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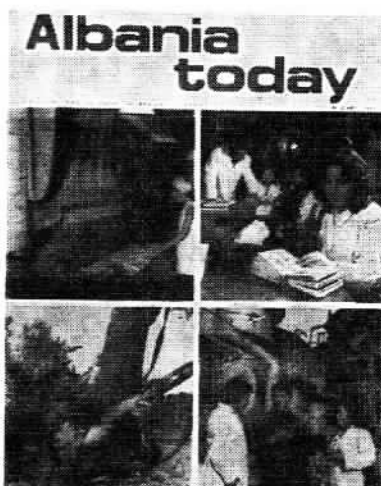
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◀THE ALBANIAN WOMEN CELEBRATE MARCH 8, THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL DAY, WITH LEGITIMATE PRIDE IN THEIR SUCCESSES. WITHIN A RELATIVELY SHORT PERIOD UNDER THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER THEY HAVE BEEN TRANSFORMED FROM A HUMAN BEING WITHOUT ANY RIGHTS AND CAST IN PROFOUND IGNORANCE INTO A GREAT ACTIVE FORCE IN ALL WALKS OF LIFE.

The 6th Five-year Plan saw the putting up of a number of major industrial projects in the PSR of Albania, amongst which the metallurgical combine, Elbasan. Partial view of a shop in the combine.





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THE STANDS TOWARDS T AN EXAMPLE MARXIST-LE

by NDREÇI PLASARI

*Against the
Khrushchevites, just
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alone, but always together
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IN THE 50'S THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, IN GENERAL, AND EACH OF ITS DETACHMENTS, IN PARTICULAR, WERE AT A CROSSROADS. THE STATE OF THINGS CAME ABOUT BECAUSE OF THE BETRAYAL OF THE KHRUSHCHEVITES TO MARXISM-LENINISM AND THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION. AT THE ILL-FAMED 20TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU THEY REPLACED THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST-LENINIST COURSE OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY WITH THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY REVISIONIST COURSE. AFTER USURPING THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOVIET PARTY AND STATE THEY LED THE COUNTRY ON TO THE ROAD OF ITS CAPITALIST AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST TRANSFORMATION, MISUSING THE GREAT PRESTIGE AND AUTHORITY OF THE GLORIOUS PARTY OF LENIN AND STALIN AND OF THE FIRST SOCIALIST STATE. THEY BROUGHT PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE WHOLE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, ON EVERY AND EACH COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTY AND SOCIALIST COUNTRY IN ORDER TO INDUCE THEM TO CHANGE COURSE AND EMBRACE THE REVISIONIST IDEOLOGY AND POLICY OF THE 20TH CONGRESS. SOONER OR LATER ALMOST ALL THE PARTIES AND SOCIALIST COUNTRIES TOOK THE FATAL TURN AND EMBARKED ON THE ROAD OF REVISIONISM AND TURNED BOURGEOIS.

Only the PLA did not fall into the trap of Khrushchev, did not yield to the strong many-sided pressure, which was intended to bring it down to its knees, but continued on its consistent Marxist-Leninist course. Socialist Albania did not turn into a bourgeois-revisionist country or into a vassal state of Soviet social-imperialism. Apart from this, to the Party of Labour of Albania goes the merit of having discovered and exposed the betrayal of the Khrushchevites, of having blown up all the bridges with the traitors and hav-

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OF THE PLA THE KHRUSHCHEVITES - OF LOFTY NINIST PRINCIPLES

ing declared irreconcilable war on Soviet revisionism. It considered it its vital duty towards socialism in Albania and Marxism-Leninism on an international scale.

How was this victory achieved (which was by no means easy to attain, but was won through hard struggle) at a time when older parties, when bigger and economically more powerful countries capitulated before the pressure of the Khrushchevite revisionists?

This question has its complete and clear answer in Comrade Enver Hoxha's major work, «The Khrushchevites».

* * *

In «**The Khrushchevites**» Comrade Enver Hoxha explains that the irreconcilable conflict and the final break with the Soviet revisionists did not and could not come about at once. Before the break, many clashes had taken place, clashes over questions of the theory and practice of the revolution and socialist construction, over problems of the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement, over the stands towards the enemies of this movement and of the peoples, such as the American imperialists, the international bourgeoisie, the Titoite revisionists, etc. The relations of the PLA with the Khrushchevite Soviet leadership were characterized by a general trend to a constant worsening parallel with the extension and deepening of mutual acquaintance. Seeing with ever increasing misgivings the activities of the Khrushchevites, eventually the PLA was fully convinced that theirs was not a case of tactical errors of the moment, but one of departure from Marxism-Leninism, of a counter-revolutionary line in essence, while the pressure of that party on the PLA and our country and its interference in the internal affairs of our country became ever more frequent and brutal.

The main characteristic of all the stands and actions of the PLA during this complicated development in the relations between the two parties and countries — from revolutionary friendship and alliance into irreconcilable struggle, **was its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, its proletarian stand of prin-**

ciple, its maturity, vigilance and courage in the defence of Marxism-Leninism, of its correct line and our socialist Homeland.

In all these stands and actions of the PLA there is not a single manifestation of pragmatism, of changing and turning according to the passing circumstances, of nationalism, opportunism, sectarianism or adventurism, which can be found in the stands and actions of the Khrushchevite revisionists and the other revisionists. «We saw what was occurring,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, «we felt the pressure mounting against us from all sides, but we did not waver a fraction from our course and our line» (p.188, Alb. ed.). However, «the steps that we took had to be carefully measured: we should not be hasty, but neither must we go to sleep» (p.326). «Nevertheless, we did not allow wrong actions and deviations in the line to go uncriticized when they appeared» (p.98). The PLA has always hit back from its principled Marxist-Leninist positions.

* * *

The first conflict with the Khrushchevites was over the stand towards Yugoslav revisionism, a stand which our Party has always regarded as a question of great importance of principle.

Time had proved to the hilt the correctness of the resolutions adopted by the Information Bureau of the communist and workers' parties, which condemned the Yugoslav leadership for its deviations from Marxism-Leninism and its transformation into an agency in the pay of imperialism. Disregarding these resolutions and this reality, and without consulting any of the other parties, in May 1955 Khrushchev took himself to Belgrade and knelt before Tito, rejecting as false the accusations made against him and trying to excuse himself from these accusations and this condemnation.

The PLA could in no way join Khrushchev in this arbitrary and anti-Marxist action. Therefore, it protested bitterly. Its opposition and struggle did not come from narrow nationalist positions or out of stubbornness, as Khrushchev and his associates tried to make out, but only from the posi-

tions of principle, in defence of Marxism-Leninism, the unity in the international communist movement, the interests of the revolution and socialism on an international scale, which the Titoites had trained their batteries on.

On the road of the rapprochement of the Khrushchevites to and their collaboration with the Yugoslav revisionists there have also been (and continue to be) moments of confrontation, of reciprocal attacks and insults. However, neither side has ever, in any case, acted from Marxist-Leninist positions of principle, but only from the positions of anti-communism, impelled by its own narrow bourgeois and chauvinist interests.

There is no trace of Marxist-Leninist principles in the stands of the Chinese revisionists towards Yugoslav revisionism, either. In the beginning Mao Zedong and his associates approved the resolutions of the Information Bureau on the Yugoslav issue, then they changed course and joined Khrushchev in his campaign for the rehabilitation of Titoism. Later, the Chinese leadership attacked it for a time. Finally, Hua Guofeng fraternized with the Yugoslav revisionists and, just as Khrushchev had done before him, went to Belgrade to beg Tito's pardon. In all these stands and actions the Chinese are motivated by their notorious pragmatism, their counter-revolutionary and hegemony-seeking aims.

In the opinion of the PLA, the stand of this or that party or individual towards Yugoslav revisionism has been and will always be a touch-stone for passing an unerring judgement on whether this or that party or individual are genuine or false Marxist-Leninist. And this was precisely one of the major factors, which made the PLA convinced of what Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites were.

* * *

This conviction became stronger especially after the events following the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which formulated and endorsed the general course of Khrushchevite revisionism.

This course, which could not be put through openly as an anti-Marxist, counter-revolutionary course, as it was in reality, was presented as a «creative development» of Marxism-Leninism! As Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «Many were misled by this demagogy of the traitors. However, the Party of Labour of Albania was not misled» (p.172).

The Khrushchevites hoped against hope that their 20th Congress would be embodied in the reports and decisions of the 3rd Congress of the PLA, which was held three months later. However, the 3rd Congress of our Party, against the wishes of the traitors, fully approved the political line and the activity of the Party, and in unison and without the slightest hesitation decided to follow the Marxist-Leninist course in all directions, the course which the Party had followed since its founding.

In the concrete conditions of the time, the 3rd Congress of the PLA could not come out openly with a condemnation of the anti-Marxist theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The leadership of our Party had informed the Soviet leadership of its opposition and reservations over these theses. At the same time, not only at its internal meetings, but also in

the press and all its propaganda, as well as in all its practical activity, the PLA maintained stands opposed to those of the 20th Congress. These stands became more and more open parallel with its deepening knowledge of Khrushchevite revisionism and the spread and development of the various revisionist theories and practices, which posed an increasingly great threat to the international communist movement and the socialist camp.

The PLA had not the slightest doubt that the responsibility fell mainly on the Khrushchevites for the enlivening of the disruptive activity of the Yugoslav revisionists, the emergence of Togliatti's opportunist theories of «polycentrism», «the Italian road to socialism», «unlimited democracy», etc., the counter-revolutionary events in Poland, the counter-revolution in Hungary, and many other ominous events and actions, all of which had their origin in the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

The PLA had expressed through the press, and especially through Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech on November 8, 1956, its principled Marxist-Leninist views and stands, which were an indirect attack on the views and stands of the Khrushchevites over these manifestations. When he went to Moscow in December 1956, Comrade Enver Hoxha directly informed the Soviet leaders about the apprehensions of our Party over the great danger posed by the spread of revisionism, as well as its opposition to a number of their erroneous stands and actions. Two months later, in February 1957, the Plenum of the CC of the Party, without mentioning the Khrushchevite revisionists by name, rejected the theses of the 20th Congress. It defended the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism on the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the revolution and socialist construction, on the absolute need for the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to communism, on the class struggle as the main driving force in this period. All these principles the Khrushchevites had trampled underfoot.

It is known that at the 20th Congress, in his efforts to liquidate the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, Khrushchev made a savage attack on Stalin, who all his life had fought for the implementation and defence of these principles. After this ill-famed congress the «campaign against Stalinism» had become the favourite weapon of all the modern revisionists, of the international bourgeoisie and world reaction, in the struggle against communism. While condemning this anti-communist manoeuvre and defending Stalin, the plenum of the CC of the PLA emphasized the consistent stand of our Party over this major question of principle: «We are not in agreement with all those who liquidate all the positive revolutionary aspects of Stalin's.» Comrade Enver Hoxha declared to the plenum. «As is known, J.V. Stalin is a great Marxist, who after Lenin defended Marxism-Leninism from all the enemies and revisionists, and made a major contribution to the further development of this science» (Principal Documents of the PLA, vol.3, p.32, Alb. ed.).

The determination of the PLA to reject the course of the 20th Congress and to follow its principled Marxist-Leninist line alarmed the Khrushchevites.

They knew of the differences of principle, which existed between them and the PLA, of the latter's opposition to many of their stands and actions, not only their views and stands over the Yugoslav problem and the question of Stalin. Our Party had already rejected the advice and resisted the pressure of the Khrushchevites, who did not want Albania to develop its own industry, especially the processing and machinebuilding industry, but wanted it to remain an agricultural country, specialized mainly in fruit-growing, a country economically dependent on the Soviet Union and Comecon. All the efforts of the Khrushchevites to have the traitors to our Party rehabilitated, as they had them rehabilitated in their own country, in Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere, were wasted on our Party, just as their efforts to liquidate the main revolutionary leaders of the Party and state and replace them with the rehabilitated traitors, as they had done in many parties and former socialist countries.

Regardless of this, explains Comrade Enver Hoxha, they did not want to exacerbate their contradiction with us. Their logic of great-state chauvinists made them think that, being a small party and country, we had nowhere to turn to. In this or that manner, they believed, we would be forced to our knees and hitch ourselves to their chariot. But the printing in the «Zëri i popullit» of Comrade Enver Hoxha's report to the Plenum of February 1957, which clearly opposed the theses of the 20th Congress, «no doubt infuriated them.» Upon its publication they insisted that a top level delegation of the PLA should go to Moscow, in order to «clamp down on us» (p.328). To achieve their aims, they used both the «carrot» and the «stick», as Comrade Enver Hoxha writes. On the one hand, they promised greater economic aid and remitted Albania's old debts, while, on the other hand, opposing the economic policy of our Party for the construction of the material-technical base of socialism and the ensuring of the economic independence of the country. On the one hand, they demanded that friendship and alliance should be strengthened, gave formal approval to some revolutionary stand of our Party, while on the other hand, bringing pressure to bear on it in order to make it change its stand towards the Yugoslav revisionists and towards Stalin and discriminating against our leadership. At the same time, they worked to create their agency within our Party in order to take the castle from within. All this was intended to break the resistance of the PLA, but, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «they broke their heads» (p. 360). «they sought to force us to our knees, but in vain» (p.362).

* * *

The main reason for the defeat of the Khrushchevites and the triumph of our Party over them always should be sought in its stands and actions based strongly on Marxist-Leninist principles implemented with maturity and revolutionary courage. In the implementation of the principled line of the Party the steel unity in the Party, in the Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, and

between the Party and the people played a decisive role. Against the Khrushchevites, just as against all the other enemies, the PLA never fought alone, but always together with the people. That is why it always achieved success in this struggle.

In the implementation and the defence of the Marxist-Leninist principles against Khrushchevite revisionism our Party found no obstacle in the deep friendship created in the course of history between itself and the Bolshevik Party, between our people and the peoples of the socialist Soviet Union. Through its principled and uncompromising struggle against the Khrushchevites it made the best defence of the glorious road of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet peoples, of the teachings of the October Revolution. In the years from 1956 to 1960, when the various imperialists and revisionists — Yugoslav, Polish, Hungarian, Italian, and others, had their guns trained on the Soviet Union in order to liquidate socialism, the PLA came out in its defence. This defence, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, «was not a tactic, but a question of principle» (p.98).

It was precisely the failure to follow a principled Marxist-Leninist policy and activity that led the former communist and workers' parties and the former socialist countries into Khrushchev's fold, that led them more and more down the road of becoming bourgeois, the road of revisionism. China, too, fought against «Khrushchevite revisionism», but now it is quite clear that its struggle was by no means a struggle of principle, but a struggle waged from pragmatic, bourgeois-revisionist, chauvinist, hegemonic positions, just like the struggle of the Soviet revisionists against China.

Meanwhile our Party, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, «did not sell out and will never sell out to imperialism or anyone else, because as long as a party considers itself and respects itself as a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, whatever the conditions and situations it is in, it never allows itself to be bought or sold, but resolutely pursues its course, the course of uncompromising struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction» (p.103-104).

Proceeding from these principled Marxist-Leninist stands our Party boldly came out against the plotting and putschist methods of Khrushchev in Bucharest (in 1960). From these positions it attacked and openly exposed Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites in Moscow (November 1960). This attack, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says in the beginning of his book «The Khrushchevites», «was the logical continuation of the Marxist-Leninist stand which the Party of Labour of Albania had always maintained, ...of the struggle which our Party had long been waging for the defence and consistent application of Marxism-Leninism» (p.3).

The struggle of our Party against all the currents of modern revisionism — Soviet, Chinese, Yugoslav, etc will be like this, always principled and consistently Marxist-Leninist, just as the struggle against international imperialism, with American imperialism at the head. The Party has been taught to march non-stop and unafraid on this road by the beloved leader of the Party and the people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

THE STATE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS THE MOST COMPLETE

The reality of socialist Albania, where genuine democracy, proletarian democracy exists and develops uninterruptedly, is a clear and vivid demonstration of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that proletarian democracy represents a new and historically higher type of democracy as is the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself

THE QUESTION OF DEMOCRACY IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTIONS OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY ON THE STATE. THIS THEORY ENUNCIATES THAT IN ALL CASES DEMOCRACY CAN ONLY BE OF A DEFINITE TYPE, THE SAME AS THE RELATED STATE, THAT DEMOCRACY IS INDIVISIBLE FROM THE STATE. THE STATE AND THE DEMOCRACY IT REALIZES BEAR THE SAME HISTORICAL STAMP, WHICH IS CONDITIONED BY THEIR CLASS CONTENT AND COMMON GOAL.

* * *

To the types of state known in history — the slave-owning, feudal, capitalist and socialist state, correspond the related types of democracy. In the first three types of state and democracy, that is, in slave-ownership, feudalism and capitalism, the essence of the state and democracy consists in only one thing: the oppression and exploitation of the broad popular masses and the exercise of democracy by the oppressing and exploiting minority in power. The essence of the proletarian state, which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people and guarantees democracy for the broad masses of the working people, which is genuine democracy, is quite different.

Despite the unrestrained demagoguery made by the bourgeois ideologists, in capitalism, just as in the other exploi-

tative orders, democracy is always limited, it is democracy only for a minority, for the exploiting class, which enjoys the freedom and rights proclaimed, and profits from democracy. In order to cover up its exploitative essence, this kind of «democracy» employs many mechanisms, such as elections, with the alleged participation of the people, the rights and freedoms, proclaimed only in form, etc. However, the poor, the broad working masses there come up against difficulties caused by the complete lack of material conditions to have their say in elections and in any other field of state activity, or to take part in the exercise of democracy. To this are added the successive limitations which the bourgeois law establishes juridically especially through the so-called census regarding property, qualifications, race, religion, education,

residence, etc. All these «limitations, qualifications and obstacles against the poor may seem trivial to those who have never known what need is, and have never been close to the oppressed classes and the life of the masses (such are nine out of ten, if not ninety-nine out of a hundred bourgeois publicists and politicians), but in general these limitations bar the poor from politics, from active participation in the exercise of democracy.»¹

The same situation exists in the revisionist countries where the restored capitalism tries to deck itself out in socialist phrases. The overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat in these countries and its replacement with the dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie has unavoidably given the democracy in these countries an anti-socialist, exploitative character. In the revisionist countries the class essence of democracy, just as the state, is the same as in the bourgeois countries, it belongs to the capitalist type of democracy. Like in the bourgeois countries, in the revisionist countries, too, state power is a means for the suppression of the working masses which are barred from participating in the government of the country, do not enjoy real rights and freedoms, and are divided from the new

TORSHIP

DEMOCRACY *by GRAMOS HYSI*

revisionist bourgeoisie by great barrier.

True democracy is realized only in the socialist order. As early as in the «Communist Manifesto» Marx and Engels link the establishment of democracy with the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat. «The first step in the workers' revolution,» they wrote, «is the transformation of the proletariat into a ruling class, the establishment of democracy.»²

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat guarantees democracy for the broad working masses which make up the overwhelming majority of the population. This emerges for the first time in history as the most complete democracy, which is a radical turn of historic importance in the social status of the working man who becomes a free man of free socialist society. The reality of socialist Albania, where the construction of socialism is successfully carried out despite the conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement of the country, is a living proof of the life-giving and indomitable strength of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the correct line of the PLA, of the vitality of the socialist order and the deep and true democratism it puts into life.

Based on the teachings of the great classics — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha have waged a constant struggle against all the bourgeois-revisionist great play on democracy. In all cases, says Comrade Enver Hoxha, democracy should be assessed not proceeding from the names and slogans used, but from the important fact whether or not it is in the interest of the broad working masses. Seen from this angle, any other democracy, apart from proletarian democra-

cy, is a hypocrisy, lie and deception.

The bourgeois revisionist propaganda tries to cover up this fact through demagogy by bringing forth, as a criterion of democracy, the number of political parties, debate in parliament, anarchic disintegration, the rights formally proclaimed by law, etc. But what do people benefit from all this? Nothing, because when political parties do not follow a Marxist-Leninist line, when the deputies indulge in empty talking in the parliament, when anarchic liberties are presented as freedom, when the broad working masses have no possibility to enjoy the rights proclaimed on paper, as well as all the other advertisements of the so-called bourgeois-revisionist democracy, this is only a game to beguile the people. The people continue to be oppressed and exploited, and the fog spread through this big deception cannot cover up the anti-democratism of society of these countries. It is clear that true democracy can never exist there where exploitation exists.

Bourgeois-revisionist democracy is a democracy only in name, it is not, nor can it be, true democracy, for it means nothing good for the working masses. It is a democracy only for the oppressing and exploiting minority, only for the bourgeoisie and the new revisionist bourgeoisie, at a time when the broad working masses are savagely oppressed and exploited.

True democracy, which becomes a reality only in the proletarian state, is sanctioned in the Constitution of the PSR of Albania, which reflects the great and vivid example of proletarian democracy set by socialist Albania today.

The Constitution of the PSR of Albania openly proclaims the proletarian

character of the state and democracy, emphasizing at the very start that «The PSR of Albania is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people.» It reflects the great and unprecedented extension of democracy brought about by the dictatorship of the proletariat, to which no exploiting state can be compared.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, the class essence of which is the political rule of the working class, as Lenin has it, represents democracy for the majority, the state power of the workers and peasants. This best shows the radical change of democracy with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the close and indivisible links of the broad working masses with their state of the proletarian dictatorship.

The enemies of the revolution and socialism, from imperialist reaction to the revisionists of all hues — Soviet and Yugoslav, Eurocommunist and Chinese, try to distort the content and greatness of proletarian democracy. They attack proletarian democracy and praise bourgeois-revisionist democracy, endeavouring, individually or on a common front, to present true proletarian democracy as non-democracy, and the non-democracy of the bourgeois-revisionist countries as democracy. The bourgeois-revisionist theories «on pure democracy», or «democracy for the whole people», «direct democracy», or «pluralism and liberalism» etc, which all are disguises to hide the deceptive character of the bourgeois-revisionist democracy, serve also this aim.

As the loyal minions of their bourgeois patrons, the modern revisionists praise bourgeois «democracy» and uphold the thesis that today it is possible

to go over to socialism within the context of this so-called democracy, through structural reforms, on the parliamentary road, etc. These efforts of theirs are directed against the great Marxist-Leninist truth that proletarian democracy is born as a result of the proletarian revolution, that it is indissolubly linked with this revolution and is its work alone. Speaking about the great harm caused by these revisionist «theories», Comrade Enver Hoxha points out that «transition to socialist society is achieved not by remaining within the context of the capitalist order, but only by overthrowing this order and its institutions from their foundations, by setting up the state power of the proletariat which is led by its vanguard — the Marxist-Leninist communist party.»³

The leading role of the Party is decisive both for the establishment of proletarian democracy and the preservation of its purity, its constant growth and strengthening. Without it, socialist revolution cannot be carried out, the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism cannot exist, true democracy for the working masses cannot exist. This is why the modern revisionists have aimed their poisonous arrows precisely at this question.

Proletarian democracy, as genuine democracy, not only proclaims the participation of the people in the government of the country, the equality, rights and freedoms of citizens, but also guarantees their implementation in practice, by ensuring all the conditions for democracy to be a living reality, and not a vacant word, for the working masses. Democracy in the socialist order begins with a deep overthrow and is realized with the establishment of the proletarian state power, where the formal principle, as Marx said, is the material principle at the same time.

In socialist society genuine democracy is also realized through the all-round work carried out for the continuous political and ideological tempering of the working masses who gain awareness of the vital importance which proletarian democracy has for them, and of

the great role they play, under the leadership of the working class with their Marxist-Leninist party at the head, in defending and constantly strengthening it. In Albania, the working masses, armed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the PLA, always see democracy «from the class angle, as a form of political organization of society, as a political condition for drawing the masses into the governing of the country, for the defence and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to bar the way to revisionist degeneration and the restoration of capitalism.»⁴

Genuine democracy, which is ensured by the dictatorship of the proletariat, is uninterruptedly developed and strengthened in the process of stern class struggle. The struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism, which, as historical experience shows, are the main dangers leading to the peaceful degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as happened in the former socialist countries, has great importance. In Albania the struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism has never ceased. It has been and continues to be waged with consistency, in all times and in all circumstances, without interruption and on two flanks — both against bureaucracy and liberalism.

In the context of the struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism, the PLA has always taken important measures, the essence of which is the establishment and implementation of a correct ratio between democracy and centralism, the elected and administrative organs, the cadres and all the other officials, on the one hand, and the working masses, on the other, the freedoms and rights of citizens and the discipline and their duties towards the state and socialist society.

One aspect of proletarian democracy in the socialist order is its broad character; it is democracy for the working masses, democracy for the overwhelming majority of the population. The other aspect of proletarian democracy is represented by the merciless suppression

of the exploiters of the people and all the other enemies of the people and socialism. Broad democracy, which constitutes the first aspect of democracy in socialism, cannot be imagined and implemented without its other aspect — the necessary suppression of the overthrow of classes and all the other anti-socialist elements who try to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat and the democracy implemented by it, and to bring back the past.

The PLA and our proletarian state have always seen these two aspects of proletarian democracy in indivisible unity.

As a political form of the state, democracy has a class character. In this direction all the bourgeois-revisionist preachings about the «extra class character» of democracy should be exposed as absurdity and deception. The classics of Marxism-Leninism have pointed out that democracy has always a class character, that, as Lenin puts it in his work «The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky», «pure democracy» is out of question, it is a phrase of ignoramus, a phrase utterly devoid of sense, it is only a mockery of common sense and history.

Democracy, proletarian or socialist, has a class character even in the period of transition from capitalism to communism. It fully preserves this character as long as the proletarian state itself continues to exist. During this historical period, until the state withers away, which is linked with the complete and final triumph of socialist society on a world scale, until then, says Lenin, democracy is nothing other than «democracy for the people, for the majority, along with the necessary suppression of the minority, the exploiters. Only communism is in a position to give us a truly complete democracy; and the fuller the democracy, the quicker it becomes unnecessary, dies out by itself.»⁵

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Proletarian democracy is constantly developed and deepened through the many and effective forms which are found and implemented by the working

masses, with the working class at the head, in the process of construction of socialism according to the teachings and under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. In order to get at the essence and importance of these forms, in which proletarian democracy finds its clear and complete expression, the socialist political and juridical literature attaches special attention to the grouping of these forms, through which the elements composing the notion of proletarian or socialist democracy are defined. On the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state, the notion of socialist democracy comprises the following three elements which are indivisible and closely linked with each other.

First, **participation of the working masses in the government of the country.** This essential element of proletarian democracy has been and remains in the centre of attention of the Party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania, representing the unchanging line of all their activity for the socialist construction of the country.

Our working masses, with the working class at the head, are the all-powerful masters of the country, therefore they have their decisive say on everything, including the question of the state power. Here the principle of the Constitution that «all state power in the PSR of Albania derives from and belongs to the working people» finds its complete implementation.

The active and effective participation of the masses in the government of the country gives the people's state power its strength and meaning as a state power which derives from the masses, serves them and relies on them. This has great importance for the present and the future of the proletarian state, because it multiplies the possibilities, forces and capabilities of the state apparatus in all its activity for the successful implementation of its tasks in the promotion of the revolution and socialist construction, it is an effective means, a great guarantee to defend the state of the dictatorship of the prole-

ariat and the cause of socialism from any danger; it is a school for the political education of the working people, a means to prepare them for the future transition to the communist government by the working people, when the socialist state withers away, after completing its historical mission. This is why the PLA makes a high assessment of the participation of the masses in governing the country, «as the fundamental direction of the development of socialist democracy, as a great motive force to promote the socialist construction and as one of the most important factors to protect our state and society against the danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration.»⁶

In the participation of the masses in state affairs consists one of the main distinctions over principle of the socialist state apparatus from the bourgeois-revisionist state apparatus. While the socialist state apparatus is one with the masses, cannot and does not stand above the masses, and cannot be alien to the masses, the bourgeois-revisionist state apparatus, on the contrary, stands above the masses, is essentially divided from them by an unsurmountable barrier, is alien to them. While in socialist democracy indivisible links are established and always maintained between the state and the working people, the contrary happens in the so-called bourgeois-revisionist democracy, which estranges the masses from state affairs. The so-called representative organs established there not only are mere means of deception, but they are also divested of all real power in the state, which is controlled by an exploiting minority through the bureaucratic stratum. «The bourgeois-revisionist democracy,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «is a form of the exploiting state, which despite the «democratic» attributes it takes on itself, in fact, its activity has not the least trace of genuine democracy and individual and collective freedom.»⁷

In the PSR of Albania the working people, with the working class at the head, wield state power through the representative organs and directly. Both these ways of expression of the peo-

ple's will are expressly mentioned in the Constitution which, in this case, not only stresses that state power in the country belongs to the working people, but also the class content of the latter, which includes the working class and the cooperativist peasantry as the two friendly classes of our socialist society, as well as the other working people, such as the stratum of the people's intelligentsia.

