what would occur on this occasion too, but this had to be turned into a reality, the struggle had to be organized. It was not easy, but neither was it impossible. However, it would be a savage fight. This war would resemble the liberation wars of our people in the past on account of its determination, patriotism, and the great goal of the liberation, but would not be like them in its strategy, tactics, proportions and organization. The times in which we were going to organize our war were no longer those of our fathers and grandfathers; facing us were the selfsame savage, barbarous, criminal enemies, refined in ideology, in politics, in methods and in actions, but also armed to the teeth with the most modern, destructive and devastating weapons which were unknown in earlier times.

With their high-pressure propaganda about such a devastating striking force, the nazi-fascists aimed to arouse fear and intimidation, even before their forces undertook the attack. The psychology of terror and the «fifth column» were two of the main weapons that preceded the legions of Rome and Berlin.

United and rallied around clear ideals and goals, led correctly and with courage, the peoples would triumph in this terrible, gigantic war which had befallen them. The peoples and the nations who were determined to live free, would triumph over the modern weapons of the enemy and its armies, because the former were waging a just war in their own countries, whereas the latter were waging an unjust, predatory war, in a foreign land.

From the day of its founding, our Party was clear about the general outlines of these situations and neither the Party nor the people went into the war entirely unprepared, because from the 7th of April of the year 1939 up to the 8th of November of the year 1941, when the Party



*Comrade Enver Hoxha and the People's Hero Myslim Peza during the days of the Conference of Peza.*

was founded, had been about two years of passive and active resistance against the invaders and the Albanian quislings.

With the occupation of the country, the resistance of the people against the Zog regime was further crystalized and assumed more advanced forms. The gulf between classes and strata had become even deeper. Now the hostility and resistance of the people to the regime of Zog was combined with the sentiment for national liberation.

The Party and its leadership relied on this in order to mobilize the will of the nation, the strength, thoughts, aspirations and desires of the people, in a fighting unity for the liberation of the Homeland and the people.

It is easy to say in words, but the Party had to go through suffering and sacrifices, needed courage and heroism, wisdom and patience in thought and deed in order to carry out this programme.

In the first place, the confidence of the people in their own strength had to be built up. The idea that «it is impossible to cope with such a great power as fascist Italy» had to be cleared from the minds of many people. This idea was propagated and encouraged by the «fifth column», the collaborators and quislings of the invader and by the divisions and tanks that it had deployed in every corner of the country.

The people had to be convinced with facts, with actions, with politics and with propaganda, that neither the courage, valour, love for the homeland, nor the clear political thinking of the Albanian, of our forefathers, had been extinguished, but that they were more fiery than ever. And the Communist Party of Albania, which was the bearer of all these outstanding qualities of our people, hurled thunderbolts upon the invading enemies. This was the decisive and most important action in the many centuries of the history of the Albanian people, because the first and only party, which represented the working

class, around which, with its revolutionary ideology as a guide, the rallying of the people for the war would be realized, had placed itself at the head of the people.

The people felt the birth of the Party as a powerful current which stimulated their energies. Its creation aroused the hopes of the people and terrified the enemies.

Organizing it in profound secrecy, the Party struck the enemy with an iron fist. Its legal activity ran parallel. The actions and attacks were accompanied with agitation and propaganda. The enemy and the quislings no longer cherished illusions about the Albanians being «lambs». They gathered their forces, increased the terror and demagogy, changed the «guard» and the hierarchy, filled the prisons and concentration camps on the islands of Italy with communists and patriots, hanged and shot people. But the struggle of the people, led by the communists, did not stop, on the contrary, it increased in severity and breadth.

The National-liberation War, which was led by the Party, had to have clear objectives, a programme acceptable to our people, and this programme had to be mobilizing, and arouse sound energies. The people had to know and understand why they were fighting and what victory would bring them. The bitter past, when the wars and uprisings of the peoples were bloodily suppressed by the feudal lords, agas, and usurers, was fresh in their memory. The people could not be aroused to fight and shed their blood for their permanent exploiters. The Communist Party of Albania was a guarantee that the past would never be repeated, but this had to be proved in practice with a programme, with action, with war, with policy.

In its programme, the Party had to make clear to the people that it would be a great, bitter, complicated and difficult fight, therefore, a great political and military organization was necessary. All these things the Party made clear to the people and told

them that the communists would be in the forefront of the fighting, would be first in the firing line and the last to withdraw, if it was necessary to withdraw from a position. They would give their lives fighting to defend the position, but they could not be alone in the fight, they could not fight and win without the people. The people make the revolution.

In this activity, the question of alliances and the enlightenment of allies would be decisive. The leading role of the working class on the basis of our main principles and its alliance with peasantry, especially with the poor peasants with no land or little land, is well known. This alliance was the pivot of, and the key to, victory in the National-liberation War.

But it is known that this great principle and this alliance of the working class with the peasantry, under the leadership of the working class, on which the unity of the other patriotic and progressive strata would hinge, was not something that had been achieved. The Party had to make analyses not only of the economic-political situation of the classes and strata, but also of the particular specific links among groups, families, and clans, of the positive and negative influences, both old and new, within Albanian society. The past had left blemishes on our society that were obstacles to unity and made the creation of alliances difficult. Religion had done its work and continued to poison people in spirit and mind. The clergy, the beys and chieftains did what they wanted with our people, whom the regimes of the past had kept in cultural and political darkness.

It is true that when our country was occupied there were no organized parties, but all the factors I enumerated above, from the backward customs to the canons which blighted the energies of the people and kept them divided in order to oppress and exploit them more thoroughly, acted like innumerable, unorganized parties.

Another danger posing a threat to the people's war and fighting alliance were the political emigrants, who had left with Zog's advent to power and returned together with the Italians. They had been abroad for 15 years and had become politically degenerate. Most of them became trusted allies and agents of that foreign power which fed them and paid their wages. They posed as anti-Zogites, but were rabid anti-communists. Their pretensions were to take over the running of the country absolutely. They were entirely divorced from the life, thoughts and aspirations of the people. They believed that the obsolete ideas of bastardized bourgeois democracy which they nurtured, were applicable in our country at that time, that is, even after the world had undergone such great changes. They returned to Albania as the «cream of Albanian nationalism», and, regardless of the fact that they received fat salaries from the occupying power and were completely in its service, they maintained contacts with those «anti-fascist and anti-Zogite» elements, who thought that those elements who had returned from abroad were politically just as they had been 15 years before (!). This, also, was a danger to the National-liberation War which developed later, when these elements created the traitor organization «Balli Kombëtar», which supported the fascist and nazi occupiers to the end, with demagogy and arms, against the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front and its leadership, the Communist Party of Albania.

These pseudo-democrats were of the most varied right-wing political opinions. The opinions of these chicken-hearted politicians were nothing but disjointed ideas, which were not consolidated with any political education formed on a social basis and linked with the people, because they had little political connection with the life of their people. Indeed, they did not know their own people, their social situation, or the evolution it had undergone. Their political educa-

tion was heterogenous, eclectic, inspired by superficial reading of newspapers and by following from afar the events taking place in the world, and in the main fostered by the propaganda and ideology of bourgeois and fascist parties. Nothing linked them with the fate of the people and the Homeland. That was the last thing they worried about. In their opinion, what happened to Albania depended on others, while they were going to be the «elite politicians», who would be used by that foreign power which had paid their wages in emigration and which would take Albania by the hand and under its wing. These anti-popular, cosmopolitan, pseudo-politicians with a hundred flags in their pockets, were the successors of the old ones who could not imagine Albania independent and sovereign, the successors to those politicians of no Homeland, according to whom Albania could not survive without relying on a foreign power. The difference between them is only one of form. While posing as anti-Zogites, the pseudo-democrats held the same views as their forerunners, but disguised in «more liberal, more democratic» forms.

