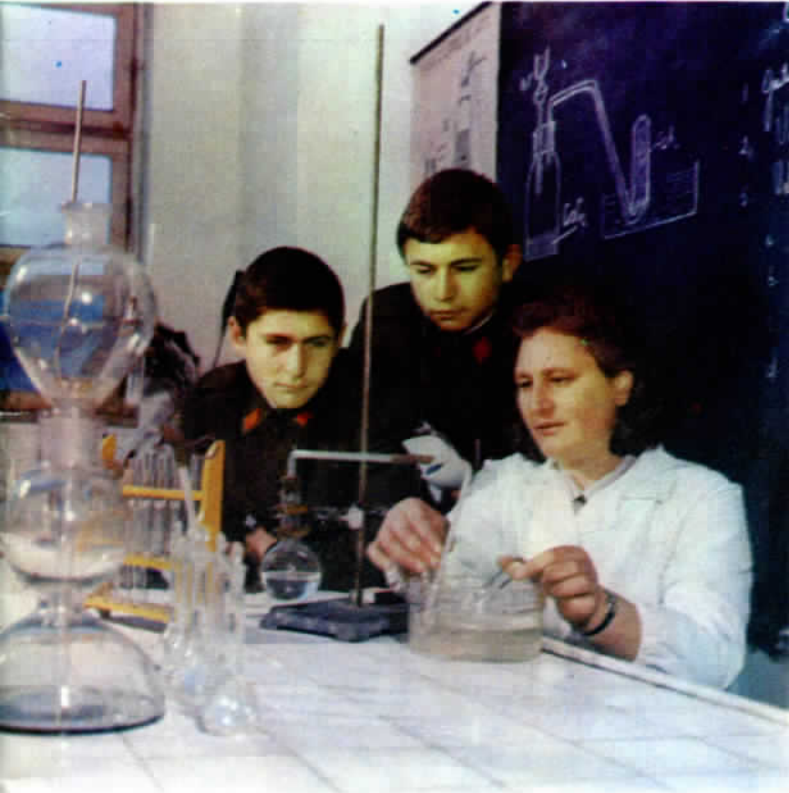


Albania today

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◀ **THE PEOPLE'S ARMY OF ALBANIA, WHICH WAS BORN IN THE HEAT OF THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR ON 10th JULY 1943, WHICH GREW AND WAS EDUCATED BY THE PLA WITH THE MARXIST-LENINIST IDEOLOGY, STANDS ALWAYS READY IN DEFENCE OF THE GAINS OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION. ASPECTS FROM THE ACTIVITY OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMY OF ALBANIA.**

Introduction of modern know-how and the application of scientific methods in the management and development of the socialist economy, are most essential means for the fulfilment of the new tasks arising from the work for the socialist construction in the PSR of Albania.



Albania today



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COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S BOOK «WHE

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THESE DAYS, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S BOOK «WHEN THE PARTY WAS BORN», WHICH IN THE FORM OF MEMOIRS DESCRIBES THE MAIN EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA AND ITS ACTIVITY DURING THE YEARS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR, CAME OFF THE PRESS AND WAS PUT INTO CIRCULATION. THE PUBLICATION OF THIS BOOK ON THE EVE OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY, IS AN EVENT OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE, BECAUSE IT PLACES A NEW WEAPON OF EXCEPTIONALLY GREAT HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL, ORGANIZATIONAL AND MILITARY IMPORTANCE IN THE HANDS OF THE COMMUNISTS AND THE ENTIRE WORKING PEOPLE TO CONTINUE ON THE ROAD OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST-LENINIST STRUGGLE OF OUR PARTY OF LABOUR FOR THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY WITH UNFLINCHING DETERMINATION.

The great wealth of events the author lived through in person, the profound Marxist-Leninist contents of the book, the dialectical treatment of the problems, the analysis of the phenomena of the time from the class position, the comprehensive summing up substantiated with countless facts from the life and the struggle, the sound spirit of popular patriotism which permeates the book, master-

fully couched in a rich literary language, make this book another monumental work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which enriches the theoretical treasury of the Party of Labour of Albania and its history. The book makes very fluent reading and stirs deep emotions because it is packed with great historical events and major clashes which not only are instructive but also arouse deep thoughts and revolutionary inspiration.

While reading the book we feel the close presence of the founder of the Party, whose person embodies the foresight of the Marxist-Leninist leader, the determination of the partisan commander-in-chief, the courage and the wisdom of his own people, the revolutionary thought and action, the truthfulness of the communist to his ideals. However, after reading through the books, we keep on reading still with the mind's eye, going through all the stages of the glorious 40-year long road we have traversed under the leadership of the Party of Labour with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, until we reached the present height of a completely free and genuine socialist country, with magnificent plans and brilliant perspectives, with a great vitality and creative force, enjoying authority, the admiration and particular respect amongst all the progressive people of the world.

Every sentence and paragraph of the 453 pages of the book acquaints the readers with the titanic efforts of the Albanian communists with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head for the founding of the Communist Party of Albania, with the revolutionary situations created after the fascist oc-

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cupation of the country on April 7, 1939, when the objective conditions had matured, with the decisive role the subjective factor played at that time for the founding of the revolutionary party of the working class, as «the vanguard of the National Liberation Movement and the struggle for a people's democratic Albania». The founding of the CPA is, therefore, the glorious and immortal work of the Albanian communists. Comrade Enver Hoxha who was leader of the Tirana branch of the Korça Communist Group, which became the centre of the communist and national liberation movement in Albania in the years 1940-1941, played a decisive role in the union and organization of the communists into a single Marxist-Leninist party. In his memoirs, Comrade Enver Hoxha speaks about the aid given by the internationalist communist Miladin Popović. Highly assessing this aid Comrade Enver Hoxha once again rejects the absurd anti-dialectical claim of the Titoite revisionists who try to present the internationalist aid of Miladin Popović as the decisive factor in the founding of the CPA. At the First National Conference of the CPA in March 1943, in which Miladin participated as member of the delegation of CPY, he made this question as clear as daylight declaring that the CP of Albania was founded by the Albanian communists themselves, and none else.

The vivid descriptions of the joint struggle of the communists, of the various groups to come together and merge into a single genuine communist party, in struggle against the enemies of communism, against the pseudo-Marxist political trends and organizations, against the Trotskyite chiefs Ana-

stas Lula and Sadik Premte, against the obstacles raised by megalomaniacal elements, such as Koço Tashko, etc. are as realistic as they are attractive and moving.

One reads these pages and is overcome by a feeling of deep love for the founder of the Party Comrade Enver Hoxha, who in the historic evening of November 8, 1941 rose to speak with great emotion and put to vote the draft-decision on the founding of the Party, and after the vote declared: «In complete unanimity, the Communist Party of Albania is founded.» With this a new qualitative epoch began in the centuries-long history of our people. Reading this book one is at the same time filled with deep respect for the communists and other militants — as Ali Kelmendi, Miha Lako, Qemal Stafa, Vasil Shanto, Pilo Peristeri, for the workers, the youth and the revolutionary people of Tirana, as well as by a feeling of anger and indignation against the Trotskyites and the camouflaged hostile elements. But above all, one is overwhelmed by a feeling of legitimate pride at seeing the Party grow and develop during those four decades, become a great, one-hundred thousand strong army, as against 200 members it numbered at the beginning, tempering itself in battles for the great cause of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, socialism and the revolution.

The Albanian communists were characterized by a profound spirit of proletarian internationalism while they were founding their Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha vividly evokes this spirit when he writes about the directives of the Comintern, when he speaks of the boundless love they cherished

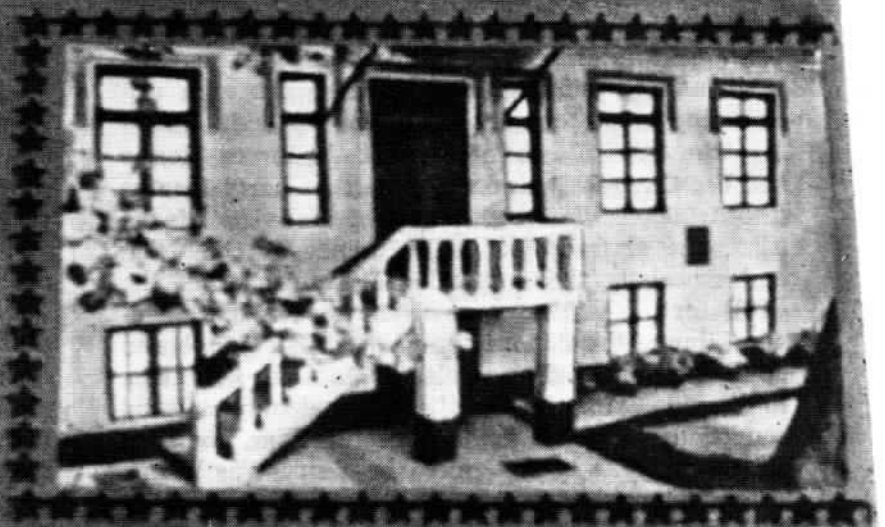


ENVER HOXHA

ENVER HOXHA

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for the Bolshevik Party, for the first socialist state founded by Lenin and Stalin after the October Revolution, when he exposes the activity of the traitor of the 3rd Communist International and the communist movement in Albania, Zoi Fundo, when he speaks of the national liberation war of the oppressed peoples of the Balkans and Europe against fascism, when he narrates how, together with Vasil Shanto, they stuck on the walls slogans «Down with Italian fascism!», «Long live the fraternal Greek people who are fighting for freedom!», etc, etc. The Party rooted this feeling deep in the hearts of the communists and the entire people, and it will remain for ever a pure, ardent, and powerful feeling of love for the proletarians, the peoples, the Marxist-Leninist communists and the revolutionary forces the world over. The Party of Labour has always valued the revolutionary experience of the world communist movement, and has learnt from it, while never copying it, or applying it mechanically. Dogmatism has always been alien to the Party of Labour. While defending Marxism-Leninism with determination, it has at the same time made its invaluable contribution to its enrichment through summing up, on sound scientific bases, of its consistent struggle of principle for national and social liberation, for the construction of socialism, of its struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, Titoite, Khrushchevite, Eurocommunist and Chinese, etc. It has always considered the struggle against imperialism and revisionism as its permanent internationalist duty which it has carried out and will continue to carry out with unwavering consistency through to the end.

The colossal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Central Committee and other party forums (the 1st Consultative Meeting of Activists of the CPA, the Extraordinary Conference of the CPA, and especially the 1st National Conference of the CPA) for the working out of the revolutionary general line of the Communist Party of Albania, based on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, in keeping with the specific internal and external conditions of the National Liberation War, etc runs all through the book «When the Party Was Born». Although couched in the form of personal memoirs, the exposition of situations, the description of events, of meetings and discussions, are remarkable for their specific scientific class analysis, for their correct assessment of various contradictions, for their clear definition of aims and tasks. From November 8, 1941 onwards, the line of the Party of Labour has been always correct. It has reflected the fundamental demands of the various stages of the revolution in Albania. The correctness of this line has been proved and is still being proved by

the daily revolutionary practice, the magnificent revolutionary transformations of socialist Albania, the development of international situations.

In the book «When the Party Was Born» a special place is devoted to the memoirs of the founding of the Communist Youth of Albania on November 23, 1941. In them is expressed the love of the new Communist Party of Albania for the younger generation, its paternal care of the organization, unity and mobilization of the youth in the National Liberation War, its great faith in the revolutionary forces of the youth, its deep conviction that, in those difficult times, the youth, as the powerful support of the Party, would place itself in the forefront of the revolutionary battles, «in order to free itself of the mediaeval chains of fascist slavery and build a new life of progress, culture, and happiness», in «steel-like union of will and heart with the Party».

At the founding meeting and all the other meetings of that time, especially at the Consultative Meeting of Activists of the CPA, the Party set the strengthening of its ties with the masses as a task of first-rate importance and as an indispensable condition for the unity and mobilization of the people in the anti-fascist war and for the victory in this war. Comrade Enver Hoxha acquaints us with the difficulties that had to be overcome for the implementation of this task, not only due to fascist terror and demagogy, but also to the sectarian and localist spirit, to the mistaken liberal-opportunist mentality of the groups and the hostile activity of the Trotskyites within and without the Party. Of great historical and contemporary value are Comrade Enver Hoxha's memoirs about the methods and forms of work of the Party at that time to link up with the masses and convince them of the correctness of its political line.

It succeeded because it made the masses aware of the aims of the struggle, the difficulties they had to overcome and the sacrifices they had to make, because it always told them the truth; it never divorced its words from its deeds, it linked always agitation work with concrete actions. The personal example of the communists and the communist youth who defied every danger, who stood firm in the face of tortures, who never gave out their comrades, who, before the gallows of the fascist hangmen called, «Long Live the CP of Albania!», «Long live free Albania!», «Down with fascism!», educated an entire people and youth with all the qualities of the revolutionary and ardently patriotic communist. Through their very close spiritual ties with the city poor and the patriotic peasantry, the communists became unseizable, escaped the spies and avoided the attacks of the enemies, coping with every situation, no matter how much

the enemy tried to make it difficult for them. The strength of the Party rested on its close ties with the masses. This is where its invincible power lies today, too.

The struggle of Party of Labour against groupings, factions, deviators, splitters, traitors, agents of the bourgeoisie, the Yugoslav, Khrushchevite, and Chinese revisionists, ranging from Anastas Lula, Sadik Premte, Koçi Xoxe and Tuk Jakova to Beqir Balluku, Abdyl Këllezhi and others represents a rich experience not only of the profoundly revolutionary vigilance, but especially of the profoundly principled stand of the Party, of its Marxist-Leninist proletarian partisanship. Without this struggle, without purging its ranks of the anti-party elements and without condemning betrayal, the Party would not be what it is today, there would be no free life in Albania and happiness in our families.

«The Party of Labour,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha in his memoirs, «has been in the heat of the war and placed itself entirely in the service of the war, taking over the leadership of the people and, thanks to its correct line, leading with courage and wisdom the people towards the sure final victory.» In his memoirs on the 1st National Conference of the Communist Party of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha speaks in detail about this great aim.

It came to this Conference with a rich balance of victories, as a party purged of factionalists and splitters, with unity in its ranks, as a Party which «had affirmed and was ever more affirming itself as the sole political force capable and determined to lead the people towards the liberation of the country and the realization of all their centuries-old aspirations», as a Party which had struck deep roots all over the country, and «was working as an organized and conscious mechanism from the centre to the base», as a Party recognised by the Comintern precisely because it had worked out and followed a correct line.

Two chapters of the book deal with the struggle of the Party for the unity of its ranks against the liquidatory factionalist Trotskyite and plotting trend of the enemies of the Party, A. Lula and S. Premte. The pages in which Comrade Enver Hoxha's confrontation, with the Blind, his exposure of the antiparty and sabotaging views and activities of the former chiefs of the Youth Group at the Extraordinary Conference, his work in the Vlora region for the liquidation of the faction, etc. are described, show us the emergence of another feature of our Party, one of its most important features, namely, its irreconcilable struggle of principle to defend as the apple of the eye its organizational and ideological unity, its revolutionary implementation of

Marxist-Leninist principles and norms in its inner life. The further development of events proved the great historic role the decisions of this conference were to play for the all-round strengthening of the CPA as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, for the organization to the National Liberation Army and the victory of the anti-fascist war and the triumph of the new people's state power.

The communists of the first hour, who in the heavy conditions of the «occupation winter», as it is written in the book, have opened their doors and hearts to the illegal communists, fearless people who are always ready to share their last piece of bread with the sons and daughters of Albania who are fighting for a sacred cause, are vividly described in the pages of the book. All these communist heroes or common people are described with great mastery, endowed with common features which, at the same time, are not lacking in individuality. Here an epithet, there a comparison, or an intimate detail render everyone of them vividly alive, as they were in reality and as the people knew them in those difficult times. We are introduced to Vasil Shanto, looking at people lovingly with «his beautiful sweet blue eyes with a golden glitter», to Qemal «very young and at the same time very mature», who found time to tell humorous stories and jokes to Mother Bije Vokshi, to Hysni Kapo, «prudent, measured in his words and ardent in his love for the Party», with an acute and sound judgement and with a thin clean face,... light and quick in his gestures», «loyal to the Party and the people to the death», to heroic and faithful Mehmet Shehu, in his whole life devoted to the Party and its ideals, an old partisan, a fighter of Republican Spain, a member of the «Garibaldi» International Brigade, and many other immortal sons and daughters of the Party and people. With great precision and power of expression he also portrays such enemies as Anastas Lula «the bespectacled snake», «the man of the night», «the man of treachery and intrigues» «the tricky make-charmer like the Indian fakirs», Koço Tashko, «the synthesis of the petty-bourgeois», etc towards whom one feels only indignation and contempt.

This is very valuable gift Comrade Enver Hoxha presents the communists and the entire Albanian working people in the jubilee year of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour and its 8th Congress, for this outstanding contribution of great value, for an ever deeper insight into the history of the Party, for the education of the people in the ideals of communism and for the powerful inspiration it gives us in our struggle for the construction and defence of the complete socialist society on the Marxist-Leninist road led by our glorious Party of Labour.



MEHMET SHEHU

Volume One of the Selected Works of Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, came off the press in mid-May.

The publication of the Selected Works of Comrade Mehmet Shehu was undertaken by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies by decision of the Central Committee of the PLA.

These Works are connected with the revolutionary life and struggle of Comrade Mehmet Shehu, as one of the main leaders of the Party, of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, of the socialist state and the Albanian people.

Volume one comprises speeches, letters, instructions, syntheses of the tactics of partisan warfare and other writings of the period 1942-1944.

These writings are characterized by Comrade Mehmet Shehu's devotion to the Party, to the people, to the cause of the revolution, his determination to implement the revolutionary political line of the Party, the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha for national and social liberation, for the unity of the people around the Party in the National Liberation Front, for the organization and development of the general uprising of the people, for the organization and establishment of the people's state power.

In all the activity of Comrade Mehmet Shehu, as emerges from the writings published in this volume, stand out his spirit of proletarian principles, his ideological and political farsightedness, his revolutionary maturity and courage, his concern about and devotion to the partisan fighters, his subordinates, the masses of the people, his spirit of collaboration with his fellow-fighters, his intransigence towards the enemies.

These materials throw light on his resolute stand and struggle for the defence of the line of the Party, for the exposure and defeat of the many attempts made by the enemies, beginning with the Italian fascists and the German nazis, the Ballists, the Zogists



and other quislings, down to the men of Sadik Premte (a traitor to the Party) and his faction, who endeavoured to denigrate this line, to divorce the people from the Party and from the National Liberation War.

Being a political leader, first of all, Comrade Mehmet Shehu has also signalled himself as a military leader, as

a «talented legendary general», as Comrade Enver Hoxha has described him.

The writings of volume one comprise, among others, two important works of Comrade Mehmet Shehu on the tactics of partisan warfare, in which, on the basis of the teachings of the Party and the instructions of the General Staff, the military experience of

the partisan formations, especially of the 1st Shock Brigade and later of the 1st Shock Division, is summed up. The first work was written in February 1944, and the second, which develops on the former, in August of the same year. His theoretical teachings on partisan warfare, which are included in these works, retain their value to this day.

PERFECTION OF SOCIALIST RELATIONS IN THE PSR OF ALBANIA

The PLA and the socialist state, over all their activity for the construction of socialist society, have never slipped either into the positions of vulgar «economic materialism» which raises the role of the forces of production to an absolute fetish, or into the positions of voluntarism which underrates these forces. They have been created as two aspects of the same socialist production, which are organically linked with each other, but which, however, are two distinctly different things, both due to the role and the functions they have and the fields and problems they involve

IN THE ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION OF THE RESULTS ACHIEVED IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA ON THE SOCIALIST ROAD IN THE YEARS OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER, ESPECIALLY IN SUCH HISTORICAL MOMENTS AS IS THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, IN COMPARING THESE RESULTS WITH THE SITUATION IN THE PAST, AS WELL AS THE NEW HORIZONS OPENED UP BY THE 7th FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1981-1986), THE CORRECT TREATMENT OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE PSR OF ALBANIA EMERGE CLEARLY BOTH ON THE THEORETICAL AND ON THE PRACTICAL PLANE.

One of the fundamental questions connected with it is the construction of the economic base of socialism, the creation of the single socialist system of the economy, which was achieved during the epoch of the socialist revolution and construction. The liquidation of the fundamental antagonistic contradiction between the social character of the forces of production and the private mode of appropriation of production, the liquidation of the exploiting classes and of the exploitation of man by man, the establishment

HASAN BANJA — Professor, director of the Institute of Economic Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the PSRA.

of the new relations of production, the creation of the new social class structure and superstructure of socialist society — all this opened up unlimited possibilities for the rapid rate development of the forces of production.

With the completion of the construction of the economic base of socialism, which has been carried out long before, Albania entered the new historical stage of the complete construction of socialist society and is developing along this road. This stage is characterized by a complexity of material and spiritual transformations which find their expression in the rapid rates of deve-

lopment of the forces of production for the construction of the adequate material-technical base of socialism, in the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution, in the transformation of Albania into an industrial-agrarian country and, at a later stage, an industrial country with advanced agriculture, in the constant improvement and revolutionization of the socialist relations of production, in the consolidation of the social-class structure of socialist society, bringing the working class closer to the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, in the narrowing of the essential distinctions between town and countryside, between mental and physical labour, and in the all-round deepening of the socialist revolution in the fields of ideology and culture.

In a small country, like Albania, which has come out of deep technical, economic and social backwardness, and which is working to build socialism in the difficult conditions of the imperialist-revisionist economic encirclement and blockade, relying completely on its

OF PRODUCTION

HASAN BANJA

own forces, this complex of transformations ranges over a relatively long historical period.

In this complex of transformations and revolutionary development an important place is occupied by the activity of the PLA and the socialist state of Albania to constantly improve the socialist relations of production, to see to it that they play ever better their historical role in the development of the forces of production and of the whole socialist society. The relations of production have always been treated as an element which is just as important as the forces of production for the development of the social production. Marx has written that in order to produce people enter definite relationships, and only on the basis of and through these social relationships, they operate on nature, i.e. production takes place.

It is for this reason that the PLA and the socialist state, over all their activity for the construction of socialist society, have never slipped either into the positions of vulgar «economic materialism» which raises the role of the forces of production to an absolute fetish, or into the positions of voluntarism which underrates these forces. They have been treated as two aspects of the same socialist mode of production, which are organically linked with each other, but which, however, are two distinctly different things both due to the role and the functions they have and the fields and problems they involve.

In the PSR of Albania, the socialist relations of production are constantly improved as a whole, both as a system and in all the specific fields: in the

relations of ownership, in the relations of exchange, and in the relations of distribution.

The process of the improvement of the relations of ownership in both forms: state socialist property and co-operativist property, which underlie the foundations of the socialist relations of production, has primary importance. State socialist ownership of the means of production is the main form of property in Albania. It was created as a result of the socialist nationalization of the main means of production and circulation — formerly owned by foreign capital and the local bourgeoisie in industry, in agriculture, in construction, in transport and in the other branches of the economy, as well as a result of the nationalization of the banks and credit institutions. At present the socialist state sector accounts for four-fifths of the global social product. The co-operativist socialist property was created as a result of the cooperation of the former small producers of the town and especially of the countryside (tradesmen, poor and middle peasants). Today this form of ownership exists only in the countryside, and including the contribution of the personal plot of the co-operativists, in 1979 the sector comprised in this type of property accounted for nearly three-fourths of the global agricultural production. The features they have in common are consolidated and the distinctions existing between them are constantly narrowed down, so that co-operativist property in the countryside comes over closer to, until it becomes one with, the property of the entire people.

Socialist state property, which comprises all the branches of the economy, has the main place and plays the decisive role in the development of property; it contributes to the creation of the bulk of the means of production, the social product, the realization of national income and socialist accumulation, both of which serve as the basis for extended socialist reproduction. In 1979 socialist state property produced 70 per cent of the national income. The development and strengthening of the role of this type of property is carried out in breadth and depth, in organic connection with the development of the material factors of the forces of production. The basis of this development comprises the extension and modernization of the socialist product, the raising of labour productivity, the increase of the fund of accumulation, especially of that part of it which goes to the expansion of production. In the period 1951-1979 an estimated 61 per cent of the total fund of accumulation realized in the state sector was utilized for the increase of the main means of production, 13 per cent was utilized for the increase of the non-productive means, and the remaining 26 per cent was utilized for the increase of other funds. Another, more concentrated expression of the development of socialist state property in breadth is the increment of the social product and of the national wealth as a whole. In this, an important part is played by fundamental investments. Distribution of investments with first priority to the productive sphere — 81 per cent, and especially to the development of industry — an average of 49.3 per cent, has been and remains

one of the distinguishing features of the economic policy and of the rapid-rate development of the socialist state property.

This form of ownership has developed in depth, too. The degree of the economic effectiveness of the utilization of its objects has increased, the process of concentration, specialization and cooperation of production has been deepened, the ratio between the production of the tools of work as against the production of the objects of work has been improved in favour of the former, etc. In 1978 the production of the tools of work against total production increased to 11.3 per cent, against 9.1 per cent it was in 1974 and 4.2 per cent in 1960.