People exercise state power or express their will, in the first place, through the representative organs (the People's Assembly on a republic scale), and the people's councils on the basis of territorial and administrative division at the lowest level. These organs, freely elected by the people, occupy the main place in the whole system of our state organs. They institute and control all the other organs of state power. In their hands is concentrated the entire state activity of the country which, according to our Constitution, is carried out in various fields of activity of the state power — the executive and legislative activity, the administration of justice and the control of legality.

Our representative organs, entrusted with the carrying out of the activities connected with the functions of the state power, are true working institutions, and not «places of empty talk», as bourgeois parliaments are. They reject the venal and rotten bourgeois parliamentarism as a separate system, as a division of labour between the legislative and executive power, as a means to ensure a privileged position for the deputies, and have concentrated in one hand, as Marx and Lenin teach, both the legislative and the executive activity. The representatives of the people elected to our representative organs are working people who implement the laws they issue, control what is done in practice and are responsible before the electors. Thus, our representative organs have made a reality of the lessons of the Paris Commune, in as much as they are built and work as legislative and executive institutions at the same time.

People exercise state power, or express their will, in the second place,

in a direct manner. This way of wielding state power in our country finds its expression in different forms which are not expressly provided for in the Constitution, such as participation in elections, direct worker and peasant control, popular discussions, etc.

Elections are held chiefly to form all the representative organs of the country. They are really free, and are carried out through general, equal, direct and secret ballot. The participation of the people in elections is further supplemented and deepened through the other form of direct exercise of the state power — the revocation of any people's representative to the People's Assembly or people's councils by the electors at any time, whenever he or she does not justify the trust placed in him or her. This is another very important right of our electors and one of the main features of the democratic character of our representative organs.

The direct control exercised by our working masses under the leadership of the Party represents another important form of the direct exercise of state power by the people. This is the direct control by the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the other working people, parallel with the other two forms of control of the working class in power — by the Party and the proletarian state, and the three together pursue the same aim and supplement each other.

A concrete expression of the direct participation of the working masses in the government of the country are also the popular discussions of major political and social problems. Such were the discussion of the Constitution or the discussion of the plans for the development of the economy and culture, the school and the family, or the further perfection of the moral figure of our new man, etc.

The problems of the state power in Albania concern all the working masses. With this the exercise of the state power becomes a field of effective activity of the working class and the other working masses. Even from the juridic-

al and constitutional standpoint, it is compulsory that «in all their work, the representative organs and other state organs rely on the creative initiative of the masses of working people, draw them into running the country and render account before them» (Article 7).

Second, **the rights and freedoms of citizens** are a component part of our socialist democracy, place the working man at the centre and cover the whole social and political life of the country, the main fields of which, according to the Constitution, are: the social and economic rights (which have to do with the participation of citizens in work activities, the rest they enjoy after work, their education, as well as the material assistance they are entitled to in old age, in cases of illnesses or disablement); the democratic freedoms (which have to do with the free expression of the opinion of citizens through speech and the press, with their freedom of organization, union and public manifestation, as well as militating in mass organizations); the rights of electing and being elected (which have to do with the rights of citizens to elect and to be elected to the representative organs, as well as their constant supervision of these organs and the people elected to them); individual freedoms (which have to do with the inviolability of the person, of residence, the secrecy of correspondence, the defence at court, as well as the right to appeal to the state organs over any problem of both personal and general social concern).

All these rights and freedoms have a genuine socialist content, which are recognized to and guaranteed for the working masses in socialism. They are indivisible from the working people, figure as their comprehensive rights and freedoms. And this is natural because socialism, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, is built by the masses and for the masses, which are made conscious by the Party of the working class.

The promulgation and guarantee of the rights and freedoms of citizens represent one indivisible process. In the socialist order, unlike in the bour-

geois and revisionist countries, there is no barrier between the promulgation by law of the rights and freedoms of citizens and the possibility of their actual implementation. The rights and freedoms of our citizens do not remain a vacant expression, but have a fully realizable content, because they rely on the sound political and economic base which is built by the dictatorship of the proletariat and is ensured by the socialist mode of production. In the Constitution and the other socialist laws they find their broadest sanctioning, with the related juridical warrants being added to them. This is a clear expression of the profoundly democratic and genuinely socialist content of the rights and freedoms of citizens, is another convincing demonstration of the work for the emancipation of the working people in socialism.

«Rights» and «freedoms» are mentioned for demagogical purposes also in the Constitutions of the capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist states. But what catches the eye in these Constitutions is the complete lack of any guarantee for the putting into practice of the «rights» and «freedoms» proclaimed, their false and fraudulent character, as well as the narrow character and the limitations repeatedly enforced on their enactment by the bourgeois and revisionist law. The words of Marx, who criticized with mordant sarcasm this aspect of the «democracy» of the exploiters, saying that the bourgeois Constitutions contain freedom in the general phrase and its negation in the clause, apply perfectly to the bourgeois and revisionist Constitutions of today.

Third, **equality of citizens** is another expression of socialist democracy. Socialism ensures genuine equality, because it frees the working people from any oppression and exploitation. It puts an end to unemployment, economic crises, which are the source of misery, and ensures, as expressed in the very requirements of the fundamental economic law of socialism, the fulfilment of the material and cultural needs of society.

Rights and freedoms of citizens in the PSR of Albania derive from the

full equality of citizens who, as proclaimed in the Constitution, are «equal before the law». No privilege or limitation in account of sex, race, nationality, education, social position or material situation is recognized in the exercise of these rights and freedoms. These rights and freedoms are exercised in complete conformity with the socialist order and can never be in contrast with the duties of citizens. The rights and freedoms of citizens are broadened and deepened further, parallel with the degree of development of socialist society.

This idea of equality is alien to the exploitative orders, not only the slave-owning and feudal orders, which openly proclaim inequality, but also the capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist orders which proclaim equality on paper, but deny it in practice as long as they defend oppression and exploitation which lie at their foundations. There is an unsurmountable barrier there dividing the broad popular masses from their oppressors and exploiters, the bourgeois class or the new revisionist bourgeois.

The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists labour to create an impression of the existence of social «homogeneity» which «softens» or even «eliminates» class antagonisms. They talk about the altered nature of present-day capitalism, which is no longer the same as the capitalism of the past; they talk about «technical progress», in particular, claiming that the «consumer society», «industrial society», «neo-capitalism», «popular capitalism», etc have been created today. With their «theories» they advocate the rapprochement of the rich with the poor, of the oppressors with the oppressed, the elimination of antagonisms between them. But the present-day reality refutes these bourgeois-revisionist preachings. The modern world is torn apart by fierce class contradictions which lead to another rapprochement — the closing of the ranks of the broad working masses, with the working class at the head, in their broad fierce struggle against capitalists, bourgeois or revisionist, op-

pression and exploitation. Speaking about the extending struggle of the proletariat and the broad working masses in all the bourgeois and revisionist countries today, especially their struggle against political oppression and economic exploitation, for the defence of democratic rights and a better life, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out: «In these fierce clashes with capital and the bourgeoisie, the working class and the broad masses of the working people are more and more strengthening their proletarian consciousness, preparing and tempering themselves ever better for the coming class battles.»⁸

The socialist system of the economy has the true equality realized in the socialist order at its foundation. It constitutes the unshakeable basis for the emancipation of the working people, for the elimination of private property and exploitation for the realization of the principle of working according to one's abilities and being remunerated according to one's work, without which there is and can be no true equality. These important expressions of equality have been legally sanctioned in the Constitution of the PSR of Albania. It proclaims the equality of citizens, as one of the important principles of all their rights and duties.

Our Constitution also sanctions the great and constant work which is done in Albania to narrow down any inequality inherited from the past. It has led to great achievements in the emancipation of the woman who suffered under a twofold oppression in the past, and who today enjoys equal rights with man at work, in remuneration, social insurance, education in all socio-political activity as well as in the family, to the narrowing down of distinctions between the city and the countryside; between work in industry and agriculture; between mental and manual work, etc.

The measures for the consistent implementation of the socialist principle of distribution according to work have great importance for the realization of true equality. Our state has always striven not to allow either petty-bour-

geois equalitarianism or great differentials in wages and salaries. With us these differentials have always been very small, and in the recent years they have been reduced even further. Thus, the ratio between the higher salaries of the employees and the average wages of the workers fell to 2 to 1 as against 2.5 to 1 until 1976. This is another great achievement of our socialist democracy.

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The reality of socialist Albania, where genuine democracy, proletarian democracy, exists and develops uninterruptedly, is a clear and vivid demonstration of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that proletarian democracy represents a new and historically higher type of democracy, as is the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself. The comprehensive and genuine democracy for the masses of working people, which is closely and indivisibly linked with the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, represents, at the same time, the general road for the strengthening of the state and the whole socialist order. «Ensuring a broad socialist democracy,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «constitutes a fundamental condition for the protection and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself, just as the dictatorship of the proletariat constitutes an indispensable and decisive condition for the existence of genuine democracy for the working people.»⁹

1 V.I. Lenin, Selected Works, vol.2, p.204, Alb. ed.

2 K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Works, vol.1, p.39, Alb. ed.

3 Enver Hoxha «Proletarian Democracy Is Genuine Democracy» Tirana 1978, p.26, Alb. ed.

4 Enver Hoxha, «Yugoslav 'Self-administration' — a Capitalist Theory and Practice», Tirana 1978, p.103, Alb. ed.

5 V.I. Lenin, Selected Works, Tirana 1958 vol.2, p.205, Alb. ed.

6 Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p.22, Alb. ed.

7 Enver Hoxha, «Proletarian Democracy Is Genuine Democracy», p.16, Alb. ed.

8 Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p.186, Alb. ed.

9 Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p.22, Alb. ed.

PLANNED ECONOMY - STABLE PRICES

by **SABAH HILMIA**

*In Albania, prices, as part
of the planning of the people's economy,
are planned by the state in a
conscious and centralized manner.
Prices are fixed by the state, they are
unified on a national scale
and are characterized by stability*

AT A TIME WHEN THE ENTIRE CAPITALIST, BOURGEOIS OR REVISIONIST, WORLD IS SUFFERING THE CONSEQUENCES OF RAMPANT PRICE RISES AND INFLATION, ALBANIA, THE ONLY SOCIALIST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD, DOES NOT KNOW THE PHENOMENON OF PRICE RISES OR INFLATION.

HOW IS IT THAT ALBANIA, A FORMERLY BACKWARD SMALL COUNTRY, NOW ENCIRCLED BY SAVAGE AND POWERFUL IMPERIALIST AND REVISIONIST ENEMIES, CAN CARRY OUT SUCH A POLICY AS TO BE ABLE TO AVOID PRICE RISES AND INFLATION? WHAT ENABLES THIS SMALL COUNTRY OF EUROPE, WITH A POPULATION OF 2.7 MILLION INHABITANTS AND A SURFACE OF 28,000 SQUARE KILOMETRES, TO ENSURE STABLE PRICES, TO SELL TO ITS WORKERS AND PEASANTS SUCH ARTICLES AS BREAD, MEAT, SUGAR, COTTON AND WOLLEN CLOTH, ELECTRIC POWER, ETC AT FIXED AND UNCHANGED PRICES, WHICH ARE THE SAME ALL OVER THE COUNTRY? THIS REALITY IS CONNECTED WITH POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS.

The socio-political order, established in Albania after the triumph of the people's revolution in 1944, is the antipode of the capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist, order. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a new type of state — the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people, the interests of the majority. It has nothing in common with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which expresses and defends the interests of monopoly capital and of the new revisionist bourgeoisie, the interests of the minority.

The economy of the PSR of Albania bases itself on socialist social ownership of the means of production, which is the base for the birth and development of the new, socialist relations of production, relations of mutual social assistance, collaboration and solidarity, which rule out and liquidate antagonistic classes and the relations of exploitation of man by man, which, on their part, rest on capitalist private ownership of the means of production.

Our socialist state, as the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, amongst other things, carries out the

function of organizing and directing the economy of the whole country, which is not and cannot be carried out by the bourgeois state, since the capitalist socio-political and economic order is based on private ownership of the means of production. The state in Albania, within the scope of operation of the objective economic laws stemming from and existing in socialism, directs and develops the entire economic and social life of the country according to a single general state plan, always guided by the objective of fulfilling the growing material, cultural and spiritual needs of the entire society ever better.

The economy in the PSR of Albania does not develop spontaneously, according to the laws of the market, but it is directed in a planned manner on a national scale and in a conscious and centralized manner according to the demands of the fundamental economic manner according to the demands of the fundamental economic law of socialism and the law of planned and proportional development of the various branches of the economy. All the phases of extended reproduction are regulated and directed by socialist society in a planned and centralized manner, too. As a consequence, what should be produced, the mode of production and the objective of production in socialist Albania are not determined spontaneously by the mechanism of the market, by profit, but are subject to the objective of the maximum and planned fulfilment of the needs of the entire society, of the strengthening of the independence of the country and the increasing of its defence capacity. On this score, prices, as part of the planning of the people's economy, are planned by the state in a conscious and centralized manner. Prices in Albania are fixed by the state, they are unified on a national scale and are characterized by stability. The premises for the planned and centralized management of the economy and the policy of prices in Albania were created immediately after the working class, in alliance with the peasantry, took power in their hands, expropriated the former proprietors and created the state socialist sector of the economy, established socialist social ownership of the means of production, in the beginning in industry and later in agriculture, too. Without these two political and economic factors — the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist social ownership, it is im-

possible to have a planned economy on a national scale, planned prices the same all over the country, or a policy of stable prices.

Only in these conditions it is possible to avoid the free play of prices on the market, to liquidate spontaneity and anarchy.

In connection with the role and importance of a centralized and planned policy of prices, Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «We will never renounce regulating and fixing prices in a centralized manner and on the basis of a unified policy for the whole country. This is the only way to prevent the free play of prices on the market, to avoid anarchy, competition and spontaneity, to prevent the market from being transformed, through the mechanism of demand and offer, into a spontaneous regulator of production and circulation, as happens in the capitalist economy and in the countries where the modern revisionists hold sway.»

State economic enterprises in Albania carry out their activity according to plan, guided not by the aim of making profits for themselves, but by the general interests of society, which are expressed in a unified general state plan, according to the principle that whatever is useful and necessary for society is also useful and necessary for the enterprises themselves.

The volume of production to be turned by enterprises is not determined by spontaneous factors, nor is it determined by the spontaneous demands and operation of the law of value. Enterprises are not dependent on the spontaneous operation of the mechanism of the market in determining their volume of production. On the contrary, they know in advance what they have to produce according to plan which, of course, is achieved through the study of demand, and the combination of the needs of the country with the productive capacities on a branch and district level. In this basis, they are in a position to plan the work force and the fund of wages, to make a balance of their needs for primary materials, which in our country are ensured through the plan of material-technical supplies.

In this manner, they have all the possibilities to draft a plan and determine the amount of expenditure of live and materialized work needed for production, as well as to calculate the amount of their profits and foresee their

financial relations with the state, that is, the budget.

However, enterprises are not free to determine for themselves prices for the sale of their products. Prices, in harmony with the demands of the law of value and other economic laws operating in socialism, are fixed by the state at such a level as to cover, as a rule, the mean expenditure of production of the branch (the mean progressive cost of the branch), to ensure a certain level of profit for the branch and the enterprise, and this is provided for in the plan, while the difference goes over to the state budget for the needs of society, in general. In this manner, the combination of the interests of society with those of enterprises, as basic cells of the people's economy, is realized in a correct way, always giving priority to the interests of society.

State economic enterprises are not free to alter prices, that is, they cannot raise or cut prices depending on demand and offer. They are bound to respect with great rigorosity the state-fixed prices which do not fluctuate according to the mechanism of the market, as happens in the capitalist economy. Demand does not automatically affect prices, that is, it does not bring about an increase in prices, as happens in the capitalist economy. Does this mean that in our economy demand is totally disregarded. Absolutely not, on the contrary, demand is studied carefully and taken account of in the plan, hence it, too, is subject to a general plan. Offer, on its part, has not a predominant position, either; it does not automatically influence prices, that is, state enterprises cannot on their own reduce the volume of production planned when they see that offer is temporarily decreasing. Likewise, they cannot on their own reduce selling prices in order to encourage demand. All these operations are regulated in our planned economy. They can be fully planned and forecast, because the means of production in the possession of enterprises are not private property, but socialist property, because in Albania the law of value has no free sphere of operation. On the contrary, it operates within a rigorously controlled sphere. In its activity the enterprise is not guided by the aim of making profit for itself, but by the principle that the interests of society are linked with the interests of the enterprise, and the activity of

the enterprise is directed towards the fulfilment of the needs of socialist society.

It is precisely for this that the planned direction of enterprises and the economy is one of the conditions which makes planning and stability of prices in Albania possible.

All the bourgeois, reformist, social-democratic and revisionist «theories» about the possibility of the «planned regulation» of the capitalist economy and prices have no scientific base, have a demagogical aim and are intended to divert the proletariat from the road of the violent revolution. As long as the capitalist ownership of the means of production exists, as long as state power is in the hands of the

bourgeoisie, the capitalist economy cannot be directed and developed according to a plan on a national scale, and consequently, the capitalist state cannot carry out a policy of prices «in a planned and centralized manner», cannot halt price rises and inflation. The state cannot implement a policy of prices in the interests of the workers and peasants, but only in the interests of the monopoly capital. Regulation of prices by the state entails only ensuring favourable conditions for the sale of the goods produced by the military-industrial monopoly complexes.

Every day, every hour, in the capitalist world, the graphs of prices show a constant rise. The following table is an illustration of this:

**RISE OF PRICES
FOR CONSUMER GOODS OVER A 12-MONTH PERIOD,
AT THE END OF THE MONTH, IN PER CENT**

	December				March
	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
USA	4.8	6.8	9	13.3	14.7
BRITAIN	15.1	12.1	8.4	17.2	21.8
ITALY	21.8	14.9	11.9	19.8	21.2
FRANCE	9.9	9	9.7	11.8	13.7
JAPAN	10.4	4.8	3.5	5.8	8
SPAIN	19.8	26.4	16.4	15.5	16.3

The picture is radically different in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. In the period 1961-1970, in spite of the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade, in spite of Khrushchev's «prophecies» that Albania «would sell itself for 30 pieces of silver», the supply of the population with the main broad consumer goods was normal, prices in retail trade not only did not rise, but on the contrary, remained stable and were even reduced. Meanwhile, all taxes and fees were abolished, lower wages were raised and differentials between higher and lower wages were narrowed. As a consequence, the real incomes of the population increased.

From the year 1957, when the system of rationing was totally abolished, there have been several price reductions in socialist Albania, especially for broad consumer goods and services, with the population gaining a total of over 1.7 billion leks.

In 1970, the general index of prices for broad consumer goods such as food-stuffs (bread, meat, rice, edible oil, cheese, etc) is 5-8 per cent lower in

comparison with 1958, while the general index of prices for industrial goods sold to the countryside shows a fall of 16 per cent as against 1958.

At the same time prices for the state procurement and purchase of agricultural and dairy products in 1970 were higher than in 1965: for bread grain — 40 per cent, meat 60 per cent, wool — 37 per cent, tobacco — 10 per cent, etc. And after 1970 prices for retail goods, alimentary and non-alimentary products, have remained stable, in spite of the indirect pressure exercised by the economic, financial, energy and raw materials' crisis of the capitalist and revisionist world.

The correct political course of stability of prices, which has been pursued even in the conditions of the world crisis and its influence on our economy, is closely connected with and stems from the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party of Labour of Albania which aims to build, on the basis of the revolutionary principle of self-reliance, an independent economy, based on a many-branched industry capable

of coping with and fulfilling the most urgent needs of the country, and on modern collectivized agriculture capable of achieving the country's self-sufficiency in bread grain, ensuring primary and raw materials for industry and defence, creating balanced socialist economy.

By carrying out a scientific program and a correct political course for the socialist industrialization of the country, by giving priority of development to the branches specialized in the production of the means of production, and in particular, the mining, power, mechanical-engineering, chemical, steel and other industries, the stage has been reached in which Albanian industry is in a position to cope with 90 per cent of the needs for consumer articles, 95 per cent of the needs for spare parts, all the needs for chemical fertilizers, and has an active power balance, hence, it can ensure an industry independent from foreign countries. Our industry is successfully competing on foreign markets, thus contributing to breaking the blockade.

It is the great merit of the Party of Labour of Albania which, always with great awareness, has chosen the difficult but glorious road of the construction of socialism on the basis of the resources of internal accumulation, although it was quite aware that this was not an easy road, on the contrary, it was a road which called for privations, strong nerves and stern struggle against all internal and external enemies who wanted to keep Albania in a state of agricultural backwardness, as a source of primary materials for the metropolises.

The consistent implementation of the correct Leninist course for the socialist industrialization of the country relying on the resource of internal accumulation brought about that Albania from a backward agricultural country embarked on the road of development of its industry and agriculture, and achieved such successes that Albanian total industrial production in 1979 is 5 times as great as in 1960. In order to have a better idea of the successes in the field of industrial development, we will compare our development rates with those of a number of developed capitalist countries.

In the period 1974-1978 the average annual growth rate of industrial pro-

duction in Albania has been 5.4 per cent, whereas it was 1.2 per cent in Britain, 0.9 per cent in France, 1.7 per cent in the German Federal Republic, etc.

These figures show that in socialist Albania industry develops at high rates, without crises and slumps. It has grown stronger, more independent and balanced with each passing year, and on the basis of increased productivity of social work, reduction of cost, improvement of the structure and quality of production, extension of the range of goods, there has been a continuous improvement of the balance of foreign trade, balance of payments, which on its part has further increased the stability of our economy, its independence and possibilities for financing the development of the country without any «aid» or credits from the capitalist countries.

The policy of prices for the distribution and redistribution of the national income between the two subdivisions of social production — industry and agriculture, between the fund of accumulation and fund of consumption, has played an important role in the utilization of the sources of internal accumulation and in the utilization of these resources with high effectiveness, in harmony with the unified general state plan.

The transition to the policy of unified prices directed in a planned and centralized manner by the state, Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, was important because, «along with the general state plan, unification of prices enables us to plan state accumulations and deprives the law of value of its spontaneous character, makes it something which can be controlled and directed» (by the state — S.H.).

By giving priority to the development of the means of production, by accelerating the rates of development of heavy industry, possibilities were created for the expansion of the energy and primary materials' base. As a result, Albania today is a country which fully meets, with the resources of the country, all its needs for fuels, is independent in this vital field, at a time when the capitalist world is suffering the consequences of a deep crisis. And this has been achieved thanks to the Party of Labour of Albania which has combated all the anti-Marxist, anti-national and

liquidationist views of the opportunists in its ranks, as well as of all the revisionist enemies, who tried to force it to give up its plan for the development of all the key branches of the economy, the development of the heavy industry, especially the extraction of the oil.

Precisely because the PSR of Albania carried out the socialist industrialization of the country on the correct Marxist-Leninist road, on the basis of the constant increase of industrial production, the ever rising participation of the able-bodied population in work, the growing productivity of labour and the strengthening of a savings' regime, it became possible to maintain a relatively high rate of accumulation from the national income realized in the country which, on its part, ensured the means to finance the rapid development of industry, as the leading branch of the economy, as a premise for the independence and stability of the economy and prices in our country.

The stability of the economy and prices in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is closely connected with the policy of the PLA in the field of agriculture, too.

«Although socialist Albania tends to becoming an industrial country», Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «agriculture still remains the basic branch of its economy. Strong reliance of the national economy on both industry and agriculture is a permanent principle, an indispensable condition for its rapid and harmonious development, for an ever higher degree of its self-activity» (E. Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA).

Therefore, a great importance has been attached to the development of agriculture at rapid rates and in an all-round manner, to the increase of the agricultural production, in general, and the bread grain production, in particular.

Consistently implementing a policy of intensification of agriculture, without at the same time disregarding its extensive development, taking all the measures to increase its mechanization, carrying out the technical-scientific revolution in agriculture and mobilizing people under the slogan «Agriculture — the concern of the entire people», our country was in a position to locally meet all its needs for bread grain over all the five years of the 6th Five-year Plan, to

increase agricultural production 2.9 times in comparison with 1960, to satisfactorily fulfil the tasks set by the 6th Five-year Plan to agriculture.

As in other fields, in the field of development of agriculture the PLA did not fall into the trap set by the Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists who wanted to make our country dependent on them even for its bread grain, who wanted to turn Albania into «a vegetable fruit garden» in order to be able to starve it to submission.

The successes achieved in the two fundamental branches of the economy — industry and agriculture, especially in the years of the 6th Five-year Plan, in spite of the perfidy of the Chinese revisionists who cut all «aid» and credits, have contributed to the constant strengthening of the economy, to its rapid and steady rates of development, to its growing stability, enabling it to supply the population normally, at stable prices, without knowing the negative phenomena of the economy of the capitalist countries — price rises, inflation, unemployment, etc.

In the years of the 6th Five-year Plan the population were supplied better with food-stuffs and non-alimentary products. In 1979, in comparison with 1975, the population was supplied with 22.6 per cent more sugar, 22.3 per cent more edible fats, 10.4 per cent more meat, 20.4 per cent more vegetables, 17.3 per cent more milk, 15.3 per cent more shoes, always at stable prices.

The stability of the economy and the rapid development of industry and agriculture, and in this context, the stability of prices in Albania are explained not only with the mobilization of all its internal, human, material and financial resources, but also with their effective utilization, especially of the fund of accumulation.

Convinced that the norms of accumulation and the volume of investments cannot be increased beyond a limit, the Party of Labour of Albania has attached due importance to the increase of social product, and especially to the further rise of the effectiveness of investments and constructions. In its economic policy the PLA has given constant priority to productive accumulation, and first of all, the investments in the sphere of material production. Over the entire period of socialist construction 80-85 per cent of

investments have been made for the development of the productive sphere, most of which in industry and agriculture.

The complete employment of the able-bodied population has been ensured on this basis, in spite of the population growth at an average rate of 2.5 per cent every year (which is several times higher than the rates of population growth not only in Europe, but also in many other regions of the world). During the period 1950-1980, national income has increased at an annual rate of 13 per cent.

On the other hand, the effective utilization of accumulation sources has influenced positively the strengthening of the economy, its stability, and as a result, the stability of prices, too.

The consistent road of socialist industrialization and collectivization of agriculture according to the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance, has not led Albania «into shutting itself up within its own shell», as the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda claims. On the contrary, Albania has regular trade relations with more than 50 countries of the world, naturally, on the basis of non-interference, respect of mutual interest and economic advantage.

The question might be asked: how is it that small Albania can develop trade relations with more than 50 countries of the capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist, world and withstand the strong pressure of increased prices and inflation, which is bound to happen since it is compelled to import goods at high prices, for which it must pay in foreign currency in a state of devaluation? How can this formerly most backward country of Europe resist this pressure?

The stability of our economy and prices against rising import prices and

increasing devaluation of foreign currency is explained by the fact that as early as the first days of the establishment of the people's state power in Albania, state monopoly was established on foreign trade and currency.

The monopoly of foreign trade and currency by the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is one of the principles which guarantees the independence of the economy from foreign capital, from the fluctuations of the capitalist market and the influence of the economic, financial and currency crisis of the capitalist and bourgeois-revisionist world. And if we add to this the fact that, on the basis of increased social product, the volume of exports, the structure and quality of goods have also increased, the cost of products has been lowered from one year to the other, and that the exports have balanced imports, it becomes clear why socialist Albania, the only socialist country in the world, can successfully withstand price rises and inflation which make themselves felt in its relations with a world which is actually suffering all the ills of the bourgeois society.

State monopoly on foreign trade and currency is, of course, a factor of great importance for the defence of the country against the direct pressure of continuously increasing prices for the goods we import and from the consequences of the devaluation of currency we use in our foreign trade transactions. On the other hand, our economy, which develops at high rates and in a balanced manner, on the basis of the principle of self-reliance, has always been able to counteract to this pressure. This counteraction is expressed in the increased volume of exports, the improvement of structure and the lowering of cost of export goods.