These same elements, who posed as anti-Zogites, maintained contact with people of the Zogite regime abroad, with those who had held positions in that regime, maintained contact with big merchants, landowners and agas, not to conspire against the regime, but to obtain some economic aid from it and so that it could not be said that they had severed all links with Albania. Even at the time of Fan Noli's government, when these elements were participants in it or were elected as deputies, their links were not with the masses of the people, but especially with the well-to-do liberals of the cities and also with the aristocracy of the countryside. They were not linked with the latter by the ideal of the progress of Albania, but by the blood relations, connections by marriage and casual friendship, which found wide application in the social life of that time.

We know the fate of the Noli government, we know the political work and activity, not in the least in favour of political and economic reforms», of the «democratic» elements of that time, with the exception of some distinguished revolutionary patriots such as Bajram Curri and Luigj Gurakuqi, Avni Rustemi, Halim Xhelo, and others. The consistent revolutionary struggle of the latter, the assassination of Avni by the hirelings of Zog, the outbreak of the 1924 revolution, gave these nonentities, these antipopular elements, their «glory».

When the «batallion» of political emigrants of this type came back to Albania, fascism used some of them, such as Mustafa Kruja and others, directly for the governing of «its colony», while it compromised the others but kept them in reserve. The remnants from the Zog regime did not wait one minute before entering the service of the invader, whereas the Northern chieftains, the big beys and agas of Central and Southern Albania, if they did not receive official posts, preserved their privileges and high salaries in the form of pensions. Thus, in order to suppress the people and their struggle, the fascist occupiers worked with the two groups: with the hierarchy of Albanian government officials, publicized and placed in positions from which they exercised the oppression and exploitation of the people, and with the pseudo-patriots, pseudo-democrats, the Zogites, who had allegedly fallen on hard times. The latter were the «politicians» of the «Kursal» cafe, of the gambling clubs such as the «Savoy», and of other notorious haunts.

The fascist spy network, which was everywhere and recorded everything, turned a blind eye and a deaf ear to instances when one of these «politicians» made some criticism against persons in power and against the fascist regime in the country. All these comprised a filthy scum, among which it was difficult to find even the smallest «fish» uninfected.



What was the ideology that guided them? They had nothing crystallized. They were «pigs» feeding from the trough of fascism and bearing the label of «democratic nationalism». But in their ranks there were neither nationalists nor democrats. They were obsessed by the idea that «they were the ablest, were tested politicians, who were loved and respected by the people and, therefore, were destined to take power at a propitious moment and to govern the country».

For them fascism was an evil and a blessing at the same time; an evil because the diplomatic and parliamentary game, with them as the epicentre, was not going well, but it was also a blessing because they were «saving themselves for later», that «do what it may, Italy would bring about a certain economic and cultural development, would develop industry and agriculture, trade and transport».

For them, the occupation of the country by fascist Italy was a passing phenomenon for Albania, and they thought that, when it departed, «we will still have it as a support, if we don't harrass it, as these children are doing». Their ideas extended even further: «If nazi Germany replaces Italy, better still, it will help us, too. On the other hand, if both Italy and Germany are defeated, then Britain and the United States of America will win, and they in turn, will make the law, and in that case we shall be on the winning side».

They expounded their views openly and did not conceal them in their talks with people, including some of us, communists, whom the Party had charged to talk with them, in order to explain things to them, if possible, to convince them of the wrong course they had taken. It was because of these dangerous views that the war of the Albanian people against the occupiers was regarded with horror by these elements. They did not want any fight at all against the fascist invader, therefore, they did their ut-

most and used every means to strangle the revolution.

Being rabid anti-communists, they in no way welcomed the founding of the Communist Party of Albania and the programme adopted in its resolution. They did not welcome and fought to prevent the emergence of the Communist Party of Albania at the head of the people's war, at the head of the organization of the new state power of the councils, at the head of a broad anti-fascist policy and armed actions.

These elements, together with fascism, labelled the Communist Party of Albania «a party of foreigners and not of Albanians», «a party of Slavs and not of Albanians», and called the National-liberation War «a crazy, hopeless war detrimental to Albania». According to them, the leaders of the Communist Party of Albania and of this anti-fascist war were «reckless children, who don't know how to make politics», and a thousand other slanders.

This was the situation at that time with this bunch of individuals, a situation which the Communist Party of Albania and its leadership examined many times before the Conference of Peza was held, as well as afterwards.

The Party had undertaken a similar study before and after the Conference of Peza in regard to religious beliefs in Albania, also. We analysed the religious beliefs in two directions: the concrete impact of religions among the broad masses of the people and the danger of the religious hierarchy. I shall not deal at length with these analyses, but it is necessary, to define some main features which guided us when the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania drafted the report delivered at the Conference of Peza and the resolution that emerged from that meeting.

It is known that in our country there were three religious faiths: the Muslim faith, the most widespread, the orthodox christian faith, which was the second, and the Roman Catholic

faith, less widespread, with its centre in Shkodra which extended over the Highlands of Shkodra to Lezha and as far as Durrës where there was a bishopric. There were also some muslims belongig to unimportant sects which, except for the Bektashi sect, had no influence among the people.

With regard to the religious hierarchies, their influence was as follows: the Catholic clergy were people with no Homeland. They depended entirely on the Vatican, even for most trifling things, regardless of the various orders such as Jesuits, Franciscans, etc. In Albania, as in the other countries of the Catholic world, the Catholic Church had the same pyramidal organization, the same organization of churches, cells, monasteries, religious or even state schools, the same rites and liturgy, the same method and style of work in general. Their subsidies, stipends and everything else came from their plundering of their believers in the form of donations including forcing the faithful to leave their portable and fixed assets to the church.

The entire hierarchy of the Catholic Church, ranging from the highest ranking clergy down to the student in the seminary and the parish priest, were people of learning, gained in theological schools, with iron discipline, with the methods and tricks of suppressing peoples' will through the fear of God, Christ and the apostles. The catholic must be in the hands of the church «perinde ac cadaver»<sup>1</sup>. The faithful were entangled in the spiders' web of the laws of the church, the canons and laws of the reactionary bourgeoisie, all of them were chains that shackled and oppressed the believers. The Catholic Church and its clergy were obscurantist, conservative, adaptable, and resilient to the highest degree, and always in alliance with the reactionary regimes such as that of Princ Wied, and Ahmet Zog, and indeed did not fail to have a finger in the democratic-bourgeois regime of Fan Noli, as well as kowtowing to every foreign invader that



occupied Albania, whether Austro-Hungarian, Italian fascists, or German nazis.

Only our regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat cut off the hand and, later, the head, of the Catholic Church.

But we must not be diverted from the period under analysis. That was the situation among the hierarchy of the Catholic religion and the Catholic believers prior to the Conference of Peza. The top priests were double agents of the Vatican and of the Italian invaders. But for us, for the National-liberation War, there existed the broad field of the people of the North, of those who believed in religion. There were also some poor, rank and file priests who might, to some extent, listen to our word, because they lived closer to the sufferings and worries of the people. In these directions we would work and make headway.

The Muslim religion, its adherents and its clergy, were not a serious obstacle to our war against the Italian invader like the Catholic religion. Even before the occupation of the country, but more so afterwards, the hierarchy of the Muslim faith was weak, without the least experience to give us trouble. The mosques existed. They each had a hodja, but very few, if any, practising adherents. The rites had been abandoned. No marriage was performed according to the Sheriat, and everything else, such as the observation of Ramadan, «the feast of Bajram» had become routine customs, which were practised only because they «existed». The hodjas were all ignorant, none of them was in a position to propagate the philosophy, ethics or the morality of the Koran, nobody understood the Koran because it was recited by heart in a foreign tongue (Arabic). Though conservative in customs, the hodjas were not politicians and incapable of exercising influence by means of the Islamic thought. The broad masses of the people were almost liberated from the bonds of religion, the intellectual development of the Muslim

believers was more extensive and there was very great liberalism and tolerance. Hence the work of the Party in raising the people in struggle faced no serious obstacle in this direction.

In the Bektashi sect, too, most of the Muhibs displayed patriotism and fought for the liberation of Albania.

The same situation existed, also, in the orthodox christian faith, both in the hierarchy of the church as well as among the believers.