The socialist cooperativist property, which accounts for an important part of the agricultural production of the country and of the socialist fund of accumulation, develops and is strengthened ceaselessly parallel with the socialist state property. The source of the strengthening of this type of property is the work of the cooperativists and the product created by them, as well as the all-round assistance of the socialist state. The socialist cooperativist property has a transitional character. In the process of its development, it constantly strengthens its socialist character and tends towards its gradual development into a property of the entire people. This is a long and all-round process of transformation of a socio-economic technical-organizational and ideological character, which is guided in a conscious and organized manner by the PLA and the socialist state, in the concrete historical conditions of our country.

This process goes on over the entire first phase of communist society, involving the careful preparation of the necessary conditions for it, without waiting for them to achieve complete maturity on a national scale. The increased degree of socialization of the cooperativist property and the preparation of the conditions for bringing it closer to and transforming it into the property of the entire people, is realized in Albania in several ways and

forms. Historically this has begun with the enlargement of agricultural cooperatives, through the merger of the existing cooperatives set up on a village basis; with the transformation into state property of artisan cooperatives, of consumer and buyer-and-seller cooperatives in 1970; with the partial and limited transformation of some cooperatives and villages directly into state farms. Today our country counts a total of 423 agricultural cooperatives, against 1,484 in 1960 and 643 in 1970. They comprise 253,000 cooperativist families, with an acreage of arable land totalling 542,000 hectares (ie and average of 1,281 hectares of arable land per cooperative).

The process of the increasing socialization of cooperativist property in the Albanian village is carried out through the method of setting up higher type cooperatives, beginning from 1971-1972. The higher type cooperatives function on the basis of the group property, with all the relations of exchange and distribution deriving from this type of property. However, they stand apart from the other agricultural cooperatives in regard to the participation of the state with fundamental investments, mainly with the means of production, and in regard to the form of remuneration of their members, which is done on the basis of the work-norm rather than of the work-day. The setting up of such cooperatives represents a creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory and of the practice of the construction of socialism in the countryside, based on the strengthening of the group property, bringing it closer to and gradually transforming it into the property of the entire people. Comrade Enver Hoxha has clearly charted this road and determined its contents. Speaking to the 6th Congress of the Party in 1971, he said: «The immediate aim of this measure is to achieve a more rapid development of agriculture in our country's most fertile fields and to ensure a stable increase of production of those agricultural and livestock products of which our people's economy stands in greatest need. On the other

hand, these cooperatives will represent a higher level of socialization of the property of the group, bringing it closer to the property of the whole people.»

The higher type cooperatives (41 all told) account for an important part of the agricultural economy of the country, and more precisely, 22 per cent of the arable land, nearly 20 per cent of the labour force and population, and about 34 per cent of the main means of the cooperativist sector. In 1979 they turned out 25 per cent of the bread grain, more than 50 per cent of the rice, and cotton, 47 per cent of the sugar-beet, 26 per cent of the sunflower, 31 per cent of the milk, 25 per cent of the meat, as well as 26-51 per cent of all the agricultural and livestock production of the cooperativist sector, as a whole. In 1979 the incomes of these cooperatives increased 17 per cent against the level of 1975.

The results achieved and the experience up till now confirm the correctness of the directive of the PLA about the setting up of such cooperatives, as the highest degree of socialization of the group property in the village and as the only effective way for their gradual transformation into the property of the entire people. With the level they have reached in the development of the forces of production, the yields they take and the incomes they realize, these cooperatives have drawn quite close to and some of them have even become identical with the state farms. The transformation of some of them, in the near future, into state farms is a process which is maturing as a result of the economic development of these cooperatives themselves. As the experience to date has shown, the process of the transformation of some of the cooperatives into state farms will be carried out when they meet some requirements and on the basis of some specific economic criteria, at the time when the higher type cooperatives have arrived at the stage that, for some years in succession, they reach such a level of high and stable yields of agricultural and livestock production as averages the

mean level of the state farms; when the level of pay for work-norm and for each hand comes near to the average wages of the workers of the state farms: when the norm of accumulation and the fund of accumulation reach such a level that the cooperative can ensure sufficient and ever increasing funds for extended socialist reproduction, which are utilized ever more effectively by the socialist state. In any case, as the Constitution of the PSR of Albania points out, the transformation of the group property of the village into the property of the whole people will be carried out always with the conviction and the free will of the members and the approval of the socialist state.

The experience gained in the work for the setting up of the higher type cooperatives and the results obtained show that they are the correct form of the continuous development and consolidation of the cooperativist order, of bringing closer and transforming group property into the property of the entire people. This road will be followed in the future, too, in regard to the other common cooperatives, which meet the conditions to be transformed into higher type cooperatives.

In the field of further perfecting the relations of property, the measures adopted in the PSR of Albania for the constant narrowing of the cooperativists' personal plots, have played an important role. The cooperativists' personal plots are a temporary economic phenomenon in socialism, which was born at the same time as the cooperativist order in agriculture, and with the exception of the land, which is socialist state property, it is a special form of personal property in socialism. The existence of the cooperativists' personal plots is connected with the level of development of the forces of production, with its possibilities to fulfil the needs of the cooperativists' families with agricultural and livestock products. Since its creation, the cooperativists' personal plots have been regarded as an auxiliary complementary factor of a transient character. The objects they comprise are the products

grown in them, which the socialist society gives the members of agricultural cooperatives, only for their personal use, a definite number of livestock and livestock products. The size of these plots, which is always determined according to the provisions of the Constitution of agricultural cooperatives, has been gradually reduced. On this problem, the PLA and the socialist state have taken account of the contradictory nature of the personal plot, of its double aspect in socio-economic relations. On the one hand, the relations created in connection with the personal plot are socialist, because they are determined by the socialist character of the land ownership, by the development of the plot in the framework of the socialist collective economy and by its destination as an auxiliary means to fulfil the needs of the cooperativist family for personal consumption. On the other hand, the socio-economic relations stemming from this form of personal property are also characterized by the existence of leftovers from the small-scale private property, which infect the cooperativists with the psychology of the small holder and personal benefit.

It is for these reasons that in Albania the personal plot of the cooperativists has been allowed to exist, provided it serves exclusively as a complementary source to fulfil the needs of the cooperativists for the various products they grow in it, while at the same time not allowing it to degenerate into private property and a market economy. From the year 1946 up till today, the size of the personal plot has been gradually reduced in harmony with the development and strengthening of the socialist property and the collective property in the countryside, and in particular, parallel with the increase of production and income realized through collective work in the agricultural cooperative, parallel with the ever better fulfilment of the needs of the cooperativist families with agricultural and livestock products by the agricultural cooperatives themselves. In 1979 the per capita annual income of the cooperativist family from

work in the common economy, increased 40 per cent, and in some districts 2 or even 3 times as much, against the 1965 level. Today the agricultural cooperatives meet 50 per cent of the needs of their members for vegetables, over 90 per cent of their needs for white beans, over 80 per cent of their needs for potatoes, and so on. An important step ahead is the herding together of the livestock formerly raised in the personal plots of the cooperativists, which has created very favourable conditions for livestock raising, for increasing productivity, for increasing the number of people engaged in collective work, for a more regular supply of the cooperative members with milk, meat and other livestock products in village shops. Up to the end of 1980 the herding together of the livestock involved 52 per cent of all the small livestock raised in the personal plots of the cooperativists.

In these conditions, the peasants have taken measures on their own initiative for the further reduction of their personal plots and the herding together of the livestock. The application of the measures intended for the herding together of the livestock and the further reduction of the personal plots, which is still going on in the PSR of Albania, will be accompanied with a further strengthening of the socio-economic relations in the countryside, which will on their part help increase the care for the cooperativist property, in struggle against the psychology and feelings of the small-scale private owner, for the increase of the social product, etc. As such, these are important measures of an ideological, economic and social character, for the constant reduction of the personal plot, the gradual extinction of this element, which eventually, when the conditions necessary for this are ripe, will be brought nearer to and merge with the socialist cooperativist property.

An important field in which the ceaseless improvement of the socialist relations of production in the PSR of Albania is most evident, is that of the economic activity of exchange.

Exchange relations are of great importance, because they serve as a connecting link between the production and the distribution of the material goods. Economic relations of exchange are very wide-ranging, comprising the economic relations between the two classes of socialist society, among enterprises, and the different spheres and branches of the economy. These relations in our country are realized through the supply of materials and machinery and procurement of agricultural production by the state through its organs of commerce. An important element of the relations of exchange is the management and organization of the socialist economy, the exchange of the experience and knowledge among the workers in the process of work and social production.

The further improvement of the relations of exchange in the PSR of Albania has proceeded along two main lines: the line of direct relations of exchange between town and countryside, without the intermediary of the buying-and-selling relationship as well as the line of circulation of goods — the goods-money relationship, regulated by means of the economic state plan. Developing along these lines, great improvements have been made in the relations between town and countryside. A number of important measures in the field of fundamental investments have been taken by the socialist state for the development of agriculture, for land improvement schemes and irrigation facilities, for strengthening the machine and tractor stations, for the increase of expenditure from the state budget for the development of education, culture and the health service in the countryside, for the creation of the fund of social securities for the cooperativists according to a unified system, as well as for the improvement of relations between the cooperative and the state over the part of cooperativist production destined for society and which also goes to the state in the form of net income.

In spite of their great importance, the relations of production between town and countryside, at the present

stage, have much to be improved upon and this is achieved parallel with the improvement of economic relations through socialist commerce, the material-technical supply system, the system of procurements of agricultural and livestock products, the price system, etc.

Development on this road has led to the implementation of important measures for the further improvement of the system of prices and tariffs for the work of the machine and tractor stations, of the system of differentiated purchase prices for the agricultural products turned out by the agricultural cooperatives of the plains and the co-operatives of the hilly-mountainous zones, etc. In this direction, the system of procurement and the transition to a single system of procurement contracts on the basis of the state plan, have a positive influence. For the economic relations to be strengthened and the essential economic distinctions between town and countryside, as well as between different zones to be further narrowed, the state implements a policy of differentiated prices in the purchase of agricultural products from the cooperatives. Thus prices for the bread grain purchased from the mountain cooperatives are 30 per cent higher than those from the cooperatives of the plains. Tariffs for the work of the machine and tractor stations are 33-35 per cent and prices for chemical fertilizers are 9-15 per cent lower for the agricultural cooperatives of the mountainous zones.

The relations of distribution occupy an important place in the further improvement of socialist relations of production in the PSR of Albania. This aspect of the socialist relations of production is connected with the distribution of the global social product and the distribution of the national income amongst the classes of the socialist society and amongst its members. Seen in their complex, the relations of distribution in socialism comprise both the distribution of the means of production and the distribution of the consumer goods. In the final analysis, they find their concrete expression

in the distribution of the national income into accumulation fund and consumption fund. These are two important fields for the improvement of the relations of distribution. A fair ratio has been established in the distribution of the social product allocated for the replacement of the means of production depreciated in the process of production, for expansion of the production of the productive sphere, for maintenance and development of the non-productive sphere, for the increasing of reserves, etc as well as for the creation of the product for oneself and its distribution amongst the members of the cooperativist society according to the requirements of the law of distribution according to the quality and quantity of the work done.

The distribution of the product for oneself amongst the members of socialist society on the basis of the quality and quantity of the work done by each, has continuously improved. As a consequence, it has become a more and more powerful means for the growth of production, for the increase of labour productivity, for the improvement of quality and for the lowering of expenditure of production. Every new step forward in the improvement of the relations of distribution is considered in relation to the degree that remuneration of work reflects the quantity and quality of the work done for a given amount of social product, in relation to the degree the sphere of activity of «bourgeois right» is reduced and the economic inequality between classes and groups of working people of the town and countryside, between mental and physical work, is limited. As a consequence of the measures adopted up till now the ratio between lower and higher wages and salaries has been reduced to 1 to 2, the ratio between the salaries of directors of enterprises and the average wages of workers is 1 to 1.7, as against 1 to 2.5 and 1 to 2 that it was prior to April 1, 1976, when these measures were adopted.

Important measures have been taken for the improvement of the system of

wages, for a further reduction of material incentives, for the cultural-professional qualification of the working people, for the categorization of work-places, etc. In the years of the last five-year plan the categorization of work-places was instituted for the first time and a more correct ratio between qualified and unqualified work was established. In the beginning of 1979 measures were adopted for the further improvement of the form of remuneration according to the effective work-days put in and the result achieved in carrying out the tasks of the production plan. This measure applies to the state farms, too. For this purpose, appropriate changes were made in the amount of compensation, ranging from 10 per cent to 20 per cent for the agricultural cooperatives and about 5 per cent for the state farms. These proportional increases and reductions are directly dependent on the realization of the tasks of the plan.

However, analysis of the forms of remuneration of work in the state and cooperativist sectors of the economy has revealed weaknesses and shortcomings that stem from failure to implement to the full extent the two fundamental requirements of remuneration, namely, the amount of work done and its quality, whereby cases of hankering after quantity to the detriment of quality and economic effectiveness of production, are observed. The 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA held in June 1980 instructed that the forms of work remuneration should be improved further in all the sectors of the economy, in order to ensure that the remuneration of work is

connected «... as closely as possible with the results of work, with production costs and the quality of production, with the raising of labour productivity and the further narrowing of the economic distinctions between classes and groups of working people.»

In the spirit of this orientation, beginning from 1981, important measures have been adopted in the field of work remuneration, connecting it not only with the quantity and quality of the work done, but also with the direct cost of production (including live work and materialized work spent for this purpose); making differentiations in work pay not only according to the degree of fulfilment of work-norms but also according to the quality of the finished products, taking account of the standards, technical requirements, amount of utilization of material, calorific power, active matter, etc; making work remuneration dependent on the fulfilment of the production plan and the efficiency of machinery and technological equipment, etc. Likewise, various measures are being applied to make the salaries of the managing staff and the executive, technical-administrative personnel in the state farm and agricultural cooperatives dependent on the realization of the plan in quantity, quality and cost, determining the amount of surplus pay or reduction of pay according to the fulfilment of the above-mentioned tasks.

The working people in our country ensure the means of livelihood from the fund of personal consumption as well as from the fund of social consumption. During the five-year period

(1971-1976), 85.7 per cent of the total fund of consumption went for personal consumption, including the fund of wages and remuneration of work. As can be seen, personal consumption occupies an important place in the structure of distribution of the fund of consumption. This fund is created from the part of national income which is utilized for the fulfilment of the daily needs of the working people. From this fund are created the material premises for the emergence and development of the elements of communist distribution. The social fund of consumption is a source of complementary income for the working people. Expenditure for socio-cultural activities takes up one fourth of the state budget. In 1979 the state spent for this purpose more than one billion and 750 million leks, as against 600 million leks in 1960. In our country working people are exempt from all taxes and impositions. House rents occupy an average of 2-3 per cent of the average income. The state meets 18-35 per cent of the expenditure for the maintenance of workers' dining halls, 65 per cent of the expenditure for the maintenance of creches and kindergartens. In Albania, sale prices of consumer goods tend to go down and be unified for the whole country. In order to cope with the ever increasing price rises for import articles, the state lays out special funds from its budgetary means, in order to protect the well-being of the people. In these conditions, both the real pay and the real income of the working people are guaranteed and stable, and even on a whole tending to rise within reasonable limits.

THE PEOPLE'S ARMY THE WORK OF THE PARTY

By creating the People's Army, the PLA solved one of its most difficult and decisive tasks. It created the conditions for the development of the revolutionary armed uprising, for the success of this uprising, as a fundamental condition to guarantee the victory of the revolution.

ON JULY 10TH OF THIS JUBILEE YEAR OF THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA AND OF ITS 8TH CONGRESS, THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR ARMED FORCES CELEBRATE THE 38TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CREATION OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMY. OUR PEOPLE LINK UP THESE TWO IMPORTANT DATES, BECAUSE THE LATTER COULD NOT HAVE COME INTO BEING WITHOUT THE FORMER, BECAUSE THE CREATION OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMY OF ALBANIA IS ONE OF THE MONUMENTAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PLA. THE PLA IS THE CREATOR, ORGANIZER, LEADER AND EDUCATOR OF THE ARMY.

In fact, the question of the organization and development of the people's armed uprising was considered by the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania) to be the main form of the struggle and the only road towards the final victory over the occupiers and the traitors. The meeting of the communist groups for the formation of the Party decided: «...to prepare the people politically and militarily for a general armed uprising, in a struggle embracing all the patriotic and anti-fascist forces.» «Open war is the only stand to be maintained against the occupier... All Albanians must take up arms and join the guerrillas fighting for the defence of our soil. The guerrilla warfare must be the strongest expression of the determination of the Albanian people to liberate themselves from fascist bondage and to live free...» In this great issue, the Communist Party of Albania was guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism that the decisive factor in the National Liberation War is the internal factor, that without setting up a real people's army, a revolutionary army of the new type, which emerges from the people and relies powerfully on the people, there can be

no question of realizing the task of smashing the military and political apparatus of the invaders and traitors, of annihilating their armed forces.

However, it was impossible for the armed uprising to break out immediately, for a people's revolutionary army to be created all at once. This would be achieved gradually, in the heat of the mounting people's war.

The guerrilla units, which were set up in the period 1941-1942 all over the country, became the first schools of the general armed uprising, the embryos of the true national liberation movement.

The next step towards the organization of the people's armed uprising and the formation of the National Liberation Army was the setting up of partisan fighting units in the beginning of 1942. The people's masses saw in the partisan units their own defenders, their own army, therefore they gave them unsparing aid, opened their hearts and the doors of their huts to them, shared even the last piece of bread and the clothes they had with them. Parallel with the setting up of partisan units, the Party worked for the setting up of the local commands in the liberated areas, comprising local forces of self-defence, volunteer units, which were auxiliary reserve forces of the partisan units.

FUAT ÇELIKU — Editor-in-chief of the newspaper «Luftëtari», organ of the Ministry of People's Defence

ARMY OF ALBANIA -

PARTY *by FUAT ÇELIKU*

*the organism necessary
the large-scale and radical implementation of the laws and rules
guaranteeing the triumph of the revolution*

The Conference of Peza, which was held on 16th September 1942, on the initiative of the Communist Party of Albania, and laid the foundations of the unity of the Albanian people in a single Front, gave a new impulse to the National Liberation War. The Albanian people, without distinction as to class, religion, political opinion, united and formed regular partisan units in their war against the fascist invader. In this manner, the new Albanian army, which was being formed in the heat of the National Liberation War, grew as a revolutionary people's army, as the loyal defender of the interests of the workers and peasants, of the oppressed and poor. For the first time in their history the people's masses saw in these formations their liberation army.

The 1st National Conference of the Communist Party of Albania held from 17th to 22nd of March 1943, which gave instructions for the transition from smaller units to battalions and larger formations, for the organization of regional and zone staffs, opened a new glorious page in the realization of the great program of the Party for the preparation of the general armed uprising and for the organization of the National Liberation Army. It instructed, at the same time, that work should begin for the setting up of the party organizations in the army, as well as for the supply of the army with weapons and ammunition, food and clothes, for the application of the tactics of partisan warfare, for the political training of its fighters, etc. In deciding the organization of the National Liberation Army, the Conference stressed that it

should be a regular army, which would carry out major strategic tasks: the liberation of the country and later the defence of the new people's power, which was emerging from the ruins of the old state power. The organization of this army took account of the concrete conditions of the country, relying on the revolutionary experience of the armed struggle of the people against fascism, on the fighting traditions and the long-rooted patriotic feelings of the people. This army was the main, though not the only, striking force against the invaders and the traitors. Along with it operated hundreds of volunteer fighting units and battalions of the villages, hundreds of guerrilla units in the occupied towns and rural areas. In this manner, the great revolutionary teaching on the arming of all the insurgent forces of the people was put into practice and the National Liberation War assumed the character of a real general armed uprising of the people. In order to ensure the popular and national liberation character of the war, the Party charged the communists to go to the masses — the workers, peasants, the genuine patriots, the anti-fascist youth and women and win them over to their side.

At the time when the partisan detachments comprised about 10,000 fighters and the territorial units about 20,000 fighters, the Central Committee of the Party decided that it was possible to set up the General Staff, as a single organizational, political and operational centre for the direction of these forces. The meeting of the General Council of the National Liberation War, which was held in Labinot of Elba-

san, proclaimed the setting up of the General Staff on July 10, 1943. Thus, July 10, 1943 entered the history of the Albanian people as the day of the formation of the People's Army and marked the beginning of a new stage in the war for the liberation of the country — the stage of the people's general armed uprising. The plan worked out by the General Staff on the basis of the directives of the Central Committee of the Party, on the basis of the tasks demanding solution and the number of the fighters, envisaged the creation of larger tactical-operational formations, such as brigades and later divisions and army-corps, which would act according to a comprehensive strategic operational plan.

The National Liberation Army of Albania, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has described it, «grows like the small snowball that rolled down the mountain side and is transformed into an irresistible avalanche that sweeps everything on its way, shaking mountains and plains like an earthquake.»

In October 1944, as a result of the great people's war under the leadership of the Party, the National Liberation Army counted in its ranks 70,000 fighters, of whom 6,000 were women; they nailed down 15 Italian and German divisions, putting out of action 70,000 enemy troops — killed, wounded and captured. After liberating the whole country with their own forces, educated in the lofty spirit of internationalist aid by the Party, part of these forces went to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Albanian brothers of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro and with the Yugoslav partisans for the liberation of the

Yugoslav territory from the German nazis.

The final victory was achieved with the blood of the 28,000 martyrs, the best sons and daughters of the Albanian people, with the destruction of great material and cultural values, which ranks Albania, relative to the size of its territory and its population, among the most active participants in the anti-fascist coalition.

From the time of the formation of the first partisan detachments until the present-day structural organization of the Armed Forces of Albania — which presupposes the armament and intensive training of the whole people for defence — 40 years have passed, and the more time goes by the more brilliant looks the work of the PLA and of the Commander-in-Chief of the People's Army of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha. Initially, the creation of the army, and later the development and modernization of its forces, was a great achievement in the military field, it was, further more, a great political victory for the PLA — a victory of extreme historical importance for the destinies of the Albanian people and the revolution in Albania. By creating the People's Army, the PLA solved one of its most difficult and decisive tasks. It created the organism necessary for the development of the revolutionary armed uprising, for the large-scale and radical implementation of the laws and rules of this uprising, as a fundamental condition to guaranteeing the triumph of the revolution.

During the Anti-fascist National Liberation War — the most glorious war in the history of our people, the PLA not only guided its own brain-child — the National Liberation Army, with great foresight, but also educated it in the brilliant traditions of the people. The Marxist-Leninist line and program of the Party, both during the war and today, have tempered our army into an army of lofty moral-political virtues, have imbued it with revolutionary fighting qualities, such as unshaken confidence in its own forces and in victory over any enemy, its spirit of offensive, its courage, heroism, and unbounded hatred against the enemy, its selflessness and unyielding spirit, its revolutionary drive, its conscious steel discipline, its initiative and creative spirit. The Party has seen the task of strengthening these qualities as an im-

portant political and military factor in order to cope with the superiority of an eventual enemy superior in numbers and weapons and to come off victorious over it.

After Liberation, giving priority to the problems of defence, the PLA attached particular attention to the growth, strengthening, and modernization of the new army of the Albanian people, as a revolutionary army educated in a profoundly class spirit.

The Party has carried out its task of creating, organizing, and modernizing the People's Army through fierce class struggle against the internal and external enemies. From the beginning of its existence it has had to expose and refute not only the bourgeois views on the building of the army, but also to combat with determination the opportunist theorizings of the modern revisionists and their interference over these questions. Contrary to their anti-Marxist theses, which almost ruled out the need for the existence of our army, and which called on our army to rely on foreign models, the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha examined with great foresight the perspectives of development of the socialist revolution in Albania and adopted a consistent Marxist-Leninist policy, accompanied with a number of measures for the strengthening of the People's Army, as the continuator and direct successor of the National Liberation Army of Albania, for its equipment with modern armaments, for the perfectioning of its structure, for the all-round military and technical training of its officers and men, for their ideological and military education. All the measures adopted by the PLA for the revolutionization of the army in the various stages of the development of the socialist revolution, have had the fundamental objective of further strengthening and revolutionizing the army and safeguarding its purity, so that it remains always a loyal weapon of the Party and the people, a political army of the new type, a sharp-edged weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the course of the consistent implementation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the army and defence in the concrete conditions of the socialist construction in Albania and the Albanian reality, the Party laid the bases and worked out scientifically the prin-

ciples of the Military Art of the People's War, which is the unshakeable ground work for the organization of the invincible defence of the Homeland.

The Party explained clearly to the people that just as they won freedom through bloodshed and sacrifices, through the muzzle of the gun, so they must defend it with the gun, with bloodshed and sacrifices, that socialism is built by holding the pick-axe in one hand and the rifle in the other. The defence of the Homeland and the safeguarding of the gains of the revolution, says Comrade Enver Hoxha, demand that our army should always remain strong, closely linked with the working people — an army led by the Party, politically and ideologically tempered, having assimilated the Marxist-Leninist military art, equipped with modern weapons, ready to cope with any enemy. In implementing the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, today we have a strong, disciplined army, ready to cope with any aggression.