In spite of the savage imperialist-

revisionist blockade and the betrayal by the Chinese social-imperialists, in 1979 as against 1976, some of our most important exports have increased in: benzine — about 6 fold, electric power — 3 fold, cotton — about 50 per cent, exports of chromium ore and concentrates have also shown a perceptible rise. If we add to this the fact that, due to the structure and quality of our products and the level of prices on the capitalist world market, we sell now at higher prices on foreign markets, then it becomes clear how our economy responds to the spontaneous impact of prices in the capitalist world. On the other hand, the lowering of production costs on a national scale, especially for export goods, together and in close connection with all other factors, allows our economy to absorb very well the impact of high prices of the capitalist world market on our country, which, besides other things, is also due to the fact that the buying power of our monetary unit—the lek, not only has not been weakened; but on the contrary; has been strengthened. According to estimations, compared to the American dollar the buying power of our currency (through export goods) is about 40 per cent higher than in 1960. This strengthening of our currency softens the impact of high prices and inflation.

Thus, in spite of the increased volume of imports and high prices on the capitalist world market, our country today has not «shut itself up within its own shell», but trades with over 50 countries, has an active balance of payments, a national currency far from devaluating. is constantly strengthening a stable economy which needs no credits from the banks of the bourgeois and revisionist countries, through which the imperialists and social-imperialists enslave the peoples, suck their blood and exploit their toil.

PERSPECTIVES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN SOCIALIST ALBANIA

by **HAMIT BEQJA**

The present-day phenomena and trends of development of education and culture in socialist Albania clearly show the great possibilities and broad prospects for the constant raising of the educational and cultural level of the working people and the younger generations, in particular. This is reflected both in the present achievements and the perspective of growth in all the links of the educational system and all the means of cultural activity

IN THE PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF A CONSISTENT MARXIST-LENINIST POLICY FOR THE TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM, THE PLA HAS ALWAYS CONSIDERED THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN THE FIELD OF IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE A GENERAL LAW FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW SOCIALIST SOCIETY, A GUIDING PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSAL VALUE. IN COMPLIANCE WITH THIS, TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE SPECIFIC CONDITIONS IN WHICH ALBANIA SET OUT AND IS MARCHING ON THE ROAD OF SOCIALISM, THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CIRCUMSTANCES, THE PLA HAS ADOPTED A NUMBER OF MEASURES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN DEPTH AND BREADTH, IN QUANTITY AND QUALITY, FOR THE CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND SOCIALIST CULTURE, FOR THE CEASELESS RAISING OF THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF ALL THE WORKING PEOPLE, AND ESPECIALLY THE YOUNGER GENERATIONS.

The extent and depth of this revolution, its vital importance and urgent character, the extremely rapid rates and very broad proportions, which

HAMIT BEQJA — *Professor at the University of Tirana*

characterize development in a truly socialist country, become even more conspicuous if compared with the very great backwardness Albania inherited from the past in all fields, including education and culture.

Up till today, 36 years after Liberation, this cultural revolution has passed through two major historical stages in harmony with the entire process of the construction of the new, socialist society. The first stage of this revolution coincides in time with the stage of the building of the base of socialism, especially the building of its economic base, which starts immediately after Liberation and extends up to the beginning of the 60's. It is precisely in this stage that the bases for the creation of the people's educational system and socialist culture were laid, and in this process was achieved a perceptible rise of the educational and cultural level of all working people and, in particular, of the younger generations.

In this stage the struggle for the liquidation of illiteracy followed the efforts for deep-going democratic transformations, which were combined with transformations of a socialist character, and led to the creation of a new system of popular education. The educational system was unified all over the country, and this not only formally and juridically, but also in reality, by freeing it of all taxes and fees, opening schools in the remotest villages of the country, setting up boarding schools, according state bursaries, especially for the children of peasants and working people. The new popular educational system was a coherent one, complete with all the necessary categories of schools, from the lowest forms to the highest ones, having at the same time removed all obstacles to the free transition from one category of school to the other. So all possibilities were created for a rapid rise of the educational level of all the working people, and especially of the younger generations, for the intensive training of the labour force and specialists and technicians needed in all the fields of activity, for the formation of the new people's socialist intelligentsia which was emerging from the ranks of the working people, an intelligentsia large in numbers and specialized in different fields, in compliance with the great and urgent needs of the country in the course of its new, socialist development.

This rapid, impetuous development, in terms of quantity, was at this stage accompanied with radical transformations in the content of the new school. A new, socialist school was created, which based all its teaching and educational activity on the science of Marxism-Leninism and the policy of the Party, on socialist pedagogy and modern scientific thought, on the outstanding, patriotic, secular and democratic traditions of the Albanian national school. In this same stage, Albania began from scratch its work for setting up a broad network of mass culture institutions: clubs and circles

of culture, homes and hearths of culture, especially in the villages, national and local museums, theatre and variety show houses for professional troupes, as well as for creating the means of social information and the mass media, for publishing books, newspapers and magazines, introducing wireless and TV sets, etc. All this activity had nothing in common with commercial gain, which has always been and remains the essential feature of bourgeois culture. Parallel with the flowering of all the genres of literature and art in their cultivated forms, the amateur movement of the working masses also began to develop on a broad scale. Together with people's education and combined with it, all these means served to make cultural values the real property of the entire working people, a means for an all-round efflorescence of people's talents.

Major transformations have taken place in the field of purely cultural activities. Alongside the integration of outstanding progressive values of our national culture into world culture, there was the intensive process of the creation and development of the new socialist culture, imbued with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. Literature and the arts began to develop on the lines of socialist realism.

The second stage of the cultural revolution began in the 60's and extends up to our days, only to continue in the future. It coincides in time with the stage of the complete construction of socialist society and is an organic part of the course of the all-round deepening of the socialist revolution, the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country. This stage is the longest in terms of time. During this stage the non-stop march towards socialism continues through the class struggle on a broad front, which is especially fierce in the field of ideology and culture, and directed against all anti-socialist, bureaucratic, liberal, conservative, technocratic or intellectualist concepts and practices.

In this stage, too, quantitative develop-

ment continues at more and more rapid rates, with the objective of consolidating the achievements and gains of the first stage and taking up new problems for solution, as the essential feature of a society which opens unlimited possibilities for education and culture among the masses of the people, for their transformation into effective means for the all-round strengthening of the country, and especially of its economy, the all-round development and enrichment of the personality of the new man of socialist society. The following is a detailed analysis of some of these processes as they occur today and their future development.

Even a very general picture of the colossal changes that have taken place in the field of education and culture, expressed in some of their main indices, clearly shows the great cultural revolution carried out in socialist Albania. Whereas there were over 50,000 pupils, or one out of 18 inhabitants, who attended school in the 1938-1939 school-year, today there are more than 70,000 or nearly one out of three inhabitants go to school. This country, with a population of less than three million inhabitants, publishes today nearly 11 million copies of different books a year, it has 2,100 hearths and homes of culture, 2,000 museum-houses, 25 professional theatres and variety show houses.

However, the main thing in the deepening of the cultural revolution in this second stage is the revolutionization of the contents of education and culture, the consolidation of socialist class and party spirit in education and culture in the struggle against all alien ideological influences, old or new, internal or external, especially against the ideological diversion and cultural aggression by the present-day capitalist and revisionist world. These are the objectives of the further revolutionization of the school, which has put all its activity on the basis of combining lessons with productive work and physical and military training, making all these three components revolve around the Marxist-Leninist ideological

axis, strengthening the Marxist-Leninist contents of the school in irreconcilable struggle against any ideological and cultural, aethical and aesthetical influence which may harm it.

The present-day phenomena and trends of development of education and culture in socialist Albania clearly show the broad possibilities and prospects for the ceaseless raising of the educational and cultural level of the working people and, in particular, of the younger generations. This is reflected both in the present achievements and in the perspective growth in all the links of the educational system and all the means of cultural activity.

The pre-school educational system at the present stage of its development, with its network of institutions — kindergartens, draws about half the children of up to 6 years of age on a national scale, and two thirds of the city children, at a time when before Liberation this category of institutions did not exist at all. In the work of the PLA for the revolutionization of education and school an important place is given to propaganda for the gradual envelopment of all children in kindergartens. The objective of the new five-year plan (1981-1985) is to ensure that two thirds of children go to kindergartens.

The attendance of these institutions is facilitated by the great contribution of the state to their maintenance and running. In kindergartens where children stay all day and have two regular meals, two thirds of the expenses are defrayed by the state with the parents paying only one third which, on the other hand, varies for different families, depending on the amount of their incomes. In kindergartens where children pass only the first half of the day, without meals provided, expenditure for their maintenance is completely met by the state.

By transforming this institution into a fundamental link of the educational system the state ensures great advantage: total employment of the women, relieving them of a large amount of

household work and assisting their emancipation, better preparation of children for school, which is essential today when school age in the system of compulsory schooling begins at 6 years instead of 7 years, and above all, combination of social education with family education, must be pointed out that despite the ceaseless increase of the weight of social education, the educative function of the family in socialist society never loses its importance. On the contrary, in the new socialist family, based on complete equality between husband and wife, the educative function, the role it plays in bringing up children with the socialist ideals, becomes gradually more and more important.

In the other categories of the educational system we see that, after the liquidation of illiteracy, the greatest step in the development of people's education has been the creation of unified general and obligatory 8-year schooling for all the country. This was a very difficult enterprise for a country which prior of its liberation, although 4- or 5-year education had been formally declared obligatory, it drew only one third of the children of the respective school age on a national scale and only one fourth in villages, at a time when the lower cycles of secondary education had never existed in its complete form, or was represented by only 11 schools in all the country in 1939, the more so as Albania is a country of predominantly mountainous terrain, with small scattered villages, where it was very difficult to open 8-year schools.

In these conditions, immediately after the country was liberated, elementary 4-year schooling was made obligatory. This measure was applied with success and within 5 years the road was opened for the transition to 7-year and later 8-year obligatory schooling. At the present stage, when 8-year schooling has expanded with the natural growth of the population, all the possibilities existed for efforts to be concentrated on the all-round qualitative consoli-

dation of 8-year schooling, which remains the main base of the entire system of people's education in Albania. University training of teachers for the higher cycle of 8-year schooling, which has been fully achieved long ago, as well as of those for the lower cycle of 8-year schooling, helps achieve this objective.

A link of our educational system, which is undergoing a vigorous quantitative development, is 4-year secondary schooling, which is organized on the basis and as a continuation of 8-year schooling. With the general knowledge it gives, this category of schools enables the students to attend higher schooling, however, responding to the needs of the Homeland and the interests and vocations of the youth, it is diversified, being either general or professional.

Now secondary schooling comprises two thirds of the youth who finish 8-year schooling. At the age of 14-15 years, students enter secondary schools, general or professional, and sometimes even both general and professional, which have been opened not only in towns, but also in rural centres; students may attend part-time schools, too, especially agricultural schools for the peasant youth, which are widespread in the countryside.

Secondary schools in Albania are attended by an equal number of boys and girls, which is a very indicative sign of the radical emancipation of the once oppressed and humiliated Albanian women. A major achievement of the socialist order is the extension of secondary schooling in the countryside, which helps gradually narrow distinctions of development, educational or cultural, existing between town and countryside in the conditions when, as is known, 60 per cent of the population of Albania lives in the countryside, without depopulating the countryside, as happens in many so-called developed capitalist and revisionist countries.

In this manner, all the possibilities exist for secondary education to in-

clude the whole mass of the youth, even before it is made compulsory. This is easier to achieve in town, and it will be achieved within this decade; however, this does not mean that the countryside will not proceed in just the same manner.

The rapid development of secondary education is possible only when the contradictions, which erode this link of the educational system in bourgeois and revisionist countries, are resolved. These contradictions emerge, in the first place, from the dual nature of this category of schools, one part of which, represented by traditional gymnasiums and lyceums, was destined mainly to train candidates for the higher schools and the intellectual élite, while the other and larger part, represented by professional schools, was intended for technicians of medium training or skilled workers who were exploited by the ruling class in its own interests.

In Albania, however, all categories of secondary schools provide equal opportunities for work and higher studies. The more so as their courses provide for the teaching of the fundamental natural sciences mathematics, physics, chemistry, nearly at the same level for all of them. On this basis, students in the countryside who, as a rule, attend agricultural secondary schools can continue their higher studies not only in agricultural schools, but also in other schools akin to them, such as schools of medicine, chemistry, biology and others, and if they show special talent, they may study the humanities as well.

Apart from this, since all students, whether of general or professional orientation, take part in productive work for one month every year, and thereby acquire a certain degree of ability in some professional field, after school they can find a job in accordance with their professional skills, in case they do not continue the higher studies. The system of higher schools, too, though planned to meet the needs of the country for specialists, and despite the fact that it began from zero,

has achieved major successes today, and completely fulfils the needs for socio-cultural and economic development of the country. Here comparing the number of students to the total population of Albania and some other countries, which are considered to be developed, does not tell much. In these countries, as a rule, some students finish their studies in double normal time, whereas others abandon them in the middle. As a result the number of the graduates is lower than the enrolment figure. The phenomenon of redundant intellectual population, when many graduates roam the streets in search of job, should be added to the above facts.

In Albania the bulk of the students enrolled finish the studies within term. «Intellectual unemployment» is unknown.

A peculiar feature of Albanian education is that two thirds of students are the sons and daughters of workers and peasants. Even now, over 40 per cent of students are girls, and this ratio tends to increase in favour of girl students. This shows that efforts are made to avoid social and class distinctions and polarization in higher education, phenomena which are characteristic of the bourgeois and revisionist countries, even the most developed ones.

In these circumstances, in the future, too, the further development of higher education is guaranteed against any crisis, the more so as it is closely connected with productive work and preparation for practical activity. Under socialism, too, education is, as it has always been, the groundwork of the whole cultural education of the nation. However, these phenomena are regarded today in a new light. Education today is not given in schools only. It is connected with extra-school and other activities which apparently have to do with school less than with life, in general. This objective tendency has a wide prospect of development, especially in our socialist society. For this purpose, we are guided by the

revolutionary socialist concepts worked out by the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha, who tells us that learning goes on all the time, that one does not learn at school only, but also in life, and that life itself is a great and irreplaceable school. In this context, present-day phenomena and the perspectives of the further uplift of the educational level of the working people can be assessed correctly and fully only if seen in all-round and close connection with all the other aspects of cultural development.

Therefore, parallel with regular full-time school, which exists at all levels of education, but which is more widespread at the level of secondary education, a permanent system of qualification of the working people at all levels, from workers to higher specialists, is in the process of consolidation. This is dictated by the rapid and intensive development of science and technology, by the expansion of production and the uninterrupted progress of knowledge. To meet these needs a system of regular and periodic qualification testing of workers and specialists has been set up. According to this system, for the worker to gain a higher category he must have the respective secondary professional education, along with a period of seniority at work and progress in his profession. And these requirements are being enforced more and more extensively, parallel with the ever rising educational level of the new generations of workers, most of whom have gone through professional secondary schools of their speciality. In our socialist countryside, too, the new cooperativist farmer with agricultural secondary education tends to become a predominant figure among agricultural workers. The system of regular and periodic qualification testing is gradually being extended to technicians and specialists of all categories of medium and higher special training. At the same time, qualification and education are becoming organically linked with all spheres of cultural activity. Its striking feature is the

combination of the influence of the school with that of other many and powerful means of communication and social information, which are rapidly growing and extending in all directions, extension and improvement of all means of massive propaganda and culture, better organization and more systematic development by the Party and all the state organs of propaganda work for the masses, a work enveloping all working people, all generations.

The combination of these methods must be seen in the light of the present and perspective developments, when all the means of mass culture and propaganda are in the process of ceaseless growth in quantity and continuous improvement in quality.

The development of the ideological and cultural revolution is seen in close connection with the technical-scientific revolution. In the conditions of social-

ism, this revolution, too, is the work of the masses. In these conditions it can march ahead vigorously only through mass scientific experimentation which is becoming more and more an effective means for raising the cultural level of all the working people who see culture not as a mere ornament, but as a means to work and produce more and better, to promote the cause of development of the socialist society in Albania.

The raising of the cultural level of the working people is ensured through their systematic participation in sociopolitical activity, in ideological class struggle, in uninterrupted physical and military training, in many cultural, educative, sports and other activities.

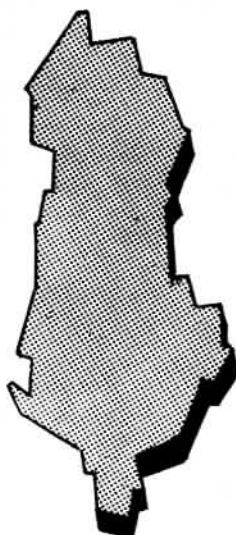
All this harmonious and all-round development of the new man of the socialist society is achieved on the basis of the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, which demand that

everyone must have a very broad understanding of culture and the cultured man, that our entire socialist life is and must be culture.

As a conclusion, we must point out once again that all these premises for the ceaseless raising of the educational and cultural level of the working people and the broad concept of this process, all the achievements made so far and the perspectives opened in this field must be regarded in unity with the deep-going revolution in the ideological field, in the content of all educational and cultural activities, in close connection with socialist life, revolutionary practice, the broad participation of the masses in revolutionary actions in all fields. On this basis the unity of revolutionary theory and practice is guaranteed in this field, too, through the ceaseless broadening of the educational and cultural horizon of people, their all-round communist education.

COMMUNIQUE ON THE MEETING OF THE 9th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

**FROM THE
LIFE OF THE
COUNTRY**



The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, which took up for analysis the report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee «On the Results Achieved in the Fulfilment of the Plan of 1980 and the Tasks for 1981», held by the Member of the Political Bureau and First Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Adil Çarçani, held its proceedings on 25-26 February 1981, under the direction of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

After extensive discussion of the report presented, the Plenum of the Central Committee adopted it unanimously and took the relevant decisions.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party also decided on calling the ordinary 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania on November 1, 1981.

In conclusion of the proceedings of the 9th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha, made an important speech.

THE 9th PLENUM
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY
OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

Tirana, February 26, 1981

DECISION ON CALLING THE ORDINARY 8-th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania of February 26, 1981,

DECIDED

I. — To call the ordinary 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania on November 1, 1981, with the following agenda:

1. — Report on the activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

To be submitted by the First Secretary of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

2. — Report of the Central Control and Audit Commission.

To be submitted by the Chairman of the Central Control and Audit Commission, Comrade Pilo Peristeri.

3. — Report on the directives of the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania for the 7th Five-year Plan of development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the period 1981-1985.

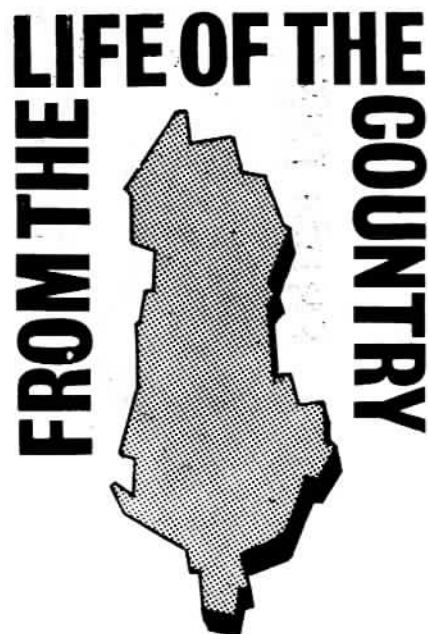
To be submitted by the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Mehmet Shehu.

4. — Elections to the central organs of the Party.

II. — The norms of representation to the Congress should be: one delegate with deliberative vote for every 150 party members, and one delegate with consultative vote for every 150 candidates for party membership.

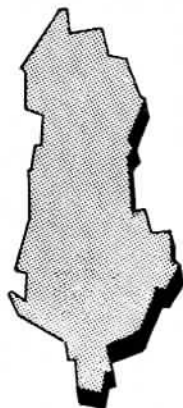
THE 9th PLENUM
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY
OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

Tirana, February 26, 1981



ACTIVITIES ON THE OCCASION OF THE 28th ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF J. V. STALIN

**FROM THE
LIFE OF THE
COUNTRY**



On the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the death of J. V. Stalin, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist, loyal disciple and continuer of Lenin's work of genius, a broad socio-political and cultural activity was carried out in various districts of the country. At work and production centres, agricultural cooperatives, schools and military units, commemorative meetings and talks were organized on the role of J. V. Stalin as the outstanding leader of the Communist Party (Bolshevik), the first socialist state in the world, the ardent defender of Marxism-Leninism.

Many people visited the V. I. Lenin - J. V. Stalin Museum in the capital. On this occasion, working people, militarymen and students organized excursions and talks on themes such as «Stalin - the Close Friend of the Albanian People», «Stalin in Struggle against Opportunism and Revisionism», «Stalin - the Outstanding Strategist of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet People», etc through which they won a deeper insight into the life and revolutionary activity of Stalin as an unyielding fighter for the cause of socialism and communism, freedom and independence of the peoples. On this occasion, the film «The Centenary of the Birth of J. V. Stalin» was shown for the visitors.

The workers placed bouquets of flowers on the memorial raised to Stalin in front of the «Stalin» textile combine.

A commemorative meeting was organized yesterday in the Higher Teacher Training Institute in the city of Elbasan with all the students and teachers attending. The teacher of this Institute Kolë Tollumi spoke on the life and outstanding revolutionary activity of Stalin. Similar meetings were also organized at the «Luigj Gurakuqi» secondary school and the other educational institutes of this district. A photo-exhibition was opened on this occasion in the House of Culture of the city.

At the «J. V. Stalin» hydro-power station of Bistrica in the Saranda district a commemorative meeting was organized, where the secretary of the party basic organization of the hydro-power station Pandeli Soko delivered a speech. Wreaths and bouquets of flowers were placed on the monument to Stalin.

Many activities on the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the death of J. V. Stalin, the outstanding leader of the world proletariat, were also carried out in the Durrës district. In the «Hajdar Dushi» 8-grade school the students recited poems dedicated to J. V. Stalin and read fragments from Comrade Enver Hoxha's book «With Stalin».

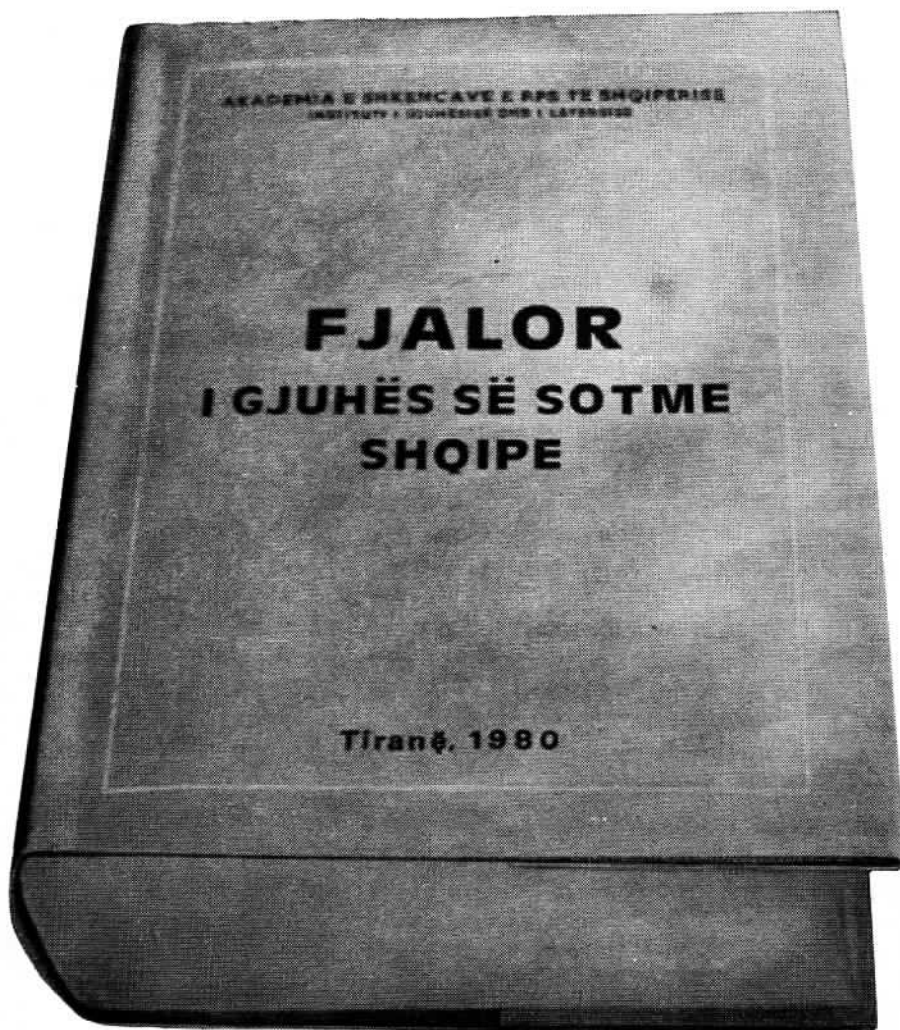
In the «Naim Frashëri» secondary united school a talk was held on the theme «J. V. Stalin - the Great Friend of the Albanian People and Party». In this city many photo-exhibitions were also opened, reflecting the life and revolutionary activity of Stalin.

In towns and villages of the Shkodra district, talks were held on J. V. Stalin's contribution to the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution, the consoli-

dation of the Soviet state power and the stern struggle against opportunists and revisionists. In the «Stalin» agricultural cooperative of Koplik, a talk

on the theme «The Name and Work of Stalin Will Live through Ages» was held with the cooperativists and students.

THE «DICTIONARY OF MODERN ALBANIAN LANGUAGE» CAME FROM THE PRESS



The «Dictionary of Modern Albanian Language», prepared by the Institute of Language and Literature at the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania, came out recently. This major work of Albanian linguistics, which is the result of the particular solicitude of the Party of Labour, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, and the people's state for our language and national culture, reflects the Albanian language at its highest degree of present development. It is the largest and, so far, most comprehensive explanatory standard dictionary of the Albanian language published. It has about 2,300 pages with about 41,000 entries from the active lexicon of the spoken and written language, as well as from other sources of the rich treasury of our language, which have become or are increasingly becoming the property of the broad working masses. Along with words, the dictionary also gives thousands of phraseological units and locutions which constitute the peculiar treasury of the Albanian language, as well as typical examples illustrating the various usages of words. Both in contents and the theoretical principles of composition, the «Dictionary of Modern Albanian Language» is an explanatory dictionary of a new type, which meets the present requirements of broad circles of our socialist society. It will help the working masses acquire a more profound knowledge of their mother tongue, and journalism, scientific and popular publications, in school, theatre, cinematography, Radio-Television and other cultural institutions, as well as raise their culture of language to a higher level.