Thus, we had the question of religious beliefs in the centre of our attention during the period of the National-liberation War and also after the war, because the people's feelings must not be hurt if their participation in the war for the liberation of the Homeland and for the construction of a new Albania was to be achieved.

With regard to the intelligentsia, naturally this required extensive, more qualified and differentiated work at various levels. In general, work among the intellectuals, was on favourable ground. An exception to this were the highly placed officials, who not only accepted fascism, but also secured great material gains from it. In general «cultured officials» of this category were corrupted by all the regimes. They were among the first who willingly joined the «Albanian» fascist party created by the occupiers.

However, in general, the intelligentsia of our country was patriotic, anti-fascist, against the invasion of the country, and manifested this spirit of patriotism as early as the first days of the invasion, when it burst into demonstrations and protests against the traitorous regime of Zog and against the Italian occupiers. Town and village teachers stood at the head of the resistance of their pupils and students, kept their patriotic morale high, and instructed them to resist fascism and the Italianization of the Albanian schools. All our university intelligentsia had been through various foreign universities, where they had been sent by the state on bursaries, or at their own expense. Despite

this, with the exception of a few who embraced the ideas of Italian fascism and the nazi doctrine, our university intelligentsia, in general, did not come back from abroad corrupted and lacking the sense of the mission they had to carry out in their own Homeland for the spread of education and culture and for the democratic awakening of the masses of the people. Therefore, this strata of the people had great importance for the work of the Party, because through them, too, the patriotic feelings among the school youth would continue to be tempered and aroused more and more.

But above all, the steel base of the war and the revolution would be the working class, the peasantry, and, as a constituent part of them, the youth of the town workshops and of the villages. Without the persistent, daily, special care of the Party to make things clear to them, the war could not be waged successfully and victory could not be achieved. In all the sectors where it worked, in the small factories, in the mines, in such concessions as were now in the hands of foreigners, especially of Italians, in the construction sites and military barracks that the occupying power was building for its army, in the new roads it was opening for the needs of its military expansion, everywhere, the working class of our country was the main striking force against fascism. It was the class which would lead the great revolution, the steel base of the Communist Party of Albania, the class which, with its Party at the head, would take in hand the leadership of the National-liberation War. From its founding, the Party told the working class of its decisive role, told and taught it, and would continue to teach it every day, through leaflets, legal meetings and fighting actions, that the ideology of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin would lead the working class and all the Albanian people in the liberation war.

The Party demonstrated to the working class with facts from life that its most loyal ally in this life and death struggle was the poor and

middle peasantry and that this class had always been oppressed, that the beys and feudal-owners had sucked its blood, that to the landed beys this class was like the land itself, which they had robbed from the peasants and which was used and sold like a market commodity. Through its leaflets, the Party told the working class and the poverty-stricken peasantry that the victory depended on their alliance, under the leadership of the working class, that without this alliance, without this fighting unity, it was impossible to bring about the unity of the whole people for the liberation war.

The Party made it clear to these two classes that without war the liberation of the Homeland could not be achieved, that the land could not be won, that they could not ensure their daily bread and eat it themselves, that the things most sacred to the Albanians, their language, the great feeling of love for the Homeland and national unity could not be safeguarded, that the finest characteristics of this small but heroic nation of indomitable fighters, could not be preserved and developed.

War against the occupiers, war, merciless war, against them and the traitors, was the call of the Communist Party of Albania in its leaflets everyday. The patriotic union of the entire people in war against the enemy and the traitors was the main motto of the Party, which was repeated again and again, day and night, in legal and illegal meetings. Through this intensive activity, the Party achieved great results and, when it saw that the situation was ripe, it called the historic Conference of Peza, which was held on September 16, 1942 in the village of Peza e Madhe, in the region of Tirana.

This great event of historic importance, which is one of the embodiments of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist Party of Albania, was to have incalculable repercussions for the outcome of the National-liberation War, for the unity of the people, for the destruction of the old op-

pressive, feudal-bourgeois-fascist state power to its foundations and for the creation of a new, most democratic state power of the people, with the Communist Party of Albania, the vanguard of the working class, which expressed the will of the people, at its head.

Every step forward that the Party took and every action that it engaged in at these very delicate moments, were rational and thoroughly studied. The leadership of the Party did not undertake anything without prior study and analyses. Just as the activity of the communist groups was analysed and this Marxist-Leninist analysis was crowned with the creation and the founding of the Communist Party of Albania, just as various analyses were made, in which the holding of activists' meetings and consultations were found indispensable, in which important decisions were made about the course of our Party, so too analyses were made about the holding of the Conference of Peza.

How did this great action result? Despite the differing views and mistakes of line, the communist groups began the war and the resistance against the invaders from the 7th of April, 1939. With various ways and methods in the resistance against the enemy, their members learned how to create and broaden their groups, as well as how to think and act in various elementary forms; they carefully observed the propaganda and tactics of the enemy, assessed the enemy strength to the best of their ability and, above all, they lived among the people and with the people and had a more or less correct idea of the spiritual state of the masses, in general, and of various groups and elements, in particular.

With the founding of the Party, the organization of cells and committees, the strengthening and unification of its political line, propaganda activities and actions, all this accumulated knowledge, the knowledge of the situation among the people, of the strategy and the tactics of the enemy and the traitors, were channelled to, and

concentrated in, the leadership of the Party. Through the various meetings of the committees, organizations, and cells, which continually weighed up the work, the situation and developments, through reports sent us from the zones, from the meetings of activists and consultations, from the contacts with various persons, communists or non-communists, we drew very valuable conclusions indispensable for issuing precise fighting instructions to the base. In the basic documents of the Party and in resolutions and leaflets, the main line, the main objective, was the strengthening and tempering of the Party politically, ideologically, organizationally and militarily. In them it was stressed that the people must unite in the war against the occupiers, that the unity of the people around the Party in this National-liberation War would be decisive, the key to victory.

Thus, during all this period, the leadership of the Party became clear about the general situation in the country, measured the strength and means of the opponent, created clear ideas about where the war must be based, where our forces must be concentrated and how we must manoeuvre in various situations, either foreseen or unknown and unexpected; it studied and envisaged the possible alliances among classes and strata, as well as among individuals; it analysed thoroughly and explained clearly how every means to this unity must be used such as personal acquaintance, links of friendship, marriage, regionalism, patriarchalism, and up to the manner in which to draw in the clan groupings and involve them in the war, dividing them from the ruling chieftains, who had placed themselves in the service of the occupiers. Nothing, not even the slightest opportunity, not even the most trifle means, not even a word in its support, however unimportant it might be, concerning the unity of the patriots and the entire people in the war, must escape the consideration of the Party. We had to be very patient and cool-headed in the talks we had, especially with the «megalomaniac» elements of

the categories I mentioned above, who posed as «great politicians». In our talks with them we insisted, explained, proposed and sought their approval, but in vain; they had divorced themselves from the nation, from the Homeland, they were alien to the people and collaborators with foreigners. They were like those poisonous toadstools that appear on the healthy trunk of the tree. History was to condemn them severely and the people would give them the punishment they deserved. They were parasites, but the new society, which was in the making, would purge itself of them. This is the result of the revolutionary application of historical materialism.

At a series of meetings of the leadership we analysed all these data and definitely decided to call a broad meeting, headed by the Communist Party of Albania, in which elements known as fighters and patriots and nationalists of various political convictions, but who were anti-fascists, with or without religious beliefs, and representatives of an important number of regions, were to take part, as well as elements of other characteristics, whom we considered ought to take part in this meeting together with us. On the other hand, we took into account, as far as possible under the circumstances, that the conference, which was, of course, held under severe conditions of illegality, should be in Central Albania, and if possible in the vicinity of Tirana, in order to show the enemy occupiers and the traitors the political, organizational and military strength of the Communist Party of Albania.