The PLA is the sole leader of the entire life and activity of the People's Army. The principle of the leadership of the Party in the army has been and remains the main guarantee of all the victories of the army. The People's Army of Albania is a politically orientated army, it is educated by the Party with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, with the principles of the far-sighted party policy, with the laws of the revolution, the revolutionary modern art of people's war, with the deep feelings of proletarian internationalism, etc. Without the leadership of the Party the Army could not have its pronounced political character of today, could not have retained its revolutionary class content, could not have carried out its arduous but glorious task of liberating the Homeland, of defending the socialist Homeland and the gains of the people's revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania. The Party has always been the soul of the Army, the brain which guides it on the right road, the life-giving force which makes it invincible. It has been and will always be the revolutionary force, always on the ascendency, in the whole life of the country and in the army.

Controlling the problems of the defence, being in command, the Party enhances and intensifies the popular and proletarian character of the Army,

ensures the education of its officers and men in a lofty party spirit, with conscious discipline, with the principle of placing politics and the interests of the people in command, the principle of self-reliance, etc. The Marxist law is that the existence of revolutionary army is connected with the direction by a Marxist-Leninist party. It cannot carry out its great mission whether in time of peace or in time of war, without the leadership of this party. The leadership of the Party in the army is the main guarantee against the occurring in Albania of what happened in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries in which the armies have degenerated into militarist, chauvinist, aggressive, anti-popular armies, into enemies and grave-diggers of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the other peoples. Speaking at the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «Leadership by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party is the decisive condition for the existence of a people's army, and the organization and direction of the defence of the socialist Homeland. Only the leadership of such a party makes the army a conscious and reliable weapon of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.»

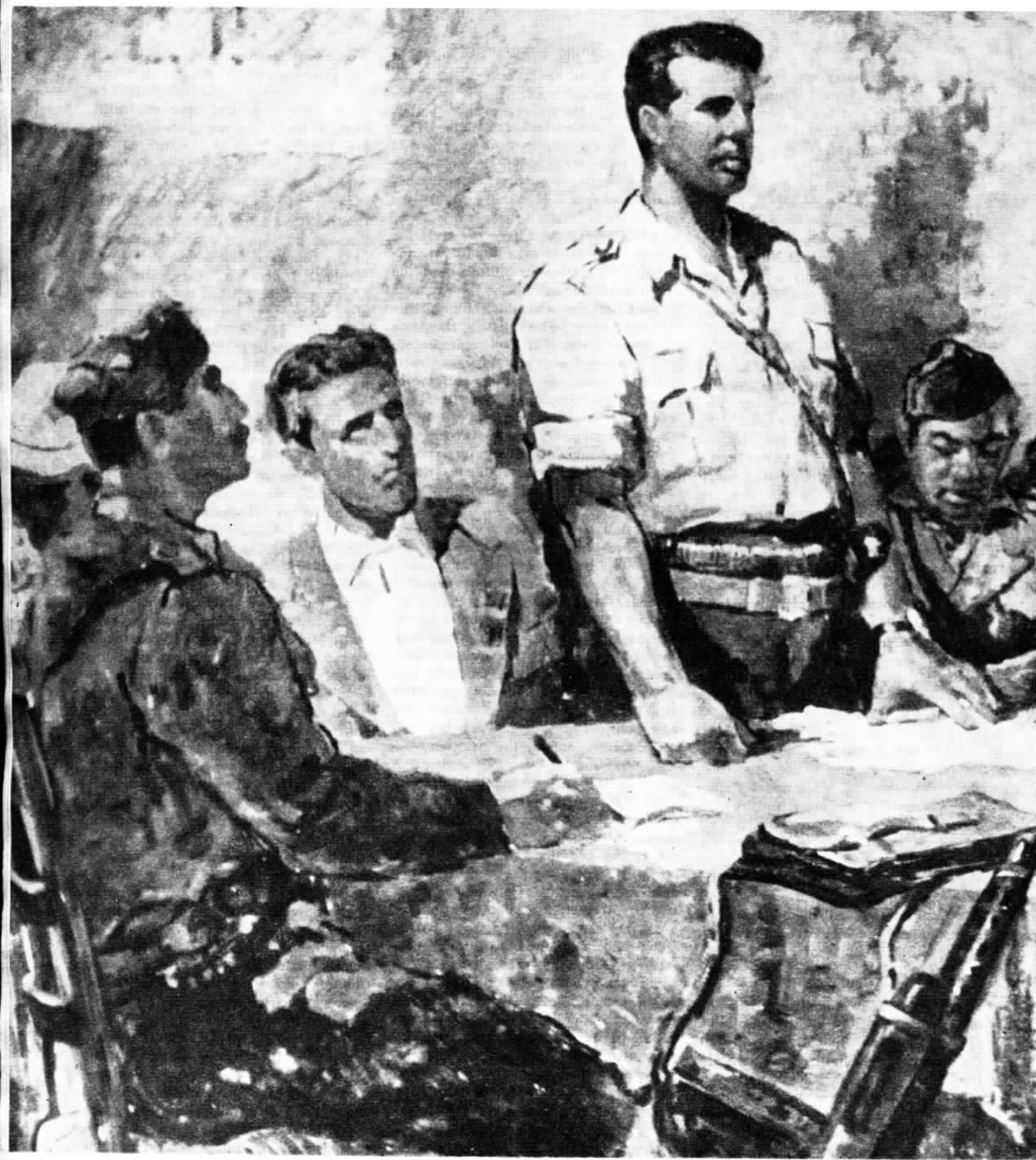
The entire life and activity of the People's Army of Albania is inseparable from the objectives of the policy of the Party. The army sees the line and directives of the Party as a great source of strength, as a dialectical law in its dynamism, which drives it ahead towards its further tempering in the ideological and technical-professional fields. The effective of the army, inspired by the example of the communists, put all their hearts and minds to the work for the implementation of the decisions of the Party on time and with high quality. In everything they do, in every action they take, the Albanian armymen always place the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party in the centre of their attention. With the name of their Party on their lips the partisans fell heroically in the battlefield, and again with the name of their Party on their lips our new men throw themselves, with all their mental and physical energies, into the battles for the socialist construction and the defence of the country. The ideology of the Party, which is the sole source of the education of the Army, has become the bone and flesh of its ef-

fective and the various structures of the defence of the country. Therefore, the officers and men, whether in active service or in the reserve, people's volunteers or student-soldiers, guard the Party as the apple of their eye and work tirelessly for the strengthening of the leading role of the Party, because the stronger is the Party in the army, the stronger will be the defence of the Homeland and the army itself, the deeper will be the degree of assimilation of the People's Military Art, the more revolutionary will be the relations between cadres and the rank-and-file in the army, the better the line of the masses will be implemented, the better the class struggle will be waged, the more the moral figure of the soldier-citizen and the citizen-soldier will be perfected. Hence, it is in the leadership of the Party that the People's Army of Albania draws its strength, vigour and vitality.

The Marxist-Leninist ideological-political education is a paramount duty of the army. It is an absolutely necessary condition of decisive importance for the complete formation of the revolutionary consciousness, for the implementation of the military line of the Party, for barring all paths to the penetration of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology into the army. The Party has always fought against any technocratic tendency and concept which tries to do away with the ideological-political education of the army. The ideological-political work of the Party is aimed at educating among the rank-and-file and the cadres genuine proletarian qualities, the brilliant qualities and virtues of the partisans in the National Liberation War, at constantly perfecting healthy and fraternal relations between the cadres and the mass of soldiers in struggle against technical-military bureaucracy, against liberalism, classicism, breach of discipline, manifestations of arrogance and overbearing, against the spirit of commandeering over the masses, etc. Simplicity, the spirit of sacrifice, high revolutionary vigilance, love of the comrade, of the subordinate and the commander, of the people, respect of the norms of communist morality, protection of socialist property, courage, sense of justice, sincerity, collectivism and socialist patriotism, systematically soliciting the opinion of the effective about different problems, rendering of account by the cadres to the masses,

worker-soldier control over the activity of the detachment, brotherly criticism, rendering account and answering for one's actions, control over the fulfilment of tasks, and many other features are characteristic of the life of the detachments of the People's Army of Albania.

From the time of the first call of the Central Committee in which it was stressed that «every son and daughter of the country should be a soldier of the National Liberation War», and ever afterwards the PLA has always seen the army as part of the militarily trained and armed people. Therefore, today, in the conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement, the entire people are trained militarily for the defence of the revolution in Albania, where genuine socialism is being built. The Party has constantly stressed that the problems of the army are problems of the people, just as the problems of the people also are problems of the army. It teaches us that the Homeland belongs to the entire people, therefore it is defended not only by the regular army, the people in uniform, but by the entire armed people, organized and trained militarily. This Marxist-Leninist teaching has become a living reality in Albania today. It has found ever more extensive application in the military organization and the constant training of the entire people for the defence of the country. With us the entire people work, produce, learn, carry out their tasks, train themselves militarily and exercise vigilance. The whole of Albania is a huge construction site, a massive school of communist education and an impregnable military bastion. Everyone feels the absolute necessity of taking an active part in the military training, regarding the defence of the Homeland as the duty above all duties, a great question of the entire people. They carry out every day the great teaching of the Party that in the political situation of the world and our country today, everything which is done — every decision, every action, should be linked up with the supreme interests of the protection of the socialist Homeland against the enemies, that the question of its defence should prevail in the minds, the hearts and the consciousness of everybody, that all the physical and mental energies, all the moral strength of the people should be subject to this





The Albanian artists have always drawn inspiration from the stormy events of the National Liberation War. "ENVER HOXHA at the Meeting of the General Council of the National Liberation Army" — by the well-known painter Guri Madhi

major idea. Therefore, everybody, men and women, especially the young, undergo intensive training, standing ready and vigilant, diligently studying the People's Military Art and the military rules, which they apply with great accuracy and in a creative manner.

The present-day structural organization of the Armed Forces of the PSR of Albania, the arming and training of the entire people for defence, are a most vivid and most significant expression of the ceaseless strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a profound expression of socialist democracy in action, of the implementation of the line of the masses and their decisive role in the war, an expression of the fact that in Albania only the people, under the leadership of the Party, are in power. The arming of the people and their military training for defence is one of the brilliant achievements of the line of the Party, a consistent and creative development of the Leninist thesis that no force in the world can dare encroach on the freedom of the Homeland «...if the armed people, who have abolished the military caste, who have made all soldiers citizens and all citizens soldiers, capable of handling weapons, are the shield of this freedom.»

The PLA bases the defence of the country entirely on the forces of the armed people, on the human resources of the country, on its stable economic potential and the lofty moral-military qualities of its people, inherited from the centuries and further enhanced during these 40 years of its existence, on the military training according to the principles of the People's War. It has never based and will never base the defence of the country on passing circumstances of international politics, on various alliances or the protection or the umbrella of the superpowers. This is how a Marxist-Leninist party, as is the Party of Labour of Albania, a genuine socialist state, as is the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which adhere to the great revolutionary principle of self-reliance, both in the construction and in the defence of the

country, treat this question. The arming and military training of the entire people constitutes a guarantee that the dictatorship of the proletariat will remain pure, will never degenerate, will be defended not only against aggression by the external enemies, but also against any joint attempt of the common enemies, external or internal, to take the castle from within, because there is no stronger army than the armed people military trained, and there is no weapons more formidable than the people's warfare, the fire of which will consume and destroy any aggressor.

The consistent Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, its unshaken loyalty to the cause of communism and the revolution, have resulted in the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the question of defence and the army, finding their concrete embodiment in socialist Albania for the first time and in the first place.

The great teachers of the proletariat have stressed that the proletariat alone is in a position to set up the nucleus of a powerful army revolutionary in its ideals, discipline, organization and heroism in war. Such an army was created in Albania by the PLA.

The great teachers of the proletariat instructed that an army is strong when it is the army of the liberated workers and peasants, when it is the army of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and when it is led by a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. Such is our army, which has the heroic Party of Labour at the head.

The great teachers of the proletariat pointed out that it is necessary that all the people, without exception, learn to handle weapons, that as long as there are exploited and oppressed in the world all the people must be armed, because only the armed people can guarantee their own complete freedom, that only they are in a position to vanquish reaction. In Albania the entire people know the political significance and practical importance of the handling of weapons, in order to be able to open accurate fire on any enemy.

The great teachers of the proletariat pointed out that the proletariat must create a new army, an entirely new military method, a new military art and a new military science which can and must respond to the new social relations, and the new level of the material production. This suggestion has been turned into a reality in socialist Albania, which has its original military art and science, worked out and ceaselessly enriched by the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha. This new military art, which is based on Marxism-Leninism, on the fighting traditions of our people, on the experience of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, on the best experience of the revolutionary struggles of our people, on the thirty-eight-year long experience of the People's Army itself, should be mastered and applied by the entire army and the people who know what they fight for, as the Albanian army and people do.

Socialist Albania has stood like a granite rock to all the storms of the times. It has faced up to pressure, threats, blackmail and provocations by the imperialists and revisionists, has courageously and honourably carried out its duty in defending its freedom and independence, and the gains of the socialist Homeland. In these confrontations, under the leadership of the Party, the army has always held high the banner of the legendary battles of the National Liberation War, the banners of the battles for the construction and defence of socialism. Under the leadership of the Party and with their hearts and minds directed towards the Party, the army and the people are always vigilant, ready to reduce to dust and ashes any sinister plan, any plot that may be concocted by the enemies, separately or in concert, against socialist Albania, against its freedom and independence. The People's Army of Albania will remain forever young like the PLA, in permanent combat readiness like the PLA, will always be a fearless shock brigade like the master-mind that gave birth to it, raised it and is leading it on the correct road towards victory.

THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE COUNTRY - A GREAT VICTORY OF THE PLA

by **HARILLA PAPAJORGJI**

The PLA has always considered the industrialization of the country one of the most important tasks of the construction of socialism, without the solution of which the socialist revolution cannot be promoted on the economic front

IN NOVEMBER OF THIS YEAR OUR ENTIRE PEOPLE WILL CELEBRATE THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY AND THE 37TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION. FROM THE HEIGHT OF 40 YEARS, WHICH SEPARATE US FROM THE DAY WHEN THE PARTY WAS FOUNDED, WE SEE EVEN MORE CLEARLY AND WITH REVOLUTIONARY OPTIMISM THE GIANT HISTORIC STRIDES WE HAVE TAKEN, BY MEANS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR - THE GREATEST WAR FOR NATIONAL AND SOCIAL EMANCIPATION IN THEIR AGE-LONG HISTORY, THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA (TODAY THE PLA), WITH COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE HEAD, GOT RID OF THE FOREIGN NAZI-FASCIST INVADERS, OVERTHREW THE EXPLOITING CLASSES AND THE LOCAL TRAITORS AND, ON NOVEMBER, 29, 1944, SET UP THE NEW STATE OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY AS A FORM OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, ON THE RUINS OF THE OLD ANTI-POPULAR STATE MACHINE.

For the country to embark on the road of socialist construction, the people's power made major transformations of a political, ideological, economic and social character which were carried out under the leadership of the

HARILLA PAPAJORGJI - Scientific secretary of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the CC of the PLA

Party. The transformations in the field of the economy occupy a principal place in this context. Our Party, led by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and implementing them in the concrete conditions of the country, worked out a development program for the socialist economy and for the development all the other sectors, with the aim of

setting up and developing an independent, self-sufficient socialist economy. In the process of socialist construction this program has been perfected step by step and has found its concretization in six five-year plans of economic and cultural development.

In the struggle for the building of this economy the PLA has proceeded from the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the relations of production are those which distinguish a socio-economic order from another. Therefore, the first and foremost task carried out by the Albanian state of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the creation of a socialist economy was the destruction of the feudal and capitalist base of the economy, the construction of the socialist base of the economy, and the establishment of the socialist relations of production. With this are connected a whole series of deep-going revolutionary measures, which began to be adopted in the early days after Liberation, with the aim of

putting ownership and all the relations of production on a socialist basis, and of building the economic base of socialism, which is constantly perfected in a revolutionary way.

Along the struggle and efforts for the establishment and strengthening of the economic base of socialism and parallel with it, the PLA has also worked for the construction of the material-technical base of socialism. To achieve this it has always proceeded from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism that all socio-economic order rest on its own material-technical base. Therefore, our socialist order, which began to be built after Liberation, objectively and necessarily called for a material-technical base of its own.

The creation and development of the material-technical base presupposes a degree of socialist industrialization of the country, without which neither the successful construction of socialism, nor the guarantee and strengthening of the political and economic independence of the country can be conceived. «The transition of our country from a state of semi-feudal technical-economic backwardness directly to the construction of socialism, skipping over the stage of developed industrial capitalism,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «laid down before the Party the vital and most urgent task of the creation of industry through the socialist industrialization and electrification of the country» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 4th Congress of the PLA, p. 36, Alb. ed.).

The 37-year long experience of socialist construction in Albania fully corroborates this Marxist-Leninist truth. When they embark on the socialist road, the undeveloped countries (as was the case of Albania) must simultaneously solve two problems, inseparably linked, namely, they must overcome the backwardness inherited from the past and build socialism. These two problems cannot be solved without developing the industry. That is why the PLA has always considered the industrialization of the country one of the most important tasks of the construction of socialism, without the solution of which the socialist revolution cannot be promoted on the economic front.

Raising with force the urgent need for the implementation of the course of the socialist industrialization of the country, the PLA proceeded from the tasks of overcoming within the shortest time possible the great technical-economic backwardness, of raising the level of development of the productive forces, of deepening the technical-scientific revolution, of building the material-technical base of socialism, of ensuring the growth and strengthening of the working class — the basis of the people's power, of building a complex industry capable of processing the local raw materials with high effectiveness. The industrialization of the country would help carry out, as it did, many other tasks of major political, economic and social importance. These tasks comprised the socialist collectivization of agriculture and, in general, the building of the economic base of socialism, that is, the triumph of the new, socialist relations of production, the raising of the productivity of social work through the uninterrupted technical progress of the people's economy, the expansion of production of broad consumer goods, and as a result, the uninterrupted improvement of the material well-being and raising of the cultural level of the broad working masses, the strengthening of the economic independence and defence potential of the country.

In spite of the inner difficulties of development, in spite of all hindrances created by the internal and external enemy, in spite of the pressure and savage blockade of the imperialists and revisionists of all shades — Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese, the course of the Party for the socialist development of the country, substantiated in the five-year plans, today, after about four decades of existence of the people's power, has given brilliant results.

Albania was transformed from a backward agricultural country into an agricultural-industrial country and has long since embarked and is marching with determination on the road of becoming an industrial-agricultural country, which is an historical trend.

A completely new and complex, heavy and light industry has been set up in Albania, which produces above five

times as much as in 1960. The production of 1938 is realized in less than 3 days today. A great quantitative and qualitative step forward has been made, going in general from unimportant artisan manufacturing to large-scale industrial production realized in many new branches, such as the industry of iron-nickel processing, chemical, electric power, engineering and construction materials industries, as well as several branches of the food-processing and light industry. Our socialist industry is in a position to lead the extended socialist reproduction, to constantly improve the material well-being and to raise the cultural level of the working masses, to increase and strengthen the defence potential and the technical-economic independence of the country.

In the course of the industrial development of the country, the PLA has always been guided by the Marxist-Leninist principle of giving pride of place to the development of heavy industry as against the light industry, with the key branches of heavy industry occupying first place. Relying on the internal resources, particular importance has been attached to the oil sector, both for the discovery and the extraction of oil, to the mining, mechanical engineering, power, and chemical industry, to the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, etc. The development of our heavy industry is made in two directions: in the mineral extracting industry and in the processing industry, to ensure that our country meets its needs with the most necessary products, and not only exports raw materials but also increases the export of finished goods.

Particular importance has been attached to the setting up of the power basis. The development of the oil, gas, coal, electric power and other branches has always been seen as a question of particular political and economic importance for the development of the economy as a whole, for the strengthening of the independence of the country and the raising of its defence potential. Relying on the existing power basis and on its perspective development during this five-year plan, our country will be in a position to meet all its needs with electric power and export part of it.

The high rates of the development of the main branches of industry are illustrated with the following comparative figures: in 1980 the production of electric power increased 14 fold, the extraction of coal 4.5 fold, of chrome 4 fold, of copper 25 fold, the production of the chemical industry 50 fold, of the engineering industry 21 fold, etc as against the level of 1960. So ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, oil extraction and processing, enrichment of minerals and fuels, engineering, power and chemical industry have become already, and they will become even more so in the future, decisive branches of our industry which precede the development of industry as a whole and the entire economy of the country.

The priority development of heavy industry has been accompanied with high development rates of the light and food industry, with a view to fully and ever better meeting the main demands of the population for broad consumer goods.

Albania has been turned into a huge working and construction site. Giant hydro-electric plants, railroads, modern industries have come into production all over the country. Our heroic working class and our gifted specialists completed with success and commissioned all those projects envisaged in the 6th Five-year Plan which were left half-way or otherwise were sabotaged by the Chinese revisionists. To the Albanian workers and specialists goes the credit for commissioning the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical complex in Elbasan, the «Light of the Party» hydro-electric plant at Fierza, the oil deep processing factory at Ballsh, the «Enver Hoxha» automobile and tractor combine in Tirana, the PVC factory in Vlora, the coal mine at Valias, the ferro-chrome factory at Burrel, etc.

The fact that the socialist economy of Albania meets all the needs of the country for oil, electric power and other fuels from its internal sources, that industry is supplied with local raw materials, that Albanian steel is produced and steps have already been taken for the production of tractors and trucks, ships, drilling rigs and other machinery, that progress is being made towards the expansion of production of

equipment, machinery, and complete factories on the basis of self-reliance, that projects of large dimensions, such as hydro-electric plants, the expansion of the existing factories and combines, the building of new factories for the enrichment of minerals, etc have been designed and built without outside aid, is of capital importance for the present and the future.

In the 1980 the production of spare parts rose to 63 per cent against 1975, ensuring about 95 per cent of the needs of the economy for spare parts. In the 1st Five-year Plan (1951-1955) our mechanical engineering industry, to quote only one example, met only 15 per cent of the needs for spare parts, and in the 2nd Five-year Plan (1956-1960) only about 40 per cent, and this for the limited number of machinery in use at that time, until it gradually reached the present-day level of production. The trend in Albania today is towards the construction of machinery. This is a great gain of the policy of the PLA for the socialist industrialization of the country, for the transformation of Albania into an advanced industrial-agricultural country.

Likewise, the setting up of new branches and the expansion of the existing branches of the heavy processing industry will raise the local processing of the mineral and non-mineral wealth of the country to a higher level, to the production of half-finished and finished products. This will give a new boost to the local production of the means of production and of the more necessary articles for the extended socialist reproduction, for the raising of the well-being of the people and strengthening of the defence potential of the Homeland. At the same time, this will create many possibilities for Albania to come out on the world market with new industrial articles, which are in great demand and highly profitable economically. This process of development is also apparent in the fact that while in 1960 locally processed goods accounted only for 46 per cent of the volume of export, in 1980 this figure reached above 65 per cent. All this is a significant achievement of the correct policy followed by the PLA and clearly shows the further strengthening of the political and

economic independence of the country, the stability of the socialist economy.

Thus, the socialist industrialization of the country represents one of the greatest achievements of the people's power in the work for socialist construction, one of the decisive conditions for the overcoming of the traditional backwardness, as well as one of the fundamental material factors for the complete construction of socialist society at present and for the future. The development along these lines has brought about that the volume of industrial production occupies first place in the total social product and in the national income.

In 1980 industrial production accounted more than 57 per cent of the social product, as against 41 per cent in 1960, and the national income realized in industry accounted for more than 42 per cent, as against 20 per cent in 1960.

Following this road, industrial production has developed at a rate 3-4 times higher than the rate of the increase of population, which has led directly to the improvement of the material well-being and the raising of the cultural level of the population. Thus, the turn-over of food-stuffs in retail trade in 1980 has increased 14 fold and that of other broad consumer goods has risen about 8 times against 1950, at a time when the population of the country has more than doubled in the same period.

The PLA has looked upon the development of industry as an important factor of strengthening the social base of the people's power, because it enables the numerical growth and qualitative development of the working class — the vanguard of the revolution and socialist construction. Without a developed industry there can be no developed working class.