**FROM THE
LIFE OF THE
COUNTRY**

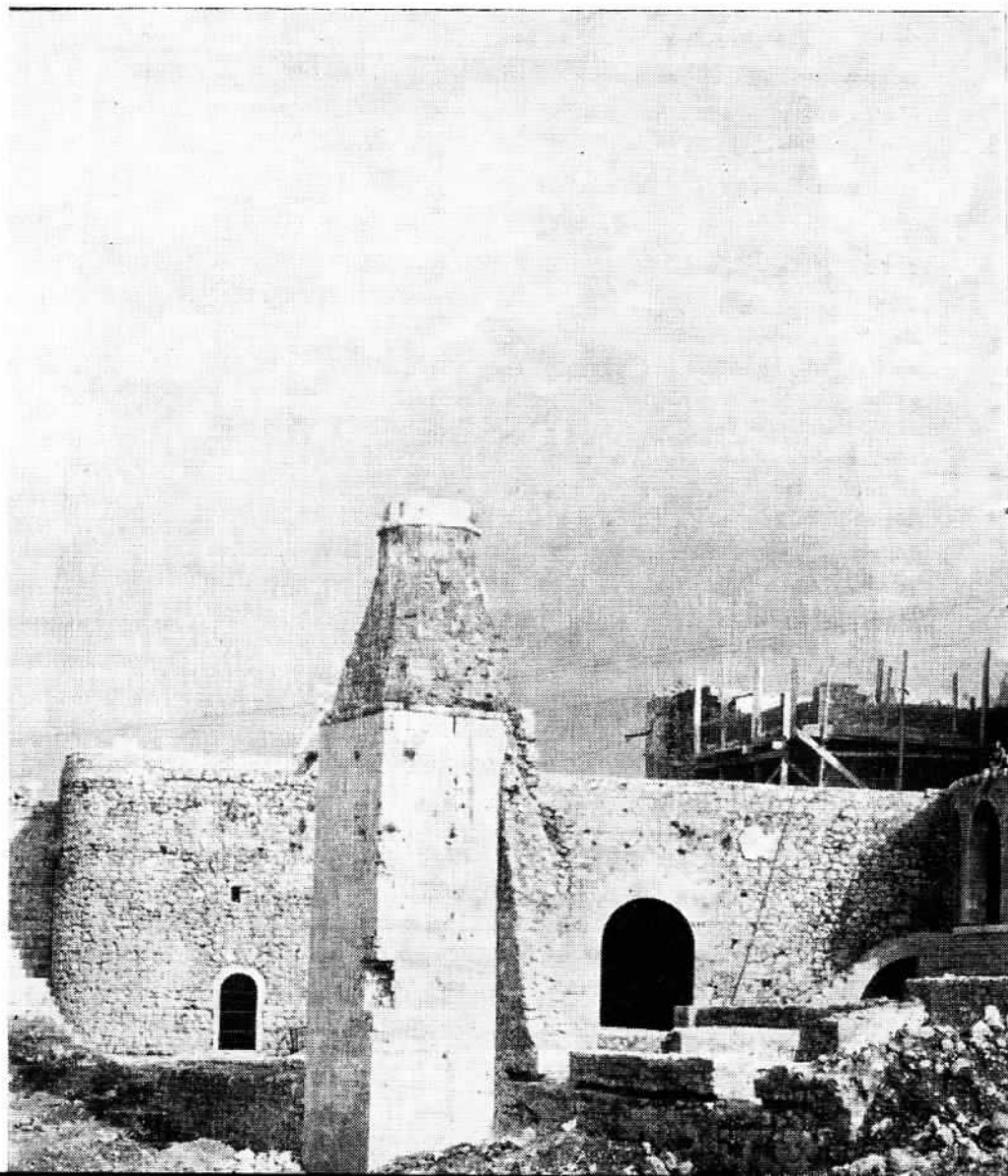


THE CASTLE WITHIN THE CASTLE

The 15th century is one of the most glorious periods in the history of the Albanian people. Round the middle of this century, under the leadership of Gjergj Kastrioti, surnamed Skanderbeg, they faced up with unexampled courage to the most dangerous hordes of the time — the Turkish armies which intended to invade the entire Europe. With their legendary struggle, the Albanian people defended their freedom and independence for 25 years on end and

at the same time shielded the whole of Europe from the rapacious plans of the Sultans.

Kruja, the main centre of the principality of the Kastriots, was centre of all this struggle, and the homonymous castle, rises proudly over the ancient city to this day in defiance of the many destruction wrought by time and men. The Sultans of Turkey made repeated attempts to seize Kruja and massed innumerable armies round its



walls, but as long as Gjergj Kastrioti was alive they never succeeded in breaking down the resistance of the small Albanian army defending the castle of Kruja.

For this reason the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania decided that a museum, demonstrating the heroic struggle of the Albanian people in the 15th century, be put up in Kruja, within the walls of the castle.

The work for the construction of this museum, which will bear the name of our National Hero — Gjergj Kastrioti — Skanderbeg, is at an advanced stage.

The designs for the construction of the museum have been done by architects Pranvera Hoxha and Piro Vaso, who have based themselves on the preparatory work carried out by a

group under the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania and a designing group of the Nr. 1 Institute of Designs and Projects of Tirana.

The whole scheme is designed to harmonize the museum with the general environment and make it an organic component part of the castle.

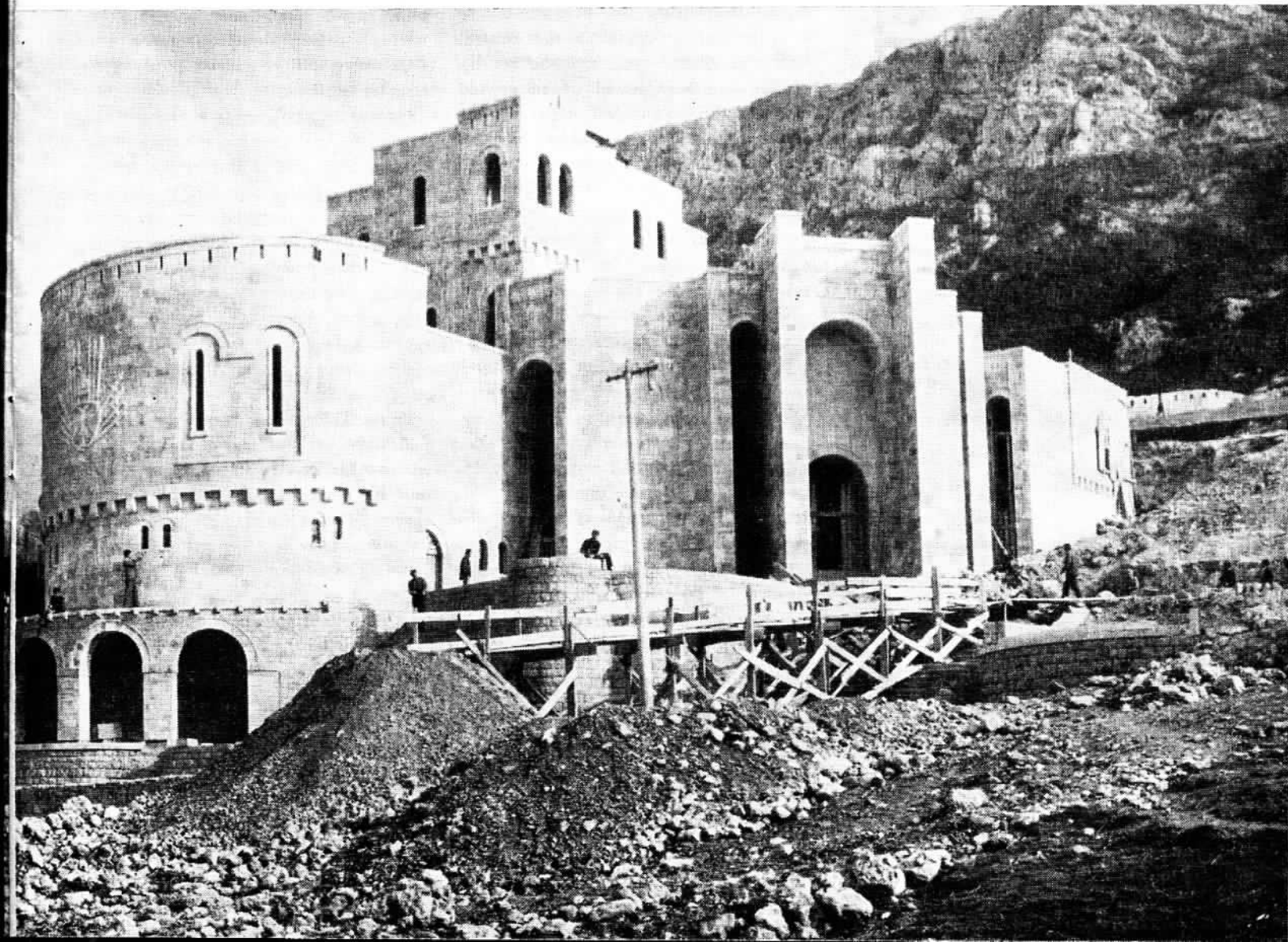
Roughly hewn stones, in accordance with the original way of castle building, were utilized in the exterior, while in the interior — walls, columns, arches, floors, stones of a softer cutting were used. The filing of floors and covering of the walls, the furniture and other objects will be done in wood; window bars, parapets, door pieces, canalesticks, etc will be made of wrought iron.

Synthesis of architecture with the applied arts is, of course, of great importance to achieve the desired result

in this project. For this purpose, the designers' group have collaborated with the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Writers and Artists' League. This synthesis will be achieved with the technology and in the spirit of the time, using mainly wall paintings or frescoes, as well as reliefs in stone, wood or metal. The application of other techniques of painting or sculpture is not excluded.

Along with the attempts to give the project its true historical character, the designers have so distributed the rooms as to make them as functional as possible and easy to visit, in con-

«Gjergj Kastrioti — Skanderbeg»
under construction inside
the Kruja Castle. View of the museum



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formity with all the condition of a project of this nature.

Skanderbeg's museum will be erected to the left of the castle entrance, which is one of the more original monuments of Skanderbeg's times, so it is planned to make the most of its environment, creating an atmosphere reminiscent of the glorious battles.

When the museum is seen from Kruja, one will immediately catch sight of a stylized version of the Kastriots two-headed eagle carved on the facade of the main tower. Upon entering the castle, after emerging from the arched entrance, one sees the curved part of the museum with an arcade where the sculptures of the outstanding figures of the time will be set up, as well as the entrance to the museum composed of a central arch accompanied with several lateral arches set on differing planes.

The main external staircase leads to the central hall of the museum, where a sculptural group, with the central figure of Skanderbeg, will be set up against the background of an arched wall. Further to the left, after a flight of steps, is the first hall of the museum — that of the National Legacy. The objects and documents to be exhibited here will show the degree of socio-political and socio-economic development reached by the Albanian people up to the eve of the Ottoman invasion. The central idea of the exhibits is: Albania is an ancient land, with highly developed cultural traditions, and the Albanians are a people who have always fought to defend their freedom and culture. Opposite this hall, will be a wall painting representing an episode of an Illyrian uprising against Rome — the superpower of the antique world.

The hall of the National Legacy is connected with the second hall, which is devoted to the Ottoman invasion and in which the stages of the Ottoman occupation of the Balkans and Albania are represented, as well as to the resistance of the Albanian people until the turn of the year 1443, when Gjergj Kastrioti put himself at the head of the Albanian forces. This hall is set on a lower level, is darker and will be

built with heavy columns and arches so as to render the impact of the Ottoman invasion, as one of the darkest periods of the history of our people.

Next follows the principal hall of the museum, treating two themes: first, «Unity and Confrontation», on the political unity of the country and the fighting mobilization of the people's masses, and, second, the «Masses and the Leaders», on the role of the people's masses and their leaders — Skanderbeg and his cofighters in coordinating their activity. This hall will be the key-point in the logical development of the museum. Here Skanderbeg's helm and sword will be exhibited against the background of the red flag of the Kastriots, which later became our national flag. This principal aspect will be encompassed within a general composition of a large fresco, about 18 metres long, which will portray the victorious battles of the Albanians under the leadership of Skanderbeg against the Ottoman armies. This fresco will be executed on a semi-circular wall.

On the third floor, is a room of the tower which will represent a chancellery of the time and a library treated in the same spirit is adjacent to it. These rooms will be comprised in the space devoted to the theme «Skanderbeg and the World», and more precisely to the part dealing with its first aspect, utilizing documents and correspondence of the time to reveal the links and role of the struggle of the Albanian people on an international plane. There will be sculptured portraits of Skanderbeg's cofighters and, in the room executed like an art gallery of the time, there will be placed to develop the second aspect of this theme — the response to and assessment of this struggle among the contemporaries and in the following centuries — by the men of letters, artists, scientists and specialists of the military art.

After the gallery of paintings comes the last hall of the museum. It will deal with one of the major themes: «Skanderbeg and the Albanian People». This part of the museum will develop the idea that Skanderbeg and the struggle he led remained alive and served

as a battle flag through all the centuries of the history of our people to these days. The idea that the Albanian people, under the leadership of Skanderbeg, for the first time united themselves politically and militarily, will clearly emerge from documents and

maps. The struggle of the whole people for freedom forged in the population of the various regions the idea of national unity which was never lost, even in the conditions of centuries-long slavery.

In front of this hall there will be

a suggestive work of art, which will serve as a conclusion to the visit, with Comrade Enver Hoxha's words: «As the partisan giants yesterday, so the hardworking and militant Albanian people today will never cause Gjergj Kastrioti — Skanderbeg blush».

NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES

Recently, the Archaeological Centre of Fier (Middle Albania) was informed by the cooperativists of the Kreshtan village of the discovery of a treasure trove. The archaeologists who went to the spot were handed over 193 silver coins, of which 37 pieces belong to the mint of Illyrian King Monun, in 280 B.C. These are the first Monun coins found in our country in such great

numbers. This treasure enriches the numismatic fund of these coins, which were represented by only three pieces in our country and about 20 others in diverse numismatic collections in Europe. Now new light can be shed on the Illyrian activity proper in the first half of the 3rd century B.C., as one of the more stable political and economic forces in the Balkans. Like-

wise, fresh evidence is added to the continuity of the Illyrian state during the 3rd century B.C., which up to now emerges to have been led only by Agron and Teuta, who belong to the 4th century B.C. This treasure is an information of great importance on the economic links between the Illyrian and other ancient centres, as well as on the chronology of the coinage of these centres.

For the first time in our territory coins were minted in the cities of Dyrrachium and Apollonia in the middle of the 5th century B.C. The coins were of silver and had the figure of a calf suckling a cow and a square. The silver coins of these centres played an important role in the trade of the Illyrian tribes. The coin with the suckling



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calf was preferred to all other coins and was called the «Illyrian drachme». This coin was widespread, reaching as far away as Rumania and the other Balkan regions.

The silver coins of Dyrrachium and Apollonia are rich in symbolic signs. The signs that occur more frequently symbolize the prosperity and wealth of these two cities and their hinterland. Such are the ear of wheat, the grape of vine, the cornucopia, the plough, the bee, etc. The ear of wheat is the symbol most preferred. Its frequent use and the figure of the plough lead us to the conclusion that in the coastal plains of Illyria agriculture was relatively advanced and that the population of these regions engaged in farming. On the other hand, symbols of ships and rudders indicate the commercial character of cities, as well as the development of fishing and sailing, especially in Dyrrachium which was a part and commercial centre of great importance on the eastern shores of the Adriatic.

In the first half of the 4th century B.C., the city of Demastion (in the mainly Albanian-inhabited Autonomous Socialist Republic of Kosova — Yugoslavia), which became an important economic centre of the surrounding region, coined its own money. This city was founded and developed in an area rich in minerals which, apparently, constituted its economic base. Exploitation of minerals and the development of metal-working crafts were the main branches of its economy. This is apparent from the symbols of the coins which represent, among other things, the miner's hammer and metal bars.

The minting and circulation of coins by this city marked a further extension of the monetary system in South Illyria. The money economy smashed the backward natural economy in this part of Illyria, too, to pave the way for a new economic order — the slave-owning order.

Beginning from the 3rd century B.C. in South Illyria, in the territory of our country today, all economic relations developing on the basis of exchanges in kind were replaced by the money economy, which became the do-

minant system in this area. This created the conditions for many Illyrian states or cities, as for example, the city of Amanthia (Ploça), Byllis (Gradishta of Hekal), Olympe (Mavrova), Orychum (Pashaliman), Lyssus, Scodra, etc to set up their own mints. Their coins were usually of bronze and were accepted in trade relations within a definite area. Their symbols are extremely interesting and archaeologists use them as important historical documents. They shed light on the economic development of ancient states or cities.

In the meantime the Archaeological Museum of Durrës has extended its research to the outskirts of the city. Traces of ancient ruins have been discovered in the process in an area of about 30 hectares in the western part of the former Durrës marsh.

As a result of excavations carried out recently, remains of foundations, floors and walls of the 4th-3rd centuries B.C. were unearthed. Architectural details, earthen ware fragments, as well as bronze coins of Dyrrachium were discovered on some spots. Among the many tile fragments there are some carrying the inscription «Nesyl».

The opinion of the archaeologists on this point is that the name is connected with an outer city quarter, the population of which was engaged mainly in agriculture and where the extension of building work coincides historically with the time of the transition of this city under the control of Illyrian kings.

In the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. traces of building become increasingly rare and almost totally disappear in the first centuries A.D. The foundations of the piers of an aqueduct and, in the vicinity of the city, a vast burying ground are extant from this period. Last year three tombs of the 3rd century A.D. were discovered in this area, among other things, a beautiful glass vase in one of these tombs. It bears the inscription «Sura», which indicates that it was produced by the Illyrians.

In the recent months, in the course of work in the inner part of the former Durrës marsh, a large marble architrave was unearthed near the ancient aqueduct.

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA IS FOUNDED

The first issue of January 1981 of the newspaper «People's Voice», organs of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India, informs that the Founding Congress, which proclaimed the founding of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India, was successfully held on December 25, 1980. The Congress, in which delegates elected from all over India took part, was characterized by steel Marxist-Leninist unity and the resolve to carry through to the end the struggle for the revolution. The Congress made a high assessment of the work of the teachers of the world proletariat — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and pledged to remain loyal to their teachings and defend them against all opportunist and revisionist distortions.

The Congress adopted a number of documents on the general program of the revolution in India, the Constitution of the Party, and its immediate tasks, it elected the Central Committee of the Party.

The creation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India, the newspaper stresses, is a highlight for the Indian proletariat, its allies, the oppressed masses of this country in struggle for the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution, for the overthrow of the reactionary big land-owning bourgeoisie and its allies in the revolution, to ensure the carrying out of the democratic and anti-imperialist tasks of the revolution.

The Revolutionary Communist Party of India will wage an uncompromising struggle against all the variants of modern revisionism, which seek to avert the proletariat from the revolution and to perpetuate the capitalist rule. It considers the emergence of Khrushchevite revisionism to be «a step back in the international communist movement and for the cause of the revolution». The Indian Marxist-Leninists and proletariat have the deepest hatred for the Khrushchevite and Maoist traitors. «We have seriously studied the negative and harmful consequences of Mao Zedong thought for the Indian revolution,» is said in the documents of the Founding Congress, «and have rejected these revisionist theories of Mao, which were a great obstacle on the road of progress of the Indian revolution and the building of the Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The Founding Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India acknowledges the correct Marxist-Leninist stands of the PLA, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, for the construction of socialism in Albania, in struggle against the revisionists of all hues, for the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and considers the support of socialist Albania as a powerful factor for the revolution and socialism in the world.

The Founding Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India made a high assessment of Comrade Enver Hoxha's work «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs) and adopted a message in which, among other things, is said: «Comrade Enver Hoxha's new work, as his other important works, constitute a major factor contributing to the building up and consolidation of the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement and are a powerful impulse to the further rise of the forces of the revolution and socialism in all countries.»

The founding of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India, is said in the documents adopted by the Congress, is a victory of the Indian proletariat and people in struggle against the different revisionist and opportunist trends, in struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism, the Indian ruling classes and all the other exploiters.

The Founding Congress of the Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of India sent Comrade Enver Hoxha a message, in which is said:

The Founding Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India sends you and, through you, all the members of the PLA and the entire Albanian people its warmest revolutionary greetings.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is today the only socialist country in the world which, despite the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement, is marching triumphantly forward towards the complete construction of socialism and communism. This is a victory for Marxism-Leninism, for the heroic Albanian people and for the forces of the revolution and socialism in the world. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a great source of inspiration for the commun-

ists, the working class and all the other oppressed strata of the Indian people, in the struggle to overthrow the inhuman system of exploitation in India.

The correct and principled Marxist-Leninist policy of the PLA, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has been the decisive factor for the triumph of the revolution and the construction of socialism in Albania. The PLA has a glorious history of the uninterrupted development of uncompromising class struggle against revisionism and opportunism of all hues, in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution and socialism. Comrade Enver Hoxha's recent works, «Imperialism and the Revolution», «Reflections on China», «With Stalin» (Memoirs), «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), are clear evidence of the constant principled struggle waged by the PLA against the revisionists and opportunists of all hues, are a powerful weapon in the hands of the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionaries of the whole world and India in the struggle against all the variants of revisionism. Our Congress considers the determined struggle of the PLA in defence of Marxism-Leninism and against revisionism and opportunism of all hues a very valuable contribution in the world Marxist-Leninist communist movement.

The message concludes: The PLA has constantly and unhesitatingly supported the revolutionary and national liberation struggles of the peoples, has continuously fought against imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction and has helped the consolidation of the Marxist-Leninist parties, has fought and is fighting for the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Today, when the Indian Marxist-Leninists have scored an important victory with the creation of the vanguard of the Indian proletariat, the whole life and work of the PLA, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, serves as a great source of inspiration, as an example to our Marxist-Leninist Party.

Taken from «Zëri i popullit», organ of the CC of the PLA, dated February 11, 1981.

THE SOVIET REVISIONIST CONGRESS A CONGRESS OF DEMAGOGY «ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The 26th Congress of the Soviet revisionist party was a congress of renegades from Marxism-Leninism, of an anti-Marxist revisionist party, which heads a pseudo-revolutionary anti-socialist, imperialist state. The line which it laid down will bring further evils for the Soviet people and new threats to the independence and freedom of the peoples

THE 26TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH WAS HELD IN MOSCOW FROM THE 23RD OF FEBRUARY TO THE 3RD OF MARCH, WAS HELD IN A DIFFICULT SITUATION FOR THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS, BOTH INTERNALLY AND ABROAD. IT TOOK PLACE WHEN THE PRESENT POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CRISIS, WHICH HAS SWEEPED THE CAPITALIST WORLD, OF WHICH THE SOVIET UNION IS A CONSTITUENT PART, HAS BECOME EXTREMELY ACUTE.

The plans for the development of the economy have not been realized, the rates of production have fallen off, the new technologies have lagged behind, agriculture is in a state of permanent stagnation, inter-republic relations are deteriorating and the spiritual life of Soviet society is degenerating further and further. The Soviet Union is in a crisis, not only with its allies of the Warsaw Treaty, as the events in Poland show, but also with all the revisionists, especially the Eurocommunists, who are more and more refusing to accept Moscow's leadership. The rivalry with American imperialism for spheres of influence and world domination, for markets and sources of raw materials and for strategic positions has become very intensive. The Soviet Union is faced with great contradictions, and this is the main thing, with the peoples of the world, who are more and more resisting and opposing its policy of expansion and hegemony.

«ZËRI I POPULLIT» — organ of the CC of the PLA, article published on March 18, 1981

Brezhnev's report did not touch these problems even superficially, and it avoided analyses of internal and external situations. It was a document characterized from start to finish by an open spirit of pragmatism. It amounted to no more than a hotch-potch of directives and concrete orders about the current run of many questions of the economy and daily life.

It tried to get over the lack of analysis and facing up to problems, which are worrying the Soviet people, by creating the impression that the «correct line» had allegedly been laid down once and for all, and now the Soviet Union is «proceeding smoothly» on the wide roads which Brezhnev has opened. The report attempted to convince the world that Soviet society and the Soviet state have allegedly reached such a level of development that it is no longer faced either with ideological problems or political, economic and cultural problems.

Brezhnev's attempt to conceal the real situation, to cover up the internal and external contradictions of the Soviet

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Union, the lack of new ideas are a direct expression of the general crisis of modern revisionism, of the inability of the Soviet leadership to resolve the problems and overcome the difficulties which have emerged for the Soviet Union. Therefore, the only way left open to Brezhnev and the other revisionist chiefs of the Soviet Union was to formulate a propaganda document based on social demagoguery for internal consumption and pacifist demagoguery for external consumption. Such was Brezhnev's report, such were the contributions of delegates, and such were the paeans of praise which the foreign revisionist delegates heaped unsparingly on the line of Brezhnev.

* * *

Although a separate report on the economy was delivered at the 26th Congress of the Soviet revisionist party, problems of the economy took up about one third of Brezhnev's speech. His plethora of words to disguise that tangle of profound contradictions, in which the Soviet capitalist economy is involved, could not conceal the tensions which exist within it and its gloomy prospects. The attempt made by Brezhnev and his followers to present a rosy picture of the present-day Soviet economy, which has long been looking sick, could hardly deceive the rank-and-file Soviet workers who are carrying the burden of this crisis in the economy, with all its grave consequences, on their own backs.

As in the former congresses, in this one, too, the Brezhnev leadership trumpeted about a series of plans and measures allegedly to raise the well-being of the people. But the Soviet people are fed up with such plans and forecasts. In the 60's Khrushchev boastfully launched the slogan «we must catch up with and outstrip the USA», while at the beginning of the 70's

Brezhnev announced the program of «flooding the market with consumer goods». But life showed that they were just dreams and empty words like the promises which were dished out so generously at the 20th Congress.

The fact is that the announced and disguised price rises, the shortage of prime necessities, the black market and the race of the new Soviet capitalists and bureaucracy to enrich themselves with the blood and sweat of the ordinary working people, the militarization of the economy are what characterize the economy of the Soviet Union today.

It is clear from the figures, which Brezhnev presented about the past plan and the forth coming one, that we have to do with a systematic slowing of the advance of the economy. The figures on the national income, which are the most concise index of any economy, are rising very slowly. These rates of increase in the recent five-year period are the lowest which the Soviet economy has known. The present rates are about half the average for the 15-year period (1961-1975), which were very low themselves. The base of such a situation is the inability of the capitalist system of the Soviet economy to increase and activate the factors of development, the human resources and the productive forces of the country.

The Soviet leadership pinned great hopes for the revival of the economy on the effectiveness of investments and expenditure on production. From this factor they hoped to ensure about nine tenths of the increase of the national income. These are pipedreams which have no real basis. At the congress the Soviet leaders spoke about the small increase in the productivity of labour, about the significant falling of the quality of labour, about the widespread failure to utilize productive capacities for industry, transport, etc about the decline and stagnation of agricultural

production, about the high costs of energy resources and mineral raw materials, and the fact that these costs are rising further. Likewise, they were obliged to admit that during the past decade the main productive funds increased 1.4 times more rapidly than the national income, and this speaks clearly of a marked decline in the effectiveness of their use, etc. It is quite apparent that there is no guarantee that the plans, which are drafted and the promises made, will be realized. The situation of the Soviet economy cannot change for the better within five years and work miracles as Brezhnev wants.

The disproportions in the fields of production and consumption in the Soviet capitalist economy are becoming ever more pronounced. The supplies of consumer goods, and especially food products, are totally insufficient. They do not cover the purchasing power which has got out of control and is exerting great pressure. But whatever the Soviet revisionist leaders may do, the contradictions and pressures cannot be eliminated. Moreover, with their planning and the measures they take, they make these contradictions and pressures more pronounced.

How can the contradiction between production and consumption be overcome, when it is forecast that the rate of fundamental investments will be halved, and under the pretext of increasing the effectiveness of investments the norm of accumulation in the use of the national income is reduced from year to year, when the non-productive sphere is extended out of all proportions and is forecast to advance more rapidly than material production. How can they be eliminated, when, according to calculations made, each year military expenditure gobbles up more than 30 per cent of the national income, about one third of production

of the metallurgical industry and machine production, more than one seventh of the energy resources, and when one tenth of the active working force and the most capable scientific and technical forces are employed in the military sectors.

The weakest point in the Soviet economy is agriculture. It is in a state of stagnation and in a number of important products has declined. The causes are not hard to find. Following the capitalist road of development of agriculture has led to the abandonment of the countryside and the departure of the peasantry en masse; the breaking out of the machine and tractor stations led to incomplete utilization of the machinery; the scramble for profits and the black market set direction and spontaneously led to a disproportional structure of agricultural production; the great disorder, which exists in transport and in all the other links of agricultural production, has led to waste, theft and damage of agricultural products on a mass scale, etc.

The Soviet leaders were obliged to admit this grave situation in agriculture at the recent congress. One thing which is quite obvious is that Soviet agriculture is suffering from great shortage of funds for its modernization. But these funds have not been found and cannot be found. They are gobbled up by the war industry, the armaments race, the maintenance of an army several millions strong, the expenditure of economic and military expansions.

In these conditions Brezhnev sees no other way out except to turn to private enterprise. At the congress he declared that the Soviet party and the government have approved a series of laws and measures for the further extension of the individual economy in the collective farms and state farms, and have also given the right to possess such economies to workers and officials who work in the cities. At the same time, the dispersal of the collective farm and state farm livestock herds to be raised on individual economies is encouraged in every way. It is quite clear that the Soviet revisionists are breaking up the form of the group and state capitalist property and are going over to an individual private economy.

This new «reform» may bring the Soviet leadership some advantage. From the formal aspect it frees it from state

responsibility for the people's food, because this responsibility is passed to the individual private farmer. However, the people remain unfed. It has already been proved and is being reconfirmed every day that small-scale fragmented agrarian economies are incapable of organizing and developing large-scale agricultural production. A typical example of this is Poland, where fragmented private property is dominant in the countryside and where the lack of food products is one of the causes of the great social disturbances which that country is experiencing.

The phenomena of the crisis and the policy of the capitalist development of the country, in general, have deepened the all-round degeneration of Soviet society, the degrading of its socio-political structures.

In his report, Brezhnev was obliged to admit the existence of many problems typical of a capitalist society. For example, he admitted the existence and the further deepening of unevenness in the socio-economic and cultural development of different zones and territories, the existence of chauvinist expressions and attitudes towards small nations, of narrow nationalism and anti-semitism. He was obliged to admit that dodging work, securing a livelihood without working, parasitism, bribery and speculation, thefts and other abuses have become everyday phenomena in the Soviet Union. When Brezhnev himself declares in the congress that «there are people in our country who aim to contribute less and grab more from the state,» that «in the terrain of such a psychology, selfishness and the petty-bourgeois spirit, tendencies to self-enrichment, indifference to the worries and problems of the people arise,» it is not hard to guess how grave, difficult and degenerate is the real situation which prevails in the Soviet Union.