Peza e Madhe, the birthplace and battleground of Myslim Peza, the distinguished patriot and fighter, and friend, loyal to the end to the Communist Party of Albania, was chosen as the place for the conference. There, at the Peza e Madhe, the fighting forces of Dad Myslim, made up of communists and patriotic peasants as well as the entire Peza region, which had entered the armed struggle against the occupiers, would ensure the calm necessary to enable the meeting to pro-

ceed and take the historic decisions.

The selection of the theses and directives, which the Central Committee had to present the Conference by means of a report, was important. I proposed to the comrades the main orientations on the role of the Front and the councils and the decisions that were to be fixed in a resolution, which the Conference would adopt after it had discussed them.

What were these basic and mobilizing principles which the Party would present to the Conference, and which, after adoption, were to become known to the entire people? These principles have now become historic. The National-liberation War and life fully confirmed their correctness.

The main basic idea which was put forth by the CC of the Communist Party of Albania at the Conference of Peza was the unity of the entire Albanian people and their organization in war against the invaders. These were the cardinal points which I, charged by the Central Committee, elaborated in the main report on the councils delivered at the Conference. I explained that these were tragic moments for the fate of the Homeland and the people. Faced with the cruelty of the fascist occupiers, the people had to unite to a man, putting aside the things which might divide us, and we must mobilize and link ourselves with one another for one great cause: the liberation of the Homeland, its salvation as a formed nation and to smash the predatory aims of enemies, who in every age, have acted to partition our country and deny our existence as a nation. He who really wanted the people and the Homeland to be free, independent and sovereign, must prove this now, at this juncture, regardless of his political convictions, religious beliefs, or of the region from which he came. In the report I stressed: War against the Italian fascist occupiers and their collaborators is the only alternative, there in no other way; any other road leads to bondage, to enslavement, to national and individual disaster. The Italian enemy and the quislings want to divide us,

to split us, and their chief objective is to isolate the Communist Party of Albania from the people and the war. For the enemy occupier this objective is decisive. However, for the liberation of the people and the Homeland, the existence of the Communist Party of Albania and its struggle at the head of the people, who are fighting and resisting, is decisive.

The occupiers and their lackeys possess powerful means of propaganda to slander the communists, claiming that «they have sold themselves to foreigners», «they are destroying the family», and so on, but this propaganda is falling on deaf ears, and the unity, the political struggle and armed struggle of the people will not only neutralize this vile anti-national propaganda but will also isolate the enemy and defeat it on the battle field.

In the report I stressed also: Ours is a national-liberation war. It will be a political war and a military war.

To achieve these two major objectives it is necessary to organize the National-liberation Front and the partisan units, which will fight under the national flag of Scanderbeg and Vlora; on their caps the partisan fighters will have a star, which symbolizes a new, brilliant period, which is being opened to our Homeland and people through the war.

The National-liberation Front will be organized everywhere in our country, in the liberated and non-liberated zones, and this organization will consist of the national-liberation councils, which will carry out the political and propaganda work, and mobilize the people for the war and resistance, will see to the material supplies of all kinds for the fighting units, and in the liberated zones, where the old oppressive state power is liquidated to its foundations, these councils will be and will affirm themselves as the new people's democratic state power, which will be like neither the feudal-bourgeois state administration nor the old councils of elders, either in form or in content, said the report. These would be councils of a new content and spirit, because:

they would be composed of men of the people fighters from all strata and religious or political beliefs, but who were anti-fascists and fought the occupiers.

The partisan units, the report said, will be led by communist commanders or non-party patriots, and at the same time, by political commissars, who must be communists. The decisions must be taken by the commander and the commissar jointly and in full harmony, in the relations between them and in the stand towards them there must be no discrimination at all.

It stressed the main thing, that the National-liberation Front is led by the Communist Party of Albania, the only party in the country, and that the Front will have its doors open to anybody who is willing to fight the enemy, who, as an individual, must consider the Front as his own organization in which he can freely express his thoughts and suggestions in favour of the National-liberation War. The admission of other parties into the Front was not even mentioned because such parties did not exist. No class, no stratum, or political grouping whatever had emerged with a party of its own and a programme for the national liberation. And any organization that was created after the Conference of Peza, such as the «Balli Kombëtar», was nothing else but a creation of the fascist occupiers and other foreigners to impede the liberation of the Homeland.

Apart from the report I delivered, comrade Nako Spiru delivered a special report, «The Youth in War against the Occupiers». Likewise, comrade Nexhmije Xhuglini (Hoxha) discussed the miserable situation and the patriotic-revolutionary activity of women and girls. These two comrades raised and argued the great importance of the worker, peasant and school youth, and of women, workers, peasants, and housewives in this great war. They showed that without awakening and uniting them around the great goal of the liberation, without involving them in the war and active resistance, everything would turn out

poorly, the healthy, vital forces of the Homeland would not be tempered, and would become weaker. They stressed that the enemy must not be allowed to corrupt even one woman, one girl or boy, politically.

Myslim strongly supported the theses of the Party. So did Baba Faja Martaneshi, Haxhi Lleshi, and others. Some other comrades of the Party spoke on the international situation and its repercussion on the internal situation, or stressed the participation of the nationalists in this meeting and in the war.

One nationalist democrat participant, who later became a Ballist, expressed his support for the «Front», but owing to his narrow, distorted concepts, he wanted to limit the role of the Conference of Peza, comparing it with the Congress of Lushnja, which was convened to oppose the Durrës government. This person displayed tendencies more towards a «democratic government» to overthrow that of Mustafa Kruja, and he «forgot» to stress the necessity of the war against the occupier.

A non-communist youth, who later became one of the exponents of the youth of the «Balli Kombëtar», also spoke at the meeting. His theses, too, appeared to be for the war, for the Front, but he stressed that there must not be a leading party in the Front and, in the course of the war, whoever wins recognition, must take the leadership. If communism won, there was no force which could stop it; and the same would be the case with nationalism. Striving to prevent the participation of our youth in the war, this «youth leader», who abandoned the Homeland and took to his heels together with the invaders, said also: «We are of the opinion, and insist, that the youth must be withdrawn from the fighting actions, because those of tender age are not in a position to control their acts or thinking». Everything was explained coolly and with arguments, with the intention that the participants in the Conference could be more than clear about everything.

The overwhelming majority of the participants in the Conference, in their contributions, enthusiastically approved the proposals of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania. There was unanimity at the Conference, but there were also some who approved it in silence.

Even Abaz Kupa, the representative of the Zogite trend, and some others approved the platform of Peza, not because they wanted it, but because they intended to disguise themselves in order to act as they did, in opposition to the Front and the National-liberation War. We had fathomed out their spiritual mood and were not surprised when they took the first step against us. Bazi was linked with the bajraktars of the country and collaborated with the German invaders. He did not accept the star, the partisan symbol, and this was not a mere matter of formality, because it allegedly violated something symbolic of the nation, but for him, this was a question of principle: what would the post-war Albania be, a new, genuine democracy, or the old regime of Zog and of the feudal lords and bajraktars? Of course, Abaz Kupa thought and worked for the return of Zog; we were clear about this person, Zog's man and an agent, illegally introduced in Albania by the British Intelligence Service, financed by it and under its orders. He had received instructions to accept our invitation, to take part in the Front, to pose as a fighter, but not to fire a single shot against occupiers and to wait for the time when he would be ordered how to act. Our aim and that of the Front was to find the easiest way into the Northern regions, and especially in the Mat, Kruja, Peshkopia zones, where the people were still being oppressed by Zog's men, the local commanders, the bajraktars, and their lackeys, and all sorts of scum.

The name of the Anti-fascist National-liberation Front was not without a profound political and military meaning. On the contrary, these three words summarized the idea of

the union of the people. But why? In order to create a fighting front. The idea and the action dominated in the word «front». This word expressed the meaning of the lining up of the living forces of the people organized in a fighting front in which courage, heroism, politics, strategy and various tactics were necessary, in which sacrifices were to be made, because it was a fight for life and death against a savage enemy. But for what war was this Front being created? The answer came immediately: for the liberation of the nation. Hence, it was a national-liberation front, which would mobilize and gather in its ranks all the anti-fascist forces, which were going to fight for the liberation of the Homeland. Our Homeland would assume a new form, would have a new regime, which would be determined by the armed people themselves, by the very people, who by fighting arms in hand and making great sacrifices, had liberated the country. No one else, no internal or external enemy, would be able any longer to impose his will upon the Albanian people. This situation, that was being created was the glorious deed of the Communist Party of Albania.