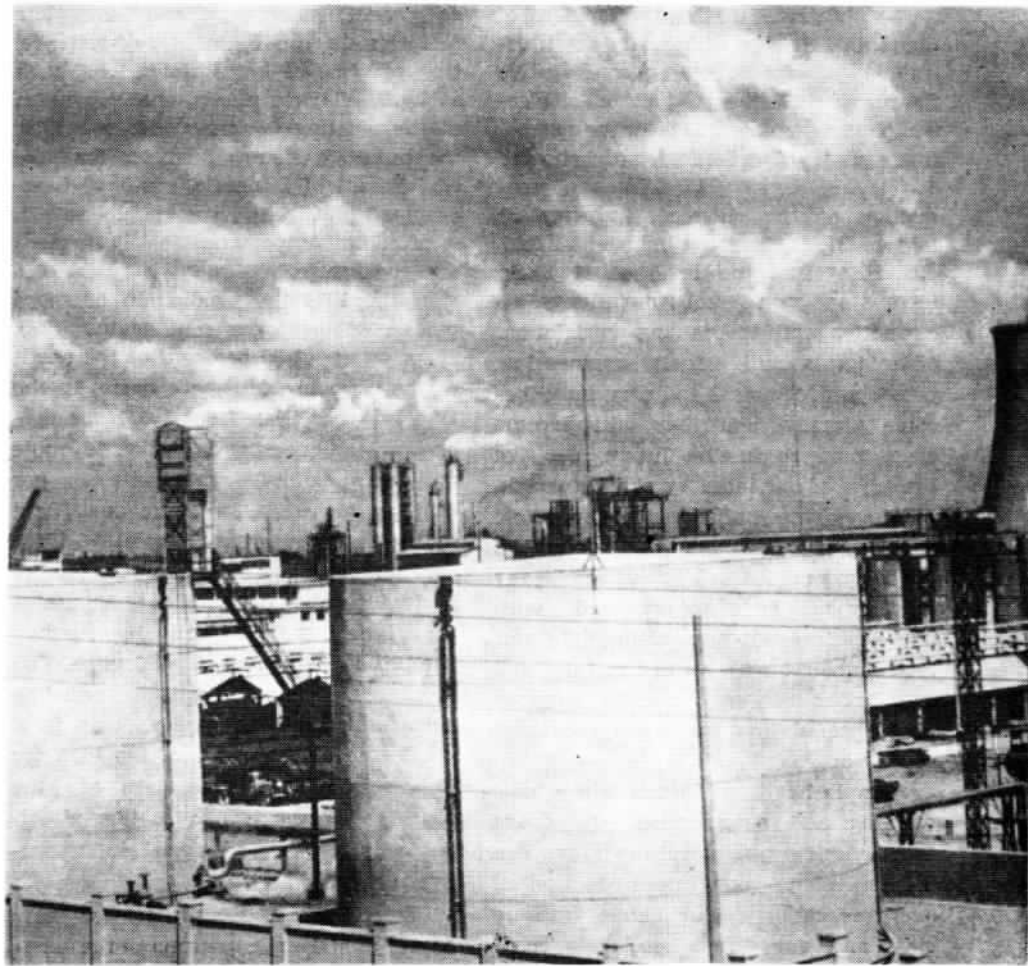
Along with the development of industry and the other branches of the people's economy, the working class, which plays a decisive role in the whole economic and social development of the country, has grown and developed, too. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «We have today a large working class, with a high political class con-

sciousness, with remarkable capabilities and talents. And it is becoming more aware of its role as the class in power» (Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1969-1970», p. 191, Alb. ed.).

In the ranks of the working class today militate more than 500,000 people as against 15,000 before Liberation. Together with their families they account for more than 34 per cent of the total population, or one third of the active urban and rural population, as against one tenth in 1950. To this must be added the important fact that the working class employed in industry represents more than one third of the total number of workers and plays a leading role in regard to the working class as a whole.

The working class today has reached a much higher level from the political, ideological, cultural and professional standpoint, and as such it is increasingly giving the tone to the life of the country, shouldering a heavy burden, aware of the new and greater tasks the Party has assigned to it. The fulfilment of these tasks is closely linked with the further increase of its ranks, but especially with its own strengthening and revolutionary tempering through active participation in leading, controlling, and defending the people's power and the country in general. In this question, the PLA is guided by the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the leading role and the historic mission of the Party and the working class do not end with the seizure of political power or with the establishment of the socialist relations of production, but this role and mission will continue to exist up to communism, which cannot be built without the rule by the working class, without the proletarian Party and state, without control from above and from below.

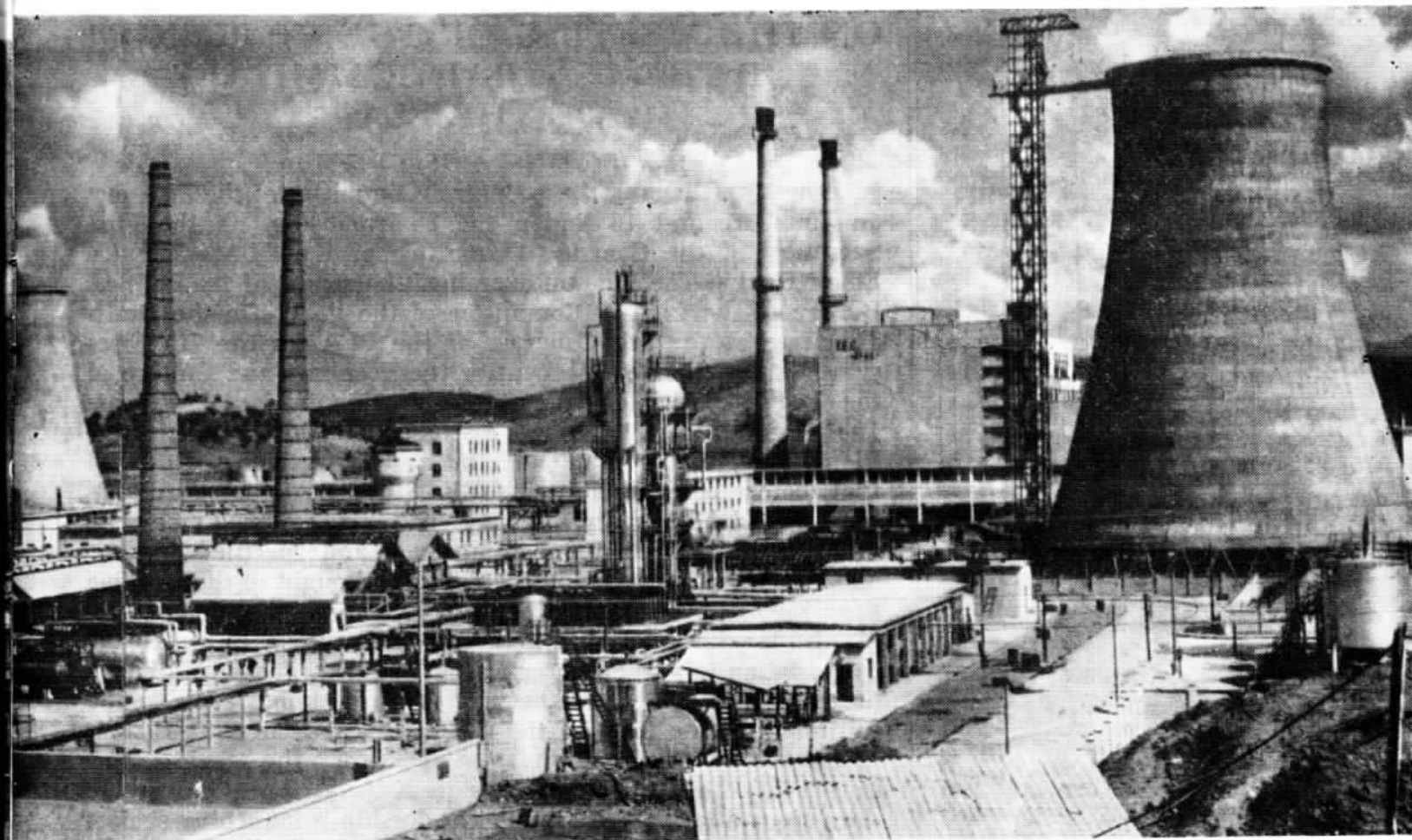
In the conditions of socialism, the existence of the two friendly classes — the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, as well as of the stratum of the new people's intelligentsia, is connected with the existence of the social property. These two classes live



in close alliance with each other, and the leading role in this alliance belongs to the working class. The moral-political unity of the Albanian people has this alliance on its basis. With the development of socialist society and with the changes that take place in its class structure, the role of the party and of the working class not only does not diminish, as the revisionists claim, but, on the contrary, it is enhanced and strengthened further. Socialism and the process of its development through the strengthening of the moral-political unity of all the broad working masses, broadens the basis of the political, ideological and economic influence of the working class on all the aspects of the life of the country, both in city and country.

The process of socialist industrialization in Albania has gone through a difficult road, through a fierce class struggle against the many difficulties and obstacles raised by the enemies of socialism within the country and abroad. Hence, a persistent struggle had to be waged to expose and reject the anti-Marxist and capitalist views of the modern revisionists who have tried to impose their revisionist-capitalist line of the industrialization of the country on our Party and Government

The Yugoslav revisionists wanted the PLA to follow an economic policy which would prevent Albania from setting up and developing its national industry. According to them, Albania should limit itself to farming and the



Albania boasts today a developed many-branched industry. View of the «Gogo Nushi» plant in Fier.

production of mineral raw materials, which would be processed by the Yugoslav industry. The PLA exposed and rejected these out-and-out imperialist and protectionist aims.

The efforts of the Soviet revisionists to divert Albania from the socialist road of the true industrialization of the country are also notorious. They went about it in open and underhand ways, resorting to all kind of «arguments» and pressure. They «suggested» that the industry of the Soviet Union could meet all the needs of the Albanian economy, so there was no sense in little Albania trying to set up an industrial system of its own. Another «argument» employed by the Khrushchevite revisionists was that of the climate, as if nature had preordained

that Albania should become a «blossoming fruit-garden», but this miscarried, too. They frequently sought to prove that Albania allegedly lacked the raw materials needed for a modern industry, etc. etc. Besides, they tried in vain to prove that Albania could not find the considerable financial means necessary for setting up an industry of its own. The Party of Labour and the Government of Albania courageously combated these views, pressure and wrecking activity of the Soviet revisionists and defeated their chauvinistic and capitalist plans.

The Chinese revisionists employed the same practices when they unilaterally cut all agreements, left incomplete or sabotaged the projects they had undertaken to build and commission

together with the Albanian workers, thus revealing their anti-Marxist features after they were resolutely exposed by the PLA.

How hostile, anti-Marxist and reactionary have been all these stands and actions of our enemies, and how correct, far-sighted and Marxist-Leninist has been and remains the general line of our Party, how self-denying has been the work of the Albanian people for the construction of socialism, and in particular for the socialist industrialization of the country — this clearly emerges from the brilliant balance of great successes and victories with which our people are coming to the 40th anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party and its 8th Congress, which will be convened in Tirana on November 1st this year.

COMMUNIQUE

ON THE MEETING OF THE 10th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA

The 10th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA met on June 15 and 16 under the chairmanship of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha. The Plenum examined the report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA «On the Draft-directives of the 8th Congress of the PLA for the 7th Five-year Plan of the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the years 1981-1985». After a broad discussion of this problem, the Plenum unanimously adopted the draft-directives and decided that, before being submitted to the 8th Congress of the Party, they should be broadly discussed with the working masses so that the draft-directives be improved and specified further, and the inner reserves and the creative thought of the working people be utilized more broadly.

In conclusion of the proceedings, Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered an important speech about the tasks facing the Party, the state organs and all the masses of working people in the fulfilment of the tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan 1981-1985.

Comrade Enver Hoxha also spoke of the tragic events caused by the Serb chauvinists in Kosova, about the savage slanderous attacks the Yugoslav leadership is launching against the People's, Socialist Republic of Albania, as well as about the prudent and mature stand of principle maintained by our leadership towards this situation created by the Serb chauvinists.

The Plenum of the Central Committee unanimously endorsed the policy followed and the stand maintained by our leadership in connection with the events in Kosova.

THE 10th PLENUM
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA

FROM THE
LIFE OF THE
COUNTRY



DECISION

OF THE 10th PLENUM
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PLA
«ON THE APPROVAL
OF THE DRAFT-DIRECTIVES
OF THE 8th CONGRESS OF THE PLA
FOR THE 7th FIVE-YEAR PLAN
OF DEVELOPMENT
OF THE ECONOMY AND CULTURE
OF THE PSRA FOR THE YEARS
1981-1985»

At its June 15-16, 1981 meeting, the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee, after examining and broadly discussing the report of the Political Bureau of the CC «On the Draft-directives of the 8th Congress of the PLA for the 7th Five-year Plan of the Development of the Economy and Culture of the PSRA, for the years 1981-1985»,

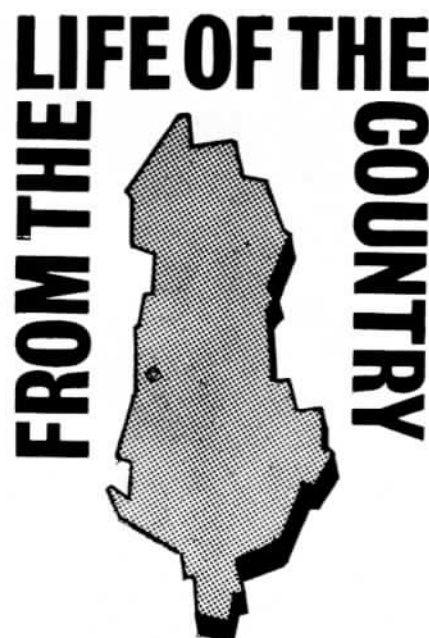
DECIDED:

1. — To fully endorse the draft-directives of the 8th Congress of the PLA for the 7th Five-year Plan of the development of the economy and culture of the PSRA for the years 1981-1985.

2. — To submit the draft-directives of the 7th Five-year Plan for discussion to all workers collectives and economic and state organs before presenting them to the 8th Congress of the Party. This discussion should serve to improve the indices of the state plan and to raise the mobilization of the masses of the city and country for the fulfilment of its tasks.

3. — The party organs and organizations, the state and economic organs, the social organizations should take all the necessary political and organizational measures for the popular discussion of the draftdirectives to be crowned with complete success.

THE 10th PLENUM
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA



THE 7th SESSION OF THE 9th LEGISL

**FROM THE
LIFE OF THE
COUNTRY**



The Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Manush Myftiu, delivering on behalf

The 7th Session of the 9th Legislature of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was held in Tirana from 25-27 June 1981.

This session analysed the report of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania «On the Civil Draft-Law and the Draft-Law of Civil Proceedings of the PSR of Albania», the Draft-Laws on amendments to some other laws like the laws «On State Social Insurance»,

«On the New Educational System», etc as well as decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly in the period between the two sessions.

Taking part in the work of this session were the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Hazhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSRA, Mehmet Shehu, etc, as well as many people invited

ATURE OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY



of the Government the report «On the Draft-Civil Law and the Draft-Law of Civil Proceedings of the PSR of Albania»

from the work and production centres of the Capital.

On behalf of the Government, the Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Manush Myftiu, held the report «On the Civil Draft-Law and the Draft-Law of Civil Proceedings of the PSR of Albania.»

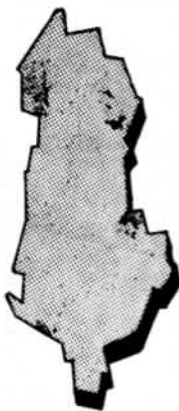
Comrade Manush Myftiu, among other things, said: «In the great struggle of our people, under the leadership

of the Party, for the construction of socialism, the civil legislation in force, part of which are the Civil Law and the Law of Civil Proceedings, which have served the strengthening of the juridical relations to the benefit of the socialist economy, has played an important part. They constitute the juridical basis to define the competences and obligations of enterprises, institutions, social organizations, agricultural cooperatives, and citizens in the field

of production, distribution and services.

«The major revolutionary transformations made in the economic base, which were characterized by the strengthening and development of the whole system of socialist relations of production, the liquidation of the private property and the extension of the relations of ownership between state enterprises and between them and agricultural cooperatives, have dictated the

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



need for the drafting of a new Civil Law and a new Law of Civil Proceedings, in compliance with the Constitution. The relations regulated by these laws are clearly defined. The sphere of civil legislation comprises both relations of ownership, which stem from the management of the socialist property and the existence of personal property, and individual non-ownership relations. The relations of ownership in socialism have always been considered by our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat from the angle of their socio-economic content, as a particular form of the activity of the urban and rural working people, which is connected with the production and distribution of material goods.

«Being fundamentally based on this conception, our civil legislation does not set out to regulate all the economic relations existing in our society. The relations of work, which are regulated by the respective laws, as well as the relations existing in the agricultural cooperatives, remain outside the sphere of its competences. Our civil legislation comprises and regulates mainly the relations of ownership, in the first place, among institutions, enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and social organizations, between them and citizens, as well as among citizens themselves.

«The Civil Draft-Law and the Draft-Law of Civil Proceedings rely entirely on the Marxist-Leninist ideology, on the creative theoretical scientific thought of our Party and on the principles of our Constitution; thus, they truthfully reflect the economic policy of the Party, our revolutionary practice and the experience gained by our state organs in the field of civil law.

«Both draft-laws are permeated by such fundamental ideological principles as the leading role of the Party, the existence of the Marxist-Leninist ideology as the dominant ideology, the class struggle as the objective law of socialist society, the line of the masses as the expression of socialist democracy in action, the struggle against

manifestations of bureaucracy, liberalism, etc. Unlike the laws of the bourgeois-revisionist countries, in which every possible effort is made to conceal their class character and to present them as if they defend, on the basis of equality, the interests of everyone without class distinction, whereas in fact they are mainly intended to defend, by all possible means, capitalist private property, to protect and consolidate the capitalist relations of production, to ensure maximum profit, etc. our draft-laws openly admit and ensure the class character of our Civil Law.

«The Civil Draft-Law is divided into two parts: the general and the particular part. The general part, besides the main ideological principles mentioned above, expounds the aims of the Civil Law which is intended to serve the complete construction of socialism according to the principle of self-reliance, as well as the ever better fulfilment of the material and cultural needs of citizens. In close connection with these aims and with a view to defending the economic independence of the country, without which there can be no political independence, the Draft-Law reflects the provisions of the Constitution, under which, in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the granting of concessions, the creation of foreign or joint companies and other economic and financial institutions with capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist monopolies and states, as well as the receiving of credits from them, are prohibited.

«In the general part of the Draft-Law an important place is occupied by the provisions defining the manner of creation and management, the obligations and responsibilities of juridical bodies as subjects of civil juridical relations, like institutions, enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and social organizations. Socialist enterprises, as basic units of the activity in the field of production and services, in which all socio-economic relations

have their origin and in which the activity of the working class is exercised, operate in compliance with the demands of the objective economic laws of socialism and the provisions flowing from this Draft-Law. In this context, enterprises, institutions, etc play an important role in the management of socialist property, in the fulfilment of the planned tasks, in the strengthening of the defence potential of the Homeland and in meeting the material and cultural needs of the working people, unlike the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist countries, in which juridical bodies are created, in the first place, for the purpose of concentration and centralization of capital and of ensuring maximum profit through the intensification of the exploitation of the broad working masses. The same socio-economic aim is furthered by «self-administrative» enterprises, or under whatever other name they go by, in the revisionist countries.

«In the particular part of the Civil Draft-Law are included all those institutions which, in effect, find practical application in our socialist society, in the quality of institutions which serve the complete construction of socialism. Every institution, in itself, reflects the experience gained in the course of the many-year long work of the state organs and economic organisms.

«An important part in the Draft-Law is occupied by the institution of ownership. As is known, from the time the first decree «On Ownership» came in force in 1955, property in our country has undergone major changes. As a result of the ceaseless growth of the social product, of the perfecting of the organization of production, of the successful completion of the collectivization of agriculture, of the gradual transformation of part of the group property into state property, of the transformation of land into state property, of the abolition of private

property, etc the socialist ownership of the means of production, in its two forms, became dominant both in town and countryside, and the whole national economy was transformed into a socialist economy. The creation of this qualitatively new socio-economic situation resulted in the reflection in the Civil Draft-Law of the fundamental Marxist-Leninist thesis, which is also sanctioned in the Constitution, namely, that the socialist social ownership of the means of production, both in its state form and its cooperativist form, lies at the basis of our economic order, of the system of socialist relations of production.

«The Draft-Law sanctions, in the first place, the unity of the whole state property, proclaiming that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is its only owner, and the enterprises and institutions have only the right of management of this property. The way the two forms of socialist property are treated in this Draft-Law is intended to guarantee the inviolability of this property as the foundation of our entire social order, to guarantee its socialist character and to prevent its capitalist degeneration. This Marxist-Leninist class treatment of the socialist ownership of the means of production is the direct opposite of the conception and legislation of ownership in the capitalist countries, in which the inviolability of private capitalist property, the right of the bourgeoisie to appropriate without remuneration the work and toil of the workers and working peasants are sanctioned. It is also radically different from the conceptions which characterize the legislation of the revisionist countries which, along the measures for the protection of the state capitalist property, stimulates the extension and development of genuine private property in its most different forms.

«Comrade Enver Hoxha in his major work — «Imperialism and the Revo-

lution», points out that state monopoly property represents the property of the capitalist state, the property of the bourgeois class in power. In the countries where the modern revisionists hold sway, property, regardless of its formal appearance or the names attached to it by the revisionists, in essence is nothing other than the capitalist property of the revisionist bourgeoisie which has the political power in its hands.

«Relying on the Constitution, the Civil Draft-Law also treats the institution of personal property which is the fruit of the useful social work of the working people. It is defended by law and cannot be used to the detriment of the social interest. Connected with personal property, which is recognized and defended by law, is also the institution of inheritance. The liquidation of private property in our country led to the restriction of the sphere of operation of the institution of inheritance, while at the same time greatly transforming its character. Proceeding from this fact, and in order to safeguard the interests of the citizens, the Civil Draft-Law envisages and regulates the institution of inheritance. In compliance with the conditions of our country, the Civil Draft-Law, unlike the existing Civil Law, no longer treats the institution of inheritance separately, but as one of the ways of entering into the right of ownership. These provisions recognize the right of inheritance by law or through a will.»

After dwelling on contracts and the importance the provisions of the Civil Draft-Law give them, Comrade Manush Myftiu continued:

«The continuous improvement of the housing conditions of the working people has always been in the centre of attention of the Party and state organs. The great increase in the number of dwelling-houses, which have been built by the state in towns and villages, has raised problems connected with their management. In this aspect, the Draft-Law dwells in detail on

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the contracts of house rents. The difference between the existing law and the Draft-Law is that the housing resources which will be regulated through the contracts of house rents include all state-built dwelling-houses earmarked for this purpose in towns and villages, as well as the privately-owned dwelling-houses in towns which their owners may rent entirely or partly. This regulation prevents some individual citizens from charging unlawful rent-rates.

«The application of the Civil Law in compliance with the conditions of the socio-economic development calls for the definition of rules of procedure so that the activity of the organs of justice and that of other state organs is purged of all bureaucratic and formal-judicial leftovers. As is known, the rules of procedure influence the correct implementation of the provisions of the Civil Law. Therefore, along with the Civil Draft-Law, the Draft-Law of Civil Proceedings is also presented for examination and endorsement.

«This Draft-Law also has been subject to important amendments both to its structure and to its contents.

«For the first time the Draft-Law charges the organs of state power and the mass organizations with the task of preventing civil conflicts, activating for this purpose the members of people's councils of the executive committees subordinated to them, the activists of social organizations, etc. Thus the teaching of the Party that the organs of state power and the mass organizations should stand in the forefront of the struggle for the prevention of civil cases is put into practice.

«For many civil cases to be resolved without recourse to the courts of justice, important tasks have also been envisaged for the legal advisers in the legal assistance offices and for the judges, giving them the right to intervene preliminarily in order to make civil cases the issue of workers collectives and, when needed, record the relative

minutes, intervene for reconciliation, etc which assume the force of a court decision. In this manner our law discards the old concept according to which the only method to defend subjective civil rights is the legal method. The latter is also retained in our law but only when the other means for the solution of juridical and civil cases do not yield results.

«The Draft-Law of Civil Proceedings provides rules of procedure at the courts of villages, cities, and city quarters as important links for the resolution of petty conflicts and for the education of the working people, thus completing the rules of procedure for all the links of the judiciary system.

«Unlike the civil proceedings in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, in which procrastination of trials is a characteristic feature of the judiciary process, our Draft-Law of Civil Proceedings reflects the experience gained by our courts in the rapid trial of cases without impairing the justice of their settlement. In this respect both sides are held responsible to supplying evidence at the beginning of the trial, so that the case is settled within the set time-limit.

«In the phase of the execution of decisions, also, the Draft-Law of Civil Proceedings provides that the judiciary-executive body is duty-bound to enforce on its own initiative the implementation of obligations due to enterprises, institutions, agricultural cooperatives and social organizations. However, this does not exempt enterprises, institutions, agricultural cooperatives etc from their duty to always follow the fulfilment of obligations.

«From this Draft-Law on the executive committees of people's councils devolves the task to take all due measures for ensuring the execution of court decisions relative to the right of housing.

«In order to further deepen the struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy, the Draft-Law of Civil Proceedings has been discharged of a num-

ber of provisions which were either outdated or had become an obstacle to a simpler and more rapid settlement of civil cases. Thus, for example, provisions on judiciary fees have been abrogated, because, as is known, no taxes of any kind are paid in our country; the courts of justice have the competence of certifying seniority at work, of amending the acts of the General Registrar's Office and the inheritance certificates, excluding certification of other facts, as provided in the existing

cultural cooperatives and individual citizens. As a result of its restructuring and its discharge of redundant details, the Civil Law has been simplified and reduced from 1,000 articles it has today to 354 articles, and the Draft-Law of Civil Proceedings from 500 articles to 228 articles.»

Concluding, Comrade Manush Myftiu said:

«The successful realization of the task of the complete construction of socialist society, according to the teaching

their work ever better so that every working people of our country is acquainted with the provisions regulating the relations connected with his work, his rights and obligations towards enterprises, institutions or other working people. This also calls for systematic, differentiated, careful and co-ordinated work to make people acquainted with the Civil Law and the Law of Civil Proceedings.