Brezhnev and his colleagues did not propose any concrete measures for the elimination of these negative social phenomena, and confined themselves to general moralization, very like the sermons of the gospel. They scate lightly over all this state in which class and national distinctions and territorial, economic and cultural dis-levels will allegedly be wiped out. All this talk is nothing but pipe-dreams and demagogy. Then, reality in the Soviet Union today shows that what is

occurring there is not the coming together of classes, but the deepening and widening of the gulf between them. In that country a new bourgeois class has been created, which rules over the workers and exploits them. This class is enriching itself more and more and is being obviously differentiated in regard to the income it gets, its many privileges, its way of life, its dominant position in society, etc. In regard to the relations between nationalities, they are not distinguished by the equality about which Brezhnev speaks. It is the Russians who have the party, the state, the army and the security forces in their hands, who decide the major issues of internal and foreign policy, who give orders and make the law.

Brezhnev's social demagogy and his prettification of the reality cannot heal the wounds from which the rotten capitalist Soviet society is suffering. The boastful promises about general well-being, which the Soviet leaders advertized at the congress, are only hot-air. For the Soviet people the future is one of tightening the belt and being satisfied with empty spoons.

As was expected, foreign policy occupied a special place in Brezhnev's report and all the proceedings of the congress. Brezhnev tried to give all his words a very peace-loving stand and to present himself as the banner-bearer of peace. However, the present dangerous situations: the international tension, interventions, threats and dangers, which threaten the peoples from the aggressive policy and actions of the Soviet Union, do not allow Brezhnev to present his false coins for gold. This pacifist demagogy is an old trick of the imperialist powers which, we must admit, Brezhnev employed with considerable skill. By this means he tried to cover up the ever increasing aggressiveness of Soviet imperialism, its policy of expansion and hegemony, and its aims of robbing the peoples of their freedom, independence and sovereignty. What Brezhnev is after, in fact, is not «the consolidation of peace and reduction of tension, the defence of the sovereign rights and freedom of the peoples», as he pretends, but the development of international relations in such a direction that they are subordinate to the political, economic and strategic interests of the Soviet Union.

The «peace» which Brezhnev calls for, is not intended and cannot be intended to mobilize the peoples to unmask and expose the war plans of imperialist powers, to hinder and stop the armaments race, and to put an end to imperialist oppression and exploitation in the world. With his «peace» he implies precisely the maintenance of the present imperialist status quo, precisely the elimination of the peoples' resistance to the war-mongering policy of the superpowers, the blunting of their vigilance towards the enslaving plans and plots of the imperialist powers. When Brezhnev talks about «peace», he wants peace with the United States of America, he wants agreements, compromises and mutual concessions with American imperialism for the division and domination of the world.

In Brezhnev's report, the whole chapter on foreign policy was a direct reply to Reagan who wants to re-establish American leadership in the Western capitalist world. In the Kremlin they listened to Reagan and understood correctly that he does not want many partners in world affairs, that regardless of his bombastic threatening words towards the Soviet Union he wants collaboration with it and acceptable mutual agreements. Brezhnev anticipated Reagan's demands and accepted the deal. «It is known,» he said, «that the international atmosphere depends largely on the policy of the USSR and the USA. In our opinion, the state of relations between the USSR and the USA now, and the acuteness of international problems which demand solution,» he declared, «dictate the necessity for a dialogue at all levels, and moreover, for an active dialogue. We are ready for a dialogue.» And Brezhnev states openly on what a deal can be struck.

One of these is the Middle East oil. «A state of stability and peace,» says Brezhnev, «can be established in this region through the joint efforts of all parties.» Hence, Brezhnev tells Reagan, «if you want to avoid the danger of war between us, we are ready to conclude an agreement which will preserve the interests of both sides, in other words you make concessions and we will make concessions.» «We are ready to talk with the USA about the Persian

Gulf, the Far East, Africa, Europe, the Indian Ocean and all the other regions of the world,» he says. Hence, it is not only the United States, but also the Soviet Union that has «vital interests», ie imperialist interests in these zones. Now Brezhnev wants these «vital interests» to be mutually respected and guaranteed by the two superpowers.

Reagan's acceptance in principle of Brezhnev's proposal for a summit meeting, at a time when everyone expected the «cold war» to break out, shows that the Kremlin's offer to do a deal was welcomed in Washington. Thus, it is clear that the bi-polar imperialist global strategy advocated by Khrushchev and pursued by Nixon will very likely come to the fore again.

The policy of rapprochement and collaboration, which Brezhnev wants to follow in the relations with the USA, and which could be accepted in America, entails great dangers for the freedom and independence of the peoples. One of its primary aims is to strengthen the American and Soviet dictate in their respective spheres of influence to keep the disobedient partners under a tight rein and to exclude them from participation in the solution of international problems, to hinder the build-up of their strength and their efforts to extend their political and economic influence to different countries of the world. For example, there is no doubt that the establishment of the more extensive collaboration between the Soviet Union and the USA in various fields, such as those of armaments, trade, control of the seas, space and so on, will further strengthen the American domination in Western Europe and will make China and Japan more obedient and more respectful towards the global interests of the superpowers. At the same time, it will be easier for the Soviet Union to strengthen its domination in Eastern Europe and its other zones, where its influence has been shaken by its intervention in Czechoslovakia, the aggression in Afghanistan and disrupted by the events in Poland.

The Soviet-American rapprochement will be transformed into a new attack on various peoples and countries of the world, into an attempt to make the dictate and despotism of the superpowers an international law. In con-

nection with this Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that «Both when the superpowers get together and when they quarrel it is others who pay the bill.»

As expected, special attention was given in Brezhnev's report to the so-called socialist community. It was the only part of his report in which he departed from his matter-of-fact style and indulged more in theoretical formulations. He tried to lay an ideological basis for the revisionist policy of the Kremlin, for the integration and amalgamation of the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe in the Soviet empire. Brezhnev demanded that these countries completely and finally give up any sign of sovereignty and independent development. He demanded total integration in all fields, political, economic, military, cultural and spiritual. Indeed, he presented a long-term program and proposed a series of concrete measures to achieve this objective. «Life itself,» declared Brezhnev, «put forward the task of completing the co-ordination of plans through the co-ordination of economic policy as a whole. Such problems as the bringing together of structures of the economic mechanisms, the further development of direct links between ministries, combines and enterprises, which participate in cooperation, the creation of joint firms are on the order of the day. Other forms of combining our efforts and resources are also possible.» This directive of Brezhnev's indicates clearly that from now on the economies of the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe will be run directly by the central Soviet state apparatus, just as is done, for example, with the Federal Republics of Armenia and Tajikistan. The same integration in and management is being sanctioned in other fields, too, such as the field of foreign policy, through the creation of the committee of foreign ministers headed by Gromyko, the activity of parties, which is run by the meetings of secretaries of central committees, according to the respective sectors, in which directives are given for the organizational, political propaganda and other work, and in which the secretaries of the central committee of the CPSU have the last word. In regard to the armies of the satellite countries, they have long been under the Soviet command.

In a word, they are moving towards the elimination of any border and distinction, towards the complete all-round subordination of those countries and their transformation into federal republics of the Soviet Union.

Brezhnev was unsparing in his praises of the relations between states and socialist communities as «just, equal and fraternal». Indeed, he no longer calls the relations between these states «international» relations, but «relations between peoples». However, the question arises: When they are not international relations between states what becomes of their state sovereignty, of the right which each state has to act in an independent and sovereign way towards other states, even if they are socialist? Apparently the «limited sovereignty» is a hindrance to Brezhnev, therefore he wipes it out completely and now presents us with «relations amongst the peoples», which as everyone knows cannot replace, much less eliminate, the international relations between states.

In his speech, Brezhnev attempted to present the «socialist community» as a new kind of formation of the «fraternal unity» between different peoples and states, in which complete and perpetual harmony, the ideal friendship and the spirit of pure socialist internationalism prevail. But what occurred in Czechoslovakia and what is occurring in Poland today? From hour to hour the Russian tanks are only waiting the order to move into Poland in order to establish «just, equal and fraternal relations», as they did previously in Czechoslovakia. Brezhnev can guggle with words as much as he likes, but the fact is that the European countries remain in the «socialist community» thanks to the bayonets and jack-boots of the Soviet soldiers. Likewise, it is a fact that the more time goes by, the more the contradictions and frictions between these countries increase and the more frequently the Soviet Union exerts its pressures and interventions with violence to establish «law and order» in its empire. This is an inevitable result of the revisionist policy and ideology, which are a permanent source of splits, quarrels and degeneration.

The expansion of the hegemonic aims of the present leadership of the Kremlin are apparent also in the way

Brezhnev handled the problems of the liberation movement and the new states which aspire to independent development. Despite the use of a number of hackneyed slogans, which have now become routine in the jargon of the Soviet propaganda, that the Soviet Union «provides disinterested aid» for the liberation movements and anti-imperialist forces, that it is a «natural ally» of the new countries and so on, Brezhnev dealt with the problems of these countries from the angle of the rivalry with American imperialism and the struggle and efforts to extend the Soviet domination over them. Thus, he tried to justify the occupation of Afghanistan as an action impelled by the danger of intervention by American imperialism. Now we are seeing America, too, using a similar pretext, the Soviet threat, to intervene in Salvador. Such pretexts, to justify their interference in the internal affairs of other countries, can always be found by the different imperialists. But however hard Brezhnev and Reagan may try, they cannot justify the aggressive policy of the superpowers, and much less justify the violation of the freedom and independence of nations and the enslavement of the peoples. The intervention of the Soviet social-imperialists in Angola, Ethiopia, and especially in Afghanistan, has demonstrated that the policy of the Soviet Union towards Africa, Asia, Latin America and other countries has nothing at all to do with «socialism», «internationalism», and «support for national liberation struggles». It is a typically imperialist policy of expansion and hegemony. Like the USA, the Soviet Union today is the greatest enemy of the peoples' freedom and independence, the greatest supporter of neo-colonialist oppression and exploitation. One of the problems, which has preoccupied the Soviet leadership in recent years, has been its relations with the other revisionist parties. The rejection of Marxism-Leninism and the betrayal of the revolution, which occurred in the Soviet Union, as well as the spread of revisionism in the communist parties brought these parties closer and closer to the bourgeoisie in their own countries, just as it alienated them from the communist party of the Soviet Union. The contradictions, which the bourgeoisie of various countries have with the Soviet

Union, are reflected in the relations which these parties have with the Soviet revisionist party. Faced with this situation, Brezhnev is now obliged, at least in words, to back away from the theory of the «conductor's baton» and express himself in favour of the pluralist formulae of the Eurocommunists. In return, he demands that they support the Soviet foreign policy, and especially refrain from criticizing the internal situation of the Soviet Union and its activities in the international arena. He is obliged to back down, because the revisionist parties of the West no longer obey Moscow's orders. Therefore, he tries to ensure at least their loyal stand towards the Soviet Union.

The revisionist ideology is an ideology which divides and does not unite. The general political, ideological and moral crisis, which has swept these countries, incites the spirit of narrow nationalism and bourgeois chauvinism and is spreading it wider and wider. Also apart from the continuous pressure, which the bourgeoisie exerts on these parties to separate them completely from Moscow, there also exists the fear that if they give support to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which is now exposed as an openly aggressive policy, they will isolate themselves even more from the masses, and their influence on these masses will decline further.

* * *

The 26th Congress of the Soviet revisionist party was closed with resounding fanfares. Promises of the Soviet leadership about improving the life of the people and the commitments to a peaceful international policy are the main characteristics of its demagogy. The congresses of the party of the Soviet Union are held one after the other reports and speeches are delivered, plans and resolutions are drafted, but the internal contradictions become more extensive and deeper, new difficulties are added to the old ones, while in the field of international relations, Brezhnev's policy increases the tensions and adds to the insecurity and dangers of war. The congress which was held in Moscow was a congress of renegades from Marxism-Leninism, of an anti-Marxist revisionist party, which heads a pseudo-revolutionary

anti-socialist, imperialist state. The line which it laid down will bring further evils for the Soviet people and new threats to the independence and freedom of the peoples. Therefore, it is a duty of all the revolutionaries and progressive people of the world to cast off the illusions which they may still have about the Soviet Union as a socialist country, and to unmask and oppose the aggressive, hegemonic policy which it pursues. It is essential that this struggle must be waged now for the triumph of the cause of the revolution, socialism and peoples' liberation.

Demagogy, lies and blackmail of the peoples predominate everywhere in the policy of great imperialist powers, both bourgeois and revisionist. Daily events confirm that the superpowers impose their law on others, that the multinationals dominate the world economy. Never before has there been a plunder of such colossal proportions of raw materials which belong to other peoples, such a monstrous monopolization of foreign energy resources, such an unequal exchange on the international market between wealthy and poor countries. Being unable to withstand this general assault of international capitalism, and the pressures of the economic crisis, in which it has been caught up through years, the bourgeois states, both capitalist and revisionist, are up to their necks in debt. The wealthier states dominate the poorer states and keep them bound with chains. Deep in debt and unable to get out of debt, the states and peoples of the world are being subjected more and more to the dictate and arbitrariness of the great imperialist powers, are losing their moral and political independence and their national sovereignty, have a rope around their necks, facing the fearful whirlpool of the great world crisis.

The cost of living is becoming ever more expensive for the working masses in the capitalist and revisionist countries. The prices of consumer goods are mounting day by day and there is no sign of any halt in this rapid increase. Unemployment and inflation are increasing uncontrollably. New debts are piled on top of old. The chains of neo-colonialism are growing heavier. Even from those tens and hundreds of billions of dollars which circulate in the form of credits, aid and technical

assistance and services, not one cent goes to the benefit of the masses. Those who rule the country and the people use the loan which they receive to buy arms, under the pretext of balancing the military force of the superpowers and to give the impression that the small countries are independent and arming allegedly to defend their national independence.

World imperialism has long been striving to camouflage, to prettify this whole system of plunder, oppression and domination by the superpowers and big international capital, by creating a whole lot of different bourgeois and revisionist, opportunist theories. Time has proved that the «third world», the «non-aligned world», and other such myths have been nothing but a demagogic background noise, simply deceptive. Disarmament, the Helsinki promises about international peace and security, «human rights», the pilgrimages of the Polish Pope and so on, have all been frauds and opium for the peoples who are suffering under imperialist oppression. At the same time, they are a means and a lable for the ruling bourgeois cliques of every hue to preserve their power over the peoples and to put this power in the service of whatever superpower which bids the highest price.

Those who for decades have been applying this evil and enslaving policy consider it clever and sophisticated. The capitalist world press is full of it, publicizes them and transforms them into angels of the peace and saviours of the world. A monstrous mechanism of intrigues, plots and lies has been established on a world scale to present black for white and white as black.

The proletariat is fighting in defence of its class rights and the peoples are fighting for liberation from imperialism and neo-colonialism. But the workers' strikes and revolts are being diverted and manipulated by the opportunists and reaction. The imperialist and neo-colonialist powers are striving to divert the national liberation wars from their true aims and to turn them into local wars in their own interests, in this way inciting and preparing for world war. The superpowers want to redivide the world and they will never give up this objective. This is where their

system of exploitation and their policy of hegemony and expansion have led to. However, being afraid of atomic war, which would be inevitable in this case, they are trying to avoid it and postpone a direct confrontation between themselves. Nevertheless, they are preparing themselves and aiming with all their strength for war, arming themselves and others. All these preparations and activities are accompanied with blackmail and threats towards allies and non-allies without distinction, with the terror of war, with filthy bargains, corruption and degeneration.

The present state of the world shows that all the bourgeois systems, whether capitalist or revisionist, wherever they are, and in whatever form they present themselves, are totally immersed in a deep, general crisis, which includes every field of their existence. There is no escape by the ways the bourgeoisie and the revisionists want to follow. Any solution other than the revolution will be unsuccessful or temporary. Only violent revolution against the yoke of capital can put an end to the bourgeois capitalist system of oppression and exploitation, which is totally corrupt and degenerate.

The contradictions of capitalist society cannot be solved through reforms. Imperialist oppression and exploitation cannot be eliminated either through the generosity of banks, or the clemency of the church. In order to wipe them out, the world must be transformed, the capitalist system eliminated, American and Soviet imperialism overthrown. World capitalism must be destroyed for bourgeois society to be replaced with the new, genuine socialist society. This is the desire and aspiration of the proletariat and the peoples. But socialism does not come about automatically. It is the outcome of consistent and thorough-going revolution. It is the supreme objective which is achieved with toil, sacrifice and unflinching struggle in each country in which the conditions have matured. The true revolutionaries do not spare their strength or their efforts to ensure that these conditions are prepared and brought to maturity in each country. The revolution is the salvation of mankind. Many may consider this utopia, but Marx and Lenin are not utopians.

ONLY THE WORKING CLASS OF THE COUNTRY CAN SAVE

The Poland of the revolution has not died and will not die. It has only lost its way. Class enemies have set it on a dangerous course. Poland must find its true road, the road of the proletarian revolution, guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology

THE SITUATION IN POLAND REMAINS COMPLICATED AND IS GETTING STEADILY WORSE. AS RESULT OF CONTINUAL STRIKES THE ECONOMY HAS BEEN RUINED AND IS ON THE BRINK OF DISASTER. SOCIAL LIFE IS DETERIORATING FROM DAY TO DAY. CONFUSION, ANARCHY AND DISORGANIZATION PREVAIL EVERYWHERE. UNDER THE PRESSURE AND THREATS OF THE «SOLIDARITY» ORGANIZATION, THE POLISH PARTY AND GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN FORCED TO MAKE CONCESSION AFTER CONCESSION AND TO CEDE MANY OF THEIR POSITIONS.

Despite all the measures which have been taken and the compromises made the situation has not been stabilized, but has become even worse. It is the «Solidarity» organization which is making the law in the country. The objective which it has set itself and which is becoming more and more evident, is to gradually seize power, to take Poland out of the Warsaw Treaty and impell it towards the West. All its actions are subordinated to this strategy. The «Solidarnose» organization, which poses as a workers' trade union, is a reactionary movement from start to finish. Behind it stands the Polish Catholic church and the Vatican which manage and lead it. But apart from those who are represented by the clan of Lech Walessa, a part is played in the leadership of this organization by the «Club of the Catholic intelligentsia», KOR, which is a group of representatives of the internal reaction and world capitalist reaction, the nationalist party, «the Confederation of Independent Poland», and some other grouping of this kind.

It is precisely these different re-

actionary political forces and currents which have the Polish working class in their grip, and are manipulating it for their own political purposes.

For the time being these currents are united and in alliance against the Polish United Workers' Party, which is split into various groups and factions, with pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet, national and chauvinist, reformist and clerical tendencies. This Party is anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary through and through. The policy and ideology it follows have discredited it in the eyes of the masses and made it incapable of exerting its influence and imposing its will. It is the all-powerful Catholic church, with its spiritual and ideological power, which predominates today in the life of the Polish people. In a camouflaged way, by means of the new squirearchy who are in power in Poland, the Vatican guides both spiritual and temporal questions. Now, through the «Solidarity» organization, the Catholic church is struggling to take over complete control of the state.

The Polish church, the Vatican and Western Europe are pursuing the tactic of «cooking the stew without burning the pot». They are advocating: take

one step and consolidate the positions achieved, take another step and avoid Soviet intervention, use the «21 points» as an economic platform to deceive the working class, and transform them into political actions to erode the foundations of the revisionist system and the pseudo-communist party. After this, go from the city to the countryside, to the «peasants' solidarity organization», rally the squirearchy and organize them politically, those who never permitted collectivization and who remained the main basis of the Polish church and the old chauvinist traditions.

However, within the «Solidarnose» organization there are extremist elements who want to overthrow the Franco-German «Ost politik», especially the «détente» between the West — European powers and the Soviet Union. These extremist elements favour the tactic of rapid advance and powerful blows, even though they might cause Soviet intervention and armed clashes. They are carrying out the American policy which is aimed at causing an armed conflict within Poland, which will also lead to defeat of the tactic of the Franco-German «Ost politik». This would be one way to weaken France and Germany and bring them back to the positions of obedient vassals by threatening them with the danger of Soviet imperialism.

This is the strategy and these are the tactics of internal Polish reaction and international reaction. These are the objectives of the counter-revolution in Poland which is taking place

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in a counter-revolutionary situation, in a counter-revolutionary state.

The present revisionist state is in a situation in which it is under attack from all sides and does not know which way to go to escape. Christian reaction is manipulating the working class, not to mention the countryside where it has powerful bases. The Party and state, which have lost their authority and influence, are obliged to make concessions to the church and accept it as an arbiter in the conflict. In practice they have pinned their hopes on the mercy of Vischinsky.

However, the Polish revisionist state has to try to please both «the goat and the cabbage». It has to behave with great care and listen attentively to the rigorous demands of its Soviet ally. At the same time, it has to take account also of the demands of the ruling squierarchy, the people of the administration, the party apparatus, the economy and the army, who also want to preserve their privileges.

This situation has resulted in chaos and disintegration in the ranks of the Party and the state. They no longer operate as centralized institutions. Their rank and file takes more notice of what «Solidarnose» and the bishops say than of the directives that come from the Central Committee and the orders issued by the government. The revisionist leadership is talking about a «rejuvenation», but it has no program of action to pull the country out of the crisis and does not know with whom to unite and with whom it must split. The prime ministers, who are changed one after the other, do not bring any alteration. The rejuvenation remains a meaningless slogan.

However, it is not only the Polish leadership that is in great trouble. The Kremlin and its allies in the Warsaw Treaty are in a similar situation. To allow Poland to slip into the Western camp means to endanger the alliance, to endanger the Soviet hegemony in the Eastern countries, to endanger the vital communication lines of the Soviet army

in Europe and to endanger the present Soviet strategy based on its military attacking strength. Technically, it is not difficult for Soviet social-imperialism to intervene militarily to establish order in Poland. However, this would jeopardize East-West commercial relations, would jeopardize the billions of dollars which the Soviet Union and its satellites have received and are still receiving from the USA and Western Europe, would jeopardize «détente» and would destroy the Franco-German «Ost politik», which the Kremlin wants to exploit in its rivalry with American imperialism.

This is the explanation for that harsh propaganda and the «hardline stands» of the Soviet press against those forces which it calls «anti-Soviet», «anti-socialist», etc. The Kremlin is openly and stubbornly defending its own Polish élan within Poland, is exerting pressure and making threats and keeping its attack forces in readiness. And in order to show that it is «undisturbed», for the sake of appearances, it is accepting some of the retreats which the Polish leadership is making. The aim and desire of the Soviet Union is to defeat the diversion with diversion. However, when it sees that all hope of an internal solution is fading, only two ways are left open to it: either to intervene with arms, and «stabilize» the situation through violence, or accept total defeat, that is, the destruction of the Warsaw Treaty and Comecon. But Soviet social-imperialism cannot accept total defeat. Kania, Wischinsky and Lech Walessa know this and they know it in Bonn and Paris, too.

In Poland, at present, there is no organized political force which can take over the leadership and the responsibility for pulling the country out of the chaos and anarchy, and rescuing it from the dangers which threaten its freedom and independence and its future. If the Polish people, the working class, the working peasantry, the progressive intelligentsia and the genuine patriots do not understand the com-

plications of the situation into which the various capitalist-clerical and revisionist reactionary currents have got them, they will jump out of the frying-pan into the fire. The lack of a Marxist-Leninist communist party is still the greatest handicap for the Polish working class. Without a Marxist-Leninist communist party it cannot find the right revolutionary road, and the working class will always be split, and as such will be manipulated by the capitalist-revisionist bourgeois parties for their own interests. A working class politically divided and without an Marxist-Leninist communist party will always remain a plaything in the hands of those parties, and will itself play the game of the reformists and reaction. At the present time, the revolution or any positive and progressive change in favour of the people and the oppressed classes cannot be carried out if they are not led by a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist communist party.

Through its organ «Zëri i popullit», the PLA has expressed in a clear and a politically understandable way its opinions about events in Poland, not only those of today, but also those of the past. It has condemned the regimes of Gomulka and Gierek, and the present Kania regime, which, on account of the revisionist capitalist line which they have pursued, are to blame for the situation which has been created in Poland, and the dangers which it presents for others. Our Party has condemned and exposed the Soviet revisionists and their satellites, their counterrevolutionary policy and actions, has condemned and exposed American imperialism, the neo-colonialist states and their ambitions, and has powerfully supported the people's liberation movement and proletarian revolutions.

Our Party has consistently supported the economic and political claims of the working class of every capitalist and revisionist country. But it always looks at any movement of the working class with a class eye, from the angle

of Marxism-Leninism, from the political angle. It is not deceived by slogans and shibboleths, but carefully examines who is served by the orientations, what course the claim, the strike or the uprising is taking. This is the eye with which our Party analyses, examines and reaches conclusions about the strikes in Poland. The present strikes in Poland do not lead to the rise of the revolutionary movement of the working class, do not serve its political and ideological emancipation, or the revolutionary organization and the build up of the revolutionary consciousness of the working people. These strikes are not to the advantage of the revolution, but are helping to carry out counter-revolution within a counter-revolution. It is not the Polish revolutionaries who are leading these strikes, but representatives of reaction, the friends and allies of the Vatican and world imperialism. They are taking the workers out on strike in order to achieve their own counter-revolutionary purposes in both the internal and external plan. They want to replace one oppressive and exploiting regime with another, no less savagely hostile to the workers and the Polish people.

While being in favour of political and economic strikes, of people's uprisings and the revolution, the Marxist-Leninists do not support the reactionary alliances or counter-revolutionary tendencies, when they exist within these alliances. On the contrary, they support the revolutionary spirit and progressive and revolutionary alliances. Any particular strike movement is not

necessarily in the interests of the working class, in all conditions and in every situation, however, when the people and the working class take part in them, they have some positive aspect which must be grasped in order to make the whole thing positive in the interests of the people, the class and the revolution.

The attitudes and estimates of our Party in regard to the events in Poland and the strikes and claims of the Polish working class have been consistently Marxist-Leninist, in every phase and stage of their development. However much Polish reaction has tried to conceal its true political aims by concealing them behind simple economic claims, our Party has seen and has pointed out the mistaken political orientation of the strikes. Lech Walesa, the man of the Vatican and Polish primate, shouted for whoever wanted to hear him and believe him that he is not a man of politics, that «Solidarnose» is not a political party. Many were deceived and, first of all the working class of Poland, have been misled.

But is there a way out for the people and working class of Poland from the catastrophic situation they are in? And if there is such a road, what is it?

We Albanian communists say that this is the road of the revolution which Lenin teaches us, the road of applying his strategy of the revolution and genuine revolutionary tactics on the basis of the concrete situations which are created in each country.

Once again the Polish working class

is demonstrating its great vitality. It overthrew Gomulka and brought down Gierek. It can and must also get rid of Kania and his associates, the Lech Walessas and the influence of the Vatican, the yoke of the Soviet revisionists and of world capitalism, headed by American capitalism.

The Poland of the revolution has not died and will not die. It has only lost its way. Class enemies have set it on a dangerous course. Poland must find its true road, the road of the proletarian revolution, guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Polish working class, which has outstanding revolutionary traditions, must create within its own ranks a new, truly Marxist-Leninist communist party, and when it has created it, must test and temper it in the class struggle for the revolution. The time for this has come, it must not be postponed or delayed.

Only the Polish working class can rescue Poland from its deep crisis, and bring it into the light. Neither Kania nor Walesa, neither the Soviet revisionists nor the American imperialists can do this. The friends and well-wishers of the Polish people, the supporters of their genuine freedom and independence, must tell them this openly and sincerely. This is the greatest aid which can be given them, and also complete solidarity with and support for them. The sooner the Polish working class frees itself from illusions and deceptions, the sooner it will fulfil its historic mission in the service of its own Homeland and the revolution.