Through stern, continuous, principled struggle, the way was opened through colossal obstacles. The implementation of the great principles proclaimed by the Conference of Peza shook the invaders and the quislings. I shall not dwell at length on the heroic battles and efforts, but shall speak a little about the reactions which the holding of the Conference of Peza and the resolution adopted there created.

Among the people the Conference had a colossal effect, aroused hopes and belief in the Communist Party of Albania, belief in the war and in victory. Among the enemies it aroused anger, fear, terror. For them it was a heavy political, ideological, and military slap in the face. Their positions in Albania were being demolished. Then, they resorted to terror, killings, imprisonment of the communists, patriots, the people, they burned villa-

ges and whole regions. On the other hand, they also made use of the heads of the Albanian reaction, the pseudo-patriots, and pseudo-democrats.

After the Conference, the enemy occupiers unleashed this «reserve» in open war against the Communist Party of Albania, against the Antifascist National-liberation Front, against the partisan National-liberation War. We had talked with many of the pseudo-nationalist and pseudo-democrat heads prior to the Conference of Peza, in which we invited them, too, to take part. They were eating the bread of Italy, posed as «patriots» and lay low «like smouldering embers», but their demagogy never took us in.

Immediately after the Resolution of the Conference of Peza was published, this «reserve» of the Italian occupiers formed the «Balli Kombëtar» and proclaimed its «decalogue». At the head of this gathering of traitors was placed an arch-traitor, called Mithat Frashëri, alias Lumo Skëndo. The other main heads of this grouping were from those «political emigrees» of the time of Zog, who, after the invasion of the country, placed themselves completely in the service of the Italian, such as Ali bey Këlcyra, Kol Tromara, and others. In fact, the «Balli Kombëtar» was led by Jackomoni, the viceroi of king Victor Emmanuel, and the commander of the Italian army in Albania, General Dalmazzo.

The very name, «Balli Kombëtar», explains the whole scheme of the feudal-bourgeois reaction of the country and the intentions of the occupiers. «Balli» is not simply a literal translation of the word «Front», similarly, «Kombëtar» is not simply the translation of the word «national». No, the term does not have a «patriotic» or linguistic character, but it has a profound ideological significance. For reaction «Balli» does not mean «war», as the word «Front» does for us. To them «Balli» means «the head», «the predestined national leadership», it stands for the old and «immortal», unchanging world, the conservative world with oppressors and oppressed, the «Albanian nation-

nal» world which rejects and fights progress, communism. This was the meaning of the «Balli Kombëtar», created by Jackomoni and Dalmazzo. The heads of the Albanian reaction dreamed of how tomorrow's Albania would be organized and run. The word «war» did not exist in the nomenclature of this organization or in its content because it represented a dying world in its death agony. The «Balli» waged war both with propaganda as well as with arms, but against the Communist Party of Albania, against the National-liberation Army, against the new state power of the national-liberation councils.

The Party did not underrate this war and manoeuvred to defeat it. It was sure that the criminal chiefs at the head and at the base, in the Ballist units that were created, would not lay down their arms, but the aim and the tactic of the Communist Party of Albania was to save those who had been deceived.

The Party made a series of proposals for the good of the Homeland and the liberation war. It did its utmost to avoid the fratricide that the heads of the «Balli», and the Italian and German occupiers wanted. Their cause lost, the glorious Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, triumphed and everything was overcome through great sacrifices; Albania was liberated once and for all from the occupiers and the exploiting classes. The people, with the working class at the head, led by the Communist Party of Albania, took power, reconstructed the country, established the republican regime, the regime of the people's democracy of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and are building socialism successfully.

In all this struggle, in all these historic events, the Conference of Peza, the deed of the Communist Party of Albania, occupies an important place and has taken its place along with the other great events of the National-liberation War of the Albanian people.

1) From Latin: even as a corpse. In the text it means: even after death.



# press review

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## THE BURDEN OF THE CRISIS IS WEIGHING EVER MORE HEAVILY ON THE BRITISH WORKERS

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

The present situation in Britain testifies to the sharpening of the allround crisis which has long been eroding this country as it has the whole capitalist-revisionist world. The destructive phenomena of this crisis are acting with ever growing strength, a thing which is evident in the falling production and rising inflation, deficits and foreign debts, in the constantly mounting prices of goods for daily consumption in the first place, in the increasing numbers of unemployed, etc.

Faced with ever greater difficulties, the present government, headed by Callaghan, is trying to manoeuvre to preserve its positions as best it can, in face of the competition by Britain's Common Market partners and, at the same time, to maintain its arming at the highest level, within the context of the aggressive NATO bloc, while calling on the British workers to make «new sacrifices».

With the intensification of preparations for war, the British imperialists have allocated 10 billion 760 million pounds in the present state budget for armaments. Recently, the new aircraft carrier «Invincible», the first in the series of new aircraft carriers being built in the

British ship-yards, was put into service. It can carry five «Harrier Stowell» aircraft, nine helicopters fitted with submarine detecting devices, a considerable number of missiles, various types of observation apparatus, and other war equipment. As the British press says, this type of aircraft carrier will constitute «the nucleus of the British military arsenal under reconstruction». Meanwhile, again according to the British press, four new type missiles, the total cost of which will amount to several hundred million pounds, will be added to the arsenal of the British armed forces. In this manner, British imperialism, which, according to the British Minister of War «now possesses the most modern weapons», is trying to strengthen its apparatus for oppression within the country and colonial domination in other countries. The government in London is spending ever larger sums for the maintenance of thousands of British occupation soldiers in Northern Ireland.

The development of events shows clearly that British imperialism, a partner in the reactionary organization the «European Common Market», and the aggressive NATO bloc, which is manipulated and directed by the US impe-

rialists, has been and still is the oppressor and exploiter of the proletariat inside its own country, and an aggressive and enslaving force against the other freedom-loving peoples.

But day by day the burden of capitalist oppression and exploitation is growing heavier on the British workers, and they are becoming ever more conscious of the fact that the roots of this economic exploitation and the political oppression lie in the capitalist system itself, that British imperialism has always been a savage enemy of the British proletariat and the peoples of the world.

In the face of its ever more difficult economic situation, the British proletariat is putting up powerful opposition to the capitalist oppression and exploitation. Now hundreds of thousands of British workers of various occupations have taken to the barricades of class struggle. Hardly a day passes in Britain without strikes or demonstrations of the working people in defence of their vital rights. This sharpening of the class struggle is a clear indicator of the rising consciousness of the workers of that country, of the deepening of the fundamental contradiction between labour and capital. It is a reflection

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of the anti-popular and reactionary course of the British government, the representative and defender of the inte-

rests of big monopolies Hence, it is impossible for the working class to realize its aspirations of social libe-

ration without eliminating the source of all evils, the capitalist system, once and for all.

## THE UNRELENTING ANTI-IMPERIALIST LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF AFRICAN PEOPLES CONTINUES

«BASHKIMI» — Central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania —

The struggle of the African peoples against interference, dictate and plunder by world imperialism is growing and becoming more powerful with each passing day.

For years on end the oppressed peoples of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia have been waging a determined struggle against the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury. This struggle, like the struggle of the other African peoples against racist regimes, against apartheid and racial discrimination, against neo-colonialism and the all-round interference of the two superpowers, enjoys the powerful solidarity and support of all the peoples of the world.

The Albanian people, as sincere friends of the peoples of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia, resolutely condemn the barbarous policy of oppression and exploitation practised by the racist regimes in the south of Africa. They have always been on the side of the oppressed African peoples and have

given their powerful support to the just liberation struggle of these peoples.