«The approval of the Civil Draft-Law and of the Draft-Law of Civil Pro-



The 7th Session of the 9th Legislature of the People's Assembly unanimously approved the Draft-Civil Law and the Draft-Law of Civil Proceedings of the PSR of Albania.

laws. The provisions dealing with the revision of decisions, the devaluation of securities etc. have also been abrogated; likewise, the practice of drawing lot in trial proceedings for the division of joint property and putting property up for auction has been disad as institution incompatible with the principles of our socialist social order.

«The two draft-laws have been so worked out as to ensure that institutions and juridical norms are established in the best and closest possible connection between them, in order to make ever clearer the regulation of economic relations in the present stage of the socialist construction in our country, as well as the realization of the rights and obligations of the state organs, enterprises, organizations, agri-

of the Party, calls for the strengthening and constant development of the economic base, as well as the best possible juridical-civil regulation of socioeconomic relations which are connected with the advance of our society.

«We think that the draft-laws we are submitting for examination and approval achieve this aim. With their adoption, the task of the re-examination of the principal laws of our state, set by the Party, is fulfilled.

«The approval of these two laws charges the state organs in the centre and at the grassroots with important tasks, both as regards acquaintance with and actual execution of them. In the speech he delivered at the Presidium of the People's Assembly in April last year, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that the state organs must organize

ceedings, as laws which reflect our revolutionary experience, which express the policy of the Party and the interests of the working class and other working people, is another important victory on the road of the perfecting of our legislation.»

The report of the Juridical Commission of the People's Assembly was delivered by the Chairman of this Commission, the deputy Aranit Çela.

These reports were analysed in detail in a broad discussion.

Then the deputies unanimously approved the Civil Draft-Law, the Draft-Law of Civil Proceedings, the draft-laws and draft-decrees examined in principle, article by article and as a whole.

A MARXIST THEO OR A LIBERAL-BOUR

by **JOAO AMAZONAS**

The construction of socialism and the growing strength of the parties of the working class are the consequence of the profoundly revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist orientation on which they based themselves, just as the capitalist takeover in the Soviet Union and the decay of those parties, which we are witnessing today, are a consequence of the «anti-dogmatic» revisionist theories applied by the distorters of the doctrine of the proletariat

POSING AS A GREAT THEORETICIAN AND CRITIC OF MARXISM, NELSON LEVY WROTE A BOOK ENTITLED «THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM AND THE REVOLUTION». IN THE PREFACE TO IT, HE DESCRIBES THIS BOOK AS AN ATTEMPT «TO REVIVE POLEMICS AS A SCIENTIFIC MODE OF PRODUCTION (?) IN THE FIRE OF THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE». HIS BOOK IS MERELY A SHADY TREATMENT OF SOME PROBLEMS ALREADY MUCH DEBATED AND CLARIFIED ON THE WHOLE, EXCEPT FOR SOME CHANGES OR CONFIRMATIONS IN THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL FIELD, THOUGH IT ALWAYS SHIRKS THE POLITICAL REFUTATION OF THE THEORY OF THREE WORLDS AND, IN THE IDEOLOGICAL ASPECT, PASSES IN SILENCE THE MAIN SOURCE FROM WHICH THIS THEORY ORIGINATES — A SOURCE ALREADY DETERMINED IN BROAD OUTLINE IN THE PERIOD IN WHICH HE FORMULATED HIS CONCLUSIONS.

In the introduction the author comes out openly as a supporter of trends hostile to Marxism-Leninism, though he does this under the guise of rejecting dogmatism, adopting some views of the petty-bourgeois (or bourgeois) intellectuals which lack all perspective confronted with the process of the sharpening class struggle, which is growing even more, especially from the middle of the 50's. In this aspect, he borders closely on the ideas of the «regenerative Marxists» of the type of Garaudy, Lukacs and others.

In his attack against Marxism he goes as far back as the 30's, indeed even the 20's, immediately after the death of Lenin. But he gets himself lost in generalizations couched in a high-falutin and hollow-sounding language, which is liberal-bourgeois in its essence. Marxism, the science of the emancipation of the proletariat, is based on the class conception of the world. It cannot be interpreted in the

JOAO AMAZONAS — First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Brazil. Article published in the no. 1/1981 issue of the review «Principios», theoretical, political and informative organ of the Communist Party of Brazil

light of liberalism, which in itself is an idealization of the reality, seen through the prism of the interests of the bourgeoisie before its transition to the stage of monopoly bourgeoisie.

THE STRESS ON DOGMATISM

In the introduction to his book, Nelson Levy starts out with the claim of the renewer of Marxism, putting the stress on dogmatism which has allegedly struck root in and led the worker movement, as well as Marxism, according to him, to distortions of consequence. «Dogmatism», he writes, «led to a whole range of distortions which atrophize the scientific and revolutionary content of Marxism.» In bringing in this accusation, he is neither original nor does he say anything new. He simply takes in his hands the banner unfurled by the revisionists, old and new, as well as by the best organized and manipulated bourgeois propaganda. All the variants of modern revisionism, created by Browder and Mao Zedong, by Tito, Khrushchev, Togliatti and company, harped ceaselessly on the string of dog-

RETICIAN

GEOIS DILETTANTE

matism, which, they claimed, hampered the «creative» development of the doctrine of the working class. None of them created anything of value. On the contrary, they defended reactionary formulas of different shades with the aim of benumbing the consciousness of the masses and giving a new lease of life to the aging capitalism.

Although he poses as a dialectician, Levy is deeply immersed in vulgar subjectivism. He does not rely on the reality. If, according to him, dogmatism prevailed in the worker movement, distorting Marxism for so long, how can the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union up to the middle 50's and the powerful development of the proletarian parties in the same period, be explained? Or was this construction and this development of the parties achieved outside Marxism, inspired by dogmatism? The facts are clear and speak for themselves. The construction of socialism and the growing strength of the parties of the working class are the consequence of the profoundly revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist orientation on which they based themselves, just as the capitalist takeover in the Soviet Union and the decay of those parties, which we are witnessing today, are a consequence of the «antidogmatic» revisionist theories applied by the distorters of the doctrine of the proletariat.

The possibility for dogmatism to emerge in some aspects of the worker movement or the necessity of combating it can not be denied. All along their life Lenin and Stalin resolutely combated dogmatism. The Marxist-

Leninists of our time have always opposed dogmatism which hampers the advance of the revolutionary movement, and have always tried to define the new phenomena, which emerge in the life of society, through a correct interpretation of them, with Marxism-Leninism as a method of analysis and guide for action. This opposition stems from the fact that dogmatism is characteristic of outdated theoretical systems, while Marxism, which is critical and revolutionary in its essence, represents a system of transforming ideas which respond to social progress and the future of mankind. Nevertheless, there is a colossal difference between the struggle against dogmatism waged by Lenin and Stalin, or that conducted today by the Marxist-Leninists — a struggle which is closely connected with the liquidation of every hindrance to the revolution, and the «anti-dogmatic» onslaught launched by the carriers of bourgeois tendencies, the revisionists and «critics» of Marxism in their attempts to sow ideological confusion and distort the revolutionary doctrine of the working class.

Is it true, as Levy maintains, that «the already long process of the growth of dogmatism in Marxism has seriously handicapped its evolution as a science»? Or has «the conception of Marxism as a closed system built up in everything by its classics reserved to each new generation of theoreticians only the function of simple propagandists, not to say vulgarizers»? Here, too, the author slides into subjectivism and groundless accusations, repeating what

the opponents of the proletarian revolution say and preach. Has there been no development of Marxism in the recent decades? Practice, which is the highest criterion of truth, refutes this assertion. Without mentioning the epoch in which Stalin lived, when Marxism-Leninism was enriched with new theses and conclusions, many complex problems of the theory and practice of the revolution have already been formulated and resolved. During and after the Second World War important problems, such as the creation of broad anti-fascist and national liberation popular fronts; the close connection of the struggle for national liberation with the struggle for social emancipation; people's democracy as a new form of state; the interconnection between the state of the people's democracy, as an organ of state power in the first stage of the revolution with the working class in the leadership, and the transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat as a higher stage; the transition of backward countries, such as Albania, to socialism, etc were worked out. On an international scale, problems bearing on the character of our epoch and its main contradictions, such as the definition of the present strategy of the worker movement, were worked out and concretized, in keeping with the new conditions. Apart from this, some other major problems of the revolution and socialism, such as the relationship between objective and subjective factors in the revolutionary dynamic, the question of classes and the class struggle in socialism, the connection between the dictatorship of the prole-

tariat and socialist democracy, the perfecting of the socialist relations of production in the revolutionary road, the prevention of the emergence of privileged strata in the socialist countries, etc were clarified better in the process of the struggle against revisionism and bourgeois degeneration.

A host of other problems have been treated or are being treated. This is not the work of simple vulgarizers, but of thinkers and men of action who have promoted the cause of Marxism-Leninism. Precisely these people, relying on the active and militant movement of the proletariat, exposed revisionism, tore the mask of the so-called «creative» Marxist-Leninists, and set about working for the successful revival of the world communist and worker movement. Obviously, many other problems demand a proper theoretical and practical treatment. They, too, will be solved in turn, but not by the renegades from and the opponents of Marxism-Leninism, or through sterile and academic polemics with them.

Marxism-Leninism is enriched step by step, through the summing up of the social practice. Nelson Levy does not acknowledge the recent contributions to the scientific treasury of the doctrine of the working class, considers them of little worth, because he is not interested in the defence of this doctrine, and negates its truth and successes. The essence of his so-called «anti-dogmatic» criticism lies in his attempts to revise Marxism, which has always been the inglorious task of the betrayers of the revolution and socialism.

MARXISM-LENINISM — THE SCIENCE OF THE WORKING CLASS

The interpretation of Marxism, as well as its development, is a rigorous problem of a strictly class order. Exposing the bourgeois distortions of

Marxism at the time of the Second International, Lenin highly assessed the real content of the science of Marx and Engels, its revolutionary and proletarian character. Having this in mind, he rose in opposition to the theses of some older Marxists, such as Plekhanov and Kautsky, who were taking steps back, taking from Marxism only what could be acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Nelson Levy is going back, too. His critical references are taken from people who have never assimilated Marxism or who have abandoned it long before. While underrating the revolutionary contribution of the true Marxists, Levy overrates the distorters of Marxism and accuses the adherents to the proletarian revolution of allegedly having shown unduly little interest in the «works» devoted to the various trends of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois thought. «The overwhelming majority of the attempts at making a new contribution to Marxism(!),» says Levy, «were a priori treated as revisionist manifestations.» But which are these contributions? He considers as a valuable experience of «scientific creativeness» the works of Lukacs, the so-called «Marxist» who sang loud praise to Khrushchev and applauded with enthusiasm the «grandiose and many-sided reforms» (Letter on Stalinism) of the Khrushchevite 20th Congress of the CPSU, who wrote the book «Problems of Cultural Coexistence» and was much in the limelight of the Hungarian revisionist party. Nelson Levy, likewise, extols as «the last word of systematization in the field of social sciences» the Keynesian or post-Keynesian bourgeois political economy, the German and North-American bourgeois sociology which, in his words, were not well-assessed from the Marxist standpoint. Although he admits that these questions have been discussed, he adds that to address oneself to the classics of Marxism-Leninism over these problems would be dogmatism. Likewise, he complains about the dismissal of Henry

Lefebvre from the board of editors of a «History of Philosophy» organized by the Soviets in the past, although the anti-Marxist stands of Lefebvre as an apologet of revisionism are well known. And there is no shortage of such «theoreticians» and «theories», many of which are hatched up by the monopolies themselves. Is it them that we must turn to?

All these people, very much like Nelson Levy, talk about Marxism as a «closed and fossilized» system. They all demand that this system be open to dialogue with all kinds of political trends and views, that it absorbs everything good the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends allegedly have, that it merges with them. They want to eclectically introduce into Marxism everything of the antagonistic social doctrines or ideas that seems acceptable to them. By so doing they depart from the principle of partisanship in the ideology and social sciences, which, as is known, are indissolubly linked with class interests.

The accusation they level against Marxism as a «fossilized», «closed system» has nothing new in itself. As early as the beginning of the 20th century, referring to people of this type, V. I. Lenin wrote: «Dogmatism, doctrinarianism», 'fossilization of the party as the inevitable punishment for the suppression of thought through violence' — these are the enemies against which the defenders of the 'freedom of criticism' in 'Rab. Delo' have risen in furious fight» (V. I. Lenin, «What Is to Be Done?», Collected Works, vol. 5, pp. 432-433, Alb. ed.). And he clearly pointed out the purposes of the representatives of this trend. He said: «He who does not shut his eyes purposely cannot fail to see that this new 'critical' trend in socialism is nothing other than a new variant of opportunism. And if people do not go by the brilliant uniform they have put on, if they do not judge them by the great titles they have attributed to themselves,

but by what they do and what they stand for — then it will clearly emerge that 'freedom of criticism' means freedom for the opportunist trend in social-democracy, freedom to transform social-democracy into a party of democratic reforms, freedom to introduce bourgeois ideas and bourgeois elements into socialism» (V.I. Lenin, «What Is to Be Done?», Collected Works, vol. 5, pp. 416-417, Alb. ed.).

Trying to add conviction to his anti-Marxist views, Nelson Levy mentions some erroneous stand of some former Soviet philosophers and scientists who considered cybernetics a bourgeois science, absolutized Pavlov's research and supported the mistaken views of Lysenko. But this does not justify maintaining an uncritical stand towards the ideology and social sciences, such as bourgeois sociology, political economy and philosophy, and even less trying to «enrich» Marxism with allegedly new ideas from the non-Marxist trends. This is tantamount to complete departure from proletarian positions, from proletarian partisanship.

In this connection Levy upholds the view that limitations in scientific and aesthetic activity have allegedly led to «progressive abandonment of the party ranks by the intellectual strata». By this he tries to insinuate that those intellectuals who left the party did so because they were prohibited from doing what they wanted. Thus, partisanship is completely discarded by him. And, as a result, he comes to the same pass as the liberal-bourgeois concepts of Mao Zedong do: «Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend...» Experience, however, teaches us that the intellectuals who do not succeed in assimilating Marxism, the proletarian style and method in the class struggle, endeavour to sever the threads which link them with the vanguard organization. But this does not weaken the party. And in order to arrive at the well-known bourgeois intellectualist

concept, in which the intelligentsia in general is considered as the carrier of theoretical scientific thinking, Levy has to make only one step. He not only laments the departure of these intellectuals (fellow-travellers) from the party, but with the false allegation of unsuitable conditions for their stay in the party, he also tries to justify the non-proletarian class position of these elements. «Doubts, criticism,» says he, «were suppressed for years on end. And when they could be suppressed no more, in most cases they burst out outside the bounds of Marxism(...) or mixed with other trends of thought.» Would it not be more correct to say that their desertion of the Marxist camp had its roots precisely in their false class position? When the question is about Marxists with proletarian concepts, the outbursts which may take place (and they have taken place when the worker parties have turned revisionist), do not lead to other trends of thought; they are not shut up «in the shell of skepticism», but continue in the Marxist tradition. The truth is that there are proletarian intellectuals, or intellectuals closely linked with the working class, with a revolutionary world outlook, and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals who strut about posing as extraordinary beings, as if it were up to them to make the law in the party, in the state and society. To keep the Marxist ground or abandon it is not simply a question of particular conditions but a question of class concepts.

BOURGEOIS INTELLECTUALISM

Toeing the line of bourgeois intellectualism, Nelson Levy thinks that «whole contingents of communists» have been thrown into a state of apathy as a result of the so-called poisoning from «bombastic and triumphalist self-assurance», and points out that doubt is the main incentive to the widening

of knowledge. He makes common cause with an anti-Marxist trend (or group) which had decided to question everything, to consider doubt as the fundamental means to stimulate reasoning. In the last analysis, to him there are no concrete truths, not even that «life, practice, must come first, must be fundamental in the theory of cognition» (Lenin, «Materialism and Empiriocriticism»). In fact, if everything is questioned, nothing can be true. To acknowledge the victories achieved (and a victory is never achieved without shortcomings and weaknesses of secondary importance), to have scientific convictions based on objective laws, to acknowledge that an orientation or a directive responds to a given reality and is achieving success, this is considered by these people as standing on positions of sheer triumphalism. According to them, the line of the party, the activity of the party and the organization of the party itself should always be made conditional on the question: «Are they correct or not? I have my doubts about it...» This is the old tune of the skeptics who doubt about everything. Certainly, doubt, scientific doubt exists, and it is based on the concrete study of phenomena which are not yet verified. However, what prompts human mind to gain more knowledge of the world is not precisely doubt, but research, the study of phenomena, experimentation and, above all, the possibility discovered by dialectical materialism to penetrate the essence of things, to discover the objective laws of nature and society. Were the revolutionary forces to base their activity on doubt, on uncertainty, they would hesitate in carrying out their tasks. And in this case, instead of a coherent and active party, we would have an army of wavering people, who would ask at any moment whether or not they are on the right road.

Levy deals with the connection between theory and practice in a wrong

context. He points out the existing practice has underwritten scientific activity. But the unity between theory and practice is expressed in something more concrete which, in this case, is the activity of the communist party. This activity is not «the realm of practice», but a conscious activity carried out amongst the masses with a revolutionary purpose. The value of the ideas which inspire this activity is verified in the course of this activity itself. Whence come the victories in the construction of socialism, the successes achieved by the proletarian parties before revisionism struck roots in them? Was it from sterile practice? Or was it, on the contrary, from the unity between theory and practice, when every organized activity reflects a definite concept? The industrialization of the Soviet Union, the collectivization of agriculture, the victory in the war against nazism, the stand of Albania in the positions of socialism, the defence of Marxism-Leninism along with the consistent restructuring of the international worker movement — all this was made possible thanks to the unity between theory and practice in the activity of the party. Or does this phenomenon not respond to social science? Notable successes have been achieved also in the field of natural sciences, as, for example, in the field of nuclear energy which comprises a whole complex of scientific activities, a field in which important steps ahead were taken in the Soviet Union as early as the first half of the 50's.

STRUGGLE OF OPINIONS IN THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MANNER

In his book Nelson Levy betrays his own utterly wrong idea of the true Marxist-Leninist party. In his opinion, such a party would, in the last analysis, be only a club for endless discussions and debate, a party open

to all ideologies, a party in which several antagonistic lines would coexist «within the framework of a greater unity». Of course, such a party would never be a Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary and proletarian party, but a revisionist social-democratic and bourgeois party. In this case, willy-nilly, ideological pluralism would crop up in the party, and would fatally lead to its organizational disintegration, to its infiltration by all kind of bourgeois, opportunist and revisionist elements.

He expresses himself openly against the unity of thought in the Party and, as a consequence, supports the freedom of manifestation of different ideological trends in its ranks. «Monopolism in action(...) was extended,» says he, «to the field of ideas, thus creating a ridiculous monopoly outside all reality.» But what monopoly does he refer to? The prevailing ideology in a worker party is Marxism-Leninism, it cannot coexist with any other mode of thinking. His division between unity of thought and unity of action is monstrous and idealistic. Unity of action is based on unity of thought. Without this unity (achieved on the basis of Marxism-Leninism), unity of action does not and cannot exist. That unity of action should exist divorced from unity of thinking is as crazy as it is anti-dialectical. To seek to achieve this would be tantamount to falling into the predicament of Buridan's ass which hesitated between a bucket of water and a hay-stack.

The contradiction between the bolsheviks and the mensheviks, which went on within the same party until the year 1912, is known in the history of the worker movement. However, despite some formal agreements they never reached unity of action. And this because there was no unity of thought, no ideological unity. The bolsheviks were in revolutionary positions, while the mensheviks were orientated towards opportunism. It is true that the bolsheviks were never afraid «of

the ever recurring struggle», but it is just as true that they constantly combated the theories and the opponents of Marxism, that they never tolerated ideological pluralism within the party. «The famous freedom of criticism (of the opportunists) is nothing other than freedom to give up any coherent and well-weighed theory; it means eclecticism and lack of principles», the leader of bolshevism stressed.

This unity does not mean that differences in the ranks of the communist forces should be ignored. Criticism and struggle of opinions are necessary and do not exclude unity of action. They are realized in the context of the single concept of the struggle of the proletariat. At the end of a discussion and after a decision has been made, unity of thought and action prevails.

However, the author of the book «The Crisis of Imperialism and the Revolution» makes no distinction as to the character of the contradictions in the ranks of the party and the communist movement. He simply calls for freedom of opinion... But there are antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions. And there is a different treatment of the former and the latter. Discussion and debate among comrades who stand on Marxist-Leninist positions are one thing, and it is quite another thing when opinions altogether contrary to the interests of the proletariat come under the issue. The former discussions and debates are acceptable, even desirable, because they promote the development of the party and the communist movement; while if the latter smoulder within the party and the communist movement they lead to their destruction. The second kind of contradictions is resolved only by expelling their carriers from the party.

The accusation that, «the metaphysical conception of unity which prevailed or still continues to prevail within

every party and in the world communist movement» has led to neglect of the struggle of opinions, is a humbug and reflects a metaphysical treatment of the question on the part of the author. The worker movement has in its record permanent struggles of opinions which take place within every party and in the world movement of the proletariat as a whole. Many contradictions about the most different subjects existed during the time Stalin stood at the head of the Bolshevik Party and led the world communist movement. Even before he died, in «Economic Problems of the USSR», he brought weighty arguments in a polemic over some major theoretical and practical problems, in which some party members, who addressed themselves to him freely and opposed his views, were involved. Significant is also the polemic between Stalin and Tito over fundamental questions of the revolution and socialism.

Who can negate the all-round and complex struggle of opinions waged by the Marxist-Leninists in every country and on an international scale after the revisionist take-over in the Soviet Union? Can anyone negate the polemic of the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, with Khrushchev and company? The Brazilian revolutionaries fought a stern struggle against the local revisionists in defence of the party of the working class. Everyday, in every party, different opinions emerge and a struggle of principle is waged on the ideological and practical plane. In general, the communist movement has never ceased the struggle against trends hostile to Marxism-Leninism. But apparently these are not struggles of opinions in the same party or in the same movement, in Nelson Levy's idea. He calls for coexistence of different antagonistic ideologies from the class standpoint and in permanent debate among them in the same party or in the same

movement. He and those who think in the same way as he endeavours to introduce into the ranks of the Communist Party of Brazil a free debate between the open or disguised liquidators and the communists, who defended and continue to defend the existence of their party, between those who, with their attacks, intended to blow up the party, to alter its character, and those who opposed these attacks. Unity in the party is irreconcilable with this kind of struggle of opinions. Nevertheless, as it happens, this struggle must have a solution. A unity which is not based on principles is not Marxist-Leninist unity. Nelson Levy's idea of unity is similar to that which exists in the ranks of the revisionist parties, above all, the Eurocommunist and social-democratic parties. They are eclectic bourgeois parties, in which every ideology thrives. Only they allow themselves the luxury of accepting the freedom of factions in their ranks, because they have not the revolution, but the so-called democratic game, in the context of the bourgeois regime, as their objective.

Imbued with this concept, he also attacks the Third International founded by Lenin, although without mentioning it by name. He says that this world organization of the working class was «transformed into an all-powerful, infallible and unquestionable entity» and allegedly influenced the process of «dogmatization» of Marxism, «dealing a death blow at the critical spirit in the context of Marxism», «leading to bourgeois empiricism» and «a strong feeling of contempt for theory and science».

Here, too, his criticism is in the same line as that over the other questions mentioned above — it is subjectivist and liberal-bourgeois. In the conditions it was born and carried out its activity, the Comintern as a body and its activity over about a quarter of a century had great historic significance. Regardless of some errors that might

have been made and its unavoidable historical limitations, it played a great and irreplaceable role in the world communist and worker movement. It assisted the formation and strengthening of many proletarian parties of the Leninist type all over the world. It undertook the task of summing up the experience of the revolutionary struggle and of correctly and collectively defining, at its congresses and not as an idolized forum, the roads and ways to carry the revolution forward and to strengthen the proletarian parties. Not only did it not suppress the spirit of criticism, but, on the contrary, it awakened and encouraged the militant creative thinking of the working class. Many of its decisions of a world-wide range stemmed from the living experience of particular countries. The victorious tactic of the united front and the popular front against fascism was born in France and Spain and summed up at the 7th Congress of the Communist International. In this summing-up was included the Brazilian experience of the National Liberation Alliance, which Dimitrov mentioned as a good example for the dependent countries. A special place in the activity of the Comintern was occupied by the exposure of the right and «left» tendencies, especially Trotskyism and Bukharinism, which emerged after the death of Lenin. The Communist International strengthened the unity of the workers all over the world and encouraged the solidarity among the working people.

In the period in which the Comintern carried out its activity the communist and worker movement assumed an unprecedented vigorous development, with especially good results in Germany, France, Spain and in the countries of Central and South-eastern Europe, which led to the great historic triumph of socialism. The positive influence of the Comintern was colossal also on the worker parties of all continents, including Latin America.

DISAGREEMENT OVER CRITICISM OF THE REVISIONISTS

In the introduction to his book Nelson Levy analyses from his anti-Marxist angle the stand of the Marxist-Leninists towards modern revisionism. He thinks that the renegades from socialism are criticized from dogmatic positions, which according to him, «benumbed creativeness in the camp of Marxism itself and hampered the deepening of criticism of the revisionists.» He should have much pent-up petty-bourgeois hatred to bring in such accusation.