ANOTHER EXPRESSION OF THE FIERCE STRUGGLE FOR POWER BETWEEN THE REVISIONIST CLANS IN CHINA

«ZÈRI I POPULLIT»

Present-day China is at the crossroads. It lives in chaos, anarchy and uncertainty. Each step the actual leaders take is pragmatic, and changes according to the development in the internal and external situation. This is an unprincipled, anachronistic, feudal, arrogant policy

A FEW DAYS AGO ENDED IN BEIJING THE TRIAL AGAINST THE «GANG OF FOUR» AND THE GROUP OF SENIOR MILITARYMEN OF THE PERIOD OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. THE PREPARATIONS FOR THIS LAW SUIT, WHICH TOOK PLACE ACCORDING TO A SCENARIO DRAFTED WITH CARE, LASTED FOUR YEARS, BEGINNING FROM OCTOBER 1976, WHEN THE «GANG OF FOUR» WAS ARRESTED. THIS LONG TIME IS NOT LINKED WITH THE «GATHERING OF ALL THE PROOFS» AS THE ATTORNEYS STATED IN BEIJING, BUT WITH THE FACT THAT DENG XIAOPING AND HIS GROUP HAD DIFFICULTIES IN CONDUCTING THIS TRIAL WITHOUT FIRMLY CONSOLIDATING THEIR POSITIONS AND WITHOUT THOROUGHLY WORKING ON THE PUBLIC OPINION FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME.

Before the trial began, Deng undertook a broad campaign of purges in the top leadership of the Party and state, and brought to power his own men, the majority of whom had been previously overthrown and condemned.

In order to extend and strengthen the social basis of his power, apart

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from purges, he rehabilitated not only all the cadres who had been attacked by the Cultural Revolution, but also many feudal lords, capitalists and counter-revolutionaries who had been toppled after the triumph of the Chinese Revolution. Those who had survived regained their economic rights and privileges. Some of them were reinstated in top positions of the factories they

had owned and in various organs of the state power.

At the same time, Deng had to secure support from abroad, which he did by strengthening the alliance with American imperialism and the economic aid in billions of dollars which big international capital accorded.

When all these broad and painstaking preparations concluded, Deng rose the curtain, and the farce which he named «the trial against the gang of four» began on the stage.

It clearly emerged from the press reports, from the prosecutor's charge and the long verdict of the court that through the attack against the «gang of four», Deng and his group aimed, in fact, to attack Mao Zedong. From the way how the trial proceeded and

from what it was said, there, it turned out that this was not the trial of the live, but of the dead, of Mao, Kang Sheng and others.

The court condemned the «gang of four» for its crimes and not for the policy it had pursued. They acted in this way, because had they acted in another way, they would have to show which policy this «gang» had opposed. This is also the reason why the stage directors in Beijing did not give the trial a political character, though the Cultural Revolution which they wanted to condemn had a political character.

«The Four» did not act outside the line of Mao and the Cultural Revolution. Our Party has given its opinion on this event, which was neither a revolution, nor great, nor cultural and nor proletarian, but a chaotic outburst, a palace putsch, which was led by non-Marxist elements, to liquidate other anti-Marxist elements who had seized power. This explains why the cultural revolution witnessed strifes and clashes, repressions and misuse of power. But such things are not less frequent in China today. Actually, many trials against various opponents of the group in power are taking place all over China. The economy, which has been put completely on the rails of capitalism, is in chaos. Production has fallen, whereas the dissatisfaction of the masses has increased.

In the current trial, Deng Xiaoping and company rejected Mao from start to finish. What they say about Mao having had 70 per cent good things and 30 per cent evil things are empty words, trash speculation and demagoguery. They condemn Mao, but preserve Mao Zedong thought, because it is the ideology of China's capitalist road and its ambition to become a superpower. In particular, Deng preserves from it that part in which the bourgeois and capitalist ideas are more evident. Moreover, he preserves it in order to disguise in the eyes of the people his overall assault on Mao Zedong, without sparing even that important role which Mao has played in the victory of the Chinese anti-imperialist democratic revolution.

Deng and his group continue to present Mao Zedong thought as Marxism-Leninism. But this claim is devoid of any basis, it is totally absurd. The Party of Labour of Albania has exposed this bluff and has stressed that Mao Zedong thought not only is not Marxism-Leninism, but is an anti-Marxist ideology. The play of the present-day Chinese leadership with the allegedly Marxist-Leninist content of Mao Zedong thought aims at presenting as revolutionary their counter-revolutionary plans and activity inside and outside the country.

Deng seeks to preserve Mao Zedong thought because actually he has no other ideology in reserve, except for several pragmatic slogans, such as the «Four Modernizations», the «white cat and the black cat», or something of the kind. Mao Zedong thought has been and remains the ideology of all the groups and factions in China, it is, as the Chinese leaders themselves admit, the product of all: of Mao, Chou En Lai, Deng Xiaoping, Liu Shaoqi. Thus Mao Zedong thought has become the banner of all the groups and factions and has served as a cover for every palace putsch in China.

On the whole, the trial was a settling of accounts and a strife between rival groups for power.

In fact, two trials took place in Beijing: one open against «The four» and the military group, and one secret against Mao, Chou, Yeh and Hua.

The open trial might as well proceed according to Deng's orchestration, but the secret one was very difficult, because it represented major rivalries in the present leadership.

These rivalries involved not only certain persons, but also million-strong groups, various policies in various periods, put at stake particular interests for power, the expressed or unexpressed ambitions of many groups in chaotic and unprincipled struggle for domination, numerous groups of militarymen — «modern warlords», groups which want and approve Mao, as well as those which condemn him. On several problems Yeh's group is in accord with

Hua against Deng; Hua's groups are pro-Mao and against Deng, Deng's group is against Mao, Yeh and Hua and pro-Liu, and is supposed to be pro-Chou. Finally, there is the group of younger people whom Deng pushes up, but who strive to establish their power.

«The one hundred flowers and one hundred schools» of Mao Zedong are in bloom, in development and in struggle. Mao had correctly foreseen that his eclectic ideas would be used both by the rightists and the leftists.

The procedure of the trial clearly revealed that Deng wanted also to attack Hua Guofeng and group, precisely those people who overthrew the «gang of the four» and who rehabilitated him. He wanted to deprive Hua of the right to pose as the heir chosen by Mao himself and as the authentic interpreter of Mao Zedong thought. But now he wanted to do this not by cutting Hua's head, as the old emperors did, but on the basis of the law, discrediting him politically in the first place. In this way, he shows his clemency for Hua for the aid he gave him and creates a «democratic» image for himself, in order to make himself likeable both in American and in the West, which pose as the «advocates of human rights». In Deng's opinion Hua is the «black cat». He resorts to the known Chinese tactics, encouraging this one or that one to say that «Hua was liquidated, that he resigned». The opinion is prepared, the pulse is touched both at home and abroad.

Hua Goufeng poses as a moderate, integral Maoist, while Deng is a reactionary, fascist, anti-Maoist revenger. Hua stands for «friendship» with Japan and United Europe, Deng is pro-American, warmonger and for the invasion of the countries of South-east Asia. Who will win? With them in power, neither China, nor the revolution, nor genuine peace will gain. These leaders, who represent Chinese hegemonism, will be cat's paws of world imperialism.

One of the targets of the trial was the army. By condemning the main army commanders of the period of the

Cultural Revolution, Deng Xiaoping aimed at redimensioning the political power of the army, at reducing its weight in the political decisions of the top leadership, and generally speaking, in the country's life. In order to avoid reaction by the staffs, the officers corps, in particular, he accused the former generals of having had the intention to kill Mao, precisely the one who defended the privileges of the militarymen and who had made the army the decisive political force at home, a force which carried more weight than the Party and state power.

But the calculations reckoned in the beginning do not always come true in the end. The so-called plot of the militarymen to assassinate Mao remained in darkness.

The targets which the court had set itself failed in all directions. The clan of Hua Guofeng, though very weak in the high forums of the Party, the state power and the army, continues to enjoy the support of those scores of thousands of millions of middle and low cadres, raised by the Cultural Revolution, who feel, realize and see that the purge Deng has begun on the top levels of the Chinese hierarchy will continue down in the lower levels, too, and will fling them out. The militarymen feel just the same threat. Next to the senior chiefs, comes the turn of those below them. In these conditions, it is difficult to think that the Chinese army, with the militarist traditions it has, will allow its political power to be eroded bit by bit and let itself be shut in the barracks. Moreover, this also is improbable because in the present policy of the Chinese leadership first objective is the modernization of the army and its transformation into a big striking force like those of the superpowers. The construction of big industrial-military complexes automatically assigns a role of first-rate importance to the army in the whole economic, political and social life of the country.

The feeling of revenge, not only on political but also personal matters, was evident in the attempts of the judges

and the great campaign of the Chinese press to describe the accused as ordinary criminals, as adventurers. All batteries were trained especially against Jiang Qing. However, this objective was not achieved, either from what the Xinhua Agency has released and the images of the Chinese TV show, Mao's widow not only did not bow her head, but openly attacked and described those who judged her as a revisionist clique, traitors and agents of Kuomintang. In the TV screens people saw the arbitrariness of the judges who did not allow her to speak, and the brutality of the police who tightened the shackles and forcefully fetched her out of the hall, instead of the subdued and repenting widow they expected.

According to the verdict death sentences were passed only on Jiang Qing and Chang-chun Qiao, but a period of two years' repentance has been allowed to save their heads. The others, especially the militarymen, received relatively slight punishment in comparison with them. On the face it seems as if this is in the Chinese tradition, but in reality, the postponement for the execution of the verdict, as well as the previous hesitation about organizing the trial, testify that different political forces always operate in China, that Deng is not so free as to act as he likes.

The trial in Beijing was a self-exposure of the Chinese revisionists, because it threw more light on the whole rottenness of the capitalist political system and of the bourgeois ideological basis which has dominated in China. The chaos, the grave situation and crimes, about which the present team in power blames only the Cultural Revolution and the persons who initiated and directed it, without sparing dead Mao, are the result of the counter-revolutionary course and the capitalist road which has been pursued in China.

From its liberation up until today, China, which is almost a continent in itself, has had no stability and has failed to build a stable political-economic and state-organizational structure whatsoever.

In the beginning the slogan of «a new democracy», which later was baptized «socialism» and even «dictatorship of the proletariat» was adopted. But in reality, the structure of the new Chinese state has been and remains a feudal-bourgeois structure. In practice, no efforts were made to renovate these structure because of the lack of the political and ideological clarity which must precede these transformations. From 1949, when the People's Republic of China was founded up to day, the Chinese leaders have never been and are not Marxist-Leninists. Their plans for the development of the country and economy on the bourgeois-capitalist road have been and are unclear. They struggled with formulas and quotations, testing the terrain and the systems, concentrating themselves on nothing and seeking to pass themselves off for what they were not. China has always lived from day to day.

The rivalries among various groups, which were fighting for power, for domination, were taking place in this fog, in this political-ideological unclarity. Each group or individual has had his unclear, indefinite road, but all were possessed by the feeling of revenge, of toppling one another. This road is also followed today. The group of Mao Zedong and Chou Enlai was deeply committed in these waters. However, it was the most positive group which tried to do something and achieved something for China, though the result was lame. The Liu Shaoqi group was the most reactionary and, at present, the Deng group has passed onto feudal-fascism, onto extreme reaction.

At present, Deng with his group appear to be in the limelights, welcomes and farewells people, holds speeches and makes threats. The result: China is being discredited both at home and abroad. Everyone has doubts about it. Its economy, which Mao and Chou Enlai tried to restore, is at rock-bottom. The present leadership lies when it puts the blame on «the Four».

Present-day China is at the crossroads. It lives in chaos, anarchy and uncertainty. Each step the actual lead-

ers take is pragmatic, and changes according to the development in the internal and external situation. This is an unprincipled, anachronic, feudal, arrogant policy. It deceives no one when it claims to be «democratic», let alone «socialist».

If we may use a figure of speech, China resembles a great old house, without sound foundations, built without plan and without structure. Every political earthquake brings down whole fragments of it. The builders who come to repair it are worse and only destroy it.

The Chinese «great state» megalomania does not carry weight in the current world policy, and the ideas of Deng and Hua have no chance of triumphing. Imperialism and hegemonism, whether American, Soviet, Chinese or of the other developed capitalist powers, are hated and combated by the peoples of the world.

This is the century of great crises of the capitalist-revisionist world, this is the century of the liberation struggles and the revolutions.

The external enemies want to plunder

China by making highly lucrative investments there. They all have doubts about and distrust China. China itself makes neither head nor tail of its situation. Chaos is desirable for the enemies of the Chinese people. Neither America, nor the reactionary bourgeoisie, fear China today. The Soviet Union fears Lech Walessa more than Deng Xiaoping.

This situation was reflected and proved by the trial in Beijing. Deng's and Hua's group condemned «the Four» and the group of militarymen as «ordinary criminals and plotters», but in reality they condemned all the policy and the economic-state system of China from its liberation up to day. Who are those who condemned this system? Precisely those who built it and who aim at patching it up in monstrous manner and in even more catastrophic directions for China.

Although the trial in Beijing seems to be the end of a chapter in the struggle for power in China, in reality, it does not put an end to this struggle between clans, does not eliminate the internal political enmities and splits in

that country. It further instigates them and creates new conditions for them to be aggravated more and more. Just as the Cultural Revolution laid the foundations for the current struggle between clans, the trial of «the Four» lays the foundation for the struggle between new clans which sometimes will unite and sometimes will divide, and at other times will kill one another. One group will rise in power and another will be overthrown. The latter will hatch up plots to topple the former till the Chinese people become conscious and put an end to «chaos» which Mao Zedong has preached.

The capitalist rubbish is sealing on China. But it has been condemned by history. China of the revolutionary youth cannot be subdued by the scum that has risen to bring about the destruction of those victories the Chinese people have achieved up till now.

We Marxist-Leninists and all the progressive people in the world nurture the hope and want that revolutionary China should breast the great chaos in which its internal and external enemies have plunged it.

THE WRECKING OF THE REVOLUTION - THE FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVE OF THE EUROCOMMUNISTS

by **NDREKO PECANI**

The enemies of the revolution, amongst whom the Eurocommunists, too, go to any length in order to preserve the rule of capitalism. However, no matter how much the bourgeoisie, imperialism and their spawn - modern revisionism - try to halt the revolution, it cannot be stopped. The tide of the revolution, which rises higher with every passing day, will sweep away any barricade the enemies may set up against it

A FIERCE STRUGGLE HAS BEEN GOING ON OVER THE PROBLEM OF THE REVOLUTION BETWEEN THE MARXIST-LENINISTS, ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE OPPORTUNISTS AND REVISIONISTS OF ALL COLOURS, ON THE OTHER. THIS STRUGGLE BEARS ON VARIOUS QUESTIONS OF POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL, THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL CHARACTER, SUCH AS THE NECESSITY OF THE REVOLUTION FOR THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM, THE CONDITIONS TO CARRY OUT THE REVOLUTION, THE WAYS THROUGH WHICH IT PASSES, ETC. IN THIS STRUGGLE, AS HISTORY SHOWS, THE OPPORTUNISTS AND REVISIONISTS, COME OUT WITH ALL KIND OF «THEORIES» AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY IN ORDER TO DEFEND, AS THEY MUST, THE INTERESTS OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND CAPITALISM, DO EVERYTHING THEY CAN IN ORDER TO WRECK AND HALT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTION, TO WARD OFF THE DANGER OF THE OVERTHROW OF THE BOURGEOIS ORDER, TO IMPEDE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE RULE OF THE PROLETARIAT - ITS REVOLUTIONARY DICTATORSHIP.

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The Eurocommunists, following in the footsteps of their forerunners, are bent on wrecking the revolution by directing

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their attacks against Marxism-Leninism, the scientific theoretical basis of the revolutionary strategy and the spiritual weapon of the proletariat and all working masses, the weapon which makes them conscious of the necessity of revolutionary action in order to li-

berate themselves from oppression and exploitation. Under the pretext of the so-called essential changes which, they claim, have taken place in the world today, and of the alleged «entirely new circumstances and conditions», in the problem of the revolution, just as in every other problem, they are all out to concoct and spread new «theories», which are nothing other than variants of the «theories» of the old renegades from the working class, decked out in «modern» style. The views of Proudhon, Lassalle, Bakunin, Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky and all the renegades from the theory of scientific socialism are their ideological source. Indeed, they may go even farther back, to Cavour and Machiavelli, to whom, as the Italian revisionists themselves admit, their party is very much indebted. «Machiavelli is of great value for us», said Berlinguer

in his interview to the «Washington Post» on 26 July 1980.

Having betrayed and abandoned Marxism-Leninism, and proceeding from openly counter-revolutionary positions, the Eurocommunists try to negate the existence of the objective bases of the revolution, the factors which make the revolution an historical necessity, and from these same positions try to bemuse the masses with the idea that the revolution should be discarded, since, according to them, the capitalist society has changed, has lost the features it had at the time of Marx and Lenin, has been transformed into the «consumer society», the «developed industrial society», and, consequently, is able to solve its internal contradictions through reforms, etc. But no matter how much these mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie, these advocates of the existing order may try, they will never succeed in covering up the real state of things in the developed capitalist countries, as those of Western Europe.

Marxism-Leninism tells us that, as shown in some periods, capitalism experiences a certain rise, develops in a relatively peaceful manner in some countries, as was, for instance, the period immediately after the Second World War, when in the war-ravaged West-European countries there was a certain development of production, a softening of labour conflicts, etc. This period, however, was short-lived and transitory, since, by their very nature, capitalist relations invariably lead to a slump of production, to crises, to the exacerbation of all contradictions which are unavoidable and can be resolved only through the revolution.

The reality of all the capitalist countries today proves the validity of the theses of Marx and Lenin on the decay of the capitalist world, proves that it is heading towards its collapse, although it will not collapse by itself, spontaneously or through reforms, or through the technical-scientific revolution and the development of the productive forces, but only through the socialist revolution. The attempts of the Eurocommunists to distort this reality, to present the situation in the West-European countries so different from that of the times of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, that their teachings have allegedly «become absolute and valueless», their efforts to present the

revolution as unsuitable and unnecessary for their countries, cannot cover up the rottenness of capitalism, cannot halt the process which leads to the revolution.

Revolution, as an historical necessity which stems from the objective factors of the development of society, has its origin in the capitalist system itself. The deep causes of the revolutions are the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system itself, especially the conflict between the old relations of production and the new productive forces. This conflict, as history has shown, can be solved only through the revolution. No matter how much developed the productive forces, the old capitalist relations cannot disappear by themselves, as they are defended and protected by the bourgeoisie and reaction which depend on them as means to ensure their domination over and exploitation of the working class and all working masses, their constant enrichment, their privileges, their life of leisure, etc. The bourgeoisie and reaction never accept of their own will the liquidation of the old relations and their replacement with the new, socialist relations, which is conditioned by the level of development of the productive forces. On the contrary, in order to preserve the existing capitalist relations, to perpetuate their economic, political and ideological domination, they stop before nothing, not even before the use of savage fascist terror, when they see that his domination is threatened.

The Eurocommunists' theses on the new roads of transition to socialism through reforms, in a peaceful way, as a result of the development of the productive forces, of the technical-scientific revolution, are nothing other than variants of the old theory of the productive forces, concocted by Kautsky. The technical-scientific revolution not only does not resolve the conflict between the old relations of production and the new productive forces, but, on the contrary, in the conditions of capitalism it only makes this conflict even more acute. Through mechanization and automation of work processes, increased rates of fundamental capital accumulation, the technical-scientific revolution in the capitalist and revisionist countries has only resulted in increased numbers of unemployed, fiercer contradictions between labour and capital,

between the new productive forces and the old relations of production.

The contradictions in capitalism are expressed through the constantly growing instability of the economy of the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist countries. The ever more frequent crises, the deepening of their severe consequences, such as the falling level of production and the rising level of unemployment, the prolonged phase of depression characterize this economy. Today, the economic crisis in the capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist, countries is combined with the financial, valutary and energy crisis, as well as with the political and ideological crisis. All this adds conviction to Marx's conclusion that under capitalism scientific and technical invention unavoidably lead to the exacerbation of antagonism between productive forces and relations of production, and that this antagonism can be resolved only through revolution which the proletariat has been charged by history to carry out by drawing its allies into this road.

The Eurocommunists distort the present-day reality and obscure the perspective of the revolution in an attempt to blur the issue over the question of the motive forces of the revolution, the forces interested in and capable of organizing, initiating and bringing about its triumph and in a special manner, in an attempt to deny the decisive and hegemonic role of the proletariat in the revolution. In this connection, they have concocted and spread the view that allegedly all the classes and sections of the capitalist society have merged together, that today's proletariat is not the same as the proletariat of the times of Marx and Lenin, which «now belongs to the historical past», that classes and sections of society have changed, that they are no longer what they used to be, that the «consumer society», the «developed industrial society» has levelled out class differences and, as George Marchais declared, at the present stage «we can no longer speak of a French proletariat, but of the French working class». The Eurocommunist revisionists may continue to negate the existence of the proletariat today, but the facts show the opposite. The polarization of the capitalist society continues in the same way as Marx and Engels had predicted. The bourgeoisie is enriched

through the numerical increase of the proletariat, the intensification of the various forms of exploitation of the work of the proletariat. Thus, if in the beginning of the 20th century the proletariat of the developed capitalist countries was 30 million strong, today it has reached the 230 million mark. Likewise, the number of proletarians in the countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa has increased, too. Although «the consumer society» has brought about an increase in the amount of social product, the socio-economic situation of the proletariat has remained much the same. Divested of the means of production, the proletariat possesses nothing apart from the labour it can sell. Through their sweat the proletarians increase the wealth of the capitalists, but the latter throw them out into the street, when their work does not prove as profitable as they want it to be. This is what happened in the past, this is what happens today. Otherwise, there would be no reason for millions of proletarians in the capitalist and revisionist countries to come out in demonstrations and go on strike to oppose oppression and exploitation, the relations existing in the distribution of the fruit of their labour.

The fact that there is movement everywhere, that the class struggle of the proletariat and the people's masses against oppression and exploitation is seething, growing stronger everywhere, proves true the conclusion of the PLA that the revolution is on the order of the day, has become a task demanding solution. The proletariat is everywhere, as always, at the head of these movements. And as Lenin has said, and practice corroborated, the hegemony of the proletariat is imperative also in the conditions of present-day imperialism, and this not only in order to carry out the socialist revolution, but even the democratic revolution, because the proletariat, more than any other class, is interested in the complete triumph of the revolution, in carrying it through to the end. A significant example of the application of the Leninist theory on the indivisible leading role of the working class in the revolution and socialist construction is the experience of Albania. This experience shows that when the proletariat, under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party, goes to revolution armed with

the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, when it acts upon the teachings of this theory, it is sure to achieve the triumph of the revolution, to overthrow the oppressive and exploitative classes and to establish its own dictatorship. On the other hand, with the «theories» the revisionists preach, it can never and will never achieve the victory it aspires to, on the contrary, it will remain always oppressed by the bourgeoisie and reaction.

History has proved to the hilt the thesis of Marxism-Leninism that the processes of social development are conditioned by the interaction of objective and subjective factors, that the transformation of objective possibilities into social reality depends on the operation of the subjective factor. Without this factor, even when objective conditions exist, the revolution can not triumph. Therefore, in the preparation of the subjective factors, as Lenin has written in his early works, the revolutionary party of the working class, its leadership, education and mobilization of the revolutionary masses plays a decisive role which is achieved both through working out a correct political line, responding to the concrete conditions and the revolutionary aspirations and demands of the masses, and through extensive and intensive work, revolutionary actions carried out with political maturity... for the revolution as a means of overthrowing the enslaving order. Hence, without the leadership of a party which follows and applies a revolutionary strategy and tactic, the proletariat cannot become conscious of its mission, organize itself and rally round itself its natural allies, prepare itself for the revolution, carry it out and triumph. This is proved by the past, this is proved by the current situation of the world revolutionary process.

During the Second World War certain conditions were created in Europe which allowed the transformation of the anti-fascist war into a deep-going popular revolution. However, these revolutionary conditions and situations were not properly made use of by all the parties of those countries. Even then, vacillations, opportunist stands,

and pseudo-revolutionary attitudes were apparent among the parties representing the Eurocommunist trend today. Thus, the French and Italian Communist Parties did not profit from the favourable situations created during the war in the interests of the proletariat. These parties did not try to transform the resistance, the anti-fascist war, into a revolutionary war of the entire people. They did not aim at seizing the state power from the hands of the bourgeoisie, indeed, they did not even contemplate this possibility, and they skipped round the question of the seizure of power by the proletariat. The opposite happened in those countries the parties of which maintained genuinely revolutionary stands. They connected the tasks of the anti-fascist war, the tasks of the struggle for freedom, independence and democracy, with the struggle for socialism. They worked out and implemented a revolutionary policy, which led to the establishment of people's democracy. In Albania, too, the correct Marxist-Leninist line and leadership of the Party, through the Anti-fascist National Liberation War led to the extension and deepening of this war and its transformation into a means to ensure not only the national liberation, but also the establishment of the people's state power which, under the leadership of the Party, carried out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The attitudes and actions of the communist parties of Western Europe during the Second World War show that even then they had departed from the idea of the revolution and socialism, that they only deepened this tendency further after the war. This, amongst other things, explains their failure to assess from Marxist-Leninist positions the revolutionary situation existing at that time in Western Europe, their failure to arouse the masses and set them in motion against bourgeois domination. This happened in the time of the war, this happened again in the first years after the war, and even later, for example, in 1968 in France, when the French Communist Party came out in the role of the extinguisher of the fire of the revolution, preventing the working class from joining forces with the student youth and assuming the leadership of their movements. And this it did because it had renounced the

revolution and the objective of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is how they are acting today, too.

Let us now analyse the situation in Italy which is the typical country of decaying capitalism from the base to the superstructure. Cabinet crises, political scandals, murders, operations of fascist bands, unemployment, poverty — all these elements have created a grave and intolerable situation for the Italian working class and working masses. In these circumstances, when the interests of the masses and of the revolution demand that this great discontent of the proletariat and the entire population be channelled in the direction of the struggle against the reactionary bourgeoisie, against its preparation for a fascist takeover, the revisionist party of Berlinguer is deliberately acting to preserve the existing order, thus becoming a real tool for the sabotaging of the revolution. The situation is the same in Spain. The revisionist party of Ibaruri-Carrillo has come out in the role of the strike-breaker in order to suppress the great revolutionary ardour, to prevent the strikes, demonstrations and clashes which occur everyday between the proletariat and the other working masses of the people, on the one hand, and the classes which oppress and exploit them, on the other.

The situation in the world shows a powerful rise of the revolutionary tide, the combination of anti-fascist, national democratic and anti-imperialist tasks with socialist tasks. These problems have already become burning issues in all the capitalist and revisionist countries, the countries of Western Europe included. However, against this upsurge of the proletariat and the other working masses, all the forces of reaction, with American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism at the head, followed by Chinese social-imperialism and the other imperialists and reactionaries have risen and mobilized themselves. The tools of the big bourgeoisie and imperialism — the modern revisionists, amongst whom the Eurocommunists, have mobilized themselves against this upsurge of the proletariat and the other working masses. In these conditions, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «the struggle against imperialism, in general, and its tools in every country is one of the

fundamental questions of the strategy of every communist party, and one of the decisive conditions for the triumph of any revolution whether people's democratic, anti-imperialist or socialist.»¹

In the program of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the other working masses, under the leadership of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, against the bourgeoisie and reaction, tasks for the solution of the national problem are also included. And this because the bourgeois and revisionist governments, through their political, military and economic alliances with the superpowers — the USA and the Soviet Union, have placed themselves completely under the dependence of the superpowers. And whereas the revisionists of all stamps deliberately encourage this dependence, this loss of national independence, the Eurocommunists, on their part, do the same even more openly admitting that «the interests of their countries demand their participation in NATO and the European Common Market». As a result of the open-door policy followed by the bourgeois countries dependent on the USA, the doors have been flung wide open to the penetration of American capital into these countries. The American monopolies have invested 60 billion dollars in Western Europe with the result that many key sectors of the economy of the West-European countries are under the complete dependence of American capital. The decadent and degenerate American culture and way of life have made deep inroads into these countries. It is becoming clearer to the working class and the working masses that without fighting against American dictate they cannot achieve real national independence, cannot go to socialism. But the Eurocommunists have renounced this struggle. This stand of theirs is an evident expression of the political and ideological degeneration of the Eurocommunist parties, a convincing proof of their betrayal not only to the revolution but also to their own nations.

The preachings of the Eurocommunists about «democratic socialism» are a demagogic attempt to mislead the masses. With this they want to preserve the existing bourgeois order, thus opposing themselves to the experience of the October Revolution and the other revolutions which have brought to

power the working class, combating genuine socialism, built on the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The attacks of the Eurocommunists on the October Socialist Revolution, its experience, are nothing other than a repetition of the attacks made after the triumph of this revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia by Kautsky and the other renegades from Marxism, whom Lenin has exposed and defeated.