The peoples of Africa are also waging a ceaseless struggle against the expansionist policy of the imperialist powers, which are striving at all costs to protect the privileges they have secured through violence and deception to maintain their plunder and exploitation, and to secure new positions in order to get the natural assets of this large continent into their clutches. As is known, this continent has the largest reserves of diamonds, gold, cobalt, and phosphates, as well as important reserves of oil, chromium, copper, iron, uranium, graphite, etc., which have been subjected to systematic plunder by foreign capitalist monopolies. Even today, though the struggle of the peoples and the various measures of nationalization adopted by many African countries have narrowed the sphere of economic expansion of the imperialist powers and the multi-natio-

nal monopolies, by resorting to various neo-colonialist forms, they are still plundering the assets, the toil, and the blood of these peoples. The facts show that the US imperialists grab 54 per cent of the manganese, 47 per cent of the cobalt, 24 per cent of the chromium and 22 per cent of the graphite, from what they call the «Dark Continent». The annual profits made by US monopolies in Africa from the investment of capital alone amount to a billion dollars. Similarly, just through unequal trade with the African countries, in the period from 1955 to 1974 the Soviet socialimperialists have got away with profits amounting to 2 billion 400 million dollars. Other imperialist powers, such as Great Britain, France, German Federal Republic, and others, also have important economic, political and cultural positions on this continent.

In their efforts to break the shackles of colonialism, to eradicate the backward-

**press review**

ness inherited from the past and to consolidate the victories achieved, the African peoples are encountering the continuous intrigues of the two imperialist superpowers, which, in order to extend their political, economic and military interference, are resorting to most vile and dangerous methods in order to create hot-beds of tension and new conflicts. The aim of these intrigues is to incite divisions among the African peoples, to break their unity, so that the conditions for American-Soviet intervention are created. What can be said about the conflict in Biafra, the events in Angola, the strife in Zaire and, more recently, about the armed conflict between Ethiopia and Somali? Who caused them? The African peoples? Of course, not. These conflicts, which are kind-

led according to the appetite of the two superpowers, have their source, first of all, in the «divide and rule» policy, which US imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism constantly pursue. In inciting division and creating hostility among peoples of this continent, the over-riding aim of the two superpowers is to weaken the anti-imperialist resistance of the African peoples, to divert them from the road of consolidation of national independence and independent economic development and, at the same time, to open the way to the strengthening of their interference, dictate, and neo-colonialist plunder.

The whole development of events and the innumerable facts coupled with them, have shown the African peoples that it is precisely the continued interference of the superpowers and the other imperialists which causes the

conflicts and quarrels among the African countries, the continued plundering of their assets, and which has become the main obstacle to the freedom, progress, democracy and the full independence and sovereignty of the African countries. The African peoples are convinced that the only way to preserve and strengthen their independence and sovereignty, peace and security, is by continuing their struggle for liberation and social progress, rejecting the diabolic interference of the superpowers.

The Albanian people have always supported the just cause of the African countries, and in the future too, they will continue to support their struggle for freedom, independence, national sovereignty and social progress against the interference and intrigues of the imperialist superpowers and the other forces of reaction.

## **A CONFLICT ALIEN TO THE LOFTY INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLES OF VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA**

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

As has been reported, on the border between the states of Democratic Cambodia and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, armed fightings have taken place recently with the participation numerous military units. According to reports, both sides

have had many casualties. The statements by the governments of the two countries carry contradictory views as to the causes of the conflict.

The reports reaching us from Vietnam and Cambodia, two neighbouring coun-

tries and two fraternal peoples, are a cause of great distress for us. We regretfully see that the disagreements, which may exist between these two countries, reached the point of insensible and undesirable conflicts, armed confrontations,

**press review**

which are very apt to be extended. Instead of seeing to the solution of disagreements with patience, in the spirit of friendship and common interests, now these have become more complicated.

The wish of the Party of Labour, of the Government of our People's Socialist Republic, and of the Albanian people, is that this conflict and bloodshed should come to an end as soon as possible. At the same time, the armed forces, which may have violated the national border of one another, should immediately be withdrawn in their own territories. The two sides should place the major interests of the two peoples, their freedom, independence and sovereignty, the interests of the revolution, socialism and internationalist unity, on the first order of priorities. This is required by the need of the reestablishment of calm on the border between the two fraternal countries, the preservation of peace and security in the Indochinese peninsula.

In the situation which faces these two friendly peoples and fellow-fighters against imperialism in these days, we would not want to be one-sided. At these moments, our firm conviction is that, through common efforts and good-will on both sides, discarding any idea of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism, with complete confidence in the feelings of

proletarian internationalism, the disagreements which have emerged between Vietnam and Cambodia can and should certainly be solved through talks and in the spirit of cooperation and mutual understanding.

We hope that the sister People's China, too, which at the time of the war of the Indochinese peoples against US imperialism was their great supporter, will now mediate so that the armed fightings should cease, that the conflict and disagreements should be solved in a fraternal way and without interference from outside.

The Albanian people have been at one with, and have given their whole-hearted support to, the struggle of the fraternal people of Vietnam, who have made so many sacrifices for the triumph of the freedom and the revolution in their own country, thus making a valuable contribution to the common cause of the peoples of the world. Our people have cherished the same thing, the same sympathy and love also for the fraternal people of Cambodia. They have given them the same resolute support. Cambodia has fought with heroism and selflessness, and made innumerable sacrifices to win freedom and national independence, to build its new life.

Our Party, Government and people are very much distressed at hearing that such tragic events are taking place

between two friendly peoples and countries to socialist Albania. But we are convinced that the Cambodian-Vietnamese conflict is the doing of the enemies of the Vietnamese people and the Cambodian people. It is the hand of the imperialist powers, the hand of Soviet socialimperialism, and US imperialism, which are vying with each other for domination in Southeast Asia, to have them as their own zones of influence. In order to achieve these diabolic, hegemonic and neo-colonialist ends, they act according to the Machiavellian principle divide and rule, throwing the peoples into war against each other.

As friends and brothers of the peoples of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and Democratic Cambodia, and proceeding from profound, sincere and benevolent feelings, we call on the two countries, the two peoples, to cease all actions which infringe the lofty interests of the two nations, socialism, the revolution and their freedom, and solve the disagreements, which led to the armed conflict, through friendly talks. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have always adhered to the correct Marxist-Leninist view that all the disagreements between the socialist countries must be solved through cordial and comradely talks.

## press review

## EMIGRATION — GRAVE TRAGEDY FOR MILLIONS OF YOUTH IN THE BOURGEOIS — REVISIONIST WORLD

«ZËRI I RINISË» — Organ of the CC of the LYUA —

All the evils which present-day capitalism, in the grip of one of the most serious crises in its history, has loaded on the backs of the masses of working people, weigh especially on the multi-million masses of the youth. It is precisely the youth who experience the harshest capitalist oppression and exploitation, who pay the «cost» of the crisis in education, and who form the main detachments of the army of unemployed. It is the mass of the youth which constitutes the main target of the bourgeoisie in its efforts to sow confusion, moral degeneration and disruption. And for the youth of the bourgeois-revisionist world, emigration, this ugly monster of capitalism, constitutes one of the gravest tragedies.

Millions of young people (today they make up the bulk of the 12 million immigrants in the West European countries) have abandoned their homeland in search of any sort of job, just to keep body and soul together.

Today, the situation of the emigrant youth constitutes one of the gravest indictments of bourgeois «civilization» and «humanism». Bourgeois society has deprived them of even those few rights

which the local working class has won through its long struggle. They enjoy no political rights, do not have the right to hold a work permit and can be laid off from work whenever it suits the employer. And the capitalist employers take them on only for the most back-breaking, unqualified jobs. Sometimes they are paid less than half the wages of a local worker. In the Federal German Republic, an immigrant youth is paid two marks per hour less than the local worker. The rate at which they are exploited is inhuman, while safety measures at work are simply nonexistent. They hold first place in suffering accidents at work and occupational diseases. According to figures from the bourgeois press, in West Germany 200 thousand and immigrant workers fall victims to accidents every year, whereas in France, one in every three workers disabled in accidents is an immigrant. The profits of the monopoly capitalists are swollen with the blood and sweat of these workers. Their exploitation provides the French employers with super-profits amounting 16-18 billion francs per year, whereas in West Germany from

the exploitation of Greek immigrant workers alone, the capitalist firms ensure super-profits amounting to 3.5 billion dollars. Capital exploits the immigrants not only by robbing them of their unpaid labour, but also in indirect ways, by constantly raising the taxes levied from them. In West Germany alone, during the last four years, about 15 billion marks were taken from immigrant families in the form of taxes.