It is known that criticism of modern revisionism, as well as of its Soviet, Chinese and other forms, was made by the Marxist-Leninists all over the world right from the first moments of its emergence. The creation of new Marxist-Leninist parties is one of the main results of this consistent criticism. This stand against revisionism did not emerge from those sections of intellectuals who criticize Marxism today. These sections accepted revisionism on a whole for a long time, and repudiated it, if they really have come to repudiate it, only when its exposure became too evident.

The exposure of revisionism is a great historic merit of those who detected and attacked it to defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism. They did not let themselves to be deceived by the fallacies of Khrushchev and his acolytes who tried to justify their betrayal of the cause of the proletariat with the pretext that the situation in the world had changed, that Marxism should be brought up to date. Likewise, they were not led astray by the stale platitudes of the Maoists about the theory of three worlds, which is also based on the supposed changes that have taken place following the Second World War, especially in the colonial and dependent world. On the contrary, they gave proof of a highly critical spirit, of the ability of pro-

fundly analysing the complex problems of the worker movement, which are ways of action altogether contrary to dogmatism. Not only did they know how to identify revisionism, but also to define its various shades. Criticism of this form of social-democracy was deepened in twenty years of relentless struggle against Soviet revisionism, against the so-called Eurocommunism, against Titoism and, recently, Chinese revisionism. And the transformation of the USSR and China into social-imperialist countries was clearly analysed in this process. Apart from this, the criticism of the Marxist-Leninists was also directed against another form of revisionism, against those trends which try to revise Marxism from the positions of the so-called struggle against dogmatism, a struggle which is not aimed at revisionism, but at the foundations of Marxism-Leninism. So the Marxist-Leninists conduct their criticism on two fronts: against the open revisionists and against those who disguise themselves as «creative» Marxists, like Nelson Levy. And there is no doubt that the criticism of the Marxist-Leninists against the revisionists has been profound and fruitful. That is why they arrived at a common conception of the revisionist errors of Maoism.

The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists raise a great noise to «prove» that modern capitalism is neither such as was described by Marx, nor such as was described by Lenin in the epoch of imperialism. They talk of a «new», post-imperialist phase, or of a «new», post-industrial society, etc. Certainly, nobody denies the changes that have taken place and the other phenomena apparent in modern capitalism, and which are linked with the development of state monopoly capitalism, with a broader participation of the state in the economic activity of different countries, with the setting up of a number of international organisms, like the Common Market and United

Europe, with the broadening of the activity of multi-national companies, with the replacement of old colonialism with neo-colonialism, etc. These changes and phenomena do not alter in the least the nature of capitalism, the laws which operate in it, nor do they bring about the disappearance of the essential contradictions which erode this system from within. The fundamental characteristics of imperialism, as they were defined by Lenin, do not change, on the contrary they become even more pronounced.

It is not true, as Levy writes, that revisionism has been talking about «innovation» only recently. The author of this assertion seems to have short knowledge of the reports of Khrushchev and Brezhnev and the tons of articles and materials published by the Soviet press from the year 1956 on, in which the new conditions created in the world are presented as valuable arguments to justify the essential changes in the manner how Marxism, according to them, should deal with the major problems of our epoch. Wherefrom emerged the thesis of Khrushchevite «coexistence?» Or wherefrom emerged the ideas about the so-called possibility of avoiding wars in the framework of the present-day imperialist domination? Wherefrom emerged the concept of the peaceful transition (through elections) to socialism, which was adopted immediately by the parties of France, Italy and some other countries? It is clear that all these have their source in revisionist «innovations» based on the changes that took place after the Second World War. And so has it always been. The revision of Marxism, beginning with Bernstein, is falsely presented as combined with the absolute necessity of finding a solution to new problems. The «criticism» of Marxism-Leninism of today, allegedly based on the new phenomena, also went to revise the doctrine of the proletariat. They try to do it on the sly. They do not admit that they are

all out to revise Marxism, but they say only that they want to bring it up to date. What is the «updating» of Marxism Nelson Levy wants? It is, in essence, the revision of Marxism under the pretext that «new conditions» have emerged and that the science of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin has allegedly dogmatized.

Innumerable works have been published by the Marxist-Leninists and the progressive people, in which the arguments and definition of the new phenomena on the part of the bourgeois ideologists are stigmatized. Many are the works in which the Krushchevite «innovations» in connection with war, peaceful transition to socialism, peaceful coexistence, capitalist crises (which have allegedly become less frequent and can even be avoided), etc. are exposed. This criticism is made in the light of Marxism and the fundamental principles of the class struggle. Enver Hoxha's latest book «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», as well as his work «Yugoslav 'Self-administration' — a Capitalist Theory and Practice» constitute an important contribution to the development of criticism against revisionism. It is necessary to delve deeper into the causes of the emergence of modern revisionism, of the bourgeois degeneration of the former communist parties and former socialist countries, as well as into the criticism of the revisionists' views and stands. This the true Marxist-Leninists try to do, and they are doing it ever better.

MAOISM AND THE THEORY OF THREE WORLDS

In the introduction to his book, Levy refers himself with discontent to some aspects of the struggle waged up to now against Maoism and against the theory of three worlds.

He shows his disagreement with the exposure of Mao Zedong thought on the part of the Marxist-Leninists.

According to him, Maoism is allegedly «accepted en bloc and in an uncritical manner, or at most, after some weak and intuitive criticism(...), and since Mao Zedong thought, as it seems, must have a probable connection with the failure of the construction of socialism in China, it began to be rejected in the same unsystematic manner as it was exalted initially.» In this reasoning opposition to the criticisms formulated by the world communist movement is quite obvious, and, in a certain manner, regret about the fact that Maoism has been rejected «unsystematically», is expressed.

Not unintentionally Nelson Levy, who says (in self-praise) that he has remained «loyal to the unity between historical and dialectical materialism» in the treatment of the theory of three worlds, keeps silent about the theoretical and ideological source (Mao Zedong thought) from which the problem of three worlds emerged, at a moment when this «theory» is not a mere invention of Deng Xiaoping, nor was it enunciated suddenly, without connection with the past, in the speech he delivered at the General Assembly of the UNO when Mao Zedong was still alive. Likewise, it is not unintentionally that he talks only of a possible connection between Maoism and the failure of socialism, being unable to see the events in China as directly deriving from the concepts of the old Chinese leader. It seems that he employs the word «unsystematically» in the sense that Mao Zedong thought has good things which ought to be introduced into Marxism. This may be inferred from his criticism of the criticism made by those who radically refute the Maoist viewpoint.

Mao has had great merits in the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution in China, just as Fidel Castro had in the Cuban revolution, without ever being a Marxist. Mao was the founder of the People's Republic of China. Nevertheless, the so-called Mao Zedong

thought is an essentially anti-Marxist revisionist trend which is Marxist-Leninist only in appearance. The struggle against imperialism and revisionism and the need for promoting the cause of the revolution, the cause of the national liberation of the peoples and the cause of socialism call for the complete exposure of Maoism. This is a question of principle, a political question, a dialectical question. There were exaggerations in the exaltation of the ideas of Mao and Maoism, and this is accepted by all Marxist-Leninists. But the differences over the Chinese orientation and Mao Zedong thought, prior to their open exposure, were not so «weak and intuitive». Only Levy's subjectivism can produce such asinities. The Party of Labour of Albania, as well as the Communist Party of Brazil, for example, have never accepted Mao Zedong as a classic and his thought as a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism. Their stands are essential stands maintained consciously and based on principles. Maoism was not rejected unsystematically, but as a result of a long study of it as a social practice and of the stand of the CP of China towards problems of capital importance. The serious analysis made over twenty years by Enver Hoxha and mirrored in the two ample volumes of his work «Reflections on China» proves this to the hilt. Cognition of phenomena and, more so, of complicated social phenomena, cannot be arrived at overnight. It goes through a dialectical process which is linked with the process of the phenomenon in question. Along with the evolution of the phenomenon, its cognition also evolves.

Although Nelson Levy boasts that in his book he has waged a scientific struggle against the three-world mystification, he has never been consistent. He avoided the definition of the source of this so-called theory. And this, doubtlessly, is the more important question when one has to go to the

bottom of the Chinese theory of three worlds. There is a definite class stand in the treatment of this «theory». It is not sufficient to say in passing that «both the anti-hegemonist struggle and the theory of three worlds are, on a whole, ideological expressions of some bourgeois circles of dependent countries.» It is necessary to seek the causes of this ideological stand within China itself. And it leads to the fact that Mao Zedong and his closest collaborators never had a proletarian world outlook. The author of the book «The Crisis of Imperialism and the Revolution» is mistaken when he says that «the theory of three worlds removes China from the camp of socialism.» On the basis of the facts and well-studied data, China never succeeded in joining effectively the camp of socialism. It never emerged from the bounds of the democratic and anti-imperialist stage. Hence the «theory» of three worlds, as well as the categorical assertion of Mao Zedong that China «belongs to the third world» only serve to confirm what was said above. If this concept was formerly employed to define a way of dealing with the world of the pettybourgeoisie and the circles of the national bourgeoisie, later it evolved into a concept of the big bourgeoisie, assumed an imperialist content. Evidence of this evolution is the «theory» of three worlds and the present policy of «modernizations». In this sense, the theory of three worlds is not, as Levy pretends, a mere «ideological expression of some circles of the bourgeoisie of the dependent countries».

Posing as a great and original theoretician, Nelson Levy says that he avoided «waging a vulgar struggle based on quotations from the classics, against the theory of three worlds.» In reality, he restrained himself, perhaps out of a personal weakness, from refuting the theoretical and ideological fallacious arguments of the article of the newspaper «Renminribao», or-

gan of the leadership of the Communist Party of China. The best part of this article, on which he based himself for his opposition, consists of quotations, so selected as to distort the classics in order to sow confusion among its readers. Hence, it is a case of an important question, because in this article the Chinese revisionists sought to prove that they were Marxist-Leninists and based themselves on the thoughts of the classics. But how could they be exposed without showing the depth of their distortions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin? At the time the 2nd International failed, when Kautsky and his followers distorted the true content of the thoughts of Marx and Engels about such a cardinal question as that about the nature of the state, in order to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin did not hesitate to employ long quotations from the founders of scientific socialism in order to defend their doctrine and to openly expose Kautsky's opportunism, his betrayal of the cause of the workers, pointing out, at the same time, the revolutionary essence of Marxism (See: V. I. Lenin, «The State and the Revolution»). Certainly, Levy has his reasons not to accept a confrontation on this plane with the authors of the article of «Renminribao». He does not want to defend Marxism-Leninism by relying on the ideas of its creators. According to him, to rely on them would be dogmatism... And in this appears the real significance of his struggle against dogmatism.

DISCOVERY OF AN OLD DISCOVERY

In the final part of the introduction to his book, Levy states, «the conclusion which appears to be of greater value, more fundamental, is the observation that the working class, in the majority of the neo-colonial and de-

pendent countries, is also placing itself at the centre of the present epoch, it is, thus, being transformed into the axis of the struggle of the oppressed peoples for national and social emancipation.» He says that this conclusion is «a devastating exposure of the reformist theses, which still insist that the anti-imperialist struggle should be conceived within the limits of a 'revolution' under the hegemony of the bourgeoisie.»

Finally, Levy discovers what had been discovered long before, with the difference that, according to him, the working class of these countries is placing itself at the centre of the present epoch while the truth is that it has stood at the centre long ago. As early as the period of the 3rd International Lenin returned many a time to this question. Stalin did this, too. During the Chinese revolution the Comintern frequently capitalized on the question of the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution of this country, which was the greatest semi-colonial country of the world. And there are more and fresh examples to illustrate this. In 1971, at the 6th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha expressed himself in these words: «The working class, as the most revolutionary class of society, can and should come to the forefront and take the lead not only of the struggle for socialism but also of the struggle for democracy and national independence.» Lenin provided this thesis with scientific arguments more than half a century ago. It is even more true today, «when the working class has increased, is tempered, educated and organized to a higher degree, and when democratic and socialist tasks have become even more closely interwoven.» The Communist Party of Brazil, at its 6th Conference held in 1961, stressed: «The hegemony in the first stage of the revolution is a fundamental problem for the working class. Being the most advanced force of so-

ciety and the object of every kind of exploitation, it does not confine itself to the bourgeois-democratic objectives. It is interested in socialism. Its objective is, after carrying out the democratic and national liberation tasks, to go over to the socialist stage, and this will be achieved only by seizing the leadership of the movement in its hands.» The article «On the Anti-imperialist Struggle», published in 1973, also stresses: «The alternative between the revolution or the peaceful road is connected with the problem of the leadership in the anti-imperialist movement, with the social force which can lead it successfully (...) Only the proletariat can take the lead of the anti-imperialist movement. Today no other class is interested in carrying the struggle against reaction and imperialism through to the end. Only the proletariat can give vigour and determination to this movement (...). The fact that the proletariat of many countries has not yet occupied this position, be-

cause of the revisionist betrayal and the long prevalence of reformism, does not weaken this thesis. Sooner or later it will break away from opportunism and place itself at the head of the people's masses to lead them to victory.» As is seen, the need for the communist movement to put the stress on the leadership of the working class in the struggle for the national and social emancipation of the oppressed peoples, does not emerge today. In spite of all this, Nelson Levy still believes in a national-democratic «revolution» under the hegemony of the bourgeoisie. And now he has arrived at the conclusion that this does not respond to the reality. A devastating conclusion, indeed, according to his way of thinking...

* * *

Conclusion. After pointing out that he considers his book as «a contribution to the discussion of the principal problems of our time», Levy expresses

the desire that one day this debate becomes «powerful and fiery», calling expressly on his readers to follow the road he describes. But what is his road? It is the road of the struggle against Marxist-Leninism under the guise of the struggle against dogmatism; it is the road of the struggle against the genuine party of the working class under the idiotic pretext that an end should be put to ideological monopolism; it is the road of the attack on the revolutionary methods and style of the proletariat in the class struggle, which are considered as restrictive and sectarian; it is the road of the attack on scientific socialism which allegedly is nothing other than a set of errors. It is the same road as that which led the well-headed bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals, who divorced themselves from political and ideological coexistence with the advanced proletariat, who lost faith in the revolution and communism, into the morass of revisionism.

PRINCIPAL IMPLEMENTS OF IMPERIALIST DOMINATION AND AGGRESSION

by **ÇLIRIM MUZHA**

NATO and the Warsaw Treaty are ideal instruments for the realization of the aggressive policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. With the imperialist, counter-revolutionary and neo-colonialist interests they have, the members of these blocs rally around their leadership and assist them in the co-ordination of the activity in foreign policy

THE PRESENT-DAY INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS, AS A WHOLE, HAVE MADE THE INTER-IMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS, AMONG WHICH THE RIVALRY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE SOVIET UNION ATTRACTS ATTENTION, MORE ACUTE. THE UPSURGE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE OTHER OPPRESSED MASSES, WHICH IS SHAKING THE CAPITALIST, BOURGEOIS OR REVISIONIST SYSTEM IN CRISIS AND DECAY FROM ITS FOUNDATION IS AMONG THE FACTORS WHICH BRING ABOUT THIS EXACERBATION OF CONTRADICTIONS.

In these conditions, along with an unrestrained deceptive propaganda, both American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are more and more openly and strongly resorting to all kind of threats, blackmail and pressure, through military intervention and invasion of other countries, as happened with Afghanistan which was occupied by the Soviet social-imperialists, through blatant aggressive actions, as was the case of the American attack on Iran, or through pitting one state against the other in order to cause tension in their relations, to push them into conflicts with one another, which may eventually

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end in local wars, from which the superpowers ensure their part of profit.

The main role in this war-mongering activity is played by the aggressive blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

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NATO for American imperialism and the Warsaw Treaty for Soviet social-imperialism are the principal buttresses on which they prop up their whole hegemony-seeking and expansionist policy. Hence the two superpowers make constant efforts to strengthen and consolidate these blocs and to preserve

their domination and control over them.

Although NATO and the Warsaw Treaty were set up for distinctly opposite aims, today these two alliances are as much alike as two drops of water.

The setting up of the political and military alliance of NATO was the crowning of the efforts of American imperialism to put Western Europe under its military control. Through this organization it carries out its policy of imperialist domination, aggression and war. On its part, the Warsaw Treaty was set up as a necessary defensive counterweight of the East-European countries of the former socialist camp, as response to the real threat coming from American imperialism and its aggressive NATO bloc. However, the Khrushchevite revisionists, following their revisionist line which was crystallized at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, within less than one year from the creation of the Warsaw Treaty, set

and control over the North Atlantic alliance, to bind it permanently to its own policy. And this for the reason that, as is known, contradictions and frictions are natural among the members of inter-imperialist alliances. In the present period these inter-imperialist frictions, the tendency of one partner to gain pre-eminence over the others, have become even more acute. Some European members of the NATO alliance are no longer in positions of complete inferiority towards the United States of America, as was the situation in the period 1945-1950. The ratio of forces among these countries has changed, with the consequence that the struggle for supremacy over each other has flared up from time to time. In spite of all the shifts and changes American imperialism continues to retain the commanding position in NATO. In no case, no matter how sharp the inter-imperialist contradictions inside this alliance, even when its members have risen openly against the American dictate, the United States of America has let go the reins of control and domination over NATO.

This, of course, does not mean that American imperialism has had to face unimportant problems. Apart from the French in the second half of the sixties, the United States has also been seriously challenged by its other NATO partners on different occasions. American prestige was greatly shaken in the eyes of its allies as a result of the open failure of the American aggression against Iran in the middle of the past year, under the pretext of «liberating the hostages». That Washington kept the plan of this attack «secret» from its allies was considered an expression of its mistrust and insecurity about the getting the unre-served approval of and support for this aggression on the part of its allies, even if the latter have not failed to express their hostility towards the Iranian revolution and people.

The 1970's had a pack of fresh difficulties in store for the capitalist world. In these years the economic, political, military, financial and cultural crisis of this world broke out, extended and deepened in all directions, in proportions never seen before, involving all the structures and superstructures of the capitalist countries and creating fresh tensions. In these conditions the inter-imperialist scrambles found their expression also

in the relations of the United States of America with the other countries and among them, the countries of the European Common Market, deeply affecting the American-West-European relationship in NATO. In these conditions, in April 1973 Washington proclaimed a «New Atlantic Charter», whereby it intended to break all opposition to its domination in Europe on the part of its European partners and to further strengthen its grip on NATO. After a year of wrangle, which, in the long run, forced ex-President Nixon to threaten that unless American dictate was accepted, the United States «would not fulfil its commitments to the security of the European countries», the European members of NATO submitted to American supremacy against one «concession» on Washington's part: to change the name of the document, which was called the «Atlantic Declaration», thus avoiding only formally the juridical implications of a «charter». The United States of America achieved its aim. This declaration, which was a reconfirmation of the old American policy, is intended at strengthening and preserving American dictate and hegemony in the political situation created in Europe and in the world as a result of the constant deepening of the world crisis of capitalism. On its part, the United States not only secured the further military and political integration of NATO into the US policy, but also managed to achieve even blinder obedience to American dictate.

American imperialism keeps NATO under its heel militarily as well. For this purpose it makes the utmost of its right to maintain US armed forces in the West-European countries and reinforce them whenever the need arises, and to control all NATO organs and sections through American officers. The American officers in the structures of this alliance are chosen from among the best and most qualified specialists, military strategists and politicians. Another fact about the American military supremacy in NATO is the existence in most West-European countries of numerous American military bases, in which a great number of troops and powerful arsenals of strategic and conventional weapons are stationed. The American bases in Spain, which Washington tries to make the 16th member of NATO, serve the same purpose.

On their part, the Soviets have a

about work to radically change the aims and character of this treaty, to bring about the degeneration of this treaty into a tool in the service of the aims of the Soviet empire, a means of their dictate over the other member countries and a means for the implementation of their social-imperialist policy of aggression and war. And this they eventually did. The transformation of the Soviet Union into an imperialist superpower was accompanied with a radical change of the character of the Warsaw Treaty. Today the Warsaw Treaty is a military and political grouping of capitalist states, led by the Soviet Union, the same as its Western counterpart — NATO, in which the United States of America plays first fiddle.

Bent on maintaining their dominant positions in these groupings and alliances, the two superpowers, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, keep a sharp eye on all possible centrifugal movements and tendencies of their partners and employ the dollar and the ruble, resort to all means of pressure in their power to keep them under tutelage.

The period of more than three decades of the existence of NATO has shown that not infrequently the United States of America was forced to manoeuvre with the political, diplomatic and military means in order to maintain and strengthen its grip on

firm grip on the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty. The dominant positions of the Kremlin in this alliance have grown stronger. Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «The Soviet Khrushchevites have replaced Marxist-Leninist trust and friendship with the domination of the great 'socialist' state to create the 'socialist family', the 'socialist community', in which today the law is made by the iron hand of Brezhnev and the Soviet marshals who wave the stick of the Warsaw Treaty over the head of any 'prodigal son' who wants to break away from the family.» (Enver Hoxha, «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), pp. 208-309, Alb. ed.)

For it to arrive at this point the Soviet social-imperialist state had to completely reduce the Warsaw Treaty into the service of its aggressive policy of domination, which is aimed at ensuring spheres of influence and world hegemony. Hence, the functions of this alliance, despite the attempts of the Soviet revisionist propaganda and that of the other member countries of the Warsaw Treaty to present it as a defensive alliance, are quite identical with those which characterize NATO and the other aggressive military blocs imperialism has set up all over the world.

The initially defensive function of the Warsaw Treaty changed contents rapidly and totally. Today the Warsaw Treaty is a tool in the hands of the Soviets to defend their interests and domination over Eastern Europe, this was fully confirmed in the aggression against Czechoslovakia in August 1968, when the troops of the Soviet Union and some of its allies occupied this country militarily. A situation similar to that of Czechoslovakia has been created in and around Poland which is badly shaken by a political and economic crisis. Faced with the danger of a «break-away», as the various news agencies report, the Soviet Union has massed large forces on the territories bordering on Poland. The Soviet troops stationed in the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia have been put on alert. Likewise, in order to blackmail Poland into submission, military exercises of the Warsaw Treaty forces are being carried out inside the Polish territory and along the German-Polish border, the Soviet troops

stationed in Poland are on a state of alert and several high level meetings of the Warsaw Treaty have been held, at which Poland has been threatened even with open armed intervention.

On the other hand, the Warsaw Treaty plays an alternate role, that of serving as the buttress of the Soviet policy of aggression and occupation of other countries, both in Europe and outside it. It is a fact that all the Soviet allies in the Warsaw Treaty backed the open fascist invasion of Afghanistan, as they have constantly supported the Soviet hegemony-seeking policy in the Middle East, in the Persian Gulf, in Africa, Asia, etc.

The Soviet Union secures its supremacy in the Warsaw Treaty utilizing the different structures of its organization which, favourable as it is to Soviet interests, creates great possibilities for the deepening of the political and military integration of the vassal countries into the Soviet empire. Thus, the Consultative Political Committee – the supreme organ of the Warsaw Treaty, is consultative only in name, while in fact it operates as a supra-state organ in the service of Soviet social-imperialism. Through this body the Brezhnev clique not only controls the policy and activity the other member countries of this Treaty carry out in the internal field and the international arena, but also imposes its policy, even the tactics they must employ on them. On the other hand, all the political organs and military commands of the Treaty depend on this Committee and take orders from it. In November 1976, the Soviet social-imperialists set up another organism in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty – the Committee of Foreign Ministers, as an organ of the Consultative Political Committee for the coordination of the practical activities and the outlining of the directions of the policy of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty with that of the Soviet Union.

The Warsaw Treaty is at any time at the disposal of Moscow. The Soviet generals, who are at the head of all commanding posts, are all-powerful in it. With this the Soviet Union has put the entire system of organization of this alliance in the service of its aims.

The military integration the Soviet social-imperialists imposed on their relations with their partners, long ago, along with the economic integration into the Comecon, has transformed these countries politically, economically and militarily, into real appendages of the Soviet empire. The member countries of this Treaty have put under its «joint command» large contingents of troops which, in fact, are under the orders of the Soviet high commanders in the Treaty and can be set in motion at any time by the Soviet social-imperialists. In the context of the «unification of armaments» the Soviet Union has also reduced its allies to their complete dependence on Soviet armaments and military equipment. And it tries to cover up all these relations of dictate and submission under the cloak of «cooperation», «standardization of armaments», «specialization», etc.

But in spite of anything the Soviet social-imperialists do and say, in spite of the fact that they make the law in the Warsaw Treaty, nothing can save this political and military alliance from being eroded from within by the numerous contradictions. Differences and quarrels are endemic in the revisionist clan. Sometimes they appear more acute, sometimes less so, they may even calm down for a while, but they never can be solved. Differences have not been infrequent amongst the Warsaw Treaty members, especially over the rights of its members. They arise as opposition to the Soviet social-imperialists' control of all the key posts while the others have been left with only a shadow of competences. Differences and contradictions have also arisen over the level of military expenditure, the contribution which, under this Treaty, Moscow has imposed on its vassals for maintaining the Soviet occupation troops stationed in their countries, etc. In order to placate the anger of its partners the Soviet Union not only uses its propaganda machine and «internationalist» slogans, but, whenever the need arises, resorts to economic pressure and open threats which are conveyed by the Soviet chiefs during their «friendly visits» to the capitals of the Warsaw Treaty member countries. The Soviet Union resorts to political and military blackmail and

threat, before which the revisionist chiefs of the member countries are reduced into servile obedience, in mortal fear lest they lose the posts in which the Soviet boss has raised them.