Immediately after they emerged on the scene, the modern revisionists produced from the arsenal of the parties of the Second International the theses on the peaceful road of transition from capitalism to socialism, and propagated them far and wide. The Soviet revisionists were amongst the first to attack in an organized manner the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the necessity of the revolution through violence. This line suited the aims of all the revisionist parties and was adopted by them. The revisionist parties of Western Europe, too, which were ripe for this line, not only adopted the revisionist ideas and practices of the clique of Khrushchev and Brezhnev but even carried the point so far as to totally expose the authors of these ideas and practices.

The development of society has shown that the overthrow of old orders and the establishment of new orders, has not been carried out quietly and easily, but through fierce clashes, through armed uprisings and struggle. The revolution through violence is a general law for the transition from capitalism to socialism, because the socialist revolution is a radical overthrow which affects the fundamental interests of all the exploiting classes, destroys the old economic relations, liquidates all the privileges of the exploiting classes, expropriates them and creates socialist property, creates a new society which liquidates the exploitation of man by man. All this explains why the exploiting classes, the bourgeoisie and reaction never leave the ground of their own will, but only through revolutionary violence which, as Marx has said, is the nurse of the old society pregnant with the new society. «The revolution», said Engels «is an act through which part of the population imposes its own will on the remainder through the rifle, bayonet and gun.»²

No matter how hard the Eurocommunists and the other revisionists may try, they cannot cover up the fact that, when the bourgeoisie sees that its interests are at stake, it resorts to savage terror against the movement of the masses, establishes fascist dictatorships and abolishes any freedom or democratic right. The events in Indonesia, Chile and other countries have revealed the falsity and danger of the thesis of the peaceful road of transition to socialism, which the modern revisionists have made their own. Never in history has the working class overthrown the rule of the bourgeoisie and taken power in a peaceful way. On the contrary, historical experience shows that everywhere the proletariat has come to power it has succeeded in doing so only through the violent revolution.

Carrillo goes so far as to consider the 9 per cent of votes his party gained in elections and the few seats it secured in the parliament an «historic victory which will change the face of Spain». However, history shows that Carrillo, Berlinguer and Marchais will succeed in changing the face of Spain, Italy and France by securing some parliamentary seats or cabinet posts no more than Togliatti did through winning some seats in the bourgeois cabinets of Italy after the Second World War, or Thorez did after the elections of 10th November 1946, when the communists and socialists jointly were in the majority in the French National Assembly and were even given some posts in the government. As early as then Thorez had great plans for establishing socialism in France in roads «different from those followed thirty years ago by the Russian communists». These roads, which Thorez mentioned, were not those of the revolution, but those of reforms and of gaining the majority in the parliament, as his successors are preaching today.

The bourgeoisie and its minions have a lot to say about democracy, and as evidence of it, amongst other things, they mention the parliament, saying that the laws it passes express «the will of the people.» But, in fact, the bourgeoisie admits to the government organs and the parliament only those people who do not affect its rule as a class, who do not intend to change the state power, the state machine, those who are ready not only to defend but

also to improve this machine further to suppress its class opponents. Lenin said that bourgeois democracy is «false, hypocritical, a paradise for the rich, a trap and deception for the exploited, for the poor.»³ The bourgeoisie justifies as lawful every action of the parliament which leaves its power intact, but when it sees that this organ poses the slightest danger to its class domination, it brings its huge military and state apparatus immediately into play. By means of this machine, whenever its interests demand it, the bourgeoisie turns constitutions into dead letters, declares elections invalid, bans the genuine communist parties, throws itself furiously against any movement of the working class and other working masses posing the slightest threat to its political, economic and social rule. From this it is clear that the bourgeois state is a weapon in the hands of the capitalists for the suppression of their opponents, the working class. From the experience of the Commune of Paris Marx and Engels came to the conclusion that «the working class cannot seize the state machine and use it for its own purposes as it is.» In order to guarantee its triumph over the bourgeoisie it must necessarily «destroy the entire old machine of oppression, which has been used against it.»⁴ And for the proletariat to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie and to establish its own state power, they say, these is only the revolution through violence. This is why Lenin stressed that «The need to educate the masses systematically with this idea, the idea of the revolution through violence, is the base of the entire doctrine of Marx and Engels.»⁵

This idea retains its validity to this day, because more than before in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, militarism and bureaucracy have assumed unprecedented development, fascist reaction, violence and terror are rampant and supported by revisionist propaganda, they do everything possible to perpetuate the bourgeois order, to sabotage the efforts of the proletariat and the masses to rise in revolution and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The line and program of the Eurocommunists are the same as those of social-democracy. They have come out openly in the role of new candidates for the management of capitalists' affairs. As counter-revolutionaries and

saboteurs of the revolution, the Eurocommunists are against the revolutionary actions, against the unity of the working class with the other progressive forces in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. Instead of this unity the Italian revisionists advocate the «historic compromise», the French revisionists call for the «historic bloc of the left». In this manner, Berlinguer and Marchais offer the bourgeoisie their services to rescue it from the crisis, to save the Italian and French bourgeoisie from collapse.

The enemies of the revolution, amongst whom the Eurocommunists, too, go to any length in order to preserve the rule of capitalism. However, no matter how much the bourgeoisie, imperialism and their spawn — modern revisionism, try to halt the revolution, it cannot be stopped. The tide of the revolution, which rises higher with every passing day, will sweep away any barricade the enemies may set up against it, will reduce to dust and ashes all the efforts of the bourgeoisie and its servants — the Khrushchevite, Titoite, Maoist, Eurocommunist and other modern revisionists, and will wipe out of the face of the earth the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist order. «Present-day capitalist society,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «both bourgeois and revisionist, is pregnant with revolution and the revolution has always been and always will be guided only by the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. All the different ideas which seek to revise our great theory will end up in the rubbish bin of history, just as they have always done. They will be smashed, together with capitalism, imperialism and social-imperialism, by the great power of the world proletariat which leads the revolution and is inspired by the immortal doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.»⁶

1 Enver Hoxha, «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», pp. 162-163, Alb. ed.

2 K. Marx, F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. I, Tirana 1958, p. 607, Alb. ed.

3 V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 28, p. 272, Alb. ed.

4 K. Marx, F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. I, Tirana 1957, p. 541, Alb. ed.

5 V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 25, p. 473, Alb. ed.

6 Enver Hoxha, «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», p. 241, Alb. ed.

ANY FORM OF THIS DOES NOT ALTER THE NATURE OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

All the forms of concentration of production and capital lead to the reproduction of capitalist relations of production and, on this basis, reproduce on an ever sharper degree all the antagonistic contradictions which erode the capitalist system from within

THE HISTORY OF THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF IMPERIALISM AS THE HIGHEST AND FINAL PHASE OF CAPITALISM IS THE HISTORY OF THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONOPOLIES. REPLACEMENT OF FREE COMPETITION WITH THE MONOPOLY, EMERGENCE, DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH OF NATIONAL MONOPOLIES BEYOND THE BOUNDARIES OF ONE COUNTRY, SETTING UP OF INTERNATIONAL MONOPOLIES OF STATE AND INTER-STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM, ARE FUNDAMENTAL FEATURES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF IMPERIALISM.

TAKING THE NEW FORMS OF MANIFESTATION OF PRESENT-DAY CAPITALISM AS A STARTING-POINT, THE MODERN REVISIONISTS OF ALL HUES CLAIM THAT CAPITALISM, AT ITS FINAL PHASE - IMPERIALISM, HAS ALLEGEDLY UNDERGONE CHANGES WHICH REFUTE LENIN'S DEFINITION OF IMPERIALISM.

Contrary to these claims of the revisionists, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha, in a scientific analysis of the stage of world development today, especially in the works «Imperialism and the Revolution», «Reflections on China», «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», and in other works, support the important Marxist-Leninist conclusion that present-day imperialism develops in just the same lines and features as defined by Lenin, and that the imperialism of our day has undergone no change in essence, that it has caused all the contradictions and all the ulcers of capitalist society to grow worse, and that the development of present-day capitalism has reached the historical stage in which the revolution is not only an aspiration and a perspective, but an urgent problem laid down for solution.

CONCENTRATION OF PRODUCTION AND CAPITAL HAS LED TO THE CREATION OF GIANT MONOPOLIES

V.I. Lenin proved with scientific argument that imperialism is the product of the exacerbation of all the contradictions of capitalism. *L. ÇUÇI, G. PASHKO - Readers at the University of Tirana*

tions of capitalism and, in the first place, of its fundamental contradiction - that between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation. Transition of capitalism to its monopoly stage - imperialism, is the objective result of the laws of capitalism and, in the first place, of the law of the high-rate increase of accumulation of capital and profits.

As a result of the competitive struggle for a high norm and measure of profit, the capitalists are forced to make constant use of the most advanced technology in the process of production. On this basis, the process of accumulation and concentration of capital is sped up. The economic crises which have become more frequent and more grave, the militarization of the economy, imperialist wars, the proliferation of shareholders' companies, etc directly influence this process.

The concentration of production and capital in conditions of anarchy and fierce competitive struggle, the antagonistic contradictions which generate them and, in the first place, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private, capitalist character of appropriation, are the objective cause of the emergence of

THE MONOPOLIES THE ESSENCE OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

by L. ÇUÇI, G. PASHKO

monopolies. The characteristic feature of imperialism in the historical process of its development is that concentration of production and its monopolization has assumed ever greater proportions. This process was stepped up, especially after the Second World War, as a result of the massive regeneration of capital in several branches of the economy of the war-ravaged capitalist countries. Regeneration of capital on the basis of the technical-scientific revolution, the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism and the emergence of socialism beyond the limits of one country, all this further restricted the sphere of operation of monopolies. This restriction was unavoidably followed by a new degree of acute inter-imperialist contradictions for a redivision of markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence. In an effort to find a temporary way out of this situation imperialism raised the degree of monopolization and expanded state monopoly capitalism, set up various inter-state monopoly unions, like the European Common Market and Comecon and multinational companies. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: «A characteristic of present-day capitalism is the ever increasing concentration of production and capital, which has led to the merging or absorption of the small enterprises by the powerful ones. A consequence of this is the mass concentration of the work force in big trusts and concerns. These enterprises have also concentrated in their hands huge productive capacities, resources of energy and raw materials of incalculable proportions. At present the big capitalist enterprises are also utilizing nuclear energy and the newest technology which

belong to these enterprises exclusively.»¹

In the conditions of concentration of production and capital in a few hands, monopolization appeared as a new phenomenon which some dozens of years ago did not constitute a general and typical form of its manifestation. Thus, for example, the creation of the modern monopolies of colossal proportions brought about the emergence of «conglomerate» enterprises which absorb enterprises of the various branches of industry, transport, trade, agriculture, services and the banks, turning out everything, from children's toys to inter-continental missiles. These «conglomerates» control and apply, when their interests dictate it, the most advanced science and technology, control most of production and labour power. For example, 500 of the largest corporations of the United States account for more than 2/3 of the production and sale and 3/4 of the profit of the American industry, and employ 20 per cent of the American workers. A very limited number of monopoly magnates control the main branches of the American industry. Two or three giant American firms control the production of armoured vehicles, steel, rubber and farming machines. Only one firm controls all the production of computers (IBM), one the production of chemical detergents (Procter), one the production of tobacco (Reynolds), etc. Likewise, in Japan 10 major monopolies account for 65 per cent of total national production, 50 per cent of the export and employ 40 per cent of the total number of workers. Three giant firms control the metallurgical industry of this country, four others the electronic industry, and one

firm the oil industry, etc. In Britain, 50 giant monopolies make the law in all the branches of the economy.

In the revisionist countries like the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, China, etc, various «conglomerates» have emerged in the form of large industrial-commercial industrial-agrarian complexes, comprising enterprises of the different branches of the economy. Like in the other capitalist countries, here, too, the directors of these huge complexes make the law everywhere and impose their will on all problems of the economic and social development.

This extension of the activity of big monopolies reflects the tendency of capital towards elimination of the interdependence of monopolies and the setting up of definitive links and unions among them in the vain hope of softening, however little, the impact of the ever exacerbating contradictions, but with the result of making the ulcers of present-day capitalism steadily worse. The reality shows that the large concentration of production, which has resulted in socialization of production, has not changed, nor could it ever change the oppressing and exploiting nature of the structure and superstructure of capitalism. The monopolies preserve the essence of the capitalist private ownership and alter only the form of its manifestation. Capitalist private property assumes the form of property of a group of capitalists, which not only does not liquidate the exploitative character of the capitalist relations of production, but on the contrary raises it to a higher degree. Thus, for example, in 1979 the 500 biggest firms of the United States made a profit of 1,500 million dollars, or about twice

as much as in 1975, and this at a time when the number of the unemployed in 1979 rose to 12 million, the price index went up 15 per cent, inflation rose 18 per cent, etc.

The different forms of monopolies, such as the cartels, trusts and concerns, are utilized by the monopoly bourgeoisie according to the changing circumstances, at times one of these forms assumes priority over the others, now state monopoly capitalism comes to the fore and now it is the turn of the multinational companies to play first fiddle, but this never changes their exploiting and plundering character. The omnipotence of the monopolies, their all-round domination in all the fields of the economic, social and political activity, both in the national and the international plane, goes on increasing.

THE MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES — TYPICAL PHENOMENON OF THE PRESENT-DAY PROCESS OF CAPITALIST MONOPOLIZATION

The multinational companies are a new form of the international monopolies which emerged as a result of the great proportions assumed by the concentration of production and capital in the international plane. From the technical and organizational standpoint, the form of the multinational monopolies does not differ from that of any other monopoly. They may be trusts, concerns, consorciums or cartels, but their peculiarity is that, while their centre is in one country, their activity is extended to several countries through the setting up of filials which produce commodities formerly exported to these countries as finished products.

Concentration and centralization of production within the country, and on this basis, the tendency to expansion abroad is accompanied with the exacerbation of inter-imperialist scramble for markets, sources of raw materials, spheres of influence, maximum profits.

On the other hand, the deepening of economic, financial and political crises, as well as the sharpening of the class struggle within and without the country, all this explains the causes of the emergence and spread of multinational companies.

Lenin also noticed their emergence as forms of economic expansion of imperialism, although in his time they were in an embryonic stage of development. The expansion of the multinational companies began after the Second World War, especially in the 60's and 70's, until they became a typical mass phenomenon. Their spread in this period is conditioned by the tendency to the internationalization of productive capital, the process of accumulation of capital on an international scale, which reaches all the corners of the globe. The emergence of multinational companies also corresponds to the present stage of the development of the class struggle in an international plane, the clash between socialism and capitalism, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on a world scale. In the multinational companies this aspect of the fundamental contradiction of our epoch becomes more apparent than anywhere else. This clearly shows how the bourgeoisie of some countries exploits not only the proletariat of the metropolises, but also the proletariat of the whole world through the monopolies.

In order to form an idea of the measure of plunder and exploitation carried out by the international companies, suffice it to say that, for example, the multinational company «General Motors Corporation» exploits the proletariat of several countries of the world, from which it ensures an amount of industrial production the total value of which exceeds that of the Netherlands, Belgium and Switzerland taken together, or that about 500 American multinational companies make an annual net profit of about 10 billion dollars outside the United States. The companies «Socony Mobil», «Standard Oil of New Jersey» and others extract almost half of their profit from the plunder and exploitation

of other countries. The five major multinational companies Exxon, General Motors, IBM, Unilever and General Electric doubled their role in the period 1973-1975.

The nature and character of the activities of the multinational companies becomes more evident from the fact that they are uni-national in regard to their capital which is mainly American and multinational in regard to their extension, the proportions and scale of their activity. The «multi-national» is meant only to camouflage their national character. While the international monopolies which operated in Lenin's time were the result of accords reached among the monopolies, the present-day multinational companies are extensions of one monopoly beyond national borders. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out in his work «Imperialism and the Revolution» that «In their outward appearance, these companies seek to give the impression that they are under the joint ownership of capitalists of many countries. In fact, in regard to their capital and control the multinational companies belong mainly to one country, although they carry out their activities in many countries.»² The «uni-national» character of the multinational companies is best illustrated in the following figures: 70 per cent of the multinational companies operating in the world today have their centres in the United States, 285 «mother firms» control 2/3 of the annual American exports and have 5,200 filials all over the world. In these and other forms, the American bourgeoisie exploits the proletariat of the various countries of the world, by appropriating most of the surplus value.

The Soviet social-imperialists have created their big concerns, similar to the Western multinationals, for the plunder and exploitation, in the first place, of the Comecon member countries and the other countries and peoples of the world. Their specific form is connected with the conditions of the restoration and development of a particular kind of state capitalism. Under cover of the activities of «joint» en-

terprises, that Soviet revisionists carry out their neo-colonialist expansion not only towards the Comecon member countries, but also towards the other countries, especially in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. High selling and low buying prices, as well as the accoring of credits and «aid», in enslaving terms, are the favourite methods of plunder by the Soviet social-imperialists. Only in the first 6 months of 1978 the Soviet Union had a surplus of about one billion rubles in the balance of foreign trade with the Comecon member countries and about 900 million rubles with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The capitalist trusts «Intermetal», «Intermachin», «Interchimik», «Agromashin» and others enable the Soviet Union to control the vital industries of the economy of many countries of the world. Now there are 84 Soviet multinational companies which call themselves «joint shareholders' companies», operating in 26 countries of the world.

The activity of the multinational companies is fraught with grave consequences for the peoples. Struggling for domination and privileges, the multinational companies bribe statesmen, try to control the state apparatus in other countries and, when their interests are at stake, do not even hesitate to overthrow the governments of the countries in which they operate. Every day brings new examples of the brutal interference of the multinational companies in the internal affairs of other countries, of their involvement in political scandals and corruption. Thus, for example, the struggle between an American oil trust and the Mexican Government, which ended with the latter's submission to the conditions dictated by the American trust, is a case in point. The military putsch, which toppled the government of the Popular Front in Chile in 1973, was the doing of the American monopolies. Everybody knows that the Lockheed monopolists bribed many government figures and parliamentarians in Italy, Britain, Japan and other countries. These facts reveal the essence of the «aid» they

claim to give and the «progress» they pretend to promote all over the world.

The multinational companies, set up by world capital in an attempt to sotten evil consequences of imperialism by making the peoples pay for them, have further worsened the state of the decay of the capitalist system, have extended the sphere and increased the intensity of its contradictions, have sharpened the clash between the peoples and imperialism.

The many lackeys of imperialism present the multinational companies as new elements created by the bourgeoisie to «assist» the development of the peoples to promote their «progress». But in the 34 years since the Second World War the peoples have gained awareness of the true meaning of the credits and so-called aid from imperialism. Hunger, poverty, disease, discrimination, ruthless plunder of national assets — this is the «advantage» the peoples gain from the multinational companies and neo-colonialism, in general. The undeveloped countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which account for 70 per cent of the population of the world, give only 9 per cent of the world industrial production. More than 1.5 billion people in these countries live under a subsistence level. In Latin America 12 million poor peasants are unable to earn even their bread, and 12 million school-age children roam about begging or doing heavy work. And this at a time when the multinational companies made a profit of 11.5 billion dollars in 1977, as against 700 million dollars in 1950, from their investments in Latin America. The multinational companies make a profit of 4-5 dollars from every dollar invested.

As the spawn of contradictions and uicers of imperialism they are, the multinational companies cannot change its exploiting nature. Through them big capital sponger on the blood and sweat of the peoples, saddling them with the heavy burden of the crisis which has the entire capitalist-revisionist world in its grip.

STATE AND INTER-STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM REPRESENTS THE HIGHEST DEGREE OF THE CONCENTRATION OF PRODUCTION AND CAPITAL

Lenin defined the essence of state monopoly capitalism as combination of the colossal power of capital with the colossal power of the state into one mechanism in which the state is always subordinated to the interests of the monopolies.

From this definition fully emerges the economic and political essence of state monopoly capitalism, its motives and the purpose of its creation. State monopoly capitalism is the objective result of the strengthening of the monopolies on the basis of the increased concentration of production which enables the monopoly bourgeoisie to utilize the bourgeois state more and more in its interest. In this context, the monopolies unite economically with the state, receive from it orders for various products, especially military ones, ensure, through state consumption, a guaranteed market for a colossal part of their products, take state credits and subsidies, profit from the productive activity of state enterprises and use the state to defend themselves against foreign competition and for capturing foreign markets. The higher the degree of concentration of the monopolies, the greater their power, the more this power is combined with the power of the state, fully subjecting the latter to itself.

Monopoly capitalism, like state monopoly capitalism, does not in the least come out of the limits of the capitalist mode of production, does not represent a qualitative change of capitalism as regards the mode of production, but only represents a higher stage, the final stage of concentration of production and capital.

All the fierce contradictions of capitalism, which grow and deepen along with the growth of concentration of production and capital, are inherent to state monopoly capitalism.

Inter-state monopoly capitalism does not alter in the least the nature of

present-day imperialism and social-imperialism. The monopoly mergers are the result of a high concentration and centralization of production and capital on an international scale, of the ever increasing tendency of the productive forces to outstep the relatively narrow limits of the capitalist national economy. Through them and unilateral and multilateral agreements among states, the financial oligarchy tries to find common ways and means to pull itself out of the crisis, be it only for the time being, to make maximum profits even in the conditions of the further exacerbation of the crisis.

From the political standpoint the oligarchy set up the inter-state monopoly mergers as a joint apparatus of violence and terror against the revolutionary and national liberation movements and the socialist forces the world over. The imperialist bourgeoisie needs them in order to get the sharp social, economic and political antagonisms which erode the capitalist system, in general, and every bourgeois or revisionist country, in particular. But imperialist «integration» cannot avoid these contradictions. Indeed, it just served to further deepen the antagonisms in the whole system of the world capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist economy. The major inter-state monopoly mergers of today — the European Common Market and Comecon, are tools of the aggressive, oppressive and exploitative policy of the superpowers and forms of neo-colonialist subjection of the peoples. The European Common Market is a union of the capitalist monopolies and trusts for the savage exploitation of the proletariat and the working masses in Europe and in other parts of the world, is a neo-colonialist great power which not only competes with the superpowers in the exploitation of the proletariat in the develop-

ing countries, but also tries to maintain and restore the old privileges of the former colonial powers there.

State and inter-state monopoly capitalism serves the imperialist bourgeoisie to extend its tentacles to all the continents of the world and to extract fabulous profits through the savage exploitation and oppression of the peoples. Thus, even in the conditions of the existence of state and inter-state monopoly capitalism, the general law of capitalist accumulation continues to operate with its full impact. On the one hand, the poverty, suffering and misery of hundreds of millions of people is becoming steadily worse, while the profits and luxury of a handful of people keep constantly rising, on the other. Thus, for example, the net profits of the American monopolies in 1978 increased fourfold against 1970. In the Federal German Republic, while 200 of the wealthiest families possess about 50 per cent of the local productive capital, 6,5 million families are unable to make both ends meet. The same situation exists in Britain, France, Italy, Japan, etc. According to bourgeois statistics, there are more than 350 million partially or totally unemployed in the capitalist and revisionist world.

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All this shows that the increased degree of concentration of production and capital and, on this basis, the creation of various monopolies, from the cartels and syndicates of the time of Lenin to the giant industrial complexes — the multinational companies and the state and inter-state monopoly capitalist companies of today, not only does not change in the least the exploitative nature of modern capitalism, but on the

contrary, deepens it further. The temporary solutions capitalism searches in order to soften, however little, the deep antagonistic contradictions which erode it from within and by-pass the crisis, are fraught with even more shattering and destructive consequences for capitalism. One thing is quite clear — all the forms of concentration of production and capital lead to the reproduction of capitalist relations of production and, on this basis, reproduce on an ever sharper degree all the antagonistic contradictions which erode the capitalist system from within. «Elements of socialist relations» can never be born in the bosom of capitalism, which cannot annihilate itself. Practice has vindicated the truth of Marxism-Leninism, that the world can be changed only through the revolution.

Capitalism develops through crises which envelop all the spheres of the economic and social activity and which are becoming ever fiercer and more destructive. The solutions the bourgeoisie tries to find through the various forms of monopolies, as well as through the militarization of the economy and the technical-scientific revolution can do nothing other than further exacerbate the imperialist contradictions which erode it to death. In these conditions, to claim that imperialism of today is not the imperialism of the time of Lenin, that it has undergone qualitative changes and assumed new economic features which represent «elements of socialism», means to become an advocater and supporter of capitalism, as the revisionists of all hues — Yugoslav, Soviet, Eurocommunist, Chinese and others, have become today.

1 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», pp. 70-71, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 77, Alb. ed.

COMECON - AN INSTRUMENT OF SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM FOR THE DOMINATION AND EXPLOITATION OF THE MEMBER COUNTRIES

by **GENC XHUVANI, LULËZIM HANA**

The Party of Labour of Albania has consistently exposed the policy of dictate and plunder, the imperialist policy the revisionist Soviet Union follows in Comecon and in its bilateral relations with the other revisionist countries. It has pointed out that Comecon has been reduced to an instrument of Soviet imperialism for the enslavement of its vassal countries

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SOVIET UNION INTO AN IMPERIALIST POWER AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION OF AN AGGRESSIVE, EXPANSIONIST, HEGEMONIC AND PREDATORY POLICY TOWARDS THE OTHER PEOPLES INEVITABLY BROUGHT ABOUT CHANGES IN THE NATURE AND AIMS OF THE COUNCIL OF MUTUAL ECONOMIC AID (COMECON). EXPOSING THE CAPITALIST NATURE AND THE EXPLOITING PREDATORY CHARACTER OF THE SOVIET UNION IN COMECON, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAS SAID: «COMECON HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED INTO A REVISIONIST ORGANISATION FOR THE COOPERATION OF THE INDUSTRY AND MANY OTHER BRANCHES OF THE ECONOMY OF ITS MEMBER COUNTRIES».

This organization is ruled by the Soviet revisionists who, by means of it, aim to exploit and control the econo-

GENC XHUVANI, LULËZIM HANA - Economists

mies of the Comecon member countries in such a way that, together with this false socialist cooperation, they dominate these states politically, too.»¹

The new Soviet bourgeoisie imple-

ments its neo-colonialist policy towards the Comecon member countries, in the first place, through brutal dictate and pressure on all the organisms of this organization. Dictate and pressure are the concrete implementation by the Soviet revisionists of Brezhnev's fascist theory of «limited sovereignty» in the economic field and speaks of its imperialist and fascist essence. The Moscow revisionists try to camouflage this exploiting practice with their «struggle against autarky» and make a big noise about the alleged necessity of «economic integration», specialization and

cooperation, etc the basis of which is the subordination of national interests to «internationalist» interests.

«Co-ordination» of economic policy through all the phases of the cycle of reproduction has been made the central point of the neo-colonialist program, described as a «complex program of socialist integration» of the Comecon member countries. This is connected with «co-ordination» of all the phases of the reproduction cycle, beginning from the main fields of investments (which are under specific Soviet control), to the distribution to and degree of consumption by each member country. In the framework of Comecon the Soviet revisionists have created supra-state organs such as the executive council and various commissions and committees for the co-ordination of activities in the main economic and financial fields which operate according to the interests of the Soviet Union. So, this co-ordination is just a means to legalize and cover up the exploitation of the economies of the Comecon member countries in the interests of the economy of the Russian metropolis, to further the neo-colonialist aims of the new Soviet bourgeoisie.

In the various organisms and links of Comecon the Soviet revisionists use the same capitalist methods and practices in order to ensure complete economic and political subordination of the other countries, as those they use for the subordination and enslavement of the other, non-Russian, nations within the Soviet Union. «The great experience of the Soviet Union in the planned development of many-branched economic complexes on a multinational state level...» the revisionist journal «Myezhdunarodnaya Zhiznj» wrote in its issue no. 2 of 1980, «was utilized in a creative spirit by the communist and workers' parties when they worked out... the strategy of development of long-term international economic agreements and has found concrete embodiment in the complex program of socialist integration.»

In order to justify their open violation of the sovereignty of other coun-

tries, they clamour about the so-called «international property» which they present as the highest form of socialist property taking no account at all of the national and state distinctions created during a long historical process.