The dazzling advertisements of the «consumer society» cannot conceal the miserable living conditions of millions of immigrants, and of the immigrant youth in particular. Mostly they live in shanty towns and decaying slum suburbs, which lack running water and the elementary conditions of hygiene and sanitation. It is not unusual for ten or more persons to be crowded into a single room.

The worsening of the economic crisis throughout the capitalist-revisionist world has made the problem of economic emigration even more acute. Emigration is the direct product of unemployment, and at the present time, the army of unemployed in the capitalist and revisionist countries has grown to unprecedented pro-



**press review**

portions. According to official figures, in the 24 capitalist member countries of the OECD, there are now about 7 million unemployed under 25 years of age, in the United States more than 3 million, whereas in Africa, from which large contingents of immigrants come to Europe, there are now more than 23 million unemployed young people. Just in the countries of the European Common Market, from the beginning of the present cycle of the crisis (1973), the number of unemployed has increased by another 2 million, who are mostly young people. In these conditions of the rapid growth of

unemployment, immigrants have been the first to be thrown out on the street by the capitalist bosses. According to press figures, in West Germany, last year 600 thousand immigrant workers were sacked, in Switzerland among the 370 thousand workers who were laid off last year, 278 thousand were immigrants, in France there are now about 100 thousand unemployed immigrant workers. A similar situation prevails in the other countries of Western Europe, too. And the future holds out no promise of any improvement for the immigrants, therefore many of them (as has been the case

with nearly half a million immigrant workers in West Germany) are returning to their homelands, worn out by the savage exploitation, worse off than when they left their homes, but with no more illusions that there may be a country in the world of capital in which they could live well.

The young immigrant workers are uniting ever more closely with the local workers, rejecting the efforts of the bourgeoisie which is trying to set one against the other, and expressing their determination to fight to the end against the social order which gives rise to such evils as emigration.

## **SAVAGE EXPLOITATION OF LATIN AMERICAN PEASANTS BY THE CAPITALIST MONOPOLIES**

*Commentary by the ALBANIAN TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY*

The aggregation of land in the hands of big estate owners, the bankruptcy of the small agricultural holdings, the creation of large agricultural companies, resulting in intensified exploitation of peasants, has made their situation even more grave. Latin America provides a clear example of this. The Latin American peasantry is subjected to double exploitation — by the big landholders and by foreign, especially US, agricultural firms.

The neo-colonialist policy

of American imperialism in the countries of Latin America is bringing increasing ruin to this region. Peasants are being driven off the land en masse, into the cities, thus increasing the army of the unemployed. With their thoroughly reactionary policy, the banks are playing a major role in the plunder of these countries and the transformation of their economies into appendages of the US economy. Now a new type of capitalist farm dependent on the interna-

tional and multi-national banks is developing in the countryside. This is leading to increased production for the foreign market and reduced production for the home market. Under the influence of the Inter-American Bank of Development, export products have increased, while the products necessary to feed the population have been reduced.

This has brought about the conversion of the agricultural economies of the countries of Latin America to the pro-

**press review**

duction of a single crop, or perhaps two or three crops, profitable to US capital. These countries are being made to specialize in the production of export crops, while they import a large part of their daily foodstuffs from the USA. Thus, according to an American official, AID (The American Development Agency), is encouraging Colombia to pursue the road of «development» which encourages going over from wheat production to the production of other crops profitable to the American monopoly exploiters. Such a thing greatly increases the all-round dependence of these countries on the American metropolis, from which they import the grain and other crops necessary to feed the local population. For instance, Colombia now imports more than 85 per cent of the wheat it needs. This division in crop

production is to the advantage of the big landholders, the multi-national companies, and the international banks, as well as to the metropolis on which they depend.

Due to such a plundering policy of the American imperialists, the general trend now, is for the countries of Latin America to become mere producers of such articles as bananas, meat, etc., and they have become short of basic agricultural products for their daily food.

The profits of the US imperialists are increasing from day to day. The bulk of the specialized agricultural production in the countries of Latin America is appropriated by the capitalist investors, chiefly Americans. In Mexico, for example, according to a study on growing tomatoes for export, the largest share of the profits does not go to the producing

countries. Similarly, another study on bananas shows that only 15 per cent of the income from this crop remains in the producing countries.

At the same time, competition among agricultural enterprises has grown tremendously. As a result of this savage competition, a very large number of small farms are being ruined. This has led to the concentration of agricultural capital in a few hands and to increased numbers of landless peasants, who are forced to go to cities to add to the number of the unemployed. All these factors are steadily worsening the living conditions of the masses of working people.

Confronted with this situation, the revolt of the workers, peasants, and other masses of working people of this region is growing each passing day.

## THE JUST CAUSE OF THE ARAB PEOPLES IS INVINCIBLE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Time after time, the enemies of the Arab peoples, with great ado, come out with the most varied plans and schemes allegedly designed «to solve» the problems preoccupying the Middle East and to put an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict which has been going on for 31 years. Much has been

spoken and heard about these plans: the Rogers and Kissinger plans, the Gromyko and Vance plans, plans by sheiks and missionaries of the UNO. But nothing has changed and could not possibly change. All these plans have been and are intended to put down the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples,

to force them to give up their supreme national interests, to abandon the Palestinian people and leave them at the cross-roads, to capitulate to the blackmail of Israel, to submit themselves to foreign imperialist domination, completely and finally.

The Arab peoples are well

**press review**

acquainted with their enemies and know what they are. They know that the aggressors must be exposed, isolated and fought. They know that Israel is a savage and insatiable aggressor against the freedom and independence of the Arab peoples. Several times it has shed the blood of the fraternal Arab peoples, has occupied their lands and has continually threatened them with further expansion. Every day, Israel continues to attack, murder and massacre an ancient and glorious people, like the fraternal Palestinian people, whom the Zionists, urged on and supported by the US imperialists, have left homeless and without a country. But although fragmented and under constant threat of murder, the Palestinian people have kept intact their inextinguishable fighting spirit and their lofty national consciousness. They have never laid down the arms with which they are fighting for freedom, for their rights and their homeland.

The Albanian people, who feel very close to the Palestinian people in their struggle, nurture a sincere affection, a great respect and admiration for this valiant and long-suffering people and have unwavering confidence in their final victory.

Numerous efforts have been and are being made in various quarters to come to terms and achieve a com-

promise with Israel, to put aside and trample underfoot the vital interests of the Arab peoples, especially the interests of the Palestinian and Syrian peoples. This is to be condemned and cannot be accepted either by the Arab peoples and their true friends or by all those who hold the freedom and independence of nations dear.

But, it is noticed that, contrary to this widespread, healthy opinion, the «non-aligned» seem to have thrown in their hand. They are keeping quiet and finding it hard to manoeuvre to get out of the difficult position in which the plan of coming to terms with Israel is putting them. What has happened to all those speeches and pledges about defending the rights of the Arab peoples and the Palestinians? What has happened to all those resolutions and decisions about «the just solution» of the conflict in the Middle East, those expressions of opposition to the imperialist interference in this area from the tribunes of conferences?

Neither is there any sign of activity from the so-called «third world», in regard to the agreement and compromise with Israel. The partisans of the «theory of three worlds», who shout themselves hoarse and labour to prove with quotations that they give liberation wars their unsparing support and are defending the interests of the peoples

of the world, are not to be seen defending the just cause of the Arab peoples, or coming out in their support. Why? Is it because the interests and territories of the Arabs, the future and the very existence of the Palestinians must be sacrificed for the sake of the alliance with the «second world» and with the United States of America? Or is it perhaps that the over-riding interests of the imperialist superpowers, which the small nations and ordinary folk can never manage to understand, require this?