As the facts show, the inter-imperialist contradictions are many and crop up in all aspects of international relations and at all times. They cause alliances to be concluded and broken, stir up rivalries and, when exacerbated to the extreme, may even lead to war. However, the contradictions arising now and then amongst the NATO members and those of the Warsaw Treaty have not yet reached a critical degree and come above the alliance. Hence, at present as in the past, they have not prevented the superpowers — the United States and the Soviet Union from lord-ing over in these alliances, exercising their complete control over their partners and realizing their sinister criminal plans. NATO and the Warsaw Treaty have always been the watchdogs of American or Soviet interests in their respective groupings.

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Time has fully vindicated the correctness of the thesis of the Party of Labour of Albania that the aggressive military alliances of the two superpowers are the biggest striking force against the revolution and the liberation wars of the peoples, against their freedom and sovereignty. At present, the allies of each superpower in the respective aggressive blocs have lined up behind their leaders and are caught up in the fierce inter-imperialist rivalry going on everywhere, in the strategically important area of the Persian Gulf, in Africa, in the Middle East, in Europe, Asia and elsewhere. This clearly shows that both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty have been and remain organs in the service of the predatory neo-colonialist interests of Washington and Moscow.

Recently the superpowers and the military blocs they lead are more and more openly resorting to pressure on and threats against the other peoples and countries. Along with the frequent statements of American high officials, including those of the Reagan team who do not hesitate to say that the American president will «take

proper action in due time» against Iran, the NATO chiefs, too, are talking about the «need» for extending the activity of this bloc to the Gulf area, about the possibility of entering into military alliances with the reactionary regimes of this area, like that of Saudi Arabia, about stepping up of the pressure on Iran, etc. American actions and threats are also accompanied by «joint actions» of the NATO members in the area of the Persian Gulf. At present, 25 warships of the West-European NATO members have been added to the 34 American warships in the waters of the Persian Gulf.

In the meantime, while waving the olive branch to the Iranian people, Soviet social-imperialism, in constant rivalry with American imperialism, has dispatched to the waters of this area 36 warships which stand by ready to intervene, along with the Soviet divisions stationed on the regions bordering on Iran and Afghanistan.

However, the interests of the military blocs and, more particularly, those of their leaders are more complicated and clash more fiercely in Europe. The two superpowers, bent on maintaining and improving their positions in their respective parts of Europe, under the control of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, have assembled unprecedented amounts of strategic weapons, especially nuclear missiles. Military expenditure on maintaining these aggressive blocs and on arming them have already reached astronomical figures. Altogether the United States and the Soviet Union spend a total of about 400 billion dollars for military purposes each year. In order to cope with the unrestrained armaments race they demand from their allies in the respective blocs to increase the military expenditure by no less than 3 per cent each year. The endless and successive manoeuvres of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty in Europe or along its shores are not routine exercises of a «defensive» character, as the bourgeois or revisionist propaganda tries to present them. They are an expression of their all-round preparation for war, which characterizes their unrestrained aggressiveness.

The partial or general manoeuvres of these military alliances envelop large territories and involve the participation of air, land and sea forces. They

carry out large-scale landings, offensive actions, imaginary occupation of coastal areas, of lowlands or mountain regions. Through them the aggressive forces of the two blocs train for aggressive actions against different countries, hence no country or people in Europe is safe from the danger of a military aggression. The military exercises also serve the two superpowers as a pretext to increase their troops stationed in the member countries of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. In the military exercises carried out by NATO in Central Europe, the American imperialists transported complete military units from the American territory to their West-European bases, while the Soviet social-imperialists, among other things, have built a huge ferry-boat system which links the Soviet Union over the Black Sea with Bulgaria, and through which they can shift complete tank or motorized units from the Soviet Union to Bulgaria, if necessary.

All this reminds us of Stalin's thesis to the effect that «The bourgeois states are arming and rearming with a vengeance... not for talks, but for war.» (J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, pp. 242-243, Alb.ed.) That is why the revolutionary and progressive forces and peoples are required to raise and sharpen their vigilance, step up and strengthen their activities to foil the imperialist plans for war.

The revolutionary forces and the true Marxist-Leninist parties are confronted with the task of creating among the working masses deep convictions about the humbug raised by the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda on the «efforts» of the superpowers and the other imperialist states comprised in their political and military blocs for the «lowering of tension in the world», for the «reduction of troops and armaments in Europe», etc as well as the real threat they pose. Talks between the superpowers or the blocs they lead, in reality, are intended to ensure the military superiority of one bloc over the other. And it could not be otherwise. American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism did not set up these blocs in order to weaken or break them up now. On the contrary, they keep them afoot and strengthen them ceaselessly, equip them with most modern armaments and prepare them for war

and aggression. The question is that both American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, aware of the ever rising indignation of the peoples and, among them, those of their European allies, who are increasingly feeling the heavy burden of the armaments race and sensing the threat of war, are labouring by means of the SALT talks in Vienna or the so-called «Conference of European Security», etc to create the impression as if they are doing something to «avoid» the danger of a confrontation and to «lower» the tension and increase the «security» on the European continent and in the world.

With the great development of the military technology and the means of transport of military forces and equipment today, any «reduction» of forces and armaments, even if both sides reach a compromise, cannot be but a bluff. And this not only because the arsenals of the two aggressive blocs are immense, but also because the United States of America and the Soviet Union can quite easily move the small contingents they may withdraw from Central Europe (as only this European area is the object of all the bargain) to other regions of Europe, to countries excluded from all «obligations». Tomorrow, if the need arises, with the means at their disposal, they can re-establish those forces to the

present-day level and increase them within a very short time.

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As is seen, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty are ideal instruments for the realization of the aggressive policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. With the imperialist, counter-revolutionary and neo-colonialist interests they have, the members of these blocs rally around their leadership and assist them in the co-ordination of the activity in foreign policy. Therefore, the struggle which is being waged all over the world by the proletariat and the peoples is directed against the two superpowers and the aggressive blocs under their thumb. The reality has many facts to refute the sermons of the Chinese revisionists who, in their efforts to further their pragmatic policy, have come out openly in defence of NATO and American imperialism and declare Soviet social-imperialism and the Warsaw Treaty to be their sole enemy.

The reality shows with great clarity that the United States of America and the Soviet Union devote particular attention to NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. This proves what Comrade Enver Hoxha has said that «Now, as

in the past, the main pillars, on which all their hegemonic and expansionist superpower policy is based and carried out, the principal shields protecting their imperialist systems, the fundamental weapons for their rivalry and war preparations, are NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.» (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, pp.198-199, Alb. ed.) Hence, the conclusion emerges that the struggle against the imperialist superpowers is indivisible from the ceaseless struggle on all the fronts against the political and military alliances of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, against the bourgeois-revisionist demagoguery which tries to cover up the reactionary, counter-revolutionary and aggressive activity of these blocs.

The Party of Labour of Albania, the Government of the PSR of Albania and the entire Albanian people fight resolutely against the hegemonic, expansionist policy of the United States of America, the Soviet Union and their tools of war, fully convinced that this is the right road, the revolutionary road, which ensures freedom and independence, defends the Homeland and guarantees the construction of socialism, the internationalist road which backs up and defends the struggle of the proletariat and the peoples for national and social emancipation.

THE CAPITALIST REALITY AND THE «SOCIETY OF WELL-BEING FOR ALL»

by L. ÇUÇI

The great socio-economic inequality that exists in the bourgeois-revisionist world today clearly shows that the oppressive and exploitative nature of capitalism not only does not change but, on the contrary, grows deeper with each passing day. The ever greater exploitation and the impoverishment of the proletariat resulting from it, and, on their basis, their discontent, play a very important role in the preparation of the objective conditions for the overthrow of capitalism through the socialist revolution. In this way, the Marxist theory on the impoverishment of the proletariat is an ideological weapon in the hands of the working class in the class struggle for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society

THE EVOLUTION OF THE BOURGEOIS-REVISIONIST SOCIETY TODAY SHOWS A CLEAR CHANGE IN THE RATIO OF FORCES TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES WHO HAVE RISEN STERN CLASS BATTLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM, REVISIONISM AND ALL REACTIONARY FORCES. THE PROGRESSIVE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY AWARE THAT ONLY THROUGH STRUGGLE AND THE REVOLUTION THEY CAN SHAKE OFF THE IMPERIALIST AND REVISIONIST YOKE. THE IDEAS OF MARXISM-LENINISM HAVE CAPTURED THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF MILLIONS OF WAGE-EARNERS AND INSPIRE THEM IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE DOMINATION OF CAPITAL.

In these conditions the monopoly bourgeoisie and its reformist and revisionist stooges labour in vain to oppose their socio-economic concepts, their

view of the perspective development of human society in the future, to the Marxist-Leninist ideas. The bourgeois-revisionist science tries to coin the most suitable names for the new social order which is allegedly replacing capi-

talism, such as for example «popular capitalism», «industrial society», «society of general well-being», etc. These ideologists try to implant in the minds of the working masses, who have revolted against the savage capitalist oppression and exploitation, the idea that they can allegedly solve the problem that worry them within the framework of the reformed capitalist order.

This propaganda capitalizes on some aspects of an organizational character of the development of productive forces which have brought about changes in the organization of the socio-economic

order which, in turn, in their opinion, can be carried out within the framework of the capitalist relations of production, without affecting them. The relatively high-rate increase of labour productivity due to the technical and scientific revolution, the great and rapid concentration of capital and, on this basis, the development of state monopoly capitalism, the changes appearing in the consumption structure of the proletariat, etc — all this has given a fresh impulse to the development of the productive forces in recent years. But while there is a notable material development of the social product, the social base of this development — the capitalist relations of production, remains the same and is increasingly hampering the development of the productive forces. The contradictions of capitalism, instead of being toned down, as the bourgeois-revisionist ideologists hoped, have been further exacerbated. The only thing the proletariat stands to gain from this development is increased oppression and poverty, misery and unemployment, which make an ever deeper imprint in its life.

THE GROWTH OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION AND THE INCREASED DEMANDS OF THE WORKING MASSES

Beginning with the 50's, important changes occurred in the economic structure of the imperialist countries. As a result of the operation of the objective laws of capitalism and change of the ratio of forces in the world, the process of capitalist reproduction underwent notable changes. The technical-scientific revolution, connected with the application of modern physics and chemistry, with the specialization and automatization of production and with the introduction of advanced technology into production, became the basis of this revolution. However, it raised the demand for new plants and machinery, stimulated the production of the means of production, increased the

need for new capital and, at the same time, stepped up the virtual consumption of the existing capital. The massive renewal of fundamental capital on this basis was followed by the vigorous development of new branches of the economy and stepped up the development of the productive forces.

However, the growth and development of the productive forces required more than the development of the means of production alone. It required the development of the producers themselves, as an absolutely necessary element. The technical-scientific revolution, with its high-rate development, has raised the demand for a qualitative improvement of the work force, for it to adapt itself to an overload of complex and immediate changes in the process of production, to acquire new skills and habits. The modern systems of production in the capitalist countries cannot function without a high qualitative level of the work force.

The work in the developed capitalist countries today entails not only tense nerves and attention on the part of the worker, but also great resistance to monotony. As such, it has brought about the manifestation of new forms of fatigue, which cannot fail to lead to a demand for better food and longer hours of more active rest. The great tension at work, combined with the increased intensity of work, without an adequate increase of consumption, leads to a rapid decrease of the work capability of workers. But this also affects the interests of the employers, because it causes a fall of productivity, waste, damage of machinery and equipment, increased traumatization and professional diseases, which make themselves felt in the amount of profit and the general effectiveness of production. At the same time, this is a source of tense relations between labour and capital. The difficult conditions of work are some of the main causes of the powerful strikes and mass protest movements of the working masses in the capitalist world.

On the other hand, the complex mechanization and automation of production brought signal changes in the qualification of wage-earners. The number of engineers, technicians, employees, highly skilled workers, of those operating complex apparatuses involved in production, has increased and, consequently, that of low qualification workers has decreased. The rise of the qualitative level of the work force, on the whole, cannot fail to reflect itself in the volume of means of livelihood consumed and in the conditions necessary for their reproduction. However, high qualification cannot be attained without raising the educational level, without improving the conditions of living, without extending the health service, etc.

For these reasons the bourgeoisie began to show more care for man and his capability for work. Of course, this has nothing to do with humanitarianism or love for man on its part, it merely shows that the role of the work force in social production is becoming ever more important and decisive in the conditions of the technical-scientific revolution.

It is clear that the development of production and the whole society, along with the accumulation of material wealth, also entails the build-up of man's capability for work. Marx called this process the primary accumulation of wealth, the most important result of preceding work which exists only in live work, that is, in the work force.

In keeping with these teachings of Marxism-Leninism it is essential to point out that the factors which increase the value of the work force have greater importance today. Increased intensification of work, increased requirement for the education and qualification of working people, as well as changes in the structure of hired labour, all this has increased the range of demands for a normal living on the part of the working people and have raised the value of the work force. On the other hand, the successes of the

working people in their struggle against the capitalists, which have been achieved through stern class struggles, lead to increased demands for better conditions of living, to the widening of the range of claims of the proletariat, which, combined with other factors, bring about the raising of the value of the work force.

Lenin stresses with particular emphasis that the working people can preserve and develop their capability for work only if they have the maximum of their free time, otherwise, if they lack the necessary things and blessings, they are not in a position to consume them in a specific manner, that is, to increase their capability for work.

At present, in most developed capitalist countries the workday has been reduced and holidays for certain categories of working people have been extended. Thus, in various branches of the industry of the United States, they apply the 39-hour week, in France 41 hours, in Japan 40.8 hours, in Britain 42 hours, etc, etc.

This they do out of necessity, because it is observed that in the conditions of the extreme intensification of work under modern automation of production, labour productivity in the last hours of the working day or towards the week-end falls sharply, and this negatively affects the profits of the capitalist. The bourgeoisie knows which side its bread is buttered, it calculates that, in the conditions of modern production, for the worker to work through all his workday with high productivity he must have free time sufficient for the normal reproduction of his working force. However, emphasis must be put on the fact that the bourgeoisie reached this «conclusion» only after long and bloody battles by the proletariat.

But this extension of the leisure, as a result of changes in the conditions of work and the struggle of the working class, is also a factor which impels the working people to make new demands

for consumer goods and better services, such as, for example, TV sets, wireless sets, musical instruments, cultural services, etc, as well as such goods and services which help extend their free time, like electro-domestic appliances, more rapid transport facilities, etc.

Another phenomenon in the socio-economic life in capitalism, which leads to increased demands on the part of the working people, is also the shortage or insufficient development of urban transport facilities and the costly fare. This causes the demand for personal means of transport, including automobiles which often become absolutely necessary, to increase. The demand for more and more rapid means of transport is also determined by the professional mobility of the worker, which, on its part, is linked with the technical and scientific progress. More often than not the workers are obliged to seek work dozens of kilometres away from their living quarters.

This phenomenon is evident from the great spread of electric and electronic means through which most of general information about jobs and conditions of work, advertisements, programs of raising the qualification level of workers, etc is given or taken. Rapid and correct information cannot exist without this equipment.

In this manner, the process of the emergence of new demands and the necessity of meeting, at least, part of them depends on objective factors of the socio-economic development. In the final analysis, this process is closely linked with the development of production and the principal component of the productive forces — the work force. With the development of production, the work force, as an element of historical and moral value gains a new dimension, requirements change and grow and, together with them, the idea of the means to cope with them. A new social measure to assess the requirements emerges among the working people, and along with this new incen-

tive of struggle to ensure increased pay, without which their growing requirements cannot be fulfilled.

THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION LOWERS THE POSSIBILITIES OF MEETING WORKERS' DEMANDS

Analysing the capitalist mode of production, Marx reached the conclusion that the impoverishment of the proletariat, in its absolute and relative form, is an objective phenomenon which stems from the very nature of the capitalist order and the operation of the economic laws which characterize it. This phenomenon is, in the first place, a direct result of the operation of the fundamental economic law of capitalism — the law of surplus value and the general law of capitalist accumulation, which leads to the impoverishment of the working masses, the constant lowering of their standard of living.

As is known the economic situation of the working masses and the working class is determined by the conditions of work and living. Wages, the degree of intensity of work and the length of the workday, unemployment, prices for broad consumer goods, conditions of housing and rents, taxes and fees, etc — all combined together determine the standard of living of the working masses in general. Therefore, for a correct assessment of the condition and impoverishment of the masses, these factors should be analysed in interaction and in close connection with each other. Alteration of one of these factors is reflected on the economic condition of the working masses.

Higher wages condition the raising of the purchasing power of the working masses and, as a consequence, the increasing of the volume of consumption, bringing about an improvement of its structure. In particular periods of development of the capitalist economy, as a result of the fierce class struggle, in

order to avert the revolt of the masses the bourgeoisie is obliged to make some partial and temporary concession by increasing the nominal wages of workers. However, this is not directly translated into a rise in the standard of living, because the amount of wages is, really, one of the indices of this standard, but it is intricately connected with the degree of intensification of work, the level of unemployment, prices, etc. If nominal wages over a certain period of time show some increase, the capitalists intensify the work in order to avoid a reduction in their profits. This, on its part, creates the need for the worker to consume additional amounts of food in order to replace his energies. But with the level of his wages the worker cannot ensure this, especially in the conditions in which the average annual rate of increase of prices for broad consumer goods goes constantly up. If in 1955 the average annual rate of increase of prices was 1.5 per cent in all the Western countries, in 1965 it went up to 4.9 per cent, and in 1975 — 15 per cent. Only in the period from September 1979 to August 1980 the average rate of the increase of prices for consumer goods was 12.7 per cent. For individual states the figures run as follows: the United States of America — 12.8 per cent, Britain — 16.3 per cent, Italy — 22 per cent, France — 13.6 per cent, Canada and Australia — 10.7 per cent, etc.

Apart from galloping prices, high rents and various taxes, the higher charges for socio-cultural services, etc are an additional burden on the working masses of the capitalist and revisionist countries. All these factors have brought about such an increase in the cost of living that the real wages of the working people have fallen notably. This phenomenon is apparent in the USA, Britain, Italy and other countries. As the Ministry of Labour of the United States informs, with his present real income, the average American worker cannot afford to buy all the goods and pay for all the socio-cultural services as he did in 1965. Last year,

as against the preceding year, the real income of the American worker has fallen an average of 3 per cent. In Britain real wages have fallen 7 per cent in 1977, as against 1970, in Italy there was a fall of 7 per cent for the same period, etc.

This reality shows that in the present conditions of capitalism the level of fulfilment of the essential requirements for the reproduction of the work force goes on decreasing, as against the degree of development of the productive forces and the possibilities created by science and social production. In the background of the exacerbation of antagonistic contradiction between the essential requirements for the reproduction of the work force, which objectively go on increasing, and the low level of their fulfilment, that is, of the real wages, the gap between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie continues to grow wider.

The trend towards the widening of this gap stems, among other things, also from the high unemployment. In the beginning of the 60's the apologists of capitalism trumpeted that as a result of technical progress, the day was dawning when the word «unemployment» would be forgotten and remain a term belonging only to history. This euphoria was based on the technical and scientific revolution as a result of which new factories, plants and production lines began to be opened and there was a great demand for the work force. But history was quick to deny these predictions. The inner laws of the capitalist economy, spontaneity, anarchy and unrestrained competition became a more destructive force. Not only single enterprises, but whole branches based on outdated technology, were smashed, thus creating the so-called «technological unemployment». As a consequence, unemployment not only was not relegated to the past, but, on the contrary, turned into a chronic ailment of capitalist society, affecting millions of skilled and unskilled workers, even specialists.

As comes out from the bourgeois statistics themselves, unemployment in the countries of the European Common Market has reached an all-high in their history. The same gloomy picture is looming large in the other capitalist countries. The United States today has about 9.2 million unemployed who will soon reach the 11 million mark. Britain, France, Italy and Japan, with 2 million jobless people each, are not better off, either.

In this manner, the technical or scientific revolution did not heal the ulcers of capitalism, nor could it do so. On the contrary, it showed that technical progress, the development of the productive forces, in general, is above all a further sophistication of the ways and means for the exploitation of the working class. Mechanization and automation of production, on the one hand, eliminate many professions, while, on the other, create and increase the demand for new professions which call for higher training and qualification. However, this qualification and requalification of workers, which follows as a result of the changes of the workplaces and professions, is bound to bring about a reduction in the nominal and real wages of working people, hence also the lowering of their standard of living. In this case, too, the only thing the proletariat stands to gain is the stepping up of capitalist oppression and exploitation.

Apart from this, the technical-scientific revolution defied the allegations of the modern revisionists who ignore the Marxist theory on the impoverishment of the proletariat in capitalism. In their words, the workers live better today than in the past, because a broad range of consumer goods has been made available for their daily use and that the increase of production and national income brings about an increased share of the population, including the proletariat, in the consumption.

Marxism-Leninism does not deny the fact that with the growth of production and national income,

the amount of the goods consumed by the working masses and the proletariat increases, too. This is also borne out by the capitalist reality. The worker of the time of Marx had not the needs and demands of his counterpart of today. Indeed, even from the standpoint of the fulfilment of these needs the worker of today stands at a higher level. And this because in the value of the work force, considered as a commodity, historical and moral elements are also included. If in the present-day conditions of development of the productive forces and with the present requirements of capitalist production the mass consumer goods and the standards of the past century were to be employed for the replacement of the energies spent by the workers, the work force would not reproduce itself normally. Therefore, for it to reproduce itself, which is in the interest of capital, it must consume more. This, however, does not mean that the impoverishment of the proletariat has ceased, on the contrary, is increasing with each passing day, because the capitalist mode of production constantly lowers the possibility for the working masses, in general, and the proletariat, in particular, to fulfil their requirements. The law of the absolute and relative impoverishment of the working masses and the proletariat rests precisely on the constant decrease of this possibility as against the requirements.

Besides, as the reality shows, the increase of capitalist production and national income have not led, nor could they lead, in the future, to the raising of the standard of living of the working masses but, on the contrary, to the ever greater enrichment of the capitalists, to the increase of their parasitic consumption. To admit that the level of consumption and the standard of living of the working class have been raised, as the modern revisionists do, means to ignore the antagonistic contradictions of capitalist reproduction and, in particular, the contradiction between production and consumption. The great frequency and constant ag-

gravation of economic crises, especially the recent crisis which began in 1974 and continues to this day, prove that this contradiction not only has not disappeared but, on the contrary, has been further exacerbated.

All this shows that the economic and political struggle of the working class today is a just struggle, that the demands of the proletariat for higher wages and better conditions of living are just demands arising from an objective basis. However, the proletariat must not forget that in capitalism the economic struggle cannot wipe out poverty, cannot liquidate unemployment and the tendency of the real wages to fall. No economic struggle can liquidate the economic laws of capitalism. And this because the antagonistic contradiction between the essential demands of the workers for the normal reproduction of their capability for work and the low level of their real fulfilment has its basis in the exploitative character of the capitalist relations of production, in the private ownership of the means of production by the bourgeoisie. The solution of this contradiction is achieved with the destruction of the capitalist relations through the violent proletarian revolution.

THE POLARIZATION OF CAPITALIST SOCIETY IS DEEPENED FURTHER

Marxism-Leninism teaches that in the class analysis of society the relationship of people to the ownership of the means of production is a primary element, because the distribution of the means of production precedes all production and creates the premises for it. «The basic element,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «which determines a social system is the ownership of the means of production. If the ownership of the means of production is private, then we have to do with a system in which man exploits man, in which wealth is accumulated in the hands of

the minority at one pole, while the overwhelming majority of the people live in poverty and want at the other pole.» (Enver Hoxha, «Eurocommunism is Anti-communism», p. 135, Alb. ed.) The social structure of the modern capitalist society is shifting precisely in the direction Marxism has predicted. Along with the development of capitalism, work is more and more being transformed into hired labour, and the means of production into capital. The changes following in the wake of the technical and scientific revolution in the class structure of society have further increased the number of wage-earners. The capitalist reality proves that the modern bourgeois-revisionist society not only is not being deproletarianized but, on the contrary, is constantly being proletarianized, and the role of the mass of workers in production is becoming more and more decisive. If in 1950 in the developed capitalist countries the hired labourers made up 68.7 per cent of the employed population, in 1960 they represented 74.4 per cent, and in 1977 more than 85 per cent of the employed population.

This great degree of proletarianization of the present-day bourgeois revisionist society has exacerbated to the extreme the antagonistic contradictions of capitalism. The revolts, strikes and demonstrations of a political and economic character of the working masses against oppression and exploitation, as well as against the reactionary cliques in power, have become mass phenomena in all the developed and undeveloped capitalist and revisionist countries. Millions of proletarians, small producers, intellectuals, young people, students, etc are fighting on the barricades of the class struggle today. Thus, in 1971-1979 430 million people took part in strikes and political manifestations against 273 million in the period 1967-1970.