V.I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin have stressed that socialist integration can be carried out «only in the period after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a world scale, ie after the establishment of socialism in all countries.»² Moreover, Lenin pointed out that: «National and state distinctions exist among peoples and countries — and these will continue to exist for a very long time to come, even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world-wide scale.»³ Therefore, the theorizing of the Soviet revisionists about their alleged socialist integration, or the internationalization of socialist property, are in flagrant opposition to the teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

In practice, the typically neo-colonialist policy of the Soviet revisionists has led, step by step, to changes in the structure of the economies of the Comecon member countries in the direction of increasing their dependence on the social-imperialist Soviet Union. Under the pretext of «limiting parallelisms», «utilizing only rich resources», etc. the Soviet revisionists have deprived the vassal countries of the possibility of producing many products and have created a situation in which they are dependent on the Soviet Union, not only for raw materials, but also for semi-processed and finished products, equipment and technology. As a result, the economies of the other Comecon member countries have developed one-sidedly. For example, such big trusts as SKODA, CKD, TESLA, etc. of Czechoslovakia, renowned for the production of heavy machinery, automobiles, electric equipment, etc. have reduced their productive activities. Through «re-constructions» these trusts have been forced to work mainly to meet the demands of the market of the Russian metropolis. Likewise, allegedly in the context of «specialization», Hungary has

been compelled to gear its «Red Star» plant in Budapest mainly to the production of tractor brakes, although it had long been producing complete tractors. Now the needs of Hungarian agriculture for tractors are fulfilled with imports from the Soviet Union. It is understandable that such restrictions imposed on the structure of the economies of the Comecon countries can only result in slowing down the all-round development of these countries and creating many difficulties and anomalies for them.

Besides obligations hindering the all-round development of those branches which have a tradition in various Comecon member countries, the Soviet revisionists want to impose a course of one-sided development on the Comecon countries, which is also apparent from their efforts to hinder the full-cycle development of the new branches which these countries are allowed to establish. A typical instance of this is the prohibition on the development of the aluminium industry in Hungary, although it is rich in bauxites. Under the plans of «cooperation and specialization», which the Soviet revisionists have imposed on Comecon, this industry must be developed in the Soviet Union, which secures the raw materials from Hungary, while the latter must meet its needs for aluminium products by importing them from the Soviet Union! This year, 330,000 tons of bauxite (1.5 times more than 6 years ago) will be transported thousands of kilometres to the smelting plants in the Soviet Union. In the same way, Poland's metallurgical plants are completely dependent on raw materials and energy imported from the Russian metropolis. It is estimated that this revisionist country does not cover even half the cycle of production in this branch from its internal resources. On the other hand, under Comecon agreements Poland is obliged to deliver the overwhelming bulk of what it produces from Soviet raw materials, or in the plants constructed on Soviet credits, to the Soviet Union. (Apart from other things, Poland has delivered to the Soviet Union tens of

complete plants for the production of sulphuric acid, over 110,000 rail wagons, etc. etc.) A typical example of complete dependence on Soviet social-imperialism and integration into the Soviet capitalist economy is Bulgaria, whose industry has been set up, either on the basis of Soviet raw materials, or as part of the industry of the Russian metropolis, to which it is obliged to send a considerable proportion of its products for finishing. As a result of this dependence, Bulgaria is indebted to the Soviet Union to the tune of 2 billion rubles.

Apart from its dependence on Soviet raw materials and other staple materials, the economy of the Soviet vassals is also gradually falling under dependence of Russian social-imperialism for electric power. It is clear that in this way the Soviet revisionists manage to maintain control of this main lever of the economy of the Comecon member countries, enabling them to impose their will on their vassals each time their imperialist interests demand it, that is, with the paralysis of their economic activity. The Soviet social-imperialists applied this policy towards Czechoslovakia in 1968 and have threatened the other revisionist countries with the same measure.

The typically neo-colonialist policy implemented by the Soviet revisionists in the Comecon is reflected in the obligation of these countries to pay for the construction of various projects in the Soviet Union. As is known, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, etc. are directly financing the development of the Soviet economy. Czechoslovakia, for example, gave the Soviet Union 4 billion crowns in hard currency for financing various projects of the Soviet industry of oil and gas envisaged in the Soviet 8th Five-year Plan, and Poland spent about 500 million rubles (utilizing even its scarce hard currency reserve), in order to buy material and equipment from the capitalist countries for the construction of a 900 kilometres long oilpipe in the Soviet Union and to participate in the construction of the Orenburg gasline.

According to the so-called complex program of economic integration, nearly all the Comecon member countries will jointly finance the construction of various projects in the Soviet Union. During the current five-year plan, for example, according to figures published by the Soviet revisionists themselves, on the basis of «co-ordination» within Comecon or bilateral agreements, more than 1,000 complete sets of equipment for industrial projects, including equipment for six urea plants with an annual capacity of 6 million tons, and 21 sulphuric acid plants with a total capacity of 10 million tons a year, 36 plants for the food-processing industry, etc. etc. will be delivered to the Soviet Union. According to Comecon decisions these plants and combines become the property of the country in which they are built, hence the immense benefits to the Soviet social-imperialists from such exploiting relations with the other revisionist countries dependent on them are very clear.

The investments or credits from the Soviet revisionists, within the framework of the Comecon, for the other countries of this capitalist grouping, also mainly serve their one-sided development, are intended to achieve the best possible adaptation of the economies of the vassal countries to the Soviet economy.

Thus, for example, the credit of 77 million rubles the Soviet Union accorded Czechoslovakia was spent mainly for the reconstruction of the Tatra trust, most of the production of which is absorbed by the Soviet Union. The same can be said about the credit the Soviet Union accorded Poland for expanding production of the «Era» computers delivered to the Soviet Union, etc. etc. These credits are accorded by the International Bank of Investments, through which, amongst other things, the Soviet revisionists deepen the economic dependence of the vassal countries and their enslavement by the Russian metropolis. The competences of this international banking trust, which is led by and serves the interests of the Soviet revisionists, are so broad that the

country receiving credits from it must accept complete and all-round control by it, otherwise credits are cut at any moment under the pretext that the bank «is not informed about the situation», etc.

The new Soviet bourgeoisie also exploits the Comecon member countries and makes colossal profits from non-equivalent exchanges by exercising its dictate over prices, etc. For example, the prices at which the Soviet revisionists sell iron ore to the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe are 10-15 per cent higher than world market prices, those for Soviet machinery are 1.4 to 2.1 times higher, etc. However, the machinery imported from the German Democratic Republic is priced by the Soviet revisionists 25-30 per cent below world market prices. This non-equivalent exchange is even more apparent in the agricultural products which the Russian metropolis imports from its Comecon vassals. As a result of this unscrupulous robbery, during the 8th Five-year Plan alone, the Soviet bourgeoisie secured a supplementary profit of 2 billion 500 million rubles. Precisely because of the highly profitable source of revenues, the Soviet propaganda stresses particularly that the economic links of the Soviet Union with the «fraternal countries» have «an increasing importance for the national economy of the Soviet Union, for ever better meeting the needs of the Soviet people» (read: the new Soviet bourgeoisie).

Whereas in the past the Soviet revisionists clamoured that within an organization such as Comecon, which represents «the model of equal internationalist relations among socialist countries», the price fluctuations on the capitalist market must not influence the price policy, as soon as the effect of the energy crisis became apparent on this market, they dropped this thesis and went over to concrete actions. Thus, beginning from January 1975, the Soviet Union raised the price of oil to the Comecon member countries, although it was always higher than the price at which the Soviet revisionists sold oil to

the capitalist countries, and despite the fact that the revisionist countries of Comecon have invested their own capital for the development of the oil and gas industry in the Soviet Union. Moreover, the Soviet revisionists began to reduce the quantities of oil delivered to those countries with the aim of increasing the amount sold on the capitalist markets for convertible currency. According to figures published by the revisionists themselves, the Soviet Union's oil deliveries to the Comecon member countries in 1980 were 5 million tons less than in 1979.

Such a predatory practice has grave consequences for the economies and finances of the member countries of the Comecon. Solely because of the rise in the price of Soviet oil in 1975, which of course was not accompanied by increased prices for the commodities the Soviet revisionists buy from the other revisionist countries, the Comecon member countries had to pay the social-imperialist Soviet Union an additional one billion rubles. This increase of the prices charged for Soviet oil gave another push to the increase of deficits in the balance of payments of the Comecon member countries with the Soviet Union, brought about a constant worsening of the si-

tuation of their internal markets and finances.

The predatory neo-colonialist policy of the new Tzars of the Kremlin is the cause of ever more open contradictions in the ranks of this capitalist grouping. Faced with this savage plunder and unable to maintain some sort of internal balance to stop the outburst of the anger of their working masses against this double capitalist plunder and exploitation, the cliques of the revisionist countries are forced, from time to time, to express their discontent, their disapproval or even open opposition to their Moscow patrons. Time after time Soviet magazines such as «Coprocy Filcsosfii», «Voprosy Ekonomiki», «Mezh-durarnodnaja Zhiznj», «Ekonomicheskaja Gazeta», etc have pointed out that: «...there are acknowledged difficulties... in the process of economic integration and cooperation», «the process of economic integration in the framework of Comecon is linked with a series of objective difficulties», or even more openly that «a certain discrepancy of interests», as well as «objective contradictions», etc exist among the Comecon member countries.

The Party of Labour of Albania has consistently exposed the policy of dictate and plunder, the im-

perialist policy the revisionist Soviet Union follows in Comecon and its bilateral relations with the other revisionist countries. It has pointed out that Comecon has been reduced to an instrument of Soviet imperialism for the enslavement of its vassal countries. As early as in 1960, at the Meeting of 81 parties in Moscow, Comrade Enver Hoxha declared, among other things, that Comecon had remained something altogether formal and, in fact, did not work according to the purpose for which it was set up, that it did not function regularly, that problems were not raised for solution at its meetings. Life proved that this real state of things, which was uncovered and publicly exposed by Comrade Enver Hoxha 20 years ago, was deepened further, to the extent that Comecon was transformed into an instrument intended only for the economic plunder and enslavement of the member countries by the Russian metropolis.

1 Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», p. 240, Alb. ed.

2 J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 341, Alb. ed.

3 V. I. Lenin. Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 91, Alb. ed.

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FASCISM — A REAL THREAT TO THE PEOPLES

«ZÈRI I POPULLIT» — organ of the CC of the PLA —

News agencies reports on bloody crimes by fascist and neo-fascist groups in various countries of the world have become only too banal. The «black chronicle» is full of tragic events.

These events, which have shocked progressive world opinion, have a profound political significance. They show that the spectre of fascism is again at large.

In the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, which affects political, financial and economic life, the condition of the working masses is growing steadily worse. On the other hand, the peoples are organizing themselves and militating in revolutionary movements. The outburst of this struggle is shaking the foundations of capitalism. Faced with this situation, world imperialism sees that it can no longer maintain its rule by «democratic» methods of government and bourgeois legality, therefore it is searching to find a way out of the impasse by applying fascist methods, resorting to open violence and terror against the revolutionary and democratic forces. The bourgeois governments, which are unable to stem the mounting tide of revolutionary events, are overthrown by military putsches and replaced with fascist governments.

Seen in retrospect, the

situation in the twenties of this century, which was the period of the emergence of fascism, is identical with the present picture; constant worsening of the conditions of the working masses, rising inflation, political instability, etc. The march on Rome was staged and fascism took power in Italy in similar circumstances. The same happened almost ten years later in Germany. Through acts of political terror, groups of hooligans and gangsters today want to create a psychosis of fear and insecurity, of political and economic anarchy in order to be able to seize state power. The plans are the same as those of the Duce and Hitler many years ago. Their disciples have risen, have organized themselves and are operating against the proletariat and the peoples.

In the Federal German Republic the Hoffmann group, which is active there, has become a rallying-point for more than 200 other fascist organizations which it organizes and trains for the battles to come. In Italy groups of organized fascists such as «The Rose of Winds», «the Mussolini Action Squads» (SAM), «the Black Order», etc have the Italian Social Movement (MSI), the reconstructed fascist party, as their co-ordinating centre. In Spain, the fascists have rallied around the group «Fuerza

Nueva». In the United States there are about 2,000 neo-fascist parties, organizations and groups. Only one of them, «The American Union of Civil Rights», has about 220,000 members organized in 50 regional branches and 400 local centres. In addition, the ill-famed Ku-Klux-Clan gangs are also active in this country. The «Column-88», the «Teutonic Order», and other similar fascist organizations operate in Britain and the «Vlaamse Militant Order» and other fascist groups carry out their activity in Belgium. The fascists carry out their activities openly in the Netherlands, Austria and other countries. The members of these groups train themselves regularly in special camps and, from time to time, armed with pistols, bombs, knives and clubs, murder and kidnap people, sowing death and terror.

The fascist groups of Western Europe, which have found a common language among themselves, are closely linked to plot together against the peoples.

The bourgeois press is obliged to write about the organization of the fascist groups in the «Black International» and the co-ordination of their activity. «There is no doubt,» the West-German magazine «Der Spiegel» wrote in one of its recent issues, «that the

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neo-nazi groups are inter-connected, that some of their actions and activities are planned and carried out on an international scale.»

In the countries of fascist rule, fascism has been brought to power by the monopolies which maintain it as the most effective means for the suppression of the resistance of the people's masses. In the countries where the fascist movement aspires to power, it has the support and assistance of the monopolies. This explains the fact that although the fascist activity poses a

real and concrete threat in many countries, the chiefs of fascist gangs are not arrested or even less tried in court. Investigations and trials are carried out from time to time, but they are directed against less important elements, those playing secondary or third-rate roles. The main leaders, those who organize and finance fascist activities either remain at large or, if some of them are arrested, they are quickly «absolved» or freed for «lack of proofs». And it could not be otherwise, as long as the leading fascists hold at the same

time commanding posts in industry, the army, etc.

Nevertheless, the fascist threat is not an unavoidable evil. It can be stopped, if the united strength of the peoples is opposed to it. The terrorist activity of the fascist elements and their attempts to seize power have aroused the indignation and anger of the democratic and revolutionary forces of all the peoples of the world, who can never forget the lessons of history, the millions of martyrs and victims of fascism in the Second World War.



DEMAGOGY OF THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP IN THE PHILIPPINES

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

The President of the Philippines, the fascist dictator Marcos, has decided to «lift» the state of emergency which was declared in this country nine years before. He tried to present this step as «liberalization» which will supposedly lead back to «democracy». However, the truth is that this is a threadbare manoeuvre carried out by the dictatorial regime in power for demagogic purposes, in order to calm the situation in the country, to get itself out of its state of isolation and to avert the inevitable doom which the resolute opposition

and struggle of the Philippino people are preparing for it.

For years on end the Marcos regime has ruled the country by means of savage terror and violence, which came to a head with the state of emergency imposed on the country in 1972. Since then more than 60,000 people have died as a result of police violence. In order to suppress the indignation of the masses and the armed struggle of the Philippino people, the regime has launched several mopping up operations and carried out systematic campaigns of terror against the population of the

areas where the liberation forces are active. However, in spite of all its efforts, the Marcos regime has been unable to cope with the explosions of discontent of the popular masses, to quell the flames of the armed struggle of the Philippino patriots, whose incessant attacks are shaking it to its foundations. In these conditions, the chiefs of the local feudal-bourgeois regime in power try to manoeuvre. They have come to understand that they can no longer preserve their power by the old means of violence, therefore, along with them, they are looking

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for new forms, «more democratic» in appearance, but just as repressive and exploitative in their content. Here they have the encouragement of the American imperialists, whose political, economic and military interests are connected with the existence of Marcos regime. The American monopoly companies are the real masters of the country, plundering its assets and exploiting the cheap labour power of the local population. The USA has large military bases, in which it has stationed nearly 15,000 troops.

The reactionary Manilla regime has found a great sup-

port in the Chinese social-imperialists, the old friends of the family of President Marcos.

«Liberalization» and «democratic» masks cannot cover up the anti-national and anti-popular character of the Manilla regime. Marcos himself has made it clear that he will «maintain a strong state in the period of transition to the elections to a constituent assembly fixed for the May 1983». In line with this, all the repressive laws are in force. The prisons are still full of thousands of patriots and opponents of the regime. As for the «elections» which, according to Marcos, will take

place in four years from now, they will be carried out under the supervision of the fascist army and police.

The Philippino people look with contempt on the political machinations of Marcos. They have no illusion that dictators of the Marcos's type can bring them freedom and democracy, which can be won only through a determined struggle for the overthrow of the reactionary regime. This has found its concrete expression in the rising tide of protest by the working masses and the intensification of the liberation struggle by the patriotic forces.

THE CHINESE REVISIONISTS PUT THE LABOUR FORCE OF THEIR COUNTRY UP FOR AUCTION

«PUNA» — organ of the Central Council of the TUA

In the context of the so-called new economic reforms and «modernizations» in China the export of the labour force is occupying an increasingly large place. The Chinese revisionist leadership, in its attempts to make maximum profit by stepping up exploitation of the working class and the other working people, has made great efforts to sell the Chinese worker on the world capitalist market. It has signed successive agreements with different capitalist firms and companies for the export

of this cheap commodity. According to the foreign press, the Japanese companies «Fujita Corporation» and «Taisei Construction Company» have signed agreements with «China Construction Engineering Corporation», under which they are entitled to exploit the Chinese labour power in various countries of the world. As a result today, along with the Philippino, Malaysian and Thai workers employed in the construction of road projects, in Japan there are also Chinese workers. Another Chi-

nese construction company concluded an agreement under which thousands of Chinese workers will be sent to work for the Japanese construction company «Mitsui Kensecu». The Chinese traders of labour force are greatly encouraged by the great profits accruing to them from this commodity and are making more and even greater deals. Under the new contracts signed by them, another 20,000 thousand Chinese workers will be sent to work in Japan.

Seeing the great profitabi-

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lity of the Chinese labour force, businessmen from various countries of the world are rushing to China. Representatives of the Italian firms «Italsat», «IRI», etc have signed long-term contracts with the Chinese revisionists. For a period of five years «IRI» will employ more than 400,000 Chinese workers on construction projects in various countries of the world. The French construction businessmen have also signed contracts for the employment of thousands of Chinese workers on construction projects. The American, West-German and other monopolies are greatly interested in buying Chinese labour force. The vice-president of the «International Air Products and Chemicals» has declared that Chinese workers will be employed on the construction of an industrial complex that is

being built in Saudi Arabia. It has been reckoned that the Chinese export of labour power will reach the one million in 1985.

The exported Chinese workers are subject to two-fold savage and inhumane exploitation. The foreign capitalists make huge profits from them, but the new Chinese bourgeoisie has also its gain from these transactions. One of the Beijing chiefs declared recently that the Chinese worker sent abroad will be «diligent, will comply with the orders of his bosses and will respect the laws.»

The export of the Chinese labour force is another evidence of the further degeneration of the Chinese capitalist society. The sale of the cheap Chinese labour power on the world market is another link in the enslaving chain which the Chinese revisionist leadership is putting on the Chinese

worker and a criminal anti-worker measure allegedly intended to ease the problem of unemployment which has gone over the 20,000,000 mark in the cities alone. The sale of the labour power is an indication of the grave crisis which has affected the Chinese capitalist economy, of chaos and anarchy in production, of all-round degeneration, etc. The implementation of the new capitalist reforms, the «modernizations» and «rationalizations» the Chinese revisionist leadership is carrying out, are nothing other than new forms of savage capitalist exploitation. This has, of course, further exacerbated the antagonistic contradictions of Chinese society.

The Chinese working class will escape oppression and exploitation only by overthrowing the capitalist-revisionist order which has turned it into a market commodity.

■

«DESERT WARFARE» AND THE GANGSTER AIMS OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

«LUFETARI» — organ of the Ministry of People's Defence of the PSR of Albania

Twentynine Palms, California, was the site of the exercises of the 7th Brigade of the American instant intervention troops, which lasted one week. The special character of these exercises lies in the fact that

they were carried out in conditions of «desert warfare». They involved landings of marines, aircraft attacks against oil-wells and refineries, movements of troops and so on. The military base, in which these

exercises were carried out, covers an area of 100 square kilometres of desert land. From last May it has been the training ground for 12,000 troops of the 7th Amphibious Brigade. Amongst other things, 28 B-52

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heavy bombers were ready to fly to the Persian Gulf area «in case of emergency». Kelley, the commander-in-chief of this aggressive force, declared arrogantly that the United States was in a position to dispatch its troops to the Indian Ocean region in a couple of days. On his part, the commander of the 7th Brigade pointed out that his troops were specialized and armed to carry out rapid intervention in the Persian Gulf and in South-east Asia. The heavy vehicles, tanks, armoured cars, artillery, etc of this brigade are in a state of permanent readiness, on board of seven warships lying at anchor at the American naval base of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean.

The military base at Twentynine Palms was built immediately after the USA decided to organize its forces for an intervention in the Middle East.

The base gobbled up hundreds of millions of dollars, without reckoning the armaments, especially those adopted to desert warfare. The main destination of this military base is to train special troops, which in 48 hours' notice can carry out aggression in the various regions of the Middle East. The 7th Brigade, as part of this intervention force, is charged with the task of instant landing and preparing the ground for a large-scale offensive.

Besides the Twentynine Palms, the American imperialists have stationed their troops and built up war material in other American military bases in the basin of the Middle East and Indian Ocean, to support the activity of this intervention force. The military base on Diego Garcia is directly connected with the activities of this force. Several American military bases in Saudi Arabia

are being supplied with special troops and new armaments.

These feverish preparations for war in special difficult conditions are indicative of the ambitions of the American imperialists who want to keep the oil-producing countries under their control. The blow the brave Iranian people dealt at the Wall-street magnates by turning off the taps of oil and the various measures the oil-producing countries have taken for the protection of their assets, such as raising of oil prices, have severely affected the interests of the American imperialists. However, the threats of American imperialism, or Soviet social-imperialism, cannot intimidate the Arab peoples of the Middle East, who are fighting in order to live a life free of imperialist domination and plunder.

■

AGENTS IN THE PAY OF THE BOURGEOISIE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

In the world today, when the proletariat has raised the question of the revolution as a task posed for solution, the bourgeoisie, on its part, has more than ever activated the agencies in its service in order to divide and neutralize the struggle of the proletariat. The corruption of the worker aristocracy, of the trade union

leaders, is part of his overall scheme.

The reformist trade unions and their leaderships in the developed capitalist countries, such as the American Federation of Labour - Congress of Industrial organization (AFL-CIO) in the USA, the General Labour Confederation and Italian Workers' Union (CGL,

CISL and UIL) in Italy, the Trade-Union Congress in Britain, the General Labour Confederation in France, the Trade Union League in West Germany, etc, all of them have long since placed themselves in the service of the bourgeoisie. Their programs and activities are based on class conciliation, collaboration and the «commu-

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nity of interests» of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois press gives wide coverage to the agreements reached between them and the managements of the monopolies, to the talks held between them, presenting all this as «a trend towards class conciliation and collaboration». However, it is known what lies hidden behind this class «harmony». The stand of the chiefs of AFL-CIO which paralyzed the biggest strike of the road transport workers of the USA, for example, is a known fact. Likewise, it is known that the leaders of the British trade unions were only too ready to give their assent to the anti-popular measures taken by the huge motor car corporation «British Leylands» which laid off 20,000 workers. Last October the chiefs of the General Confederation of Labour and the FIAT administration signed an agreement as a result of which 23,000 workers were added to the army of the unemployed, indeed they extended the validity of this agreement to this year.

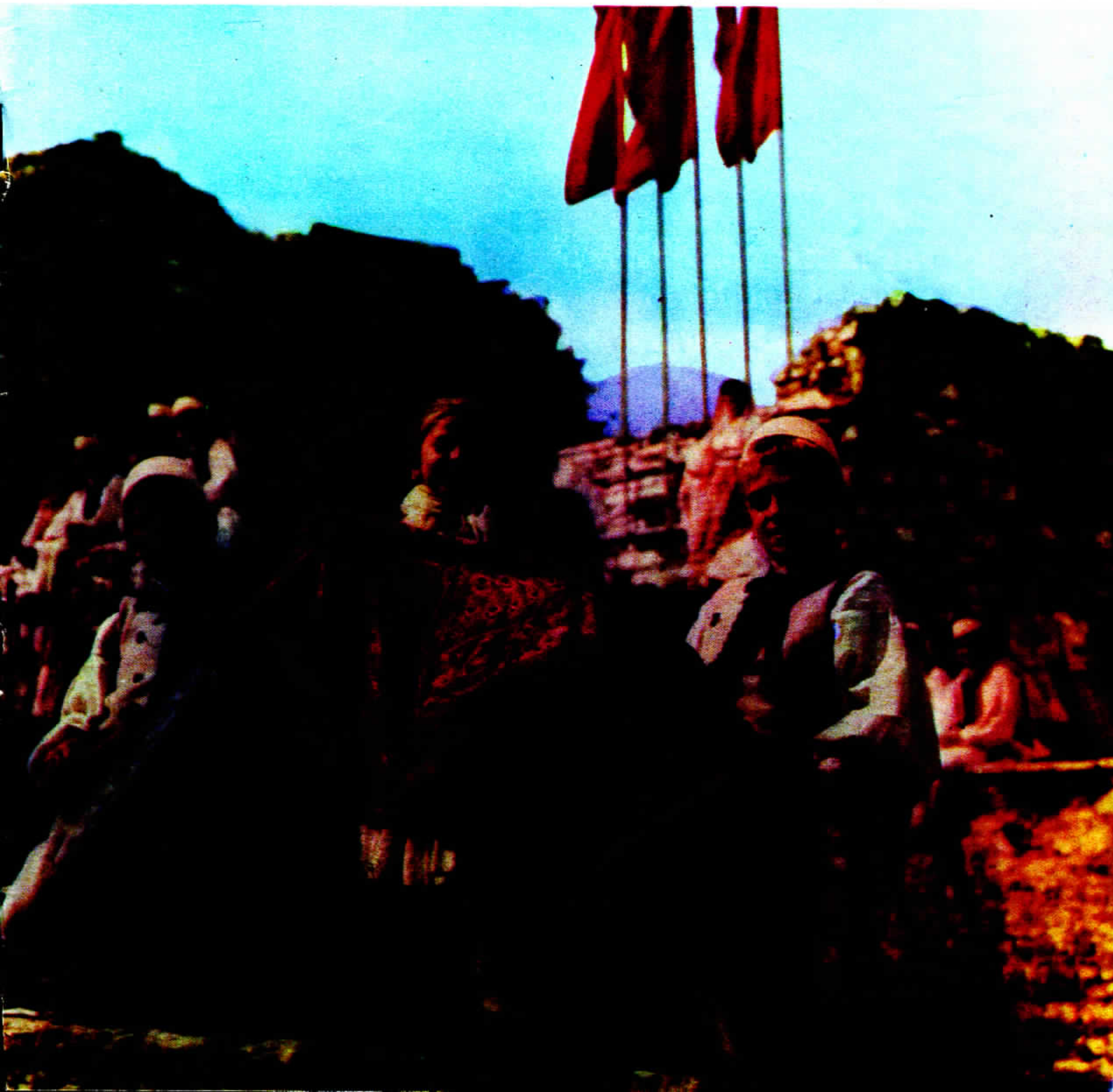
The chiefs of the reformist trade unions are paid well for their defence of the existing

order. Even in the conditions of the deepening crisis, when workers are sacked in thousands, when their living standards are declining, etc. the incomes of the worker aristocracy keep rising, parallel with those of the monopolies. The American review «Business Week» admits that the personal incomes of the chiefs of 56 American syndicates reach from 100,000 to 300,000 dollars a year. On their part, the leaders of the main trade union organization in Canada touch salaries reaching 180,000 dollars a year. And according to the same review, these figures do not include other sources of income such as bribes, fees for participating in various state committees, etc.

These and many more facts of this kind show once again in a convincing manner that the present reformist syndicates and trade unions never can serve as champions of the interests of the working class. The working class is growing more and more convinced of the betrayal by the trade union chiefs, therefore it opposes their anti-worker decisions, goes on «wildcat» strikes, getting more and more out of the

control of these trade union organizations. The percentage of American workers, members of the AFL-CIO, has fallen from 34 per cent, which it was a few years ago, to 22 per cent. The workers of the FIAT threw stones at the trade union chiefs when they learned about their anti-worker agreement with the management, and walked into the trade union offices, tore their membership cards and threw them to the face of the traitor chiefs. The working people have become aware of the fact that they cannot fight capitalism with success without fighting resolutely against its secret agents in their own ranks. The genuine Marxist-Leninist parties consider the work for exposing and eliminating these agents within the trade union movement and for creating revolutionary trade unions their duty, because, as Lenin said: «Without fighting this stratum, without abolishing the authority it has over the workers, without convincing the masses that this stratum has been corrupted by the bourgeoisie, a serious communist working class movement is out of question.»

In socialist Albania great solicitude is shown for the preservation of the best traditions of the people and the folklore. Even at kindergartens and elementary schools the children get a glimpse of the beautiful and varied folklore of their ancestors.



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