The very unhappy position of the supporters of the «theory of three worlds», who see the scheme that links their worlds torn to shreds by the agreement and compromise with Israel, is easily understood. The question is simple: in whose favour is this agreement? In favour of the «first world», the «second world» or the «third world»? Does it serve the liberation of the peoples or national oppression, the anti-imperialist struggle or suppression of it? Their silence shows that this bargain does not fit into the pattern of their propaganda at all, because in this case their slogans and «theories» cannot change the nature of the facts.

The facts and daily international life show clearly that the general policy pursued by the imperialist superpowers is constructed to conform to

**press review**

their own selfish interests, each proceeding from the aim of being first to establish its own hegemony firmly over the peoples and continents. Each of the imperialist superpowers, both when it has got its claws deep in foreign flesh, and when one of them is just beginning to put in the pegs marking a new area for expansion, fights to impose its policy to the other countries and groups of countries.

The Soviet socialimperialists are working at full-steam to dupe the leaderships of various countries of Africa, by hiding behind the mask of a «socialist country» and posing as champions of freedom. They sell arms to these countries, and in return, extract from them the right to set up military bases for their interests of domination and to extend the range of their imperialist expansion.

At the same time another imperialist power, the United States of America, is manoeuvring through its agents, through credits, arms and dollars, and leaving no stone unturned in order to topple the Soviet socialimperialists. The superpowers' contest for domination and hegemony knows no bounds, it recognizes no rules or morality — fraud and perfidy go hand in hand with crime and violence.

Falling victims to these dangerous games of the superpowers are the peoples, the various countries, which

become the focus of the savage Soviet-American rivalry. Now we see that Ethiopia and Somali, two freedom- and peace-loving countries and peoples, with an ancient culture, two peoples who have suffered immensely at the hands of the Italian occupiers, have gone to war and are killing each other. Do these peoples want the war, which is causing them so much suffering and misery? Not at all. Could they solve the contradictions existing between them without the need to fight and kill each other? Certainly, they have the possibility of solving these differences by finding the most appropriate ways. Then why are they fighting? It is clear that others, the imperialist powers and superpowers, are urging these peoples to war, in order to further their own predatory and hegemonic interests.

And while these unfortunate peoples are shedding torrents of blood, and hatred between them is growing, there are imperialist and capitalist powers which sometimes side with one and sometimes with the other, at times applaud one country, and sometimes applaud the other, without making even the slightest gesture to help these long-suffering peoples to gain peace and to have the possibility of building their own lives in complete freedom and independence.

The peoples must guard against the intrigues of the

imperialist superpowers, who come as friends, as well-wishers, but whose real intention is to dominate them, to lay the basis for the establishment of their own hegemony. This is what is happening in Angola, Zaire, and elsewhere. This has been going on for a long time in the Middle East, too, with the drama that is being played with the destinies of the Arab peoples, in which the imperialist superpowers are pulling the strings, alternating with each other, to fulfil their ambitions for expansion and exploitation.

The history of revolutionary and liberation wars, as well as the daily practice of international life, teach us that the enemies must not be given a moment's respite so that they have no time to reach agreement, to group their forces and organize themselves in their struggle against the peoples. We are fully confident that all those who are oppressed and suffering at the hands of imperialists and reaction, all who love the freedom and independence of their countries, will mobilize themselves more and more in order to expose the plans and intentions of the imperialist superpowers of strangling the revolution and enslaving the peoples, and will raise their revolutionary struggle to cope with and conquer the enemies, to an even higher level.

# Albania today

1977

N° 1(32)/1977



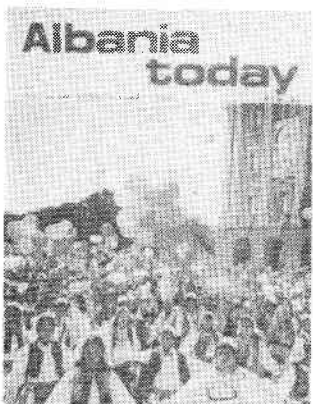
The Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania	2
A constitution that embodies the true features of scientific socialism	18 ENVER HOXHA
The great role and force of the peasantry in socialist society	28 Lenka Çuko
From the life of the country	32
Imperialism and socialimperialism in crisis and under the revolutionary blows of the peoples	44 «Zëri i Popullit»
The modern distortions in contemporary bourgeois-revisionist music.	48 Simon Gjoni
Press review	55

N° 2(33)/1977



In struggle and revolution the Marxist-Leninists become strong and indomitable (from comrade Enver Hoxha's conversation with comrade Pedro Pomar)	2
The PLA has always followed one Marxist-Leninist line	9 Ndreçi Plasari
Principle of universal value for the revolution and the construction of socialism	13 Harilla Papajorgji Kiço Kapetani
Marriage and family in the PSR of Albania	18 Ksanthipi Begeja
From the life of the country	22
A document which strengthens the revolutionary unity among the Marxist-Leninist communist parties	26
Militant internationalist solidarity in struggle against common enemies	32
The 3rd Congress of the CP of Germany (M-L) is held	42
The socialist International — an instrument of the imperialist bourgeoisie	53 Adem Mezini
Press review	57

N° 3(34)/1977



(Documents) The line of our Party is a correct, revolutionary line, in conformity with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism	40 ENVER HOXHA
(Documents) Our intelligentsia is raised and developed in the bosom of the people	45 ENVER HOXHA
A decisive condition for the triumph of the revolution and the construction of socialism	2 Fiqret Shehu
The literature of socialist realism is developing in struggle against the bourgeois and revisionist pressure	7 Ismail Kadare
On the contradictions in socialist society	11 Alfred Uçi
From the life of the country	15
The Party of Labour of Albania on the problems of war and peace	22 A. Tomorri
The 2nd Congress of the Portugese Communist Party (Reconstructed)	30
From Gramsci and the resistance to the present-day struggle for Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism	26
Press review	60

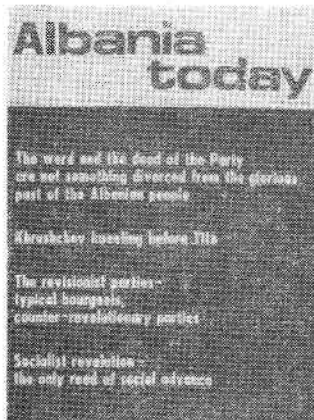


N° 4(35)/1977



Youth gives life and animation to the country, new blood to the Party	14	ENVER HOXHA
The 8th Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions	2	20 «Zëri i Popullit»
The theory and practice of the revolution	30	Piro Bitia
We must fight, to the last beat of our hearts, for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism	33	Abdyl Backa
The economy of the PSRA is developing at rapid and stable rates	40	
From the life of the country	46	Sotir Manushi
Powerful weapon of the world proletariat for the triumph of the revolution and the victory of communism	53	Hekuran Mara
The present economic crisis and the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism	56	
Press review		

N° 5(36)/1977



The word and deed of our Party are not divorced from the glorious past of our people	2	ENVER HOXHA
<b>Documents</b>		
Khrushchev kneeling before Tito	40	
Conversation with Chou En-lai	47	
The revisionist parties — typically bourgeois, counter-revolutionary parties	8	Fiqret Shehu
Socialist revolution — the only road of social progress	18	Zija Xholi
From the life of the country	22	
The Second Congress of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L)	28	
Hold high the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism	33	
Press review	57	

N° 6(37)/1977



The 7th Congress of the LYUA	2	
Commemorative meeting on the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution	18	
From the life of the country	34	
Constitution of revisionist betrayal	40	
Joint statement of the Communist Party of Germany (m-l), Communist Party of Spain (m-l), Communist Party of Greece (m-l), Communist Party of Italy (m-l), and the Portugese Communist Party (Reconstructed)	45	
Press review	56	

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