These large-scale revolutionary movements of the working masses have impelled the bourgeoisie to go over to savage and violent suppression of them,

while at the same time indulging in a demagogy unprecedented in history. By means of the modern mass media and publicity, the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda tries to divert the working people from the revolutionary struggle, to allure them with «new commodities», to restrict their horizon within the narrow circle of material consumption and to impose the ideology of «the mass consumer society» and «the society of general well-being» on them.

The main aim of this propaganda is to estrange the million-strong masses from the acute socio-political problems and involve them in petty everyday struggles to attain the relative «standard» of consumption. Competition for the buying of goods does not allow them the time and energy for other, higher interests. Monopoly capital tries by all manner of means to deprive people of the true aim in life and lead them to degeneration and bemusement. Standardization, orientation towards the average consumer, social tastes, etc — this is the content of the goods the «bourgeois industry» turns out on a massive scale in order to exploit the poverty and want of the working people.

But while this propaganda tries to cover up poverty with the illusory smoke of «well-being for all» the reality defies it everyday, the poverty and

want for the majority, on one hand, and the enrichment of the minority, on the other, have become undeniable phenomena of the capitalist-revisionist world. Thus, official statistics from the United States have it that 1.6 per cent of the population takes the lion's share of the national income — by owning more than 66 per cent of capitalist property, 80 per cent of shares and 100 per cent of bonds. At a time when 30 million people live in the poverty level in this country, the net profits of the American corporations have gone on increasing from one year to the other. If in 1960 the monopolies made a net profit of 24.9 billion dollars, in 1976 their profit rose to 84.8 billion dollars and in 1979 went up to over 100 billion dollars. In the Federal Republic of Germany a small number of rich families, at the head of which stand 18 multi-millionaires such as Krupp, Wolf, Opel, Grundig, etc. own about half the productive capital of the country, at a time when 7 million families can hardly earn a livelihood. The situation is the same in the other developed capitalist countries such as France, Italy, Britain, Japan, etc.

The polarization of the capitalist-revisionist society is more apparent in the countries dependent and semi-dependent on imperialism. The working mas-

ses and the working class of these countries are subject to a twofold oppression — both by the local bourgeoisie and the imperialist bourgeoisie. In these countries, in which the overwhelming majority of the world population lives, about 1.5 billion people live on the verge of starvation. In the first half of the 60's, 30-40 million people died each year of starvation or malnutrition. This figure is 4-5 times higher than that of those killed each year of the Second World War.

The great socio-economic inequality that exists in the bourgeois-revisionist world today clearly shows that the oppressive and exploitative nature of capitalism not only does not change but, on the contrary, grows deeper with each passing day. The ever greater exploitation and the impoverishment of the proletariat resulting from it and, on their basis, their discontent, play a very important role in the preparation of the objective conditions for the overthrow of capitalism through the socialist revolution. In this way, the Marxist theory on the impoverishment of the proletariat is an ideological weapon in the hands of the working class in the class struggle for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society.

press review

MAJOR FAILURES OF THE SOVIET AGRICULTURE

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

Agriculture is the weakest link in the Soviet economy. Its grave crisis compelled Brezhnev and the other heads of the Kremlin to speak out at the last congress of the Soviet revisionist party. Brezhnev admitted that agricultural production has fallen in the recent years, though he tried to ascribe this to transient factors — the «whims of the weather» and the inability of some individuals. Soviet statistics have of late revealed some of the major failures in the different branches and sectors of production, and more especially in agriculture. Facts show that overall cost of agricultural production last year was 2.5 billion rubles under the level of 1979, and more than 9 billion rubles less than in 1978. Compared with 1978, there was a shortfall of about 46 million tons of grain, 14.2 millions tons of sugar-beet, 19 million tons of potatoes, 3.8 million tons of milk, and hundreds of thousands of tons of meat, fruit, vegetables, sunflower, and other products. The production of some articles was under the level of 1965, especially potatoes and sunflower. The sugar industry last year produced 2.2 million

tons less sugar than in 1978. There is a considerable decrease in the production of vegetable oils, cheese, food preserves, etc.

It must be pointed out that Soviet statistics report as realized even those items which have not been produced, which do not go to the consumer or the processing factory. In agriculture, just as in all the other branches, «inflated successes» are a common phenomenon in the Soviet Union. People in the management of agriculture, just as those in the other sectors, report on non-existing achievements, in order to secure bonuses for themselves, to strengthen their positions or to get promoted up the ladder of the party and state hierarchy. On the other hand, according to what the Soviet government itself admits, «15 to 20 per cent of agricultural production is lost in the fields, in the process of transportation or in the procurement depots.»

All these failures, among others, have caused shortages in the supply of the population with basic necessities, raised prices for them on the state capitalist market and

even more on the private market, which is becoming predominant in some staple articles such as potatoes, meat, milk, fruit, etc. In its issue of last December the «Communist» magazine wrote that «the supply of the population with food-stuffs has become a difficult problem.» A recent communique of the Central Board of Statistics admits that during 1980 the supply of the population with a series of agricultural and animal products was lower than in 1979. All these major failures in agriculture compelled the Moscow chiefs to go begging to the world markets. Their imports of food-stuffs last year increased by 30 per cent against the previous year.

The roots of this grave situation in the Soviet economy should be sought in the economic policy followed by the chiefs of the Kremlin and in their whole anti-Marxist course. The scramble for maximum profits and the operation of the laws of capitalist market have brought about chaos, discrepancies and other phenomena of this category in the economy, causing it to sink deeper and deeper into the crisis.

**press
review****PROLETARIAN CULTURE —
A WEAPON OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION***«DRITA» — organ of the Writers and Artists' League of Albania*

The ideologists and hack-writers of capital are forced to admit from their own mouth that bourgeois culture «finds itself in contradiction with the fundamental concepts of society to the point that in the eyes of the majority it has nothing to do with culture and resembles rather a barbarian invasion.» Admissions like this show that bourgeois culture can no longer play its role as an instrument of the spiritual domination of capital over the working masses, as a means of manipulating their consciousness, that it is deteriorating and decaying the same as the society which has given it birth and cultivates it. However, regardless of all this, just as the bourgeoisie cannot of its free will withdraw from the stage of history, cannot hand over its power to the proletariat in a «peaceful» manner, so its ideology and culture, as a means in the service of this rule, cannot be eliminated gradually, in a quiet way. The bourgeoisie will never on its own accept the verdict of history and relinquish its place to the new class to which the future belongs — the proletariat and its revolutionary ideology and culture. So much so that even those bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, who admit that the bourgeois culture is in its death throes, is in complete decomposition, negate the fact that its place in society is

being occupied by the proletarian culture, that the proletarian ideology will become the dominant force in society. According to the revisionist ideologists, for example, it must be admitted that «no proletarian art can exist in itself.» According to the bourgeois philosophers «the only true form of proletarian art and culture is a kind of industrialized culture which stands at the lowest intellectual of the bourgeoisie itself.» The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists say that «the workers can play a role in the development of spiritual culture only when they cease to be workers, when they go over the bounds of material production.» Obviously, these are attempts to deny proletarian culture which is accepted only as part of the bourgeois culture, indeed as its more vulgar, less mature part, lacking in intellectual or artistic accomplishment. So the proletariat is denied the possibility of contributing to world culture, to its development. It can achieve this only by becoming bourgeois. As a conclusion, whatever happens, alone the bourgeoisie has the qualities and capabilities required to create spiritual and cultural values.

However, independently of all this bourgeois-revisionist theorizing, the facts show that there are two cultures for two distinct worlds — the old bour-

geois world in crisis and decay and the new proletarian world to which the future belongs; the former culture being in complete retrogression, and the second being the culture of the most revolutionary class of society, the proletarian culture full of vitality, in constant development and in the ascendant. By way of illustration, let's take the situation in the Federal Republic of Germany, where progressive writers have done and are doing great work to introduce new themes and new heroes into the West-German literature. The novels of Max von der Gruen, the reports of Guenther Wahlraff and others have special importance not only for the literary life, but also for the social life of their country. Max von der Gruen's novel «The Mistaken Light and the Fire», which takes its subject from the life of the German proletariat, mainly the miners, their life and fight against exploitation and police violence, etc is well-known also outside the country. The progressive proletarian writers and artists publish the magazine «Links-kurve». Many amateur groups, such as «The Red Loud-speaker», interpret revolutionary works of progressive writers all over West Germany.

The poet and playwright Miguel Hernandez, the poet Antonio Machado, the playwright and critic José Berga-

**press
review**

min, who are blacklisted by the Spanish censorship, etc are widely known in Spain and outside its borders.

In Portugal, Antonio Aleixo, who sings to the working class and expresses its revolt against the Portuguese capitalist society, exposes the intrigues and machinations of this society, is a popular poet. The same can be said of the novelist Soeiro Permira Gomez. His novels «Esteiros» and «The Gear» reflect the life of ordinary people, the exploitation and poverty of the working class. After the events of April 25, with the overthrow of the fascist regime many groups interpreting works of a revolutionary content, among them the professional groups of «The Cabin», «The Band», etc have been set up in that country. In the field of music, the «April Band», a cultural group of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Union of Portugal, which interprets revolutionary songs, the composer José Mario Branco, who has composed many songs which have won favour with the working masses and inspire them in their struggle, and others have become famous.

Thus, although it tries to deny in theory the proletarian art and culture, the bourgeoisie has not succeeded, nor will it ever succeed, in stopping it from developing and flourishing amongst the sons and daughters of the people, the revolutionary and progressive writers who have stood up to jailing, torture, persecution and discrimina-

tion, who defend this art and culture even with their own lives.

By denigrating and denying proletarian culture, its role in the revolutionary transformation of society, the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists and critics aim to wrest from the hands of the proletariat a powerful weapon which enables them to assimilate revolutionary ideas, to gain a political awareness. By trying to sow confusion about the individuality of proletarian art and culture, they intend to confuse the issue about the existence of the proletariat, as a class which exists in irreconcilable antagonism with the bourgeoisie. However, the participation of millions of proletarians in class battles cannot be abstracted from the phenomenon of the constant decrease of the undermining influence of the bourgeois and revisionist-reformist ideology in the ranks of the worker movement. This shows that the working class is embracing the proletarian ideology in an ever more conscious and organized manner. In this clash of two worlds, culture cannot remain an object of secondary, decorative importance, outside class interests. Indeed, the proletarian culture cannot be formed and strengthened outside the struggle of the proletarian ideology against the bourgeois ideology. The heavier the blows against capital in all fields, the deeper the general crisis in which it wriggles, the more the proletarian ideology, proletarian art and culture are strengthened in their

social positions, the more they demonstrate their individuality, vitality and purity. History provides clear evidence of this even in the centre of international capital — the United States of America.

It is a well-known fact that the crisis between the Twenties and the Thirties came as a shock to millions of Americans. Without doubt the period from 1930 to 1941, which in our days is called the «red decade» or the «proletarian Thirties», is the most positive of the American culture which is dominated by the worker. The working man, since then without state power, without a voice, without a physiognomy, emerged from the dark backstage of American art and culture to the limelight, convinced that he could not be the passive object of the well-to-do with a «golden» heart, who only pitied him for his poverty, while ignoring his revolutionary potential. The ideologists and theoreticians of capital cannot cover up this reality or present this period in a false light as a «historical error, an aberration» in the field of culture, and not as a natural expression of the existence and activity of the proletariat — the gravedigger of capital in this field as well.

The bourgeoisie, which is losing its monopoly of culture, which can no longer make the law in it and use it as a kind of spiritual gendarme and a means to corrupt the proletarians and the broad working masses, tries in vain to extinguish a volcano in eruption.

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review**

It tries desperately not to let go this weapon which it uses to defend the privileges it enjoys by force of money and the rule of capital over the proletarians and the people, in general.

The epoch we are living in is the epoch of the revolution and the collapse of the enslaving system of neo-colonialism. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, at present the proletarian revolution is

not only an aspiration, but a problem put forward for solution. And in this gigantic process of overthrow and creation the proletarian culture finds its place and field of activity.

■

AVOWED ENEMIES OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

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

Quoting the Chinese newspaper «Wenhuibao» of Shanghai, the foreign news agencies inform that China will replace the term «dictatorship of the proletariat» with the «people's democratic dictatorship», which is «more adapt» to the present situation. The dictatorship of the proletariat has never existed in fact in China, although it survives in Article One of the Constitution in force in that country. Now, however, the Chinese revisionists want to erase altogether its remainder as a dead and worthless formula in the Constitution, which they used only in the many bombastic and demagogical declarations. They want no longer to be an exception from the other revisionists, regardless of the clan or trend they belong to.

In order to justify this position of theirs, the Chinese revisionists have long ago invented for consumption all kinds of confusing and vulgar theories inspired by Trotskyite and anarchist ideas, through which they try to denigrate the dictatorship of the proletariat. «Renminribao», in its

«theoretical generalizations», admits that «the socialist system demands that socialist democracy should and can be superior to bourgeois democracy, although this may not be the reality and practice of today.» In other words, the socialist reality and practice today rank inferior to bourgeois democracy! By implementing «Mao Zedong thought», the Chinese revisionists defend the most savage bourgeois dictatorship, openly taking under their wing the most reactionary and fascist regimes. They labour to justify this dictatorship on theoretical grounds, too. According to «Renminribao», «the efficient methods» of the bourgeois democracy of the «solution of social problems» «may be applied to the advantage of socialism.» On its part, the Chinese revisionist review «Beijing Information» advertises the dictatorship of capital as one with «progressive» features, which, with some changes, «can assume a socialist nature and serve the proletariat». This is a clear case of exalting the dictatorship of

capital, the bourgeois state apparatus. And this because those who rule in Beijing today are the representatives of this savage dictatorship, the wielders of this oppressive apparatus.

The Chinese revisionist chiefs, self-styled as the most ardent partisans of the broadest and fullest democracy, want to provide a juridical basis to all their anti-popular and profoundly reactionary activity, to sanction it in the fundamental law — the Chinese Constitution. Some months ago, following in this spirit, they declared null and void the provision comprised in Article 45 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, according to which «the citizens have the right to speak freely, to fully express their opinions, to carry out debate and write big character wall-posters.» Thus, complete and most shameless oppression is hidden under the name of «democracy and citizens' rights». Part of this course is the present proposal to replace the term «dictatorship of the proletariat» with «people's democratic dictatorship» in China.

**press
review****DEEPER IN THE GRIP OF THE CRISIS***Commentary of the ATA.*

The capitalist world is sinking ever deeper into the crisis. This fact has been admitted once again recently by the representatives of 24 member countries of the Organization for Economic Co-ordination and Development (OECD), who got together in Paris to seek a way out of their economic-financial difficulties. In a declaration published after their meeting, it is said that this year there will be a new fall in the rates of production, the total of the unemployed in the OECD member countries will reach a new high of 26 million, inflation will remain at its present high level, etc.

The results of the first months of this year indicate a further deterioration of the economic situation. The Italian Institute of Statistics reported that industrial production fell by 3.1 per cent in the period from November 1980 to January 1981 as against the same period of the previous year. The branch worse hit by the crisis is the steel industry which is going through the greatest financial difficulties in its history. Industrial production in France fell by 8.2 per cent in January this year as against the same month of the last year. Official data also show that during January the overall national product decreased by 6.8 per cent. In Britain industrial production fell by 1.3 per cent in January reaching its lowest level in

recent years. February also marked a slump in a number of branches of the American industry, especially in the steel, machine-building, and wood-working industries.

Statistics on the fall of production always go hand in hand with other statistics indicating that the impact of the crisis weigh on the broad working masses. From Brussels is reported that the number of the unemployed in the countries of the European Common Market reached the figure of 8.6 million at the end of February, while 600,000 workers lost their jobs only in the last two months — January, February. A report published recently by the International Labour Organization shows the rapid worsening of this malady of the bourgeois society in the second half of the 70's. In West Germany the «redundant hands» increased more than threefold during the period 1972-1979. In Britain about 20 per cent of the 2.5 million unemployed have lost their jobs more than a year ago, whereas 40 per cent of them have been thrown out of the factories about six months ago. According to forecasts by French economic experts, the number of the unemployed in France will be over 3 million in 1985.

Prices and living costs in the capitalist-revisionist world are soaring ever higher. Official statistics show that in

Canada the price index for consumer goods went up by 12.2 per cent in February, as against the same period of the last year — the highest rise since December 1974. As a result of the galloping inflation the Canadian now must pay about 230 dollars for an amount of goods and services, for which he paid 100 dollars in 1971.

Last month inflation in Britain was running at 12.5 per cent and prices were higher than the January index. The news agencies point out that as a result of the further increase of prices for a number of consumer goods the March price index is expected to be much higher than the Thatcher government recently anticipated.

The Statistics Board of Israel reports that this country continues to suffer from a high level of inflation and that prices of consumer goods increased by 5.5 per cent in February. Prices for heating fuel and electric power went up. In South Africa, too, prices and rents are increasing rapidly. As the newspaper «Sunday Express» of Johannesburg reports, prices for food-stuffs went up by 30 per cent recently. According to TANJUG, in Yugoslavia prices for retail goods rose by 12.3 per cent during the first two months of this year, as against last December, while the cost of living went up by 11.1 per cent.

**press
review****INCREASE OF MILITARY BUDGETS***«LUFËTËTARI» — organ of the Ministry of People's Defence*

The growth rate of military expenditure in the capitalist countries clearly shows that an ever increasing part of national income goes for aggressive purposes.

The minister of defence of Great Britain, John Knot, declared in the Parliament that military expenditure this year will total 12,256 million pounds, that is, one billion pounds more than in the past year. Great Britain spends millions to maintain 100 American military bases on British territory. As the British press has it, with the expansion of American military presence in this country, «Britain is playing the role of an aircraft carrier» in the strategic plans of the Pentagon.

The Bonn revanchists have also increased their military budget for 1981, which at present has reached the figure of 41.2 billion marks. This year it will spend for military purposes 2.4 billion more marks

than in the past year. The cabinet of the German Federal Republic recently allotted 700 million more marks (350 million dollars) to the army. Today West Germany sells 4 times more armaments than ten years ago.

According to the foreign press, the 1981-1982 financial budget was presented to the Israeli Parliament for approval. More than one third of the total amount of 206 billion shekels (25 billion dollars) is destined for military purposes, and this is in complete accordance with the aggressive aims of Zionism. This is done at a time when Israel is in the grip of an economic crisis, when inflation has gone up to 120 per cent and unemployment affected 5 per cent of the able-bodied population until the end of the past year. But the funds Israel assigns for its war preparations are even larger, if the billions of dollars accorded by American

imperialism are added to them.

According to approximative estimation, 600 billion dollars are spent each year for military purposes all over the world in the Eighties, which means that one million dollars are spent every minute for armaments.

Just as significant is the fact that 70 per cent of all scientific research is carried out for military purposes, 40 per cent of the total national income of all the bourgeois and revisionist countries is gobbled up by armaments. The strengthening and modernization of the military journeymen of the capitalist and revisionist countries means a further tightening of belts and impoverishment for the broad working masses. The people everywhere in the world oppose with determination the reactionary and anti-worker policy of the superpowers, their attempts to throw the world into a new holocaust.

«BLACK LABOUR»*«BASHKIMI» — central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania*

The term «black labour» is being met with ever more frequently in the world press. This refers to work in which

a large part of the work force, comprising entire families, are engaged, as occurs in several capitalist countries, such as

Italy, France, Japan, United States, Britain, etc.

At a time when millions upon millions of people are

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jobless, emigrant workers, many of whom have entered «illegally» the host country, as is the case with millions of Latin-Americans in the United States of America, count millions in the capitalist countries, in conditions of lack of chreches and kindergartens, or of their inability to accommodate the infant population and, as a result, the woman cannot leave her home if she succeeds in finding a job, the capitalists go about their business in such a way as to make a surplus profit by savagely exploiting the working people. It has become a common practice today among big capitalist firms to organize production on the basis of home work. As a result, machine parts the production of which is unprofitable are given to manufactured outside production lines. This is how the automobile giants «FIAT» «CITRÖEN», etc operate in organizing the production of a number spare parts in small workshops. The textile, footwear, electronic and other industries do the same. Going by Italian statistics, about one fifth of the able-bodied population of Italy, that is, about 5 million people are engaged in these activities. These data show that the value of this activity in Italy exceeds 8 billion dollars. From recent statistical data it comes out that from 800,000 to 1,500,000 people are engaged in these activities in France, who turn an amount

of production equivalent to that of the entire automobile industry of the country. The situation is the same in Japan, where «black labour» has perhaps even larger proportions than in Italy; in the United States, where millions of emigrants from the countries of Latin America and negroes are mercilessly exploited through this method of work; in Britain, where this work is done mainly by people coming from the former British colonies, Irishmen, etc.

The capitalists ensure a huge surplus value from this method of work, while the workers are made to sweat for a pittance. Besides, faced with the utter impossibility of finding jobs, the workers are forced to accept any job, without any contract, any social insurance, any measure of technical safety. It is clear that in these conditions goods are produced at a lower cost and at a higher profit and are more competitive on the world capitalist market.

Obviously, behind the surplus value, which is appropriated by the capitalists, is the work of the cheap hands who not infrequently are made to slave on up to 14 hours a day. Not only that, but often entire families, including the small children, are engaged in this kind of work. There are cities in Italy, and not only in Italy, where all the families living in the neighbourhood are engaged by this or

that factory producing shoes, textiles, etc.

Ever more frequently the capitalists are practising «black labour» in partnership with the Mafia. This has become almost a common practice in the southern part of Italy. The same occurs on the Pacific coast of the United States of America. The «intermediaries», who engage the Latin-American worker or the southern Italian, are more often than not Mafia men who, together with the factory owner, demand their share from the workers who fall into their net.

Officially «black labour» is illegal. In fact, however, in all the capitalist countries it goes on with the full knowledge and complicity of the authorities (quite often the police themselves have a share in the profits). Even when things become too outrageous and assume scandal-like proportions, no measure is taken against the transgressors. In France, for example, 600 law suits were brought in against those who profit from the black labour, but only 11 of them were given light sentences or fines which they have no difficulty in paying them from the huge profits they make through the exploitation of the cheap labour of millions of workers. «Black labour» is another expression of the cruelty of the capitalist order, of the falsity of the so-called bourgeois democracy.

**press
review****THE TRADE-UNION DISGUISE
OF THE FIRE-EXTINGUISHER OF THE VATICAN***«PUNA», organ of the Central Council of the TU of Albania —*

The head of the Vatican Karol Woityla, with his ardent devotion to capital, is breaking some protocol rules established by his predecessors. For the first time in the history of the papacy, in March this year, he presided over a factory trade-union council of a large steel plant in Terni. Clerical propaganda and bourgeois press made a great noise about this «historical event» in the personal record of the present head of the Vatican, this man who in his early youth is claimed to have been a trade-union activist in Krakow. It is evident that Woityla did not go to the above-mentioned trade-union meeting prompted by the trade-union nostalgia of his young years. He went there on the advice of monopoly bourgeoisie which is labouring under the consequences of a deep crisis, impelled by the dread of capital, unless class struggle rises to new heights, unless the social and class contradictions in the sick capitalist society are made worse. This becomes clear from both the factory the pope chose and the calls and preachings for capitulation he addressed to the workers. This large plant in Terni — one of the biggest of the kind in Italy, will greatly curtail production, therefore 1,500 out of its 6,000 workers will be laid off. The workers of this factory were paid only 70 per cent of their February

wages, and only 50 per cent of their March wages.

The difficulties of Terni are part of the difficult situation in the entire Italian steel industry. That is why the proletariat is up in strikes and demonstrations against lay-offs, against bad conditions of work, life, for higher wages. Steel industry is the key branch of the economy, and it is clear that the class struggle, and the strike movement as integral part of it, gravely affects the interests of monopoly capital. The head of the Vatican chose precisely the steel industry to put on his former trade-union masks.

In his well-known terms, the pope let out a tirade against the workers who rise in defence of their rights, attacked the class struggle. According to him, the working class and the other oppressed and exploited should not rise against the bourgeoisie, but should look on indifferently when their vital interests are disregarded and the standard of living is lowered. Thousands of steel workers will swell the ranks of the unemployed, their families will fight for a livelihood, but all this does not affect the head of the Vatican. When a worker addressed himself directly to the pope, asking, «Is it not a crime to close down the factory?», the head of the Vatican was quick to come to the rescue of the owning class, saying, «The dif-

ficulties are great.» According to the papal logic, these «difficulties» give capital the right to throw the workers into the street, to reduce wages, to increase prices and taxes. Woityla came openly in defence of the anti-popular and anti-worker policy of the monopoly bourgeoisie, defending the efforts of capital to overcome the crisis by saddling the working masses with its consequences. In this way he defends the interests of the Vatican which is at the same time one of the biggest monopoly companies of the world. The Holy See is engaged in big business and holds colossal shares in the steel and armaments companies of Italy, the United States, the German Federal Republic, Britain, etc. The secret investments of «holy» capital in these sectors are estimated by the foreign press at about ten billion dollars. When Woityla tells the steel workers to keep quiet and accept the lay-offs and wagecuts, he is concerned about his own shares, the value of which is raised through the exploitation of the sweat and toil of the proletariat.

However, the anti-worker zeal of the Vatican and its head, and the whole capitalist demagoguery and repression, can never stop the protest and indignation of the working masses against the bourgeoisie from reaching new heights.

Under the constant solicitude of the PLA and of the people's power, special attention is attached to the bringing up and education of children of socialist Albania. During their summer vacations children take part in many and various activities